THE HISTORIE OF THE VVORLD, IN FIVE BOOKS.

THE FIRST,
Intreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same, from the Creation unto ABRAHAM.

THE SECOND,
Of the Times from the Birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction of the Temple of SALOMON.

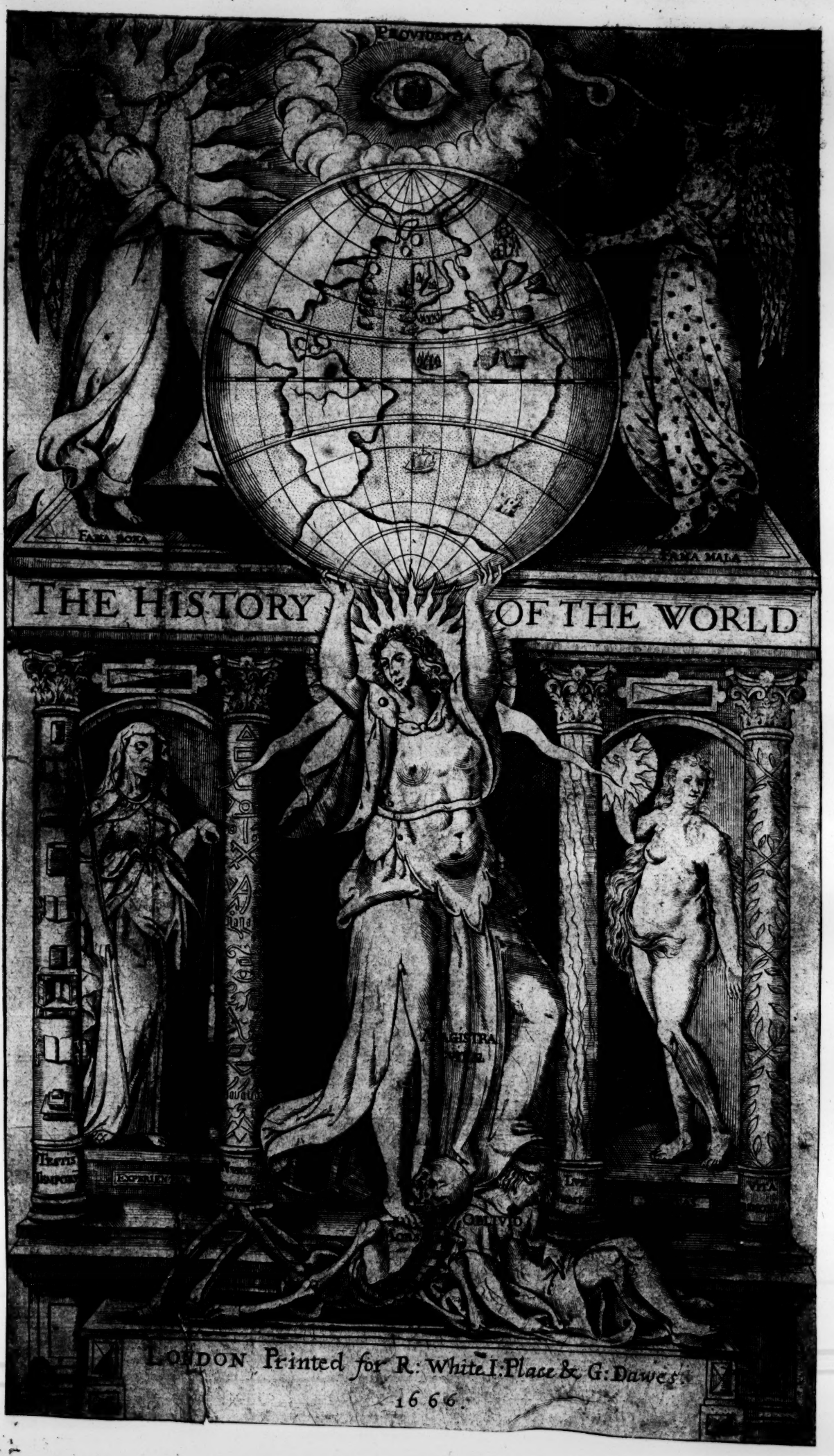
THE THIRD,
From the destruction of JERUSALEM to the time of PHILIP of MACEDON.

THE FOURTH,
From the Reign of PHILIP of MACEDON, to the establishing of that Kingdom in the Race of ANTIGONUS.

THE FIFTH,
From the settled Rule of ALEXANDERS Successors in the East, until the ROMANS (prevailing over all) made Conquest of ASIA and MACEDON.

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight.

LONDON,
Printed for GEORGE DAWES, and are to be sold at his Shop over against *Lincolns*-Inne Gate in *Chancery*-Lane, MDCLXXI.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§. VII. *How the Illyrians infested the Coast of Greece: and how they were subdued by the Romans.*

§. VIII. *Of the War between the Romans and Gaules, somewhat before the coming of* Hannibal *into* Italy.

CHAP. III.

Of the second Punick Wars.

§. I.

THe wars of Hannibal *in* Spain, *Quarrels between the Romans and Carthaginians.* Hannibal *besiegeth and taketh* Saguntum, *whilest the Romans are busied with the Illyrians. War proclaimed between* Rome *and* Carthage.

§. II. Hannibal *takes order for the defence of* Spain *and* Africk. *His journey into* Italy.

§. III. *How the Romans in vain sollicited the Spaniards and Gauls to take their part. The rebellion of the Cisalpine Gauls against the Romans.*

§. IV. Scipio *the Roman Consul, overcome by* Hannibal *at Ticinum. Both of the Roman Consuls beaten by* Hannibal *in a great battel at Trebia.*

§. V. *The departure of* Hannibal *from the Cisalpine Gauls into Hetruria.* Flaminius *the Roman Consul slain: and his Army destroyed by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of Thrasymene.*

§. VI. *How* Q. Fabius *the Roman Dictator, sought to consume the force of* Hannibal, *by lingring war.* Minutius *the Master of the Horse, honoured and advanced by the people, for bold and succesful attempting adventures rashly upon* Hannibal, *and is like to perish with his Army but rescued by* Fabius.

§. VII. *The Roman people, desirous to finish the War quickly, choose a rash and unworthy Consul. Great forces levyed against* Hannibal. Hannibal *taketh the Romans provisions in the Castle of Cannæ. The new Consuls set forth against* Hannibal.

§. VIII. *Dissention between the two Roman Consuls. Whether it be likely, that* Hannibal *was upon point of flying out of* Italy, *when the Romans pressed him to fight. The great battel at Cannæ.*

§. IX. *Of things following the Battel of Cannæ.*

§. X. *Of the great supply that was decreed at Carthage, to be sent to* Hannibal *in* Italy. *How by the malice of* Hanno, *and sloth or parsimony of the Carthaginians, the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the Carthaginians grew faster than of the Romans. Of* Fabius *and other old Roman Historians, how partial they were in their writings.*

§ XI. *Strange reports of the* Roman *victories in* Spain, *before* Asdrubal *the son of* Amil-

car *followed thence his brother* Hannibal *into* Italy.

§. XII. *The great troubles that* Hannibal *raiſed in all quarters, to the City of* Rome. Poſthumius *the ROman Generall, with his whole Army, is ſlain by the* Gaules. Philip *King of* Macedon *enters into a League with* Hannibal, *againſt the* Romans. *The* Romans *joyning with the Ætolians, make war upon* Philip *in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him, the better to intend their buſineſſe againſt the Carthaginians.*

§. XIII. *How the* Romans *began to recover their ſtrength by degrees. The noble affection of the* Romans, *in relieving the publick neceſſities of their Common-weale.*

§. XIV. *The* Romans *win ſome Towns back from* Hannibal. Hannibal *wins* Tarentum. *The ſiege of* Capua. *Two Victories of* Hannibal. *The journey of* Hannibal *to the gates of* Rome. Capua *taken by the* Romans.

§. XV. *How the* Carthaginians, *making a party in* Sardinia *and* Sicil, *held war againſt the* Romans *in thoſe Iſlands: and were overcome.*

§. XVI. *How the war paſſed between the* Romans *and* Hannibal *in* Italy, *from the taking of* Capua *to the great victory at* Metaurus.

§. XVII. *How* P. Cornelius Scipio, *the* Roman, *made entire conqueſt of* Spain.

†. I.

HOw *the* Carthaginians *were driven by* Scipio, *from the Continent into the Iſle of* Gades.

†. II. *Funerall games held by* Scipio. *A Duel between two* Spaniſh *Princes. A digreſſion concerning Duels.*

†. III. *The laſt acts of* Scipio *in* Spain. *His return to* Rome; *where he is choſen Conſul.*

§. XVIII. Scipio *obtains leave to make war in* Africk: *His preparations: Of* Maſaniſſa *who joyned with* Scipio.

§. XIX. *The* Carthaginians *deſire truce: and do break it.*

§. XX. *In what ſort* Hannibal *ſpent the time, after the battell of* Metaurus. *The doings of* Mago *in* Italy. Hannibal *and* Mago *called out of* Italy. *How the* Romans *were diverſly affected by* Hannibals *departure.*

§. XXI. Hannibal *in* Africk *prepares to fight with* Scipio; *treats with him about peace in vain; loſeth a battell at* Nadagara, *and perſwades the* Carthaginians *to ſue for peace. Of the peace granted from* Rome *to* Carthage.

CHAP. IV.

Of Philip *the Father of* Perſeus *King of* Macedon, *his firſt acts and war with the* Romans, *by whom he was ſubdued.*

§. I.

HOw *the* Romans *grew acquainted in the Eaſt Countries, and deſirous of war there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Wars, at one time. The Ætolians over-run* Peloponneſus, Philip *and his aſſociates make war againſt the Ætolians. Alterations of the ſtate in Sparta. The Ætolians invade* Greece *and* Macedon, *and are invaded at home by* Philip.

§. II. *How* Philip *was miſ-adviſed by ill Counſellors: who afterwards wrought Treaſon againſt him, and were juſtly puniſhed. He invadeth the* Ætolians *a ſecond time: and forceth them to ſue for peace; which is granted unto them.*

§. III. Philip, *at the perſwaſion of* Demetrius Pharius, *enters into league with* Hannibal *againſt the* Romans. *The tenour of the League between* Hannibal *and* Philip.

§. IV. *How* Philip *yielded to his natural vices, being thereunto ſoothed by* Demetrius Pharius, *his deſire to tyrannize upon the free States his aſſociates: with the troubles into which he thereby fell, whilſt he bore a part in the ſecond Punick War. He poiſoneth* Aratas: *and grows hateful to the* Achæans.

§. V. *Of* Philopœmen, *Generall of the* Achæans, *and* Machanidas, *Tyrant of* Lacedæmon. *A battell between them, wherein* Machanidas *is ſlain.*

§. VI. Philip *having peace with* Rome, *and with all* Greece, *prepares againſt* Aſia. *Of the Kings of* Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bythinia; *and their Linages. Of the* Galatians.

§. VII. *The town of* Cios *taken by* Philip, *at the inſtance of* Pruſias *King of* Bythinia, *and cruelly deſtroyed, by this and the like actions,* Philip, *grows hateful to many of the* Greeks; *and is warred upon by* Attalus *King of* Pergamus, *and by the* Rhodians.

§. VIII. *The* Romans, *after their* Carthaginian *War, ſeek matter of quarrel againſt* Philip. *The* Athenians, *upon ſlight cauſe, proclaim war againſt* Philip; *moved thereto by* Attalus, *whom they flatter.* Philip *wins divers Towns, and makes peremptory anſwer to the* Roman *Embaſſadour. The furious reſolution of the* Abydeni.

§. IX. *The* Romans *decree war against* Philip, *and send one of their Consuls into* Greece, *as it were in defence of the* Athenians *their confederates. How poor the* Athenians *were at this time, both in quality and estate.*

§. X. *The Town of Chalchis in Eubœa, taken and sackt by the Romans and their Associates, that lay in Garrison at Athens.* Philip *attempeth to take Athens by surprize: wasteth the Countrie about: and makes a journey into Peloponnesus. Of* Nabis *the Tyrant of Lacedæmon, and his wife.* Philip *offers to make war against* Nabis *for the Achœans. He returneth home through Attica, which he spoyleth again: and provides against the enemies. Some exploits of the Romanes. Divers Princes joyn with them. Great labouring to draw the Ætolians into the war.*

§. XI. *The meeting of* Philip *with the Romanes, and skirmishing with them and his borders. The Ætolians invade his Dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of* Attalus *and the* Roman *fleet.*

§. XII. Villius *the Roman Consul wastes a year to no effect: War of the Gauls in Italy. An Embasie of the Romanes to Carthage,* Massanissa *and* Vermina. *The* Macedonian *prepares for defence of his Kingdom, and T.* Quintius *Flamius is sent against him.*

§. XIII. *The Romans begin to make war by Negotiation.* T. Quintius *wins a passage against* Philip. *Thessaly wasted by* Philip, *the Romanes, and Ætolians. The Achœans forsaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treaty of peace, that was vain.* Philip *delivers Argos to* Nabis *the Tyrant, who presently enters into league with the Romans.*

§. XIV. *The battell at* Cynoscephalæ, *wherein* Philip *was vanquished by* T. Quintius.

§. XV. T. Quintius *falls out with the Ætolians, and grants truce unto* Philip, *with conditions, upon which the peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed unto the Greeks. The Romans quarrel with* Antiochus.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Wars of the Romans *with* Antiochus *the Great, and his Adherents.*

§. I.

WHat *kings of the races of* Seleucus *and* Ptolomy *reigned in* Asia *and* Egypt, *before* Antiochus *the Great.*

§. II. *The beginning of the great* Antiochus *his reign. Of* Ptolomy Evergetes, *and* Philopator, *Kings of* Egypt. *War between* Antiochus *and* Philopator, *The rebellion of* Malo: *an expedition of* Antiochus *against him: The recontinuance of* Antiochus *his Egyptian war, with the passages between the two Kings: The victory of* Ptolemy, *and peace concluded. Of Achœus, and his rebellion; his greatness, and his fall.* Antiochus *his expedition against the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians somewhat of the Kings reigning in India, after the death of the great* Alexander.

§. III. *The lewd reign of* Ptolomy Philopator *in* Egypt: *with the tragicall end of his Favourites, when he was dead.* Antiochus *prepares to war on the young childe* Ptolomy Epiphanes, *the son of* Philopator. *His irresolution in preparing for divers wars at once: his voyage towards the Hellespont. He seeks to hold amity with the Romans, who make friendly shew to him, intending nevertheless to have war with him. His doings against the* Hellespont; *which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrel to him.*

§. IV. *The Romans hold friendly correspondence with* Antiochus, *during their war with* Philip: *after which they quarrell with him. The doings of* Hannibal *at* Carthage: *whence he is chased by his enemies, and by the Romans: His flight unto the King* Antiochus: *the* Ætolians *murmure against the Romans in* Greece. *The war of the* Romans *and Achœans, with* Nabis *the tyrant of Lacedæmon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece. T.* Quintius *his Triumph. Peace denyed to* Antiochus *by the* Romans.

§. V. *Of the long wars which the Romans had with the Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of* M. Porcius Cato. *Injuries done by* Massanissa *to the Carthiginians; that sue unto the Romans for justice in vain.*

§. VI. *The Ætolians labour to provoke* Antiochus, Philip, *and* Nabis *to war upon the Romans; by whom they hold themselves wronged and*

and disgraced. Nabis *besieged Gyttheum, and wasteth some part of Achæa. The exact skill of* Philopœmen *in his advantage of ground; whereby he utterly vanquished* Nabis. Antiochus *being denied peace by the* Romans, *joyns with the* Ætolians. *The* Ætolians *surprize* Demetrias; *and by killing* Nabis, *their Confederates seize upon* Sparta. *But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at* Philopœmen *his perswasions annex themselves to the* Achæans.

§. VII. Antiochus *perswaded by* Thoas *the Ætolian, comes over into Greece, ill attended, Sundry passages between him, the Etolians, Chalcidians, and others. He wins Chalchis, and thereby the whole Isle of Eubœa. The vanity of the Kings Embassadours, and the Ætolians: with the civill answer of* Titus *to their discourse, before the Achæans. That it concerned the Greeks to have desired peace between the Romans and* Antiochus: *as the best assurance of their own liberty. Of many petty Estates that fell to the King. Of* Amainder *and an idle vanity, by which King* Philip *was lost.* Hannibal *gives good counsel in vain. Some towns won in Thessaly, the King retires to Chalchis where he married a young wife, and revels away the rest of Winter, upon the coming of the Roman Consul, all forsake* Antiochus. *He with two thousand Ætolians kept the straights of Thermopylæ. He is beaten and flees into Asia, leaving all in Greece unto the Victors.*

§. VIII. Lucius Scipio, *having with him* Publius *the African his elder brother, for his Lieutenant, is sent into Greece. He grants long truce to the Ætolians, that so he might at leisure passe into Asia. Much troublesome businesse by Sea, and divers fights. An invasion upon* Eumenes *his Kingdome: with the siege of* Pergamus, *raised by an handfull of the Achæans.* L. Scipio *the Consull comes into* Asia, *where* Antiochus *most earnestly desires peace, and is denied it. The battell of Magnesia: wherein* Antiochus *being vanquished, yieldeth to the Romans good pleasure. The conditions of the peace. In what sort the Romans used their victory.* L. Cornelius Scipio, *after a most sumptuous Triumph over* Antiochus, *is surnamed* The Asiatique, *as his brother was stiled,* The African.

§. IX. *The Ætolians and* Gallo-Greeks, *vanquished by the* Roman *Consuls* Fulvius *and* Manlius. Manlius *hardly obtains a Triumph: being charged (among other Objections) with attempting to have passed the bounds appointed as fatal to the Romans by* Sibyl. *Of Sibyls Propheses; the Books of Hermes; and that inscription* Simon Deo Sancto. *The ingratitude of Rome to the two Scipios: and that beginning and faction among the Roman Nobility.*

CHAP. VI.

The second Macedon War.

§. I.

The condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were associates of the Romans, *when the war with* Antiochus *was finished the* Romans *quarrell with* Philip. *They deal insolently with the Achæans. The Macedonian being unready for war, obtains peace at* Rome, *by his son Demetrius; of whom thenceforth he becomes jealous.*

§. II. *The death of* Philopœmen, Hannibal, *and* Scipio. *That the Military profession is of all other the most unhappy: notwithstanding some examples, which may seem to prove the contrary.*

§. III. Philip *making provision for war against the* Romans, *deals hardly with many of his own subjects. His Negotiations with the* Bastarnæ. *His cruelty. He suspected his son* Demetrius. Demetrius *accused by his Brother* Perseus: *and shortly after slain by his Fathers appointment.* Philip *repenteth him of his sons death, whom he findeth to have been innocent, and intending to revenge it on* Perseus, *he dieth.*

§. IV. *How the* Bastarnæ *fell upon* Dardania. *The behaviour of* Perseus *in the beginning of his reign. Some wars of the* Romans: *and how they suffered* Masanissa *cruelly to oppresse the* Carthaginians. *They quarrelled with* Perseus. *They allow not their confederates to make war without their leave obtained. The treason of* Callicrates, *whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome, than in former times. Further quarrels to* Perseus. *He seeks friendship of the Achæans, and is withstood by* Callicrates. *The Romans discover their intent of Warring upon him.*

§. V. *How* Eumenes *King of* Pergamus *was busied with* Pharnaces, *the* Rhodians, *and others. His hatred to the* Macedonian: *whom he accuseth to the* Roman *Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemns his enemies the* Rhodians *with the causes thereof. The unusual stoutness of the* Macedonian *Embassadours.* Perseus *his attempt upon* Eumenes, *the brotherly love between* Eumenes *and* Attalus. Perseus *his device to poyson some of the* Roman *Senators: whereupon they decree War against him, and send him defiance, other*

ther things concerning the juſtice of this War.

§. VI. *The* Romans *ſolicite the* Greeks *to joyn with them in the war againſt* Perſeus. *How the* Greeks *ſtood affected in that war. The timerouſneſs of* Perſeus. Martius *a* Roman *Embaſſadour deludes him with the hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field, and wins part of* Theſſaly. *The forces of* Licinius *the* Roman *Conſul: and what aſſiſtance the* Romans *had in this war. Of Tempe in* Theſſaly; *and what advantages the Macedonian had, or might have had, but loſt by his fear.* Perſeus *braves the Romans, fights with them, knows not how to uſe his victory, ſues for peace, and is denied it by the vanquiſhed.* Perſeus *having the worſt in a skirmiſh, forſakes all the Country lying without* Tempe. *The Bœotians rebell againſt the Romans, and are victoriouſly puniſhed. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the war againſt* Perſeus. *They vex the Greeks their friends; for whoſe eaſe the Senate makes proviſion, having heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.*

§. VII. Q. Martius *the* Roman *Conſul, with extrem difficulty and danger enters into* Tempe. *The Cowardize of* Perſeus *in abandoning* Tempe. *the Town of* Dium *quitted by* Martius, *repaired and fortified by the King. The* Romans *attempt many places, with ill ſucceſs.* Martius *a cunning and a bad man.*

§. VIII. *Of* L. Æmylius Paulus, *the Conſul. His journey. He forceth* Perſeus *to diſcamp. He will not hazzard battel with any diſadvantage. Of an Eccliſe of the Moon.* Emylius *his ſuperſtition. The battel of* Pydna. Perſeus *his flight. He forſakes his Kingdom; which haſtily yields to* Æmylius. Perſeus *at* Samothrace. *He yields himſelf to the* Roman *Admiral: and is ſent priſoner to* Æmylius.

§. IX. Gentius *King of the* Illyrians, *taken by the* Romans.

§. X. *How the* Romans *behaved themſelves in* Greece *and* Macedon, *after their victory over* Perſeus.

§. XI. *The war of* Antiochus *upon* Egypt *brought to end by the* Roman *Embaſſadors.*

§. XII. *How the* Romans *were dreadful unto all Kings. Their demeanour towards* Eumenes, Pruſias, Maſaniſſa, *and* Cotys. *The end of* Perſeus *and his children. The inſtability of Kingly Eſtates. The triumphs of* Paulus, Anicius, *and* Octavius: *With the concluſion of the Work.*

THE

THE PREFACE.

How unfit, and how unworthy a choice I have made of my ſelf, to undertake a Work of this mixture; mine own reaſon, though exceeding weak, hath ſufficiently reſolved me. For had it been begotten then, with my firſt dawn of day, when the light of common knowledg began to open it ſelf to my younger years, and before any wound received, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well have doubted, that the darkneſs of Age and Death would have covered over both It and Me, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation, I have proceeded with the Hiſtory of the World; and laſtly, purpoſed (ſome few ſallies excepted) to confine my Diſcourſe, with this our renowned Iſland of Great Britain. *I confeſs that it had better ſorted with my diſability, the better part of whoſe times are run out in other travels, to have ſet together (as I could) the unjointed and ſcattered frame of our* Engliſh *affairs, than of the Univerſal: in whom, had there been no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempeſtuous life, drawn on to the very evening ere I began. But thoſe inmoſt and ſoul-piercing wounds, which are ever aking while uncured, with the deſire to ſatisfy thoſe few friends, which I have tried by the fire of Adverſity; the former enforcing, the later perſuading; have cauſed me to make my thoughts legible, and my ſelf the ſubject of every Opinion, wiſe or weak.*

To the World I preſent them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither have others that were (Fortune changing) ſped much better in any Age. For Proſperity and Adverſity have evermore tyed and vntyed vulgar affections. And as we ſee it in Experience, That Doggs do always bark at thoſe they know not, and that it is their nature to accompany one another in thoſe clamours: ſo it is with the inconſiderate multitude; who, wanting that Vertue which we call Honeſty in all men, and that eſpecial gift of GOD, which we call Charity in Chriſtian men; condemn without hearing, and wound without offence given: led thereunto by uncertain Report only; which His Majeſty *truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies.* Blame no man (*ſaith Siracides*) before thou have enquired the matter: underſtand firſt, and then reform righteouſly. *Rumor, res ſine Teſte, ſine Judice, maligna, fallax;* Rumour is without Witneſs, without Judge, malicious, and deceivable. *This vanity of vulgar Opinion it was, that gave S.* Auguſtine *Argument to affirm, That he feared the praiſe of good men, and deteſted that of the evil. And herein no man hath given a better Rule, than this of* Seneca; Conſcientiæ ſatisfaciamus: nihil in famam laboremus, ſequatur

Dæmonolog. l. 3 c. 1.

Eccleſ. 11. 7.

Laudari à bonis timeo, & amari à malis deteſtor.

Sen. de ira, l. 3. c. 22.

vel mala, dum bene merearis; Let us ſatisfie our own Conſciences, and not trouble our ſelves with fame; be it never ſo ill, it is to be deſpiſed, ſo we deſerve well.

For my ſelf, if I have in any thing ſerved my Countrey, and prized it before my private: the general acceptation can yield me no other profit at this time, than doth a fair Sun-ſhine day to a Sea-man after Shipwrack; and the contrary no other harm, than an outragious tempeſt after the Port attained. I know that I loſt the love of many, for my fidelity towards Her whom I muſt ſtill honour in the duſt; though further than the defence of Her excellent Perſon, I never perſecuted any man. Of thoſe that did it, and by what device they did it, He that is the Supreme Judg of all the World, hath taken the accompt: ſo as for this kind of ſuffering, I muſt ſay with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parta, delectat.

As for other men; if there be any that have made themſelves Fathers of that fame, which hath been begotten for them; I can neither envy at ſuch their purchaſed glory, nor much lament mine own miſ-hap in that kind; but content my ſelf to ſay with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, *in many particulars. To labour other ſatisfaction, were an effect of phrenzie, not of hope, ſeeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can travel the World without a Paſs-port. For were it otherwiſe; and were there not as many internal forms of the mind, as there are external figures of men; there were then ſome poſſibility to perſuade by the mouth of one Advocate, even Equity alone.*

But ſuch is the multiplying, and extenſive vertue of dead Earth, and of that breath-giving life which God hath caſt upon ſlime and duſt, as that among thoſe that were, of whom we read and hear; and among thoſe that are, whom we ſee and converſe with; every one hath received a ſeveral Picture of face, and every one a divers Picture of mind; every one a form a-part, every one a fancy and cogitation differing: there being nothing wherein Nature ſo much triumpheth, as in diſſimilitude. From whence it cometh, that there is found ſo great diverſity of Opinions; ſo ſtrong a contrarity of inclinations: ſo many natural and unnatural; wiſe, fooliſh, manly, and childiſh affections and paſſions in mortal men. For it is not the viſible faſhion and ſhape of Plants, and of reaſonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the form internal.

And though it pleaſed God to reſerve the Art of reading mens thoughts to himſelf; yet, as the fruit tells the name of the Tree; ſo do the outward works of men (ſo farr as their cogitations are acted) give us whereof to gheſs at the reſt. Nay, it were not hard to expreſs the one by the other, very near the life, did not craft in many, fear in the moſt, and the World's love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compaſs it hath, to qualifie and mask over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be alſo true, Nemo poteſt diu perſonam ferre fictam: cito in naturam ſuam reſidunt, quibus veritas non ſubeſt: No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behaviour; the things that are forced for pretences, having no ground of truth, cannot long diſſemble their own natures. *Neither can any man (ſaith* Plutarch) *ſo change himſelf, but that his heart may be ſometimes ſeen at his tongues end.*

In this great diſcord, and diſ-ſimilitude of reaſonable Creatures, if we direct our ſelves to the Multitude; Omnes honeſtæ rei malus Judex eſt vulgus: The common People are evil Judges of honeſt things, *and* whoſe Wiſdom (*ſaith Eccleſiaſtes*) is to be deſpiſed: *if*

to

to the better ſort; every underſtanding hath a peculiar judgment, by which it both cenſureth other men, and valueth it ſelf. And therefore unto me it will not ſeem ſtrange, though I find theſe my worthleſs Papers torn with Rats; ſeeing the ſlothfull Cenſurers of all Ages have not ſpared to tax the Reverend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition; the ſevereſt men to themſelves, with Hypocriſie; the greateſt lovers of Juſtice, with Popularity; and thoſe of the trueſt Valour and Fortitude, with Vain-glory. But of theſe natures, which lie in wait to find fault, and to turn good into evil, ſeeing Solomon *complained long ſince; and that the very Age of the World renders it every day after other more malicious; I muſt leave the Profeſſors to their eaſie ways of reprehenſion, than which there is nothing of more facility.*

Eccleſ cap. 7. 22. Nihil facil us quàm reprehendere alium.

To me it belongs in the firſt part of this Preface, following the common and approved cuſtom of thoſe, who have left the memories of Time-paſt to after-Ages; to give, as near as I can, the ſame right to Hiſtory which they have done. Yet, ſeeing therein I ſhould but borrow other mens words; I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is, that among many other benefits, for which it hath been honoured; in this one it triumpheth over all humane knowledg, That it hath given us life in our underſtanding, ſince the World it ſelf had life and begining, even to this day; yea, it hath triumphed over time, which, beſides it, nothing but eternity hath triumphed over: for it hath carried our knowledg over the vaſt and devouring ſpace of many thouſands of years, and given ſo fair and piercing eyes to our mind; that we plainly behold living now (as if we had lived then) that great world, Magni Dei ſapiens opus, The wiſe work (*ſaith* Hermes) of a great God, *as it was then, when but new to it ſelf. By it (I ſay) it is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed; how it was covered with waters, and again re-peopled; how Kings and Kingdoms have flouriſhed and fallen, and for what vertue and piety God made proſperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the leaſt debt we ow unto Hiſtory, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead Anceſtors; and, out of the depth and darkneſs of the earth, delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of Hiſtory a policy no leſs wiſe than eternal; by the compariſon and application of other mens fore-paſſed miſeries with our own like errors and ill deſervings. But it is neither of Examples the moſt lively inſtruction, nor the words of the wiſeſt men, nor the terror of future torments, that hath yet ſo wrought in our blind and ſtupified mindes, as to make us remember, That the Infinite Eye and Wiſdom of God doth pierce thorow all our pretences, as to make us remember, That the Juſtice of God doth require none other accuſer, than our own conſciences; which neither the falſe beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality, which (to paciſie the Opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the leaſt kind, cover from his knowledg. And ſo much did that heathen Wiſdom confeſs, no way as yet qualified by the knowledg of a true God: If any (ſaith* Euripides) having in his life committed wickedneſs, think he can hide it from the everlaſting gods, he thinks not well.

To repeat GODS Judgments in particular, upon thoſe of all degrees, which have played with his Mercies, would require a Volume a-part: for the Sea *of Examples hath no bottom. The marks, ſet on private men, are with their bodies caſt into the Earth; and their fortunes written onely in the memories of thoſe that lived with them: ſo as they who ſucceeded, and have not ſeen the fall of others, do not fear their own faults. GODS Judgments upon*

the greater and greateſt have been left to Poſterity; firſt, by thoſe happy hands which the Holy Ghoſt hath guided; and ſecondly, by their vertue, who have gathered the acts and ends of Men mighty and remarkable in the World. Now, to point farr off, and to ſpeak of the converſion of Angels into Devils, for Ambition: Or of the greateſt and moſt glorious Kings, who have gnawn the graſs of the earth with Beaſts for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or, of that wiſe working of Pharaoh, *when he ſlew the Infants of* Iſrael, *ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or, of the policy of* Jezabel, *in covering the murther of* Naboth *by a trial of the* Elders, *according to the Law, with many thouſands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopeleſs proof, that far-off Examples would not be left to the ſame far-off Reſpects, as heretofore? For who hath not obſerved, what labour, practiice, peril, bloud-ſhed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the World have undergone, exerciſed, taken on them, and committed; to make themſelves and their Iſſues Maſters of the World? And yet hath* Babylon, Perſia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, *and the reſt, no fruit, no flower, graſs, nor leaf, ſpringing upon the face of the earth, of thoſe ſeeds: No, their very roots and ruines do hardly remain.* Omnia quæ manu hominum facta ſunt, vel manu hominum everuntur, vel ſtando & durando deficiunt: All that the hand of man can make, is either overturned by the hand of man, or at length, by ſtanding and continuing conſumed. *The reaſons of whoſe ruines, are diverſly given by thoſe that ground their Opinions on ſecond cauſes. All Kingdoms and States have fallen (ſay the Politicians) by outward and forein force, or by inward negligence and diſſention, or by a third cauſe ariſing from both. Others obſerve, That the greateſt have ſunk down under their own weight; of which* Livie *hath a touch:* eo crevit, ut magnitudine laboret ſua: *Others, That the divine Providence (which* Cratippus *objected to* Pompey) *hath ſet down the date and period of every Eſtate, before their firſt foundation and erection. But hereof I will give my ſelf a day over to reſolve.*

For ſeeing the firſt Books of the following Story, have undertaken the Diſcourſe of the firſt Kings and Kingdoms: and that it is impoſſible for the ſhort life of a Preface to travel after, and over-take far-off Antiquity, and to judge of it; I will, for the preſent, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own Kings, and their Neighbour Princes; who having beheld, both in divine and humane letters, the ſucceſs of infidelity, injuſtice, and cruelty; have (notwithſtanding) planted after the ſame pattern.

True it is, that the judgments of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more ſtrange) the affection of any one man ſtirred up alike with examples of like nature: But every one is touched moſt with that which moſt nearly ſeemeth to touch his own private; Or otherwiſe beſt ſuteth with his apprehenſion. But the judgments of GOD are for ever unchangeable; neither is he wearied by the long proceſs of time, and won to give his bleſſing in one Age, to that which he hath curſed in another. Wherefore thoſe that are wiſe, or whoſe wiſdom, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to diſcern the bitter fruits of irreligious policy, as well among thoſe examples that are found in Ages removed farr from the preſent, as in thoſe later times. And that it may no leſs appear by evident proof, than by aſſeveration, That ill doing hath always been attended with ill ſucceſs; I will here, by way of Preface,

face, run over some examples, which the Work ensuing hath not reached.

Among our Kings of the Norman Race, we have no sooner passed over the violence of the Norman Conquest, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of Gods Justice, upon the children of Henry the First. For that King, when by force, craft, and cruelty, he had dispossest, over-reach'd, and lastly made blind, and destroyed his elder Brother, Robert, Duke of Normandy, to make his own Sons Lords of the Land; GOD cast them all, Male and Female, Nephews and Neeces (Maud excepted) into the bottom of the Sea, with above an hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the Kings dearly beloved.

To pass over the rest, till we come to Edward the Second; it is certain, that after the murther of that King, the issue of bloud then made, though it had some times of stay and stopping, did again break out, and that so often, and in such abundance, as all our Princes of the Masculine Race (very few excepted) died of the same disease. And although the young years of Edward the Third, made his knowledg of that horrible fact no more than suspicious; yet, in that he afterwards caused his own Uncle, the Earl of Kent, to die, for no other offence, than the desire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earl as then supposed to be living; the King making that to be Treason in his Uncle, which was indeed Treason in himself, (had his Uncles intelligence been true) this, I say, made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to have had it otherwise; though he caused Mortimer to die for the same.

This cruelty, the secret and unsearchable Judgment of GOD, revenged on the Grandchild of Edward the Third; and so it fell out, even to the last of that Line, that in the second or third descent, they were all buried under the ruines of those buildings, of which the Mortar had been tempered with innocent bloud. For Richard the Second, who saw both his Treasurers, his Chancellor, and his Steward, with divers others of his Counsellors, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies; yet he always took himself for over-wise, to be taught by examples. The Earls of Huntington and Kent, Montagu and Spencer, who thought themselves as great Politicians in those days, as others have done in these; hoping to please the King, and to secure themselves by the murther of Glouceſter; died soon after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and farr more shamefully than did that Duke. And as for the King himself (who, in regard of many deeds, unworthy of his Greatness, cannot be excused, as the disavowing himself by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons and Patents:) He was in the prime of his youth deposed, and murthered by his Cousin-Germane and Vassal, Henry of Lancaster, afterwards Henry the Fourth.

This King, whose Title was weak, and his obtaining the Crown trayterous; who brake faith with the Lords at his landing, protesting to intend only the recovery of his proper inheritance, brake faith with Richard himself, and brake faith with all the Kingdom in Parliament, to whom he swore, that the deposed King should live. After he had enjoyed this Realm some few years, and in that time had been set upon on all sides by his Subjects, and never free from Conspiracies and Rebellions: he saw (if Souls immortal see and discern any things after the Bodies Death) his Grand-child Henry

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the Sixth, and his Son the Prince, ſuddenly, and without mercy, murthered; the poſſeſſion of the Crown (for which he had cauſed ſo much bloud to be poured out) transferred from his Race, and by the Iſſues of his enemies worn and enjoy'd; enemies, whom, by his own practice, he ſuppoſed that he had left no leſs powerleſs, than the ſucceſſion of the Kingdom queſtionleſs, by entailing the ſame upon his own Iſſues by Parliament. And, out of doubt, humane reaſon could have judged no otherwiſe, but that theſe cautious proviſions of the Father, ſeconded by the valour and ſignal victories of his Son Henry *the Fifth, had buried the hopes of every Competitor, under the deſpair of all re-conqueſt and recovery. I ſay, that humane reaſon might ſo have judged, were not this paſſage of* Cauſabon *alſo true*; Dies, hora, momentum, evertendis dominationibus ſufficet, quæ Adamantinis credebantur radicibus eſſe fundatæ; A day, an hour, a moment, is enough to overturn the things that ſeem to have been founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now, for Henry *the Sixth, upon whom the greateſt ſtorm of his Grand-father's grievous faults fell, as it formerly had done upon* Richard, *the Grand-child of* Edward; *although he was generally eſteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince, yet, as he refuſed the Daughter of* Armaignac, *of the Houſe of* Navarre, *the greateſt of the Princes of* France, *to whom he was affianced (by which match he might have defended his inheritance in* France) *and married the Daughter of* Anjou (*by which he loſt all that he had in* France) *ſo in condeſcending to the unworthy death of his Uncle of* Glouceſter, *the main and ſtrong Pillar of the Houſe of* Lancaſter; *He drew on himſelf and his Kingdom the greateſt joint-loſs and diſhonour, that ever it ſuſtained ſince the* Norman *Conqueſt. Of whom it may truly be ſaid, which a Counſellor of his own ſpake of* Henry *the Third of* France, Q'uil eſtoit une fort gentile Prince; mais ſon reigne eſt advenu en une fort mauvois temps: That he was a very gentle Prince; but his Reign happened in a very unfortunate Seaſon.

It is true, that Buckingham *and* Suffolk *were the practicers and contrivers of the Duke's death*: Buckingham *and* Suffolk, *becauſe the Duke gave inſtructions to their authority, which otherwiſe under the Queen had been abſolute; the Queen, in reſpect of her perſonal wound,* ſpretæque injuria formæ, *becauſe* Glouceſter *diſſuaded her marriage. But the fruit was anſwerable to the ſeed; the ſucceſs to the counſel. For after the cutting down of* Glouceſter, York *grew up ſo faſt, as he dared to diſpute his Right, both by arguments and arms; in which quarrel,* Suffolk *and* Buckingham, *with the greateſt number of their adherents, were diſſolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleaſed God to ſtrike down* York; *yet his Son the Earl of* March, *following the plain path which his Father had troden out, deſpoiled* Henry *the Father, and* Edward *the Son, both of their lives and Kingdom. And what was the end now of that politick* Lady *the* Queen, *other than this, That ſhe lived to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers; that ſhe lived to look on, while her Husband the King, and her onely Son the Prince, were hewen in ſunder; while the Crown was ſet on his head that did it? She lived to ſee her ſelf deſpoiled of her eſtate, and of her moveables: and laſtly, her Father, by rendring up the Crown of* France, *the Earldom of* Provence, *and other places, for the payment of* 50000. *crowns for her Ranſome, to become a ſtark Beggar. And this was the end of that ſubtilty, which* Siracides *calleth* fine, *but* unrigh-

unrighteous: *for other fruit hath it never yielded ſince the World was.* Sirac. 19.

And now it came to Edward *the Fourth's turn (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the Plants of* Lancaſter *were rooted up, one onely Earl of* Richmond *excepted; whom alſo he had once bought of the Duke of* Britain, *but could not hold him. And yet was not this of* Edward *ſuch a Plantation, as could any way promiſe it ſelf ſtability. For this* Edward *the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld & allowed the ſlaughter which* Glouceſter, Dorſet, Haſtings, *and others, made of* Edward *the Prince in his own preſence; of which tragical Actors, there was not one that eſcaped the Judgment of GOD in the ſame kind. And he, which (beſides the execution of his* Brother Clarence, *for none other offence than he himſelf had formed in his own imagination) inſtructed* Glouceſter *to kill* Henry *the Sixth, his Predeceſſor; taught him alſo, by the ſame art, to kill his own Sons and Succeſſors,* Edward *and* Richard. For, thoſe Kings which have ſold the bloud of others at a low rate; have but made the Market for their own enemies, to buy of theirs at the ſame price.

To Edward *the Fourth, ſucceeded* Richard *the Third, the greateſt Maſter in miſchief of all that fore-went him; who, although, for the neceſſity of his Tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to perform in his own Perſon, than all the reſt; yet he ſo well fitted every affection that plaid with him, as if each of them had but acted his own intereſt. For he wrought ſo cunningly upon the affections of* Haſtings *and* Buckingham, *enemies to the Queen, and to all her Kinred, as he eaſily allured them to condeſcend, that* Rivers *and* Grey, *the Kings Maternal Uncle and half Brother, ſhould (for the firſt) be ſevered from him: Secondly, he wrought their conſent to have them impriſoned: And laſtly (for the avoiding of future inconvenience) to have their Heads ſevered from their Bodies. And having now brought thoſe his chief inſtruments to exerciſe that common Precept which the Devil hath written upon every Poſt, namely, To depreſs thoſe whom they had grieved, and to deſtroy thoſe whom they had depreſs'd; He urged that Argument ſo farr, and ſo forcibly; as nothing but the death of the young King himſelf, and of his Brother, could faſhion the concluſion. For he cauſed it to be hammered into* Buckingham's *head, That, whenſoever the King, or his Brother, ſhould have able years to exerciſe their power, they would take a moſt ſevere revenge of that cureleſs wrong offered to their Uncle and Brother,* Rivers *and* Grey. Scelera ſceleribus tuerda. Sen. de Clem.

But this was not his manner of reaſoning with Haſtings, *whoſe fidelity to his Maſters Sons was without ſuſpect; and yet the Devil, who never diſſuades by impoſſibility, taught him to try him. And ſo he did. But, when he found by* Catesby, *who ſounded him, that he was not fordable, he firſt reſolved to kill him ſitting in Council; wherein having failed with his Sword, he ſet the Hangman upon him, with a weapon of more weight. And, becauſe nothing elſe could move his appetite, he cauſed his head to be ſtricken off, before he eat his Dinner. A greater Judgment of God, than this upon* Haſtings, *I have never obſerved in any Story. For, the ſelf-ſame day that the Earl* Rivers, Grey, *and others, were (without trial of Law, or offence given) by* Haſtings *advice, executed at* Pomfret; *I ſay,* Haſtings *himſelf, in the ſame day, and (as I take it) in the ſame hour, in the ſame lawleſs manner, had his Head ſtruck off in the Tower of* London. *But* Buckingham *lived a while longer; and with an eloquent Oration perſuaded the* Londoners *to elect* Richard *for their King. And having received the Earl-*

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dom of Hereford for reward, beſides the hope of marrying his Daughter to the Kings onely Son; after many grievous vexations of mind, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered up by his truſtieſt ſervant; he had his Head ſevered from his Body at Salisbury, without the trouble of any of his Peers. And what ſucceſs had Richard himſelf after all theſe miſchiefs and murthers, policies, and counter-policies to Chriſtian Religion; and after ſuch time as with a mercileſs hand he had preſſed out the breath of his Nephews and Natural Lords, other than the proſperity of ſo ſhort a life, as it took end, ere himſelf could well look over and diſcern it? the great out-cry of innocent bloud obtained at GOD'S hands the effuſion of his; who became a ſpectacle of ſhame and diſhonour, both to his friends and enemies.

This cruel King, Henry the Seventh cut off; and was therein (no doubt) the immediate inſtrument of Gods Juſtice. A politick Prince he was, if ever there were any, who by the engine of his wiſdom, beat down and overturned as many ſtrong oppoſitions, both before and after he wore the Crown, as ever King of England did; I ſay, by his wiſdom, becauſe, as he ever left the reins of his affections in the hands of his profit, ſo he always weighed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazzard than ſo much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well obſerved the proceedings of Loys the Eleventh, whom he followed in all was royal, or royal-like; but he was farr more juſt, and begun not their proceſſes whom he hated or feared by the execution, as Loys did.

He could never endure any mediation in rewarding his ſervants, and therein exceeding wiſe; for whatſoever himſelf gave, he himſelf received back the thanks and the love, knowing it well, that the affections of men (purchaſed by nothing ſo readily as by benefits) were trains that better became great Kings, than great Subjects. On the contrary, in whatſoever he grieved his Subjects, he wiſely put it off on thoſe that he found fit miniſters for ſuch actions. Howſoever, the taking off of Stanlies Head, who ſet the Crown on his, and the death of the young Earl of Warwick, Son to George Duke of Clarence, ſhews, as the ſucceſs alſo did, that he held ſomewhat of the errors of his Anceſtors; for his poſſeſſion in the firſt Line ended in his Grand-child, as that of Edward the Third, and Henry the Fourth had done.

Now, for King Henry the Eighth, if all the Pictures and Patterns of a mercileſs Prince were loſt in the World, they might all again be painted to the life, out of the Story of this King. For, how many ſervants did he advance in haſt (but for what vertue no man could ſuſpect) and with the change of his fancy ruined again; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others, of more deſert, gave he abundant flowers from whence to gather Honey, and in the end of Harveſt burnt them in the Hive? How many Wives did he cut off, and caſt off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many Princes of the bloud (wherof ſome of them for age, could hardly crawl towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common Chronicles have kept the accompt) did he execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when he was at the point to give his accompt to GOD for the abundance of bloud already ſpilt: He impriſoned the Duke of Norfolk the Father; and executed the Earl of Surry the Son; the one, whoſe deſerving he knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned his own honour, and the Kings ſervice; the other never having committed any thing worthy of his leaſt diſpleaſure; the one exceeding valiant and adviſed; the other no leſs valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But beſides the ſorrows which he heaped upon the

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Fatherleſs and Widows, at home; and beſides the vain enterpriſes abroad, wherein it is thought that he conſumed more treaſure, than all our victorious Kings did in their ſeveral Conqueſts; what cauſleſs and cruel warrs did he make upon his own Nephew King James *the Fifth? What Laws and Wills did he deviſe to eſtabliſh this Kingdom in his own Iſſues? uſing his ſharpeſt weapons to cut off, and cut down thoſe Branches, which ſprang from the ſame root that himſelf did. And in the end (notwithſtanding theſe his ſo many irreligious proviſions) it pleaſed God to take away all his own, without increaſe; though, for themſelves in their ſeveral kinds, all Princes of eminent vertue. For theſe words of* Samuel *to* Agag *King of the* Amalekites, *have been verified upon many others:* As thy Sword hath made other women childleſs, ſo ſhall thy mother be childleſs among other women. *And that bloud which the ſame King* Henry *affirmed, that the cold air of* Scotland *had frozen up in the North, God hath diffuſed by the Sun-ſhine of his grace; from whence his* Majeſty *now living, and long to live, is deſcended. Of whom I may ſay it truly, That if all the malice of the World were infuſed into one eye; yet could it not diſcern in his life, even to this day, any one of thoſe foul ſpots, by which the conſciences of all the fore-named Princes (in effect) have been defiled; nor any drop of that innocent bloud on the Sword of his Juſtice, with which the moſt that fore-went him have ſtained both their hands and fame. And for this Crown of* England, *it may truly be avowed; that he hath received it even from the Hand of God, and hath ſtaied the time of putting it on, howſoever he were provoked to haſten it: That he never took revenge of any man that ſought to put him beſide it; That he refuſed the aſſiſtance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as ever Princeſs did: That* His Majeſty *entred not by a breach, nor by bloud; but by the Ordinary Gate, which his own right ſet open; and into which, by a general love and obedience, He was received. And howſoever* His Majeſty's *preceding title to this Kingdom, was preferred by many Princes (witneſs the Treaty at* Cambray *in the year* 1559.) *yet he never pleaſed to diſpute it, during the life of that renowned* Lady *his Predeceſſor; no, notwithſtanding the injury of not being declared Heir, in all the time of her long Reign.*

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulneſs to God for the uniting of the Northern parts of Britanny *to the South, to wit, of* Scotland *to* England, *which, though they were ſevered, but by ſmall brooks and banks, yet, by reaſon of the long continued Warr, and the cruelties exerciſed upon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitely ſevered. This, I ſay, is not the leaſt of God's bleſſings which* His Majeſty *hath brought with him unto this Land; No, put all our petty grievances together, and heap them up to the height, they will appear as a Mole-Hill, compared with the Mountain of this concord. And if all the Hiſtorians ſince then have acknowledged the uniting of the* Red-Roſe *and the* White, *for the greateſt happineſs (Chriſtian Religion excepted) that ever this Kingdom received from God, certainly, the peace between the two Lions of* Gold *and* Gules, *and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, beſides the ſparing of our* Britiſh *Bloud, heretofore, and during the difference, ſo often and abundantly ſhed, the ſtate of* England *is more aſſured, the Kingdom more enabled to recover her antient honour and rights, and by it made more invincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies, and conqueſts. It is true, that hereof we do not yet find the effect. But, had the Duke of* Parma, *in the year* 1588. *joined the Army which he commanded, with that of* Spain, *and landed it on the South-*

coaſt; *and had* His Majeſty *at the ſame time declared himſelf againſt us in the North, it is eaſie to divine what had become of the Liberty of* England; *certainly, we would then, without murmure, have brought this Union a farr greater praiſe than it hath ſince coſt us. It is true, that there was never any Common-weal, or Kingdom in the World, wherein no man had cauſe to lament. Kings live in the World, and not above it. They are not Infinite, to examine every man's cauſe, or to relieve every man's wants. And yet, in the later (though to his own prejudice)* His Majeſty *hath had more compaſſion of other mens neceſſities, than of his own Coffers. Of whom it may be ſaid, as of* Solomon, Dedit Deus *Solomoni* latitudinem cordis; *Which, if other men do not underſtand with* Pineda, *to be meant by* Liberality, *but by* Latitude of knowledg; *yet may it be better ſpoken of* His Majeſty, *than of any King that ever* England *had; who, as well in divine, as in humane underſtanding hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.*

Fin. comment in Sal. 1. K. 4.

I could ſay much more of the Kings Majeſty, *without flattery: did I not fear the imputation of preſumption, and withall ſuſpect, that it might befall theſe Papers of mine (though the loſs were little) as it did the Pictures of Queen* Elizabeth, *made by unskilfull and common Painters, which, by her own commandment were knock'd in pieces, and caſt into the fire. For ill* Artiſts, *in ſetting out the Beauty of the external; and weak Writers, in deſcribing the Vertues of the internal; do often leave to Poſterity, of well formed faces, a deformed memory; and of the moſt Perfect and Princely minds, a moſt defective Repreſentation. It may ſuffice, and there needs no other diſcourſe; if the honeſt* Reader *but compare the cruel and turbulent paſſages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whom, for that purpoſe I have inſerted this brief Diſcourſe) with* His Majeſties *temperat, revengeleſs, and liberal diſpoſition; I ſay, that if the honeſt* Reader *weigh them juſtly, and with an even hand; and withall, but beſtow every deformed child on his true Parent; He ſhall find, that there is no man that hath ſo juſt a cauſe to complain, as the King himſelf hath. Now, as we have told the ſucceſs of the trumperies, and cruelties of our own Kings, and other great Perſonages; ſo we find, that GOD is every where the ſame God. And, as it pleaſed him to puniſh the uſurpation and unnatural cruelty of* Henry *the Firſt, and of our Third* Edward, *in their Children for many Generations: ſo dealt he with the Sons of* Loys Debonaire, *the Son of* Charls *the Great, or* Charlemain. *For after ſuch time as* Debonaire *of* France *had torn out the eyes of* Bernard *his Nephew, the Son of* Pepin, *the eldeſt Son of* Charlemaine, *and Heir of the Empire, and then cauſed him to die in Priſon, as did our* Henry *to* Robert *his elder Brother; there followed nothing but murthers upon murthers, poiſoning, impriſonments, and civil Warr; till the whole Race of that famous Emperor was extinguiſhed. And though* Debonaire, *after he had rid himſelf of his Nephew by a violent death, and of his baſtard Brothers by a civil death (having incloſed them with ſure guard all the days of their lives, within a Monaſtery) held himſelf ſecure from all oppoſition; yet God raiſed up againſt him (which he ſuſpected not) his own Sons, to vex him, to invade him, to take him priſoner, and to depoſe him; his own Sons, with whom (to ſatisfie their ambition) he had ſhared his eſtate, and given them Crowns to wear, and Kingdoms to govern, during his own life. Yea, his eldeſt Son* Lothaire *(for he had four, three by his firſt Wife, and one by his ſecond; to wit,* Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, *and* Charles) *made*

made it the cauſe of his depoſition, that he had uſed violence toward his Brothers and Kinſmen; and that he had ſuffered his Nephew (whom he might have delivered) to be ſlain. Eo quod, *ſaith the Text,* fratribus & propinquis violentiam intulerit, & nepotem ſuum, quem ipſe liberare poterat, interfici permiſerit; Becauſe he uſed violence to his Brothers and Kinſmen, and ſuffered his Nephew to be ſlain, whom he might have delivered. *Step Paſquiere recher l 5. c. 1.*

Yet did he that which few Kings do; namely, repent him of his cruelty. For, among many other things which he performed in the General Aſſembly of the States, *it follows:* Poſt hæc autem palam ſe erraſſe confeſſus, & imitatus Imperatoris *Theodoſii* exemplum, pœnitentiam ſpontaneam ſuſcepit, tam de his, quam quæ in *Bernardum* proprium nepotem geſſerat: After this, he did openly confeſs himſelf to have erred, and following the Example of the Emperor *Theodoſius*, he underwent voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done againſt *Bernard* his own Nephew. *Paſq. Ibidem.*

This he did, and it was praiſe-worthy. But the bloud that is unjuſtly ſpilt, is not again gathered up from the ground by repentance. Theſe Medicines, miniſtred to the dead, have but dead rewards.

The King, as I have ſaid, had four Sons. To Lothaire *his eldeſt, he gave the Kingdom of* Italy, *as* Charlemaine *his Father had done to* Pepin, *the Father of* Bernard, *who was to ſucceed him in the Empire. To* Pepin, *the ſecond Son, he gave the Kingdom of* Aquitaine; *to* Loys, *the Kingdom of* Bavier; *and to* Charls, *whom he had by a ſecond Wife, called* Judith, *the remainder of the Kingdom of* France. *But his ſecond Wife, being a mother-in-law to the reſt, perſuaded* Debonaire, *to caſt his Son* Pepin *out of* Aquitaine; *thereby to greaten* Charls, *which, after the death of his Son* Pepin, *he proſecuted to effect againſt his Grand-child bearing the ſame name. In the mean while, being invaded by his Son* Loys *of* Bavier, *he dies for grief.*

Debonaire *dead,* Loys *of* Bavier, *and* Charles *afterward, called the* Bald, *and their Nephew* Pepin *of* Aquitaine, *join in league againſt the Emperor* Lothaire *their eldeſt Brother. They fight near to* Auxerre, *the moſt bloudy battel that ever was ſtrucken in* France; *in which, the marvellous loſs of Nobility, and men of Warr, gave courage to the* Saracens *to invade* Italy; *to the* Hunns *to fall upon* Almaine; *and the* Danes *to enter upon* Normandy. Charles *the* Bald *by Treaſon ſeizeth upon his Nephew* Pepin, *kills him in a Cloyſter;* Carloman *rebels againſt his Father,* Charles *the* bald, *the Father burns out the eys of his Son* Carloman; Bavier *invades the Emperor* Lothaire, *his Brother,* Lothaire *quits the Empire, he is aſſailed and wounded to the heart by his own conſcience, for his Rebellion againſt his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monaſtery.* Charls *the* bald *the Uncle, oppreſſeth his Nephews, the Sons of* Lothaire, *he uſurpeth the Empire, to the prejudice of* Loys *of* Bavier, *his elder Brother;* Bavier's *Armies, and his Son* Carloman, *are beaten, he dies of grief, and the Uſurper* Charles *is poiſoned by* Zedechias *a* Jew, *his Phyſician, his Son* Loys le Beque *dies of the ſame drink.* Beque *had* Charles *the* ſimple, *and two Baſtards,* Loys *and* Carloman; *they rebel againſt their Brother, but the eldeſt breaks his neck, the younger is ſlain by a wild Boar; the Son of* Bavier *had the ſame ill deſtiny, and brake his neck by a fall out of a Window in ſporting with his companions.*

Charls *the* groſs *becomes Lord of all that the Sons of* Debonaire *held in* Germany; *where-with not contented, he invades* Charles *the* ſimple; *but being forſaken of his Nobility, of his Wife, and of his Underſtanding; he dies a diſtracted Beggar.* Charles *the* ſimple *is held in Wardſhip by* Eudes, Major *of the Palace, then by* Robert, *the Brother of* Eudes; *and laſtly, being taken by the Earl of* Vermandois, *he is forced to die in the priſon of* Peron. Loys *the Son of* Charles *the* ſimple *breaks his neck in chaſing a Wolf; and of the two Sons of this* Loys, *the one dies of poiſon, the other dies in the Priſon of* Orleans; *after whom,* Hugh Capet, *of another Race, and a ſtranger to the* French, *makes himſelf King.*

Theſe miſerable ends had the Iſſues of Debonaire; *who after he had once apparelled Injuſtice with authority, his Sons and Succeſſors took up the faſhion,, and wore that Garment ſo long without other proviſion, as when the ſame was torn from their ſhoulders, every man deſpiſed them as miſerable and naked Beggars. The wretched ſucceſs they had (ſaith a Learned* French-man) *ſhews,* Que en ceſte mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la juſtice: That in the death of that Prince; to wit, of *Bernard* the Son of *Pepin,* the true Heir *of Charlemain,* men had more meddling than God or Juſtice had.

But to come nearer home; it is certain that Francis *the Firſt, one of the Worthieſt Kings (except for that Fact) that ever the* French-men *had, did never enjoy himſelf, after he had commended the deſtruction of the Proteſtants of* Mirandol, *and* Cabrieres, *to the Parliament of* Provence, *which poor people were thereupon burnt and murthered; men, women, and children. It is true that the ſaid King* Francis *repented himſelf of the fact, and gave charge to* Henry *his Son, to do Juſtice upon the murtherers, threatning his Son with GOD'S Judgments, if he neglected it. But this unſeaſonable care of his, God was not pleaſed to accept for payment. For after* Henry *was ſlain in ſport by* Montgomery, *we all may remember what became of his four Sons,* Francis, Charles, Henry, *and* Hercules. *Of which, although three of them became Kings, and were maried to beautiful and vertuous Ladies; yet were they, one after another, caſt out of the World, without Stock or Seed. And notwithſtanding their ſubtilty, and breach of Faith; with all their Maſſacres upon thoſe of the Religion, and great effuſion of bloud, the Crown was ſet on his Head, whom they all laboured to diſſolve; the Proteſtants remain more in number than ever they were, and hold to this day more ſtrong Cities than ever they had.*

Let us now ſee if God be not the ſame God in Spain *as in* England *and* France. *Towards whom we will look no further back than to* Don Pedro *of* Caſtile,; *in reſpect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of* Sicil, *our* Richard *the Third, and the great* Evan Vaſilowick *of* Moſcovia, *were but petty ones: this* Caſtilian, *of all the Chriſtian and Heathen Kings, having been the moſt mercileſs. For, beſides thoſe of his own Bloud and Nobility, which he had cauſed to be ſlain in his own Court and Chamber, as* Sancho Ruis; *the great Maſter of* Calatrava, Ruis Gonſales, Alphonſo Tello, *and* Don John *of* Arragon, *whom he cut in pieces, and caſt into the ſtreets, denying him Chriſtian burial: I ſay, beſides theſe, and the ſlaughter of* Gomes Mauriques, Diego Peres, Alphonſo Gomes, *and the great Commander of* Caſtile; *he made away the two Infants of* Arragon *his Couſin-Germans, his Brother* Don Frederick, Don John de la Cerde, Albuquergues, Nugnes de Guzman, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo, Guttiere *his great Treaſurer, and all*

his

his Kinred; and a world of others. Neither did he ſpare his two youngeſt Brothers, innocent Princes, whom after he had kept in cloſe Priſon from their Cradles, till one of them had lived ſixteen years, and the other fourteen; he murthered them there. Nay, he ſpared not his Mother, nor his Wife the Lady Blanch *of* Bourbon. *Laſtly, as he cauſed the Arch-biſhop of* Toledo, *and the Dean to be killed, of purpoſe to enjoy their Treaſures; ſo did he put to death* Mahomet Aben Alhamar, *King of* Barbary, *with thirty ſeven of his Nobility, that came unto him for ſuccor, with a great ſumm of Money, to levy (by his favour) ſome Companies of Souldiers to return withall. Yea, he would needs aſſiſt the Hangman with his own hand, in the execution of the old King; in ſo much as Pope* Urban *declareth him an enemy both to God and Man. But what was his end? Having been formerly beaten out of his Kingdom, and re-eſtabliſhed by the valour of the* Engliſh Nation, *led by the famous Duke of* Lancaſter; *He was ſtabbed to death by his younger Brother, the Earl of* Aſtramara, *who diſpoſſeſſed all his Children of their Inheritance, which, but for their Fathers injuſtice and cruelty, had never been in danger of any ſuch thing.* Hiſt of Spain.

If we can parallel any man with this King, it muſt be Duke John *of* Burgoign, *who, after his trayterous murther of the Duke of* Orleans, *cauſed the Conſtable of* Armagnac, *the Chancellor of* France, *the Biſhops of* Conſtance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, *and other religious and reverend Church-men, the Earl of* gran Pre, Hector *of* Chartes, *and (in effect) all the Officers of Juſtice of the Chamber of Accompts, Treaſury, Requeſts (with ſixteen others to accompany them) to be ſuddenly and violently ſlain. Hereby, while he hoped to govern, and to have maſtered* France; *He was ſoon after ſtrucken with an Ax in the face, in the preſence of the* Dauphin; *and, without any leiſure to repent his miſdeeds, preſently ſlain.* Theſe were the lovers of other mens miſeries; and miſeries found them out.

Now, for the Kings of Spain, *which lived both with* Henry *the Seventh,* Henry *the Eighth, Queen* Mary, *and Queen* Elizabeth; Ferdinand *of* Arragon, *was the firſt, and the firſt that laid the foundation of the preſent* Auſtrian *greatneſs. For this King did not content himſelf to hold* Arragon *by the uſurpation of his Anceſtor; and to faſten thereunto the Kingdom of* Caſtile *and* Leon, *which* Iſabel *his Wife held by ſtrong hand, and his aſſiſtance, from her own Neece, the Daughter of the laſt* Henry; *but moſt cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, he alſo caſt his own Neece out of the Kingdom of* Navarre; *and, contrary to Faith, and the Promiſe he made to reſtore it, fortified the beſt places, and ſo waſted the reſt, as there was no means left for any Army to invade it. This King, I ſay, that betrayed alſo* Ferdinand *and* Frederick, *Kings of* Naples, *Princes of his own Bloud, and by double alliance tied unto him; ſold them to the* French; *and with the ſame Army, ſent for their ſuccour under* Gonſalvo, *caſt them out; and ſhared their Kingdom with the* French, *whom afterwards he moſt ſhamefully betrayed.* Fr. Rich invent. in anno 1418.

This wiſe and politick King, who ſold Heaven and his own Honour, to make his Son the Prince of Spain, *the greateſt Monarch of the World; ſaw him die in the flower of his years; and his Wife great with child, with her untimely birth, at once and together buried. His eldeſt Daughter married unto* Don Alphonſo *Prince of* Portugal, *beheld her firſt Husband break his neck in her preſence; and being with child by her ſecond, died with it. A juſt Judgment of God upon the Race of* Alphonſo, *now wholly extinguiſhed; who had not onely left*

many

many diſconſolate Mothers in Portugal, *by the ſlaughter of their children; but had formerly ſlain with his own hand, the Son and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady* Beatrix, *Dutcheſs of* Viſeo. *The ſecond Daughter of* Ferdinand, *married to the Arch-Duke* Philip, *turned fool, and died mad, and deprived. His third Daughter, beſtowed on King* Henry *the Eighth, he ſaw caſt off by the King; the Mother of many troubles in* England; *and the Mother of a Daughter, that in her unhappy zeal, ſhed a world of innocent bloud; loſt* Calice *to the* French; *and died heart-broken without increaſe. To conclude, all thoſe Kingdoms of* Ferdinand *have maſters of a new name; and by a ſtrange Family are governed and poſſeſs'd.*

Charls *the Fifth, Son to the Arch-Duke* Philip, *in whoſe vain enterpriſes upon the* French, *upon the* Almans *and other Princes and States; ſo many multitudes of Chriſtian Souldiers, and renowned Captains were conſumed; who gave the while a moſt perillous entrance to the* Turks, *and ſuffered* Rhodes, *the Key of Chriſtendom, to be taken; was in concluſion chaſed out of* France, *and, in a ſort, out of* Germany; *and left to the* French, Mentz, Toule, *and* Verdun, *places belonging to the Empire, ſtole away from* Inſpurg; *and ſcaled the* Alpes *by torch-light, perſued by Duke* Maurice; *having hoped to ſwallow up all thoſe Dominions; wherein he concocted nothing, ſave his own diſgraces. And having after the ſlaughter of ſo many Millions of men, no one foot of ground in either, He crept into a Cloyſter, and made himſelf a Penſioner of an hundred thouſand Duckets by the year, to his Son* Philip, *from whom he very ſlowly received his mean and ordinary maintenance.*

Nether. hiſt l. 7. fol. 313.

His Son again, King Philip *the Second, not ſatisfied to hold* Holland *and* Zeland, *(wreſted by his Anceſtors from* Jaqueline, *their lawfull Princeſs) and to poſſeſs in peace many other Provinces of the* Netherlands; *perſuaded by that miſchievous* Cardinal *of* Granvile, *and other* Romiſh *Tyrants; not onely forgot the moſt remarkable ſervices, done to his Father the Emperor, by the Nobility of thoſe Countreys, not onely forgot the Preſent made him upon his entry of fourty Millions of* Florens, *called the* Novaile aid; *nor onely forgot that he had twice moſt ſolemnly ſworn to the General States, to maintain and preſerve their antient Rights, Privileges, and Cuſtoms, which they had enjoyed under their thirty and five Earls before him, Conditional Princes of thoſe Provinces: but beginning firſt to conſtrain them, and enthral them by the* Spaniſh Inquiſition, *and then to impoveriſh them by many new deviſed and intollerable Impoſitions, he laſtly, by ſtrong hand and main force, attempted to make himſelf not only an abſolute* Monarch *over them, like unto the Kings and Soveraigns of* England *and* France; *but* Turk-like, *to tread under his feet all their Natural and Fundamental Laws, Privileges, and antient Rights. To effect which, after he had eaſily obtain from the* Pope *a diſpenſation of his former Oaths (which Diſpenſation was the true cauſe of the Warr and Bloudſhed ſince then;) and after he had tried what he could perform, by dividing of their own Nobility, under the Government of his baſe Siſter,* Margaret *of* Auſtria, *and the* Cardinal Granvile; *He employed that moſt mercileſs* Spaniard, Don Ferdinand Alvarez *of* Toledo, *Duke of* Alva, *followed with a powerful Army of ſtrange Nations; by whom he firſt ſlaughtered that renowned Captain, the Earl of* Egmont, *Prince of* Gavare; *and* Philip Montmorency *Earl of* Horn; *made away* Montigue, *and the Marqueſs of* Bergues, *and cut off in thoſe ſix years (that* Alva *Governed) of Gentlemen and*

Hiſt. of the Netherlands.

and others, eighteen thouſand and ſix hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, beſides all his other barbarous murthers and maſſacres. By whoſe miniſtery, when he could not yet bring his affairs to their wiſhed ends, having it in his hope to work that by ſubtilty which he had failed to perform by force, He ſent for Governour, his baſtard Brother, Don John *of* Auſtria; *a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to thoſe people. But he, uſing the ſame Papal advantage that his Predeceſſors had done, make no ſcruple to take Oath upon the holy Evangeliſts, to obſerve the Treaty made with the General States; and to diſcharge the* Low-Countreys *of all* Spaniards, *and other ſtrangers therein garriſoned; Towards whoſe Pay and Paſſport, the* Netherlands *ſtrained themſelves to mak a payment of* 600000. *pounds. Which Moneys received, he ſuddenly ſurpriſed the Citadels of* Antwerp *and* Nemures, *not doubting (being unſuſpected by the States) to have poſſeſs'd himſelf of all the maſtering places of thoſe Provinces. For whatſoever he overtly pretended, he held in ſecret a contrary counſel with the Secretary* Eſcovedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, *and others, Miniſters of the* Spaniſh *Tyranny formerly practiſed, and now again intended. But let us now ſee the effect and end of this perjury, and of all other the Duke's cruelties. Firſt, for himſelf; after he had murthered ſo many of the Nobility; executed (as aforeſaid) eighteen thouſand ſix hundred in ſix years, and moſt cruelly ſlain Man, Woman, and Child in* Mecklin, Zutphen, Narden, *and other places; and after he had conſumed ſix and thirty Millions of treaſure in ſix years, notwithſtanding his* Spaniſh *vaunt, That he would ſuffocate the* Holanders *in their own Butter-barrels, and Milk-tubs; He departed the Countrey no otherwiſe accompanied, than with the curſe and deteſtation of the whole Nation; leaving* His Majeſties *Affairs in a ten-fold worſe eſtate than he found them at his firſt arrival. For* Don John, *whoſe haughty conceit of himſelf overcame the greateſt difficulties; though his judgment were over-weak to mannage the leaſt: What wonders did his fearful breach of faith bring forth, other than the* King *his Brothers jealouſie and diſtruſt, with the untimely death that ſeized on him, even in the flower of his youth? And for* Eſcovedo *his ſharp-witted Secretary, who in his own imagination had conquered for his Maſter, both* England *and the* Netherlands; *being ſent into* Spain *upon ſome new project, he was at the firſt arrival, and before any acceſs to the King, by certain Ruffians, appointed by* Anthony Peres *(though by better warrant than his) rudely murthered in his own lodging. Laſtly, if we conſider the King of* Spain's *carriage, his counſel and ſucceſs in this buſineſs, there is nothing left to the memory of Man more remarkable. For he hath paid above an hundred Millions, and the lives of above four hundred thouſand Chriſtians, for the loſs of all thoſe Countreys, which, for beauty, gave place to none; and for revenue, did equal his* Weſt-Indies; *for the loſs of a Nation which moſt willingly obeyed him; and who, at this day, after fourty years Warr, are, in deſpight of all his forces, become a free Eſtate, and farr more rich and powerfull than they were, when he firſt began to impoveriſh and oppreſs them.*

Oh! by what plots, by what for-ſwearings, betrayings, oppreſſions, impriſonments, tortures, poiſonings, and under what reaſons of State, and politick ſubtilty, have theſe fore-named Kings, both ſtrangers, and of our own Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD *upon themſelves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent miniſters! and in the end, have brought thoſe things to paſs for their enemies, and ſeen an effect ſo directly contrary to all their own counſels*

and

and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themſelves; and the other never have ſucceeded; if no ſuch oppoſition had ever been made. GOD hath ſaid it, and performed it ever: Perdam ſapientiam ſapientum; I will deſtroy the wiſdom of the wiſe.

But what of all this? and to what end do we lay before the eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead; ſeeing the world is the ſame that it hath been; and the children of the preſent time, will ſtill obey their Parents? It is in the preſent time, that all the wits of the World are exerciſed. To hold the times we have, we hold all things lawfull; and either we hope to hold them for ever; or at leaſt we hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For, as we are content to forget our own experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our own knowledg, in all things that concern our ſelves; or perſuade our ſelves, that GOD hath given us Letters Patents to perſue all our irreligious affections, with a Non obſtante: *ſo we neither look behind us what hath been, nor before us what ſhall be. It is true, that the quantity which we have, is of the body: we are by it joined to the earth; we are compounded of earth; and we inhabit it. The Heavens are high, farr off, and unſearchable; we have ſenſe and feeling of corporal things; and of eternal grace, but by revelation. No marvel then that our thoughts are alſo earthly; and it is leſs to be wondred at, that the words of worthleſs men cannot cleanſe them; ſeeing their doctrine and inſtruction, whoſe underſtanding the Holy Ghoſt vouchſafed to inhabit, have not performed it. For, as the Prophet* Eſay *cried out long agone,* Lord, who hath believed our reports? *And out of doubt, as* Eſay *complained then for himſelf and others: ſo are they leſs believed, every day after other. For, although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in every man's mouth, yea, in the diſcourſe of every woman, who, for the greateſt number are but* Idols *of* Vanity; *what is it other than an univerſal diſſimulation? We profeſs that we know GOD, but by works we deny him. For Beatitude doth not conſiſt in the knowledg of divine things, but in a divine life; for the Devils know them better than men.* Beatitudo non eſt divinorum cognitio, ſed vita divina. *And certainly, there is nothing more to be admired, and more to be lamented, than the private contention, the paſſionate diſpute, the perſonal hatred, and the perpetual warr, maſſacres, and murthers, for Religion among* Chriſtians; *the diſcourſe whereof hath ſo occupied the World, as it hath well near driven the practice thereof out of the World. Who would not ſoon reſolve, that took knowledg but of the religious diſputations among men, and not of their lives which diſpute, that there were no other thing in their deſires, than the purchace of Heaven; and that the World it ſelf were but uſed as it ought, and as an Inne, or place wherein to repoſe our ſelves in paſſing on towards our Celeſtial habitation? when on the contrary, beſides the Diſcourſe and outward profeſſion, the Soul hath nothing but hypocriſie. We are all (in effect) become Comædians in Religion; and while we act in geſture and voice, divine vertues, in all the courſe of our lives, we renounce our Perſons, and the parts we play. For Charity, Juſtice, and Truth, have but their being* in tearms, *like the Philoſophers* Materia prima.

Paul to Titus, c. 1. v. 10.

Neither is it that wiſdom, which Solomon *defineth to be the* School-Miſtreſs of the Knowledg of God, *that hath valuation in the World; it is enough that we give it our good word: but the ſame which is altogether exerciſed in the ſervice of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchaſe and obtain honour, with the many reſpects*

which

which attend it. Theſe indeed be the marks, which (when we have bent our conſciences to the higheſt) we all ſhoot at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our own; the care our own in this life, the peril our own in the future; and yet, when we have gathered the greateſt abundance, we our ſelves enjoy no more thereof, than ſo much as belongs to one man. For the reſt, He that had the greateſt wiſdom, and the greateſt ability, that ever man had, hath told us, that this is the uſe: When goods increaſe (*ſaith Solomon*) they alſo increaſe that eat them; and what good cometh to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? *As for thoſe that devour the reſt, and follow us in fair weather; they again forſake us in the firſt tempeſt of misfortune, and ſteer away before the Sea and Wind; leaving us to the malice of our deſtinies. Of theſe, among a thouſand Examples, I will take but one out of Maſter* Dannet, *and uſe his own words:* Whileſt the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, after the reſignation of his eſtates, ſtayed at *Vloſhing* for Wind, to carry him his laſt journey into *Spain*; He conferred on a time with *Seldius*, his Brother *Ferdinand*'s Embaſſador, till the deep of the night. And when *Seldius* ſhould depart; the Emperor calling for ſome of his ſervants, and no body anſwering him, (for thoſe that attended upon him, were ſome gone to their lodgings, and all the reſt aſleep) the Emperor took up the Candle himſelf, and went before *Seldius*, to light him down the Stairs; and ſo did, notwithſtanding all the reſiſtance that *Seldius* could make. And when he was come to the Stairs foot, he ſaid thus unto him; *Seldius*, remember this of *Charles* the Emperor, when he ſhall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou haſt known in thy time environed with ſo many mighty Armies and Guards of Souldiers, thou haſt alſo ſeen alone, abandoned, and forſaken, yea, even of his own ſervants, &c.* I acknowledg this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD, which I will by no means go about to withſtand. Eccleſ 5. 10.

But you will ſay, that there are ſome things elſe, and of greater regard than the former. The firſt is, the reverend reſpect that is held of Great Men, and the Honour done unto them by all ſorts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward love for their Juſtice and Piety, accompany the outward worſhip given to their places and power; without which, what is the applauſe of the Multitude, but as the out-cry of an Herd of Animals, *who, without the knowledg of any true cauſe, pleaſe themſelves with the noiſe they make? For, ſeeing it is a thing exceeding rare to diſtinguiſh Virtue and Fortune; the moſt impious (if proſperous) have ever been applauded; the moſt vertuous (if unproſperous) have ever been deſpiſed. For, as Fortunes man rides the Horſe, ſo Fortune her ſelf rides the Man. Who, when he is deſcended, and on foot; the Man taken from his Beaſt, and Fortune from the Man; a baſe Groom beats the one, and a bitter contempt ſpurns at the other, with equal liberty.*

The ſecond is, the greatning of our Poſterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leave behind us. Certainly, of thoſe which conceive that their Souls departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be ſaid of them, which Lactantius *ſpake of certain Heathen Philoſophers;* Quod ſapientes ſunt in re ſtulta. *For, when our ſpirits immortal ſhall be once ſeparate from our mortal bodies, and diſpoſed by GOD; there remaineth in them no other joy of their Poſterity which ſucceed, than there doth of pride in that ſtone, which ſleepeth in the Wall of a King's Palace, nor any other ſorrow for their poverty, than there doth of* Lact. de falſa ſap. l. 3 c. 29.

S. Aug. de cura pro mort. *ſhame in that, which beareth up a Beggars cottage.* Neſciunt mortui, etiam ſancti, quid agunt vivi, etiam eorum filii, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viventium non interſunt; The dead, though holy, know nothing of the living, no, not of their own children; for the Souls of thoſe departed, are not converſant with their affairs

Job 14 21. that remain. *And if we doubt of Saint* Auguſtine, *we cannot of* Job; *who tells us,* That we know not if our Sons ſhall be honourable; neither ſhall we underſtand concern-

Pſal 39. ing them, whether they ſhall be of low degree. *Which* Eccleſiaſtes *alſo confirmeth;*

Eccleſ. 9. 5. & 1. 2. Man walketh in a ſhadow, and diſquieteth himſelf in vain; he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who ſhall gather them. The living (*ſaith he*) know that they ſhall die, but the dead know nothing at all; for, who can ſhew unto man, what ſhall be after him under the Sun? *He therefore accounteth it among the reſt of worldly vanities, to labour and travel in the World; not knowing after death, whether a fool or a wiſe man ſhould enjoy the fruits thereof;* which made me (*ſaith he*) endeavour even to abhorr mine own labour. *And what can other men hope, whoſe bleſſed or ſorrowfull eſtates after death, God hath reſerved? Mans knowledg lying but in his hope, ſeeing the Prophet* Eſay *con-*

Eſay 63. 16. *feſſeth of the Elect, That* Abraham is ignorant of us, and *Iſrael* knows us not. *But hereof we are aſſured, that the long and dark night of death of whoſe following day we ſhall never behold the dawn till his return that hath triumphed over it) ſhall cover us over till the world be no more. After which, and when we ſhall again receive Organs glorified, and incorruptible, the ſeats of Angelical affections; in ſo great admiration ſhall the Souls of the bleſſed be exerciſed, as they cannot admit the mixture of any ſecond or leſs joy; nor any return of forgone and mortal affection towards Friends, Kinred, or Children. Of whom, whether we ſhall retain any particular knowledg, or in any ſort diſtinguiſh them, no man can aſſure us; and the wiſeſt men doubt. But on the contrary; If a divine life retain any of thoſe faculties, which the Soul exerciſed in a mortal body; we ſhall not at that time ſo divide the joys of Heaven, as to caſt any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remain in the World. No, be their eſtates greater than ever the World gave, we ſhall (by the difference known unto us) even deteſt their conſideration. And whatſoever comfort ſhall remain of all forepaſt, the ſame will conſiſt in the charity, which we exerciſed living: and in that Piety, Juſtice, and firm Faith, for which it pleaſed the Infinite Mercy of God to accept of us, and receive us. Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as unneceſſary and vain? Certainly, no. For that Infinite Wiſdom of God, which hath diſtinguiſhed his Angels by degrees; which hath given greater and leſs light and beauty to heavenly bodies; which hath made differences between Beaſts and Birds; created the Eagle, and the Flie, the Cedar, and the Shrub; and among Stones, given the faireſt tincture to the Ruby, and quickeſt light to the Diamond; hath alſo ordained Kings, Dukes, or Leaders of the people; Magiſtrates, Judges, and other degrees among men. And, as Honour is left to Poſterity, for a mark and enſign of the vertue and underſtanding of their Anceſtors; ſo (ſeeing Siracides preferreth Death before Beggary; and, that Titles, without proportionable eſtates, fall under the*

Sira c. 40. v. 28. *miſerable ſuccour of other mens pity) I account it fooliſhneſs to condemn ſuch a care; Provided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raiſe not our own buildings*

out

out of other mens ruines. For, as Plato *doth first preferr the perfection of bodily health; secondly, the form and beauty; and thirdly,* Divitias nulla fraude quæsitas: *so* Jeremy *cries,* Wo unto them that erect their houses by unrighteousnes, and their chambers without equity; *And* Esay *the same,* Wo to those that spoil, and were not spoiled. *And it was out of the true wisdom of* Solomon, *that he commandeth us,* not to drink the Wine of violence; not to lie in wait for bloud; and not to swallow them up alive, whose riches we covet; for such are the ways (*saith he*) of every one that is greedy of gain.

Plat. de leg 1. 2. 6. & in Georgeo. Jer. 22. 13. Esay 33. Prov 1. 18. 12. Prov. 23. 1, 2, 3, 8, 9. & 25. 4, 8.

And, if we could afford our selves but so much leisure, as to consider, That he which hath most in this world, hath, in respect of the world, nothing in it; and that he which hath the longest time lent him to live in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past, when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we shall abide for ever; I say, if both, to wit, our proportion in the World, and our time in the World, differ not much from that which is nothing, it is not out of any excellency of understanding, that we so much prise the one, which hath (in effect) no being; and so much neglect the other, which hath no ending; coveting those mortal things of the World, as if our Souls were therein immortal, and neglecting those things which are immortal, as if our selves, after the World, were but mortal.

But let every man value his own wisdom, as he pleaseth. Let the rich man think all fools, that cannot equal his abundance; the Revenger esteem all negligent, that have not troden down their opposites; the Politician all gross, that cannot Merchandize their faith: Yet, when we once come in sight of the Port of death, to which all winds drive us, and when, by letting fall that fatal Anchor, which can never be weighed again, the navigation of this life takes end; Then it is, I say, that our own cogitations (those sad and severe cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our Health and Felicity) return again, and pay us to the uttermost for all the pleasing passages of our lives past. It is then that we cry out to God for mercy; then, when our selves can no longer exercise cruelty to others; and it is onely then, that we are strucken through the Soul with this terrible Sentence, That God will not be mocked. *For if, according to S.* Peter, The righteous scarcely be saved: and that *God* spared not his Angels; *where shall those appear, who, having served their appetites all their lives, presume to think, that the severe Commandments of the All-powerfull God were given but in sport; and that the short breath, which we draw when death presseth us, if we can but fashion it to the sound of* Mercy (*without any kind of satisfaction or amends*) *is sufficient?* O quam multi, *saith a reverend Father,* cum hac spe ad æternos labores & bella descendunt! *I confess, that it is a great comfort to our friends, to have it said, That we ended well; for we all desire* (*as* Balaam *did*) to die the death of the righteous. *But, what shall we call a dis-esteeming, an opposing, or (indeed) a mocking of God; if those men do not oppose him, dis-esteem him, and mock him, that think it enough for God, to ask him forgiveness at leisure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious breath? For, what do they otherwise, that die this kind of well-dying, but say unto God, as followeth? We beseech thee, O God, that all the falshoods, forswearings, and treacheries of our lives past, may be pleasing unto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that have had no leisure to do any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impossible) and forget to be a just God;*

Gal. 6. 7. 1 Pet 4.

that thou wilt love injuries and oppreſſions, call ambition wiſdom, and charity fooliſhneſs. For I ſhall prejudice my Son (which I am reſolved not to do) if I make reſtitution; and confeſs my ſelf to have been unjuſt (which I am too proud to do) if I deliver the oppreſſed. Certainly, theſe wiſe worldlings have either found out a new God, or made One; and in all likelihood, ſuch a Leaden One, as Lewis *the Eleventh ware in his Cap; which, when he had cauſed any that he feared or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his head, and kiſs it; beſeeching it to pardon him this one evil act more, and it ſhould be the laſt; which (as at other times) he did, when, by the practice of a* Cardinal, *and a falſified Sacrament, he cauſed the* Earl *of* Armagnac *to be ſtabbed to death; mockeries indeed, fit to be uſed towards a Leaden, but not towards the Everliving GOD. But of this compoſition are all devout lovers of the World, that they fear all that is dureleſs and ridiculous; they fear the plots and practices of their oppoſites, and their very whiſperings; they fear the Opinions of men, which beat but upon ſhadows; they flatter and forſake the proſperous and unproſperous, be they Friends or Kings; yea, they dive under water, like Ducks, at every pebble-ſtone, that is but thrown towards them by a powerful hand; and on the contrary, they ſhew an obſtinate and Giant-like valour againſt the terrible judgments of the All-powerfull God; yea, they ſhew themſelves Gods againſt God, and Slaves towards men; towards men, whoſe bodies and conſciences are alike rotten.*

Now, for the reſt; If we truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poor and oppreſſed, whom we accompt wretched; we ſhall find the hapineſs of the one, and the miſerable eſtate of the other, ſo tied by God to the very inſtant, and both ſo ſubject to enterchange (witneſs the ſudden downfall of the greateſt Princes, and the ſpeedieſt upriſing of the meaneſt perſons) as the one hath nothing ſo certain, whereof to boaſt; nor the other ſo uncertain, whereof to bewail it ſelf. For, there is no man ſo aſſured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that he may be deprived of either, or all, the very next hour, or day to come. Quid veſper vehat, incertum eſt; What the evening will bring with it, it is uncertain. And yet ye cannot tell (*ſaith* S. *James*) what ſhall be to morrow. To day he is ſet up, and to morrow he ſhall not be found; for he is turned into duſt, and his purpoſe periſheth. *And although the air which compaſſeth adverſity, be very obſcure; yet therein we better diſcern God, than in that ſhining light which enviroueth worldly glory; through which, for the clearneſs thereof, there is no vanity which eſcapeth our ſight. And let adverſity ſeem what it will; to happy men ridiculous, who make themſelves merry at other mens misfortunes; and to thoſe under the* croſs, *grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is paſt, to the very inſtant, the portions remaining are equal to either. For, be it that we have lived many years,* and (*according to* Solomon) in them all we have rejoyced; *or be it that we have meaſured the ſame length of days, and therein have evermore ſorrowed; yet, looking back from our preſent being, we find both the one and the other; to wit, the joy and wo, ſailed out of ſight; and death, which doth perſue us, and hold us in chace, from our infancy, hath gathered it.* Quicquid ætatis retro eſt, mors tenet; Whatſoever of our age is paſt, death holds it. *So, as whoſoever he be, to whom Fortune hath been a ſervant, and the Time a friend; let him but take the accompt of his memory (for we have no other keeper of our pleaſures paſt) and truly examine what he hath reſerved, either of Beauty and Youth,*

or

or fore-gone delights; what it hath ſaved, that it might laſt, of his deareſt affections, or of whatever elſe the amorous Spring-time gave his thoughts of contentment, then unvaluable; and he ſhall find that all the Art which his elder years have, can draw no other vapour out of theſe diſſolutions, than heavy, ſecret, and ſad ſighs. He ſhall find nothing remaining, but thoſe ſorrows, which grow up after our faſt-ſpringing youth, over-take it, when it is at a ſtand; and over-top it utterly, when it begins to wither; in ſo much as looking back from the very inſtant time, and from our now being, the poor, diſeaſed, and captive creature, hath as little ſenſe of all his former miſeries and pains, as he, that is moſt bleſs'd in common Opinion, hath of his fore-paſſed pleaſure and delights. For whatſoever is caſt behind us, is juſt nothing; and what is to come, deceitfull hope hath it: Omnia quæ eventura ſunt, in incerto jacent. *Onely thoſe few black Swans I muſt except; who, having had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their own price; do, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well-acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without fear, and embrace both, as neceſſary guides to endleſs glory.*

For my ſelf, this is my conſolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the ſorrows of this life are but of two ſorts; whereof the one hath reſpect to GOD; the other to the World. In the firſt, we complain to GOD againſt our ſelves, for our offences againſt him; and confeſs, Et tu juſtus es in omnibus quæ venerunt ſuper nos; And thou, O Lord, art juſt in all that hath befallen us. *In the ſecond, we complain to our ſelves againſt GOD; as if he had done us wrong, either in not giving us worldly goods and honours, anſwering our appetites; or for taking them from us having had them; forgetting that humble and juſt acknowledgment of* Job, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken. *To the firſt of which, S.* Paul *hath promiſed bleſſedneſs; to the ſecond, death. And out of doubt, he is either a fool, or ingrateful to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledg, how mean ſoever his eſtate be, that the ſame is yet farr greater, than that which God oweth him; or doth not aknowledg, how ſharp ſoever his afflictions be, that the ſame are yet farr leſs, than thoſe which are due unto him. And if an Heathen wiſe man call the adverſities of the World but* tributa vivendi; the tributes of living: *a wiſe Chriſtian man ought to know them, and bear them as the tributes of offending. He ought to bear them man-like, and reſolvedly, and not as thoſe whining Souldiers do,* Qui gementes ſequuntur Imperatorem.

For ſeeing God, who is the Author of all our Tragedies, hath written out for us, and appointed us all the parts we are to play; and hath not, in their diſtribution, been partial to the moſt mighty Princes of the World; That gave unto Darius *the part of the greateſt Emperor, and the part of the moſt miſerable Beggar; a Beggar, begging Water of an Enemy to quench the great drought of death; That appointed* Bajazet *to play the* Grand Seignior *of the* Turks *in the morning, and in the ſame day, the* Footſtool *of* Tamerlane *(both which parts* Valerian *had alſo played, being taken by* Sapores) *that made* Belliſarius *play the moſt victorious Captain, and laſtly, the part of a blind Beggar; of which, examples of many thouſands may be produced: why ſhould other men, who are but as the leaſt Worms, complain of wrongs? Certainly, there is no other accompt to be made of this ridiculous World, than to reſolve, That the change of Fortune on the great Theatre, is but as the change of Garments on the leſs. For, when on the one and the other, every man*

wears

wears but his own skin, the Players are all alike. Now, if any man out of weakneſs priſe the paſſages of this world otherwiſe (*for, ſaith* Petrarch, Magni ingenii eſt revocare mentem a ſenſibus) *it is by reaſon of that unhappy fantaſie of ours, which forgeth in the brains of Man all the miſeries* (*the corporal excepted*) *whereunto he is ſubject. Therein it is, that Misfortune and Adverſity work all that they work. For, ſeeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatſoever Fortune or Force takes from any one; it were a fooliſh madneſs in the ſhipwrack of worldly things, where all ſinks but the Sorrow, to ſave it. That were, as* Seneca *ſaith,* Fortunæ ſuccumbere, quod triſtius eſt omni fato; To fall under Fortune, of all other, the moſt miſerable deſtiny.

But it is now time to ſound a retreat, and to deſire to be excuſed of this long perſuit; and withall, that the good intent, which hath moved me to draw the Picture of time paſt (*which we call* Hiſtory) *in ſo large a Table, may alſo be accepted in place of a better reaſon.*

The examples of divine Providence, every where found (*the firſt divine* Hiſtories *being nothing elſe but a continuation of ſuch examples*) *have perſuaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For, though theſe two glorious actions of the Almighty be ſo near, and* (*as it were*) *linked together, that the one neceſſarily implieth the other; Creation inferring Providence* (*for what father forſaketh the child that he hath begotten?*) *and Providence preſuppoſing Creation; Yet many of thoſe that have ſeemed to excel in worldly wiſdom, have gone about to diſ-join this coherence; the* Epicure *denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the World had a beginning; the* Ariſtotelian *granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.*

Now, although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (*for,* by Faith, we underſtand that the World was made by the Word of God) *be too weighty a work for* Ariſtotle's *rotten ground to bear up, upon which he hath* (*notwithſtanding*) *founded the Defences and Fortreſſes of all his* Verbal *Doctrine; yet that the neceſſity of Infinite power, and the World's beginning, and the impoſſibility of the contrary, even in the judgment of Natural reaſon, wherein he believed, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be marvelled at. And it is no leſs ſtrange, that thoſe men which are deſirous of knowledg* (*ſeeing* Ariſtotle *hath failed in this main point; and taught little other than* tearms *in the reſt*) *have ſo retrench'd their minds from the following and overtaking of Truth, and ſo abſolutely ſubjected themſeves to the law of thoſe Philoſophical Principles; as all contrary kind of teaching, in the ſearch of cauſes, they have condemned, either for phantaſtical, or curious. But doth it follow, that the Poſitions of Heathen Philoſophers are undoubtedly Grounds and Principles indeed, becauſe ſo called? Or, that* ipſi dixerunt, *doth make them to be ſuch? Certainly no. But this is true, That where natural reaſon hath built any thing ſo ſtrong againſt it ſelf, as the ſame reaſon can hardly aſſail it, much leſs batter it down: the ſame in every queſtion of Nature, and infinite power, may be approved for a fundamental Law of humane knowledg. For, ſaith* Charron, *in his Book of Wiſdom,* Tout propoſition humaine a autant d' authorite quel' autre, ſi la raiſon n' on fait la difference; Every humane propoſition hath equal authority, if reaſon make not a difference: *the reſt, being but the Fables of Principles. But hereof, how ſhall the upright and impartial judg-*

Charron de Sageſſe.

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ment of man give a Sentence, where oppoſition and examination are not admitted to give in evidence? And, to this purpoſe, it was well ſaid of Lactantius, Sapientiam ſibi adimunt, qui ſine ullo judicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur; They neglect their own wiſdom, who without any judgment approve the invention of thoſe that fore-went them; and ſuffer themſelves, after the manner of Beaſts, to be led by them. *By the advantage of which ſloth and dulneſs, ignorance is now become ſo powerfull a Tyrant, as it hath ſet true Philoſophy, Phyſick and Divinity in a Pillory; and written over the firſt,* Contra negantem principia; *over the ſecond,* Virtus ſpecifica; *and over the third,* Eccleſia Romana. *Lact de orig. Errori. l. 2. c. 8.*

But for my ſelf, I ſhall never be perſuaded, that God hath ſhut up all the light of Learning within the Lanthorn of Ariſtotle's *brains; or, that it was ever ſaid unto him, as unto* Eſdras, Accendam in corde tuo Lucernam intellectus; *That God hath given invention but to the Heathen, and that they onely invaded Nature, and found the ſtrength and bottom thereof; the ſame Nature having conſumed all her ſtore, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That theſe, and theſe, be the cauſes of theſe and theſe effects, Time hath taught us; and not Reaſon; and ſo hath Experience without Art. The Cheeſ-wife knoweth it as well as the Philoſopher, that ſowre Rennet doth coagulate her Milk into a Curd. But, if we ask a reaſon of this cauſe, why the ſowreneſs doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I think that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philoſophy, to ſatisfie this, and many other like vulgar queſtions. But man, to cover his ignorance in the leaſt things, who cannot give a true reaſon for the Graſs under his feet, why it ſhould be green rather than red, or of any other colour; that could never yet diſcover the way and reaſon of Nature's working, in thoſe which are farr leſs noble Creatures than himſelf; who is farr more noble than the Heavens themſelves:* Man (*ſaith* Solomon) that can hardly diſcern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour find out the things that are before us; *that hath ſo ſhort a time in the World, as he no ſooner begins to learn, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledg; in his underſtanding nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Eſſence of his own Soul, and which the wiſeſt of the Naturaliſts* (*if* Ariſtotle *be he*) *could never ſo much as define, but by the Action and Effect, telling us what it works* (*which all men know as well as he*) *but not what it is, which neither he, nor any elſe doth know, but GOD that created it* (For though I were perfect, yet I know not my Soul, *ſaith* Job.) *Man, I ſay, that is but an Idiot in the next cauſe of his own life, and in the cauſe of all actions of his life: will* (*notwithſtanding*) *examine the Art of GOD in creating the World; of GOD, who* (*ſaith* Job) is ſo excellent as we know him not; *and examine the beginning of the work, which had end before Mankind had a beginning of being. He will diſable God's power to make a World, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the Motes of the Air for a cauſe; caſt the work on neceſſity or chance; beſtow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the* Matter, *the other of* Form; *and laſtly, for want of a work-man, have it Eternal; which latter Opinion* Ariſtotle, *to make himſelf the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World; and his Sectators have maintained it;* Parati ac conjurati, quos ſequuntur Philoſophorum animis invictis opiniones tueri. *For* Hermes, *who lived at once with, or ſoon after* Moſes, *Wiſd. 1. 9. Job 26.*

Moſes, Zoroaſter, Muſæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Meliſſus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato, *and many others (whoſe Opinions are exquiſitely gathered by* Steuchius Eugubinus) *found in the neceſſity of invincible reaſon,* One Eternal and infinite Being, *to be the Parent of the Univerſal.* Horum omnium ſententia quamvis ſit incerta, eodem tamen ſpectat, ut providentiam unam eſſe conſentiant: ſive enim Natura, ſive Æther, ſive Ratio, ſive Mens, ſive Fatalis Neceſſitas, ſive divina Lex, idem eſt quod a nobis dicitur Deus; All theſe mens
Lact. 5. Opinions (ſaith *Lactantius*) though uncertain, come to this; That they agree upon one Providence, whether the ſame be Nature, or Light, or Reaſon, or Underſtanding, or Deſtiny, or divine Ordinance, that it is the ſame which we call *GOD. Certainly, as all the Rivers in the World, though they have divers riſings, and divers runnings; though they ſometimes hide themſelves for a while under ground, and ſeem to be loſt in Sea-like Lakes; do at laſt find, and fall into, the great* Ocean: *ſo after all the ſearches that humane capacity hath; and after all Philoſophical contemplation and curioſity, in the neceſſity of this Infinite power, all the reaſon of Man ends and diſſolves it ſelf.*

As for others: and firſt touching thoſe which conceive the matter *of the World to have been* eternal, *and, that God did not create the World,* ex nihilo, *but* ex materia præexiſtente; *the Suppoſition is ſo weak, as is hardly worth the anſwering. For (ſaith* Euſebius) Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere; They ſeem un-
Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l 7. c. 8. to me, which affirm this, to give part of the work to God, and part to Fortune; *in ſo much as if God had not found this* firſt matter *by chance, He had never been Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Univerſal. For, were the* Matter *or* Chaos *eternal; it then follows, That either this ſuppoſed* Matter *did fit it ſelf to God, or God accommodate himſelf to the* matter. *For the firſt; it is impoſſible, that things without ſenſe could proportion themſelves to the Work-mans Will. For the ſecond; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artificer he applied himſelf, according to the proportion of* matter *which he lighted upon.*

But let it be ſuppoſed, That this matter *hath been made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wiſe; I would gladly learn how it came to paſs, that the ſame was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent, and infinitely wiſe; and no more, nor no leſs, than ſerved to receive the form of the Univerſal. For, had it wanted any thing of what was ſufficient; then muſt it be granted, That God created* out of nothing *ſo much of new* matter, *as ſerved to finiſh the work of the World: Or, had there been more of this* matter *than ſufficed, then God did diſſolve and annihilate whatſoever remained and was ſuperfluous. And this muſt every reaſonable Soul confeſs, That it is the ſame work of God alone, to create any thing* out of nothing, *And by the ſame Art and Power, and by none other, can thoſe things, or any part of that eternal* matter, *be again changed into Nothing; by which thoſe things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.*

Again, to ſay that this matter *was the cauſe of it ſelf; this, of all other, were the greateſt Idiotiſm. For, if it were the cauſe of it ſelf at any time; then there was alſo a time when it ſelf was not; at which time of not being, it is eaſie enough to conceive, that it could neither procure it ſelf, nor any thing elſe. For to be, and not to be, at once, is*

impoſſible.

impoſſible. Nihil autem ſeipſum præcedit, neque ſeipſum componit corpus; There is nothing that doth precede it ſelf, neither do bodies compound themſelves.

For the reſt, Thoſe that feign this matter *to be eternal, muſt of neceſſity confeſs, that Infinite cannot be ſeparate from Eternity. And then had* infinite matter *left no place for* infinite form; *but that the* firſt matter *was* finite, *the* form *which it received proves it. For concluſion of this part, whoſoever will make choice, rather to believe in eternal deformity, or in eternal dead matter, than in eternal light, and eternal life; let eternal death be his reward. For, it is a madneſs of that kind, as wanteth terms to expreſs it. For what reaſon of man (whom the curſe of preſumption hath not ſtupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of ſhadow;* quia comprehenſio eſt intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) *hath any thing wanting in it ſelf, either for matter or* form; *yea, for as many worlds (if ſuch had been Gods will) as the* Sea *hath ſands? For where the power is without limitation, the work hath no other limitation than the workman's will. Yea, Reaſon it ſelf finds it more eaſie for Infinite power, to deliver from it ſelf a finite world, without the help of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a fool and duſt, to change the form of matter made to his hands. They are* Dioniſius *his words;* Deus in una exiſtentia omnia præhabet; *and again,* Eſſe omnium eſt ipſa Divinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides; *to wit,* cauſaliter, *or in better terms,* non tanquam forma, ſed tanquam cauſa univerſalis. *Neither hath the World Univerſal cloſed up all of* GOD: For the moſt part of his works (ſaith *Siracides*) are hid. *Neither can the depth of his Wiſdom be opened by the glorious work of the World; which never brought to knowledg all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes, That we ſeldom entitle* GOD *The* All-ſhewing, *or The* All-willing; *but the* Almighty, *that is, infinitely able.* Cap. 16 v. 21.

But now for thoſe, who from that ground, That out of nothing, nothing is made, *inferr the Worlds eternity; and yet not ſo ſalvage therein, as thoſe are, which give an eternal being to dead matter: It is true, if the word* [Nothing] *be taken in the affirmative; and the* making, *impoſed upon Natural Agents and finite power;* That out of nothing, nothing is made. *But ſeeing their great Doctor,* Ariſtotle *himſelf confeſſeth,* Quod omnes Antiqui decreverunt quaſi quoddam rerum principium, ipſumque infinitum: That all the Antient decree a kind of beginning, and the ſame to be infinite; *and a little after, more largely, and plainly,* Principium ejus eſt nullum, ſed ipſum omnium cernitur eſſe principium, ac omni complecti ac regere: *it is ſtrange, that this Philoſopher, with his followers, ſhould rather make choice out of falſhood, to conclude falſly; than out of truth, to reſolve truly. For, if we compare the World Univerſal, and all the unmeaſureable Orbs of Heaven, and thoſe marvellous bodies of the* Sun, Moon, *and* Starrs, *with* ipſum Infinitum, *it may truly be ſaid of them all, which himſelf affirms of his imaginary* Materia prima, *That they are neither* quid, quale, *nor* quantum; *and therefore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite* (qui deſtruit omnen proportionem) *is no wonder in Gods power. And therefore,* Anaximander, Meliſſus, *and* Empedocles, *call the World Univerſal, but* particulam Univerſitatis & infinitatis; a parcel of that which is the Univerſality, and the Infinity it ſelf: *And* Plato, *but* a ſhadow Stanc Eng l 3. c. 9. ex Ar ſt. Phyſ. 3. 20.

of God. But the other, to prove *the World's eternity, urgeth this* Maxime, *That*, A ſufficient and effectual cauſe being granted, an anſwerable effect thereof is alſo granted. *Inferring, that God being for ever a ſufficient and effectual cauſe of the World, the effect of the cauſe ſhould alſo have been for ever; to wit, the World univerſal. But what a ſtrange mockery is this in ſo great a Maſter, to confeſs a ſufficient and effectual cauſe of the World (to wit, an Almighty God) in his Antecedent; and the ſame God to be a God reſtrained in his Concluſion; to make God free in power, and bound in will; able to effect, unable to determine; able to make all things, and yet unable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiouſly to reſolve of God, as of natural neceſſity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor underſtanding; which cannot but work, matter being preſent: As Fire, to burn things combuſtible. Again, he thus diſputeth, That every Agent which can work, and doth not work, if it afterward work, it is either thereto moved by it ſelf, or by ſomewhat elſe; and ſo it paſſeth from power to act: But God (ſaith he) is immovable, and is neither moved by himſelf, nor by any other; but being always the ſame, doth always work. Whence he concludeth, If the World were cauſed by God, that he was for ever the cauſe thereof; and therefore eternal. The anſwer to this is very eaſie; For that God's performing in due time that, which he ever determined at length to perform, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather conſtancy in him. For the ſame action of his will, which made the World for ever, did alſo with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this anſwer, in it ſelf ſufficient, others add further, that the Pattern or Image of the World may be ſaid to be eternal; which the* Platonicks *call* Spiritualem mundum; *and do in this ſort diſtinguiſh the* Idæa *and* Creation in time. Spiritualis eſt mundus, mundi hujus exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita æquali eſt Architecto, fuit ſemper cum illo, eritque ſemper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod ſecundum opus eſt Dei, decedit jam ab opifice ex parte una, quia non fuit ſemper; retinet alteram, quia ſit ſemper futurus: That repreſentative, or the intentional word (*ſay they*) the ſamplar of this viſible world, the firſt work of GOD, was equally antient with the Architect; for it was for ever with him, and ever ſhall be. This material world, the ſecond work or creature of GOD, doth differ from the Worker in this; that it was not from everlaſting, and in this it doth agree, that it ſhall be for ever to come; *The firſt point, That it was not for ever, all Chriſtians confeſs: The other they underſtand no otherwiſe, than that after the conſummation of this world, there ſhall be* a new Heaven, and a new Earth, without any new creation of matter. *But of theſe things we need not here ſtand to argue; though ſuch opinions be not unworthy the propounding, in this conſideration, of an eternal and unchangeable cauſe, producing a changeable and temporal effect; Touching which point,* Proclus *the* Platoniſt *diſputeth, That the compounded Eſſence of the World (and becauſe compounded, therefore diſſipable) is continued, and knit to the Divine Being, by an individual and inſeparable power, flowing from Divine unity; and that the World's natural appetite of God ſheweth, that the ſame proceedeth from a good and underſtanding divine; and that this vertue, by which the World is continued and knit together, muſt be infinite, that it may infinitely and everlaſtingly continue and preſerve the ſame. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (ſaith he) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the divine infinite, according to the tempo-*

Mar. Ficin. de immort. Animæ, l. 18. c. 1.

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ral Nature it hath, ſucceſſively every moment by little and little; even as the whole material World is not altogether; but the aboliſhed parts are departed by ſmall degrees, and the parts yet to come, do by the ſame ſmall degrees ſucceed, as the ſhadow of a tree in a River, ſeemeth to have continued the ſame a long time in the Water, but it is perpetually renewed in the continual ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to return to them, which denying that ever the World had any beginning, withall deny that ever it ſhall have any end, and to this purpoſe affirm, That it was never heard, never read, never ſeen, no, not by any reaſon perceived, that the Heavens have ever ſuffered corruption; or that they appear any way the older by continuance; or in any ſort otherwiſe than they were; which had they been ſubject to final corruption, ſome change would have been diſcerned in ſo long a time. To this it is anſwered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newneſs, and that they have not continued ſo long, than that they will continue for ever as they are. And if conjectural arguments may receive anſwer by conjectures; it then ſeemeth, that ſome alteration may be found. For either Ariſtotle, Pliny, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, *and others, were groſsly miſtaken; or elſe thoſe parts of the World, lying within the burnt* Zone, *were not in elder times habitable, by reaſon of the* Sun's *heat, neither were the* Seas *under the Equinoctial navigable. But we know by experience, that thoſe Regions ſo ſituate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the* Sea, *over which we navigate, paſſable enough. We read alſo many Hiſtories of Deluges; and how that in the time of* Phaeton, *divers places in the World were burnt up, by the* Sun's *violent heat.*

Ariſt. Met. 1. Plin. l 2. c. 8. Strab. l. 3. Beda de ratione tem. l 1. c 31. Thom p 1. q. 102. art. 2.

But in a word, this Obſervation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, That Stone-walls, of matter moldring and friable, have ſtood two or three thouſand years; that many things have been digged up out of the Earth, of that depth, as ſuppoſed to have been buried by the general Flood; without any alteration, either of ſubſtance or figure; yea, it is believed, and it is very probable, that the Gold which is daily found in Mines and Rocks, under ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldeſt times have not invaded and corrupted; what great alterations ſhould we look for in Celeſtial and Quinteſſential bodies? And yet we have reaſon to think, that the Sun, *by whoſe help all creatures are generate, doth not in theſe later Ages aſſiſt Nature, as heretofore. We have neither Giants, ſuch as the eldeſt World had, nor Mighty Men, ſuch as the elder World had; but all things in general are reputed of leſs vertue which from the Heavens receive vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger Diſcourſe, we might eaſily fetch ſtore of proof; as that this World ſhall at length have end, as that once it had beginning.*

And I ſee no good Anſwer that can be to this Objection: If the World were eternal; why not all things in the World eternal? If there were no firſt, *no* Cauſe, *no* Father, *no* Creator, *no* incomprehenſible Wiſdom, *but that every* Nature *had been alike eternal; and Man more rational than every other* Nature; *Why had not the eternal reaſon of Man, provided for his eternal Being in the World? For, if all were equal, why not equal conditions to all? Why ſhould Heavenly bodies live for ever, and the bodies of Men rot and die?*

Again, who was it that appointed the Earth to keep the Centre, and gave order that it

ſhould hang in the Air; that the Sun *ſhould travel between the Tropicks, and never exceed thoſe bounds, nor fail to perform that Progreſs once in every year; the* Moon *to live by borrowed light; the fixed* Starrs *(according to common opinion) to be faſtned like nails in a Cart-wheel; and the* Planets *to wander at their pleaſure? Or, if none of theſe had power over other; was it out of Charity and Love, that the* Sun *by his perpetual travel within thoſe two Circles, hath viſited, given light unto, and relieved all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turns and times? Out of doubt, if the* Sun *have of his own accord kept this courſe in all eternity; He may juſtly be called eternal Charity, and everlaſting Love. The ſame may be ſaid of all the* Starrs, *who being all of them moſt large and clear fountains of vertue and operation, may alſo be called eternal Vertues; the* Earth *may be called eternal Patience; the* Moon, *an eternal Borrower, and Beggar; and Man, of all other the moſt miſerable, eternally Mortal. And what were this, but to believe again in the old Play of the gods? Yea, in more gods by Millions, than ever* Heſiodus *dream'd of. But in ſtead of this mad folly, we ſee it well enough with our feeble and mortal eyes: and the eyes of our reaſon diſcern it better; That the* Sun, Moon, Starrs, *and the* Earth, *are limited, bounded, and conſtrained; themſelves they have not conſtrained, nor could.* Omne determinatum cauſam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinaverit; Every thing hath ſome efficient cauſe, by which it is bounded.

Now, for Nature; *As by the ambiguity of this name, the School of* Ariſtotle *hath both commended many errors unto us, and ſought alſo thereby to obſcure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, ſhining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World; ſo if the beſt definition be taken out of the ſecond of* Ariſtotle's Phyſicks, *or* primo de Cœlo, *or out of the fifth of his* Metaphyſicks, *I ſay, that the beſt is but nominal, and ſerving onely to difference the beginning of Natural motion from Artificial: which yet the* Academicks *open better; when they call it,* A Seminary ſtrength, infuſed into matter by the Soul of the World; *who give the firſt place to* Providence, *the ſecond to* Fate, *and but the third to* Nature. Providentia *(by which they underſtand GOD)* Dux & Caput; Fatum, medium ex providentia prodiens; Natura poſtremum. *But be it what he will, or be it any of theſe (God excepted) or participating of all; yet that it hath choice or underſtanding (both which are neceſſarily in the cauſe of all things) no man hath avowed. For this is unanſwerable of* Lactantius, Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut ſcientiam; He onely can be ſaid to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledg in the doing it.

Ficin. de Plat. *But the will and ſcience of Nature, are in theſe words truly expreſs'd by* Ficinus: Poteſt ubique Natura, vel per diverſa media, vel ex diverſis materiis, diverſa facere; ſublata vero mediorum materiarumque diverſitate, vel unicum, vel ſimilimum operatur, neque poteſt quando adeſt materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diverſity of means, or out of diverſity of matter, to produce divers things: but taking away the diverſity of means, and the diverſity of matter, it then works but one or the like work; neither can it but work, matter being preſent. *Now, if* Nature *made choice of diverſity of matter, to work all theſe variable works of Heaven and Earth, it had then both underſtanding and will; it had counſel to begin; reaſon to*

diſpoſe

diſpoſe; vertue and knowledg to finiſh, and power to govern; without which, all things had been but one and the ſame; all of the matter of Heaven; or all of the matter of Earth. And, if we grant Nature *this will, and this underſtanding, this counſel, this reaſon, and power*; Cur natura potius quam Deus nominetur? *Why ſhould we then call ſuch a cauſe rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men have notion, and give the firſt and higheſt place to divine power*: Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omneſque ſummum locum divino cuidam numini aſſignant. *And this I ſay, in ſhort, that it is a true effect of true reaſon in man (were there no authority more binding than reaſon) to acknowledg and adore the firſt and moſt ſublime power.* Vera Philoſophia, eſt aſcenſus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere ſunt, & ſemper eadem: True Philoſophy is an aſcending from the things which flow, and riſe, and fall, to the things that are for ever the ſame.

Lact. de ira Dei l. 1. c. 10.

Ariſt. l. 1. de Cælo. c. 3. T. 22.

For the reſt; I do alſo account it not the meaneſt, but an impiety, monſtrous, to confound God and Nature; be it but in tearms. For it is God, that onely diſpoſeth of all things according to his own will, and maketh of one Earth, veſſels of honour and diſhonour: *It is Nature that can diſpoſe of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God that commandeth all; it is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God that doth good unto all, knowing and loving the good he doth. It is Nature that ſecondarily doth alſo good, but it neither knoweth, nor loveth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himſelf; Nature nothing in it ſelf. It is God which is the Father, and hath begotten all things; it is Nature which is begotten by all things, in which it liveth and laboureth; for by it ſelf it exiſteth not. For, ſhall we ſay, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heavy things fall towards it? Shall we call it Reaſon, which doth conduct every River into the ſalt Sea? Shall we tearm it knowledg in Fire, that makes it to conſume combuſtible matter? If it be Affection, Reaſon, and Knowledg in theſe; by the ſame Affection, Reaſon, and Knowledg it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore, ſeeing all things work as they do (call it by* Form, *or* Nature, *or by what you pleaſe) yet, becauſe they work by an impulſion, which they cannot reſiſt; or by a faculty, infuſed by the ſupremeſt power; we are neither to wonder at, nor to worſhip, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder; and to him is the worſhip due, who hath created ſuch a Nature in things, and ſuch a faculty, as neither knowing it ſelf, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; doth yet work all things to their laſt and uttermoſt perfection. And therefore every reaſonable man, taking to himſelf for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that ever the World had, to wit; That there is a power Infinite, and eternal (which alſo neceſsity doth prove unto us, without the help of Faith and Reaſon; without the force of Authority) all things do as eaſily follow which have been delivered by divine Letters, as the waters of a running River do ſucceſſively perſue each other from the firſt fountains.*

Thus much, I ſay, it is, that Reaſon it ſelf hath taught us; and this is the beginning of knowledg. Sapientia præcedit, Religio ſequitur; quia prius eſt Deum ſcire, conſequens colere; *Sapience goes before, Religion follows; becauſe it is firſt to know God, and then to worſhip him. This Sapience,* Plato *calleth* abſoluti boni ſcientiam, *The Science of*

Lact. l. 4. c. 28. de vera ſapient.

the

Isaac de defin. the *absolute good: And another,* Scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum. *For Faith (saith* Isidore) *is not extorted by violence; but by reason and examples persuaded:* Fides nequaquam vi extorquetur, sed ratione & exemplis suadetur. *I confess it, That to enquire further, as of the Essence of God, of his Power, of his Art, and by what mean he created the World; Or of his secret judgment, and the causes, is not an affect of Reason;* Sed cum ratione insaniunt; *but they grow mad with reason, that enquire after it: For, as it is no shame nor dishonour (saith a* French *Author)* de faire arrest au but qu'on nasceu surpasser; *For a man to rest himself there, where he finds it impossible to pass on further: so whatsoever is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason, it acknowledgeth it to be so; as understanding it self not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that best knows the end of his own Art. For, seeing both Reason and Necessity teach us (Reason, which is* pars divini spiritus in corpus humanum mersi) *that the World was made by a Power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach us: and seeing the same Reason and Necessity make us know, that the same infinite Power is every where in the World; and yet how every where it cannot inform us: our belief hereof is not weakned, but greatly strengthned by our ignorance, because it is the same Reason that tells us, That such a Nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all conceived by Man.*

Quod est infinitum, & non secundum naturam terminatum, non continetur à scientia. Arist. poster.

I have been already over-long, to make any large Discourse, either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuse; especially in the excuse of this or that passage; seeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the grossest, the unsutable division of the Books, I could not know how to excuse, had I not been directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first Part finished. All men know, that there is no great Art in the dividing evenly of those things, which are subject to number and measure. For the rest, it suits well enough with a great many Books of this Age, which speak too much, and yet say little, ipsi nobis furto subducimur; *We are stollen away from our selves, setting a high price on all that is our own. But hereof, though a late good Writer, make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on me, because I believe as he doth; That who so thinks himself the wisest man, is but a poor and miserable Ignorant. Those that are the best men of Warr, against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do always keep the strongest guards against themselves, to defend them from their selves; from self-love, self-estimation, and self-opinion.*

Generally, concerning the order of the Work, I have only taken counsel from the Argument. For of the Assyrians, *which after the down-fall of* Babel *take up the first Part, and were the first great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of Posterity; some few enterprises, greater in Fame than Faith, of* Ninus *and* Semiramis, *excepted.*

It was the Story of the Hebrews, *of all before* Olympiads, *that overcame the consuming disease of Time, and preserved it self from the very Cradle and Beginning to this day; and yet not so entire, but that the large Discourses thereof (to which, in many Scriptures, we are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the Actions of those Kings and Princes which shot up here and there in the same Time, I am driven to relate by way of digression; of which we may say with* Virgil:

Apparent

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vaſto;
They appear here and there, floting in the great gulf of Time.

To the ſame firſt Ages do belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them derived to us; though moſt of the Authors Names have periſhed in ſo long a Navigation. For thoſe Ages had their Laws; they had their diverſity of Government; they had Kingly rule; Nobility; Policy in Warr; Navigation, and all, or the moſt of needful Trades. To ſpeak therefore of theſe (ſeeing in a general Hiſtory we ſhould have left a great deal of Nakedneſs by their omiſſion) it cannot properly be called a digreſſion. True it is, that I have alſo made many others; which, if they ſhall be laid to my charge, I muſt caſt the fault into the great heap of humane error. For, ſeeing we digreſs in the ways of our lives; yea, ſeeing the life of Man is nothing elſe but digreſſion; I may the better be excuſed, in writing their lives and actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Laws of Hiſtory, and of the kinds.

The ſame hath been taught by many, but by no man better, and with greater brevity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman, Sir Francis Bacon. *Chriſtian Laws are alſo taught us by the Prophets and Apoſtles; and every day preach'd unto us. But we ſtill make large digreſſions; yea, the Teachers themſelves do not (in all) keep the path which they point out to others.*

For the reſt, after ſuch time as the Perſians *had wreſted the Empire from the* Chaldæans, *and had raiſed a great Monarchy, producing actions of more importance than were elſewhere to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire; whileſt it ſo flouriſhed, that the affairs of the Nations adjoining had reference thereunto. The like obſervance was to be uſed towards the Fortunes of* Greece, *when they again began to get ground upon the* Perſians; *as alſo towards the affairs of* Rome, *when the* Romans *grew more mighty than the* Greeks.

As for the Medes, *the* Macedonians, *the* Sicilians, *the* Carthaginians, *and other* Nations, *who reſiſted the beginnings of the former Empire, and afterwards became but parts of their compoſition and enlargement: it ſeemed beſt to remember what was known of them from their ſeveral beginnings, in ſuch times and places as they in their flouriſhing eſtates oppoſed thoſe Monarchies, which in the end ſwallowed them up. And herein I have followed the beſt Geographers; who ſeldom give names to thoſe ſmall Brooks, whereof many joined together, make great Rivers; till ſuch time as they become united, and run in main ſtream to the Ocean* Sea. *If the Phraſe be weak, and the Style not every where like it ſelf; the firſt ſhews their legitimation and true Parent; the ſecond will excuſe it ſelf upon the Variety of Matter. For* Virgil, *who wrote his* Eclogues, gracili avena, *uſed ſtronger pipes, when he ſounded the wars of* Æneas. *It may alſo be laid to my charge, that I uſe divers* Hebrew *words in my firſt Book, and elſewhere, in which language others may think, and my ſelf acknowledg it, that I am altogether ignorant; but it is true, that ſome of them I find in* Montanus, *others in* Latine *Characters in* S. Senenſis; *and of the reſt I have borrowed the interpretation of ſome of my friends. But ſay, I had been beholding to neither, yet were it not to be wondred at, having had an eleven years leiſure to attain the knowledg of that, or of any other Tongue;*

How-

Howſoever, I know that it will be ſaid by many, That I might have been more pleaſing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine own Times, having been permitted to draw water as near the Well-head as another. To this I anſwer, That whoſoever in writing a modern Hiſtory, ſhall follow Truth too near the heels, it may haply ſtrike out his teeth. There is no Miſtreſs or Guide that hath led her followers and ſervants into greater miſeries. He that goes after her too far off, loſeth her ſight, and loſeth himſelf; and he that walks after her at a middle diſtance; I know not whether I ſhould call that kind of courſe, Temper, or Baſeneſs. It is true, that I never travelled after mens Opinions, when I might have made the beſt uſe of them; and I have now too few days remaining, to imitate thoſe, that either out of extreme ambition, or extreme cowardiſe, or both, do yet (when Death hath them on his ſhoulders) flatter the World, between the Bed and the Grave. It is enough for me (being in that ſtate I am) to write of the eldeſt Times; wherein alſo, why may it not be ſaid, that in ſpeaking of the paſt, I point at the preſent, and tax the Vices of thoſe that are yet living, in their perſons that are long ſince dead; and have it laid to my charge? But this I cannot help, though innocent. And certainly, if there be any, that finding themſelves ſpotted like the Tigers of old time, ſhall find fault with me for painting them over anew, they ſhall therein accuſe themſelves juſtly, and me falſly.

For, I proteſt before the Majeſty of God, that I malice no man under the Sun. Impoſſible I know it is, to pleaſe all; ſeeing few or none are ſo pleaſed with themſelves, or ſo aſſured of themſelves, by reaſon of their ſubjection to their private paſſions, but that they ſeem divers perſons in one and the ſame day. Seneca *hath ſaid it, and ſo do I:* Unus mihi pro populo erat: *and to the ſame effect,* Epicurus, Hoc ego non multis, ſed tibi; *(or as it hath ſince lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the reſolution of an antient Philoſopher,* Satis eſt unus, Satis eſt nullus. *For it was for the ſervice of that ineſtimable Prince,* Henry, *the ſucceſſive hope, and one of the greateſt of the Chriſtian World, that I undertook this Work. It pleaſed him to peruſe ſome part thereof, and to pardon what was amiſs. It is now left to the World without a Maſter; from which, till that is preſented, hath received both blows and thanks.* Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus eſt omnis judicii, in quo lis ſecundum plures datur. *But theſe Diſcourſes are idle. I know, that as the charitable will judg charitably; ſo againſt thoſe,* qui gloriantur in malitia, *my preſent adverſity hath diſarmed me. I am on the ground already; and therefore have not farr to fall; and for riſing again, as in the Natural privation, there is no receſſion to habit; ſo it is ſeldom ſeen in the privation politick. I do therefore forbear to ſtile my Readers,* Gentle, Courteous, *and* Friendly, *thereby to beg their good Opinions, or to promiſe a ſecond and third Volume (which I alſo intend) if the firſt receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certain, let us claw the Reader with never ſo many courteous Phraſes, yet ſhall we evermore be thought fools, that write fooliſhly. For concluſion, all the hope I have, lies in this, That I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous Readers of my Love towards them, and well-deſerving of them, than ever I ſhall do again. For had it been otherwiſe; I ſhould hardly have had this leiſure to have made my ſelf a Fool in Print.*

THE

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

Intreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same, from the CREATION unto ABRAHAM.

The FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation, and Preservation of the World.

§. I.

That the Invisible God is seen in his Creatures.

GOD, whom the wisest men acknowledg to be a Power uneffable, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant clarity invisible; an Understanding which it self can onely comprehend; an Essence eternal and spiritual, of absolute pureness and simplicity; was, and is pleased to make himself known by the Work of the World: in the wonderful magnitude whereof (all which he imbraceth, filleth, and sustaineth) we behold the Image of that glory which cannot be measured, and withall, that one, and yet universal Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious Lights of Heaven, we perceive a shadow of his divine Countenance; in his merciful provision for all that live, his manifold goodness: and lastly, in creating and making existent the World universal, by the absolute Art of his own Word, his Power and Almightiness; which Power, Light, Vertue, Wisdom, and Goodness, being all but Attributes of one simple Essence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part discern *per speculum creaturarum*, that is, in the disposition, order, and variety of Celestial and Terrestrial bodies: Terrestrial, in their strange and manifold diversities; Celestial, in their beauty and magnitude; which in their continual and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By these potent effects, we approach to the knowledg of the omnipotent cause, and by these motions, their Almighty Maker.

In these more then wonderful works, God (saith * *Hugo*) speaketh unto man: and it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects, those that live, witness in themselves;

* Hugo *super Eccles. Homil.* 8.

selves; the sensible in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable souls: for, according to * S. *Gregory*, *Omnis homo eo ipso quòd rationalis conditus est, ex ipsa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet*; Every man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men behold (saith *Job*) which is, according to the Fathers, *Dominationem illius conspicere in creaturis*, *To discern him in his providence by his creatures.* That God hath been otherwise seen, to wit, with corporal eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my understanding, grounded on these places of S. *John* and S. *Paul*, *Ye have not heard his voice at any time, neither have ye seen his shape.* And again, *Whom never man saw, nor can see.*

And this I am sure agrees with the nature of Gods simplicity, of which S. *Augustine*, *Ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter videri non potest*; That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoever name that is to be called which is God, whatsoever that be, the same cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were *Origen*, *Cyril*, *Chrysostom*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, *Hierom*, *Augustine*, *Gregory* the great, *Evaristus*, *Alcuinus*, *Dionysius Areopagita*, *Aquinas*, and all others of authority. But by his own Word, and by this visible World, is God perceived of men; which is also the understood language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his Creatures, whose Hieroglyphical Characters are the unnumbred Stars, the Sun and Moon; written on these large Volumes of the Firmament: written also on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of all those living creatures, and plants, which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore said that learned *Cusanus*, *Mundus universus nihil aliud est, quàm Deus explicatus*; The World universal is nothing else but God expressed. And the invisible things of God (saith S. *Paul*) are seen by the creation of the World, being considered in his creatures. Of all which, there was no other cause preceding then his own Will, no other matter then his own Power, no other Workman then his own Word, no other consideration then his own infinite goodness. The example and pattern of these his Creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternity in the abundance of his own love, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his unchanged Will moved, by his high Wisdom disposed, and by his Almighty Power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith *Mirandula*) we ought to love God, *ex fide, & ex effectibus* (that is) both perswaded by his Word, and by the effects of the Worlds Creation: *Neque enim qui causa caret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognosciq; potest, sed vel ex rerum, quæ factæ sunt, quæque fiunt & gubernantur, observatione & collatione; vel ex ipsius Dei verbo:* For he of whom there is no higher cause, cannot be known by any knowledg of cause or beginning (saith *Montanus*) but either by the observing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and govern; or else by the word of God himself.

A. Mont. Nat. Hist. fol. 7.

§. II.

That the wisest of the Heathen, whose authority is not to be despised, have acknowledged the World to have been created by God.

THis work and creation of the World, did most of the antient and learned Philosophers acknowledg, though by divers terms, and in a different manner expressed; I mean all those who are intitled by S. *Augustine*, *Summi Philosophi*, Philosophers of highest judgment and understanding. *Mercurius Trismegistus* calleth God, *Principium universorum*, The original of the Universal; to whom he giveth also the attributes of *Mens*, *Natura*, *Actus*, *Necessitas*, *Finis*, & *Renovatio*. And wherein he truely with S. *Paul*, casteth upon God all power; confessing also, that the World was made by Gods Almighty Word, and not by hands: *Verbo, non manibus, fabricatus est mundus. Zoroaster* (whom *Heraclitus* followed in opinion) took the word *Fire* to express God by (as in *Deuteronomy*, and in S. *Paul* it is used) *Omnia ex uno igne genita sunt*, *All things* (saith he) *are caused or produced out of one fire.*

Herm. in Pœmandro, & in sermone sacro.

Deut 4.24. Heb.12.19.

So did *Orpheus* plainly teach, that the World had beginning in time, from the Will of the most high God; whose remarkable words are thus converted; *Cum abscondisset omnia Jupiter summus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia:* Of which I conceive this sense; *When great Jupiter had hidden all things in himself, working out of the love of his sacred heart, he sent thence*, or brought forth, *into grateful light, the admirable works which he had fore-thought.*

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most High, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Unus Deus, Pater, Creator summus*, *Plato* calleth God the cause and original, the nature and reason of the universal; *Totius rerum natura, causa, & origo Deus.* But hereof more at large hereafter.

Vid. cap. 6.

Now, although the curiosity of some men have found it superfluous, to remember the opinions

* Greg. in Mor. Herm. ad fil. Tat. l. 5. Unus verò ingenitus, & non apparens & immanifestus, omnia autem manifestans per omnia apparet, & in omnibus. Apparentia solùm generatorum est; nihil apparitio quàm generatio. Joh. 5 3. 1 Tim. 6.16

Origen l 2. περὶ ἀρχῶν c. 22. Cyril. & Chrys in Joh hom. 14 Greg. Naz. l. 2. Theolog. Hier. in Esaiam. Aug. l. 2. de Trin. c. 12. & 13 Greg. Mag. l. 18. Mor. Evar. ep. 1. Decret. Alcuin. l. 2. de Trin. c. 16. D. Areop c 4. Cæl. Hierar. Thom. p. 2. q 12. art. 11. & alibi. Deus qui natura invisibilis est, ut à visibilibus posset sciri, opus fecit quod Opificem sui visibiliter manifestaret, ut per certum incertum sciretur, & ille Deus omnium esse crederetur, Amb. in epist. ad Rom. c. 1. Cusan. de gen ilialog. Rom, l. 20.

opinions of Philosophers in matters of Divinity: (it being true, that the Scripture hath not want of any forrain testimony) yet as the *Fathers*, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; so S. *Paul* himself did not despise, but thought it lawful and profitable, to remember whatsoever he found agreeable to the word of God among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them that know him not: as in the Epistle to *Titus* he citeth *Epimenides* against the *Cretians*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Menander*; and in the seventeenth of the *Acts*, *Aratus &c.* For, Truth (saith S. *Ambrose*) by whomsoever uttered, is of the holy Ghost; *Veritas à quocunque dicatur, à Spiritu sancto est:* and lastly, let those kind of men learn this rule; *Quæ sacris serviunt, prophana non sunt*; *Nothing is prophane, that serveth to the use of holy things.*

§. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio, *Genes.* 1. 1.

THis visible world of which *Moses* writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all: in which (saith *Tertullian*) things began to be. This word *Beginning* (in which the *Hebrews* seek some hidden mystery, and which in the *Jews Targum* is converted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men have conceived, both which are subsequent: but only to Creation then. For before that Beginning, there was neither primary Matter to be informed, nor Form to inform, nor any Being, but the Eternal. Nature was not, nor the next Parent of Time begotten, Time properly and naturally taken: for if God had but disposed of Matter already in being, then as the word *Beginning* could not be referred to all things, so must it follow, that the institution of Matter proceded from a greater power, then that of God. And by what name shall we then call such an One (saith *Lactantius*) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellency to make, then to dispose of things made? whereupon it may be concluded, that Matter could not be before this Beginning: except we fain a double creation, or allow of two Powers, and both infinite; the impossibility whereof scorneth defence. *Nam impossibile est plura esse infinita: quoniam alterum esset in altero finitum; There cannot be more Infinities then one: for one of them would limit the other.* *Cusan. de Mente. l. 3.*

§. IV.

Of the meaning of the words Heaven *and* Earth, *Genes.* 2. 1.

THe Universal matter of the world (which *Moses* comprehendeth under the names of *Heaven* and *Earth*) is by divers diversly understood; for there are that conceive, that by those words was meant the first matter, as the Peripateticks understand it; to which S. *Augustine* and *Isidore* seem to adhere, *Feciſti mundum* (saith S. *Augustine*) *de materia informi; quam feciſti de nulla re, pene nullam rem*: that is, *Thou hast made the world of a matter without form; which matter thou madest of nothing, and being made, it was little other then nothing.*

But this potential and imaginary *materia prima*, cannot exist without form. *Peter Lombard, the Schoolmen, Beda, Lyranus, Comestor, Tostatus*, and others affirm that it pleased God first of all to create the Empyrean Heaven: which at the succeeding instant (saith *Beda* and *Strabo*) he filled with *Angels*. This Empyrean Heaven *Steuchius Eugubynus* calleth *Divine clarity and uncreated:* an errour, for which he is sharply charged by *Pererius*, though (as I conceive) he rather failed in the subsequent, when he made it to be a place, and the seat of Angels and just Souls, then in the former affirmation; for of the first, That God liveth in eternal Light, it is written, *My soul, praise thou the Lord, that covereth himself with light:* and in the Revelation, *And the City hath no need of the Sun, neither of the Moon to shine in it: for the glory of God did light it.* And herein also *John Mercer* upon *Genesis*, differeth not in opinion from *Eugubynus*: for as by Heaven created in the beginning, was not meant the invisible or supercelestial; so in his judgment, because it was in all eternity the glorious seat of God himself, it was not necessary to be created; *Quem Mundum Super-cœlestem meo judicio creari* (saith *Mercer*) *non erat necesse.*

Beda Hex. Strabo super Gen. Eug. Cos. & de nat. in corp.

Ps. 104. 12. *Claritas divina non est lux facta, sed Sapientia Dei, non creata, sed nata, Apoc.* 21. 23. *Mercer. in Gen.* 7. 7.

But as *Moses* forbare to speak of Angels, and of things invisible and incorporate, for the weakness of their capacities, whom he then cared to inform of those things which were most manifest, (to wit) that God did not only by a strong hand deliver them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promise made to their forefathers; but also that he created, and was the sole cause of this aspectable, and perceivable Universal: so on the other side I dare not think, that any supercelestial Heaven, or whatsoever else (not himself) was increate and eternal; and as for

the place of God before the world created, the finite wisdom of mortal men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the seat of infinite power, no more then infinite power it self can be limited: for his place is in Himself, whom no magnitude else can contain:

Bar. 3. 24, 25. *How great is the house of God* (saith *Baruch*) *how large is the place of his possession; it is great, and hath no end, it is high and unmeasurable.*

But leaving multiplicity of opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the words *Heaven* and *Earth*, was meant the solid matter and substance, as well of all the Heavens, and Orbs supernal, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which covered it over, (to wit) that very matter of all things, *Materia, Chaos, possibilitas, sive posse fieri.* Which matter (saith *Calvin*) was so called, *quod totius mundi semen fuerit; Because it was the seed of the Universal*: an opinion of antient Philosophers long before.

Cusan. in Compend. fol. 224. Operis.

Calvin. in Gen.

§. V.

That the substance of the Waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by Moses *understood in the word Earth: and that the Earth, by the attributes of unformed and void, is described as the Chaos of the antient Heathen.*

Moses first nameth Heaven and Earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word Earth; but afterwards he nameth them apart, when God by his Spirit began to distinguish the confused Mass, and (as *Basil* saith) *Præparare naturam aquæ ad fœcunditatem vitalem; To prepare the nature of water to a vital fruitfulness.*

For under the word *Heaven*, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, and natures expresst: and by the name of *Earth* and *Waters*, all was meant, whatsoever is under the Moon, and subject to alteration. Corrupt seeds bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heavens are not subject, though subject to perishing. *They shall perish* (saith *David*) *and the heavens shall vanish away like smoak*, saith *Esay*. Neither were the waters the matter of Earth; for it is written, *Let the waters under the heavens be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appear*: which proveth, that the dry land was mixt and covered with the waters and not yet distinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or seed of the Earth, much less of the Universal. *Initio tu, Domine, terram fundâsti, Thou, O Lord, in the beginning hast founded the Earth*: and again, *The Earth was covered with the Deep* (meaning with waters) *as with a garment*, saith *David*. And if by natural arguments it may be proved, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth us also, that earth rarified may become water: water, air: air, fire: and so on the contrary. *Deus ignis substantiam per aërem in aquam convertit, God turneth the substance of fire by air into water.* For the Heavens and the Earth remained in the same state, in which they were created, as touching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicity of perfection, in respect of beauty and ornament. *Cœlum verò & terra in statu creationis remanserunt quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita est.* And the word which the Hebrews call *Maim*, is not to be understood according to the Latine translation simply, and as specifical water; but the same more properly signifieth liquor. For (according to *Montanus*) *Est autem Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero Aquas fecit; For Maim* (saith he) *is a double liquor* (that is, of divers natures) *and this name or word the Latines, wanting a voice to expresse it, call it in the Plural*, Aquas, *Waters.*

Zeno. Gul. Paris. 600. A. Mont. de nat.

This Mass, or indigested matter, or Chaos, created in the beginning, was without form, that is, without the proper form, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the Earth, and digested it from the Waters. *And the Earth was void*, that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after *the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters*, and wrought this indigested matter into that form, which it now retaineth; then did *the earth bud forth the herb, which seedeth seed, and the fruitful tree according to his kind, and God saw that it was good*; which attribute was not given to the Earth, while it was confused; nor to the Heavens, before they had motion, and adornment. *God saw that it was good*, that is, made perfect: for perfection is that to which nothing is wanting. *Et perfecti Dei perfecta sunt opera; The works of the perfect God, are perfect.*

Gen. 1. 2.

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the antient Poets their invention of *Demogorgon*; *Hesiodus* and *Anaxagoras* the knowledg of that Chaos: of which *Ovid*;

Ovid. Met. l. 1.

Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) Cœlum,
Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in Orbe,
Quem dixêre Chaos, rudis indigestaque moles.

Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heaven, that all doth hide,
In all the World one onely face of Nature did abide:
Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heap.

§. VI.

How it is to be understood, that the Spirit of God moved upon the waters; and that this is not to be searched curiously.

AFter the Creation of Heaven and Earth, then void and without form, the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters. The *Seventy Interpreters* use the word *superferebatur*, moved upon or over: *incubabat* or *fovebat* (saith *Hierome*) out of *Basil*; and *Basil* out of a Syrian Doctor; *Equidem non meam tibi, sed viri cujusdam Syri sententiam recensebo* (saith *Basil*:) which words *incubare* or *fovere*, importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, have a special likeness. *Verbum translatum est ab avibus pullitiei suæ incubantibus, quamvis spirituali, & planè inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo*; *The word is taken of birds hatching their young, not corporally, but in a spiritual and unexpressible manner.*

Basil Hexam.

Junius.

Some of the Hebrews convert it to this effect, *Spiritus Dei volitabat*; *The Spirit of God did flutter*: the Chaldean Paraphrast in this sense, *Ventus à conspectu Dei sufflabat*: or, as other understand the Chaldean, *Flabat, pellebat, removebat*: *The wind from the face of God did blow under, drive, or remove, or did blow upon*; according to the 147. *Psalm*, *He caused his wind to blow, and the waters increase*: *but there was yet no wind nor exhalation.* *Arias Montanus* in these words, *Et Spiritus Elohim Meracheset, id est, efficaciter motitans, confovens, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris*; *The Spirit of God effectually and often moving, keeping warm, and cherishing, quickning and stirring upon the face of this double liquor.* For he maketh four originals, whereof three are agents, and the last passive and material, to wit, *Causa*, which is the divine Goodness: *Jehi*, which is, *fiat, sive erit*, *Let it be*, or, *It shall be.* *Quæ vox verbo dei prima prolata fuit*: *Which voice* (saith he) *was the first that was uttered by the Word of God.* The third, *Spiritus Elohim*, the Spirit of God, *id est, Vis quædam divina, agilis ac præsens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complens*; that is, *A certain divine power, or strength every where active and extending, and stretching through all, filling and finishing all things.* The fourth he calleth *Maim, id est, Materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis*; *Matter apt to becom every thing.* For my self, I am resolved (*Cum Deus sit super rationale omni ratione*; *Seeing God is in all reason above reason*) that although the effects which follow his wonderful waies of working, may in a measure be perceived by mans understanding, yet

Psal. 147. 18.

Ar. Mont. in sup. Eu gub. in Cos. fol. 13.

Ar. Mont. natura, pag. 345.

the manner and first operation of his divine power, cannot be conceived by any mind, or spirit, compassed with a mortal body. *Animalis homo quæ Dei sunt non percipit*: *For my thoughts* (saith the Lord in *Esay*) *are not your thoughts, neither are your waies my waies.* And as the world hath not known God himself: so are his waies (according to S. *Paul*) *past finding out.* *O righteous Father, the world hath not known thee*, saith Christ. And therefore, whether that motion, vitality, and operation, were by incubation or how else, the manner is onely known to God. *Quomodo in omnibus sit rebus vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit*; *For how God* (saith S. *Augustine*, speaking of his Ubiquity) *is in all things, either by essence, presence, or power, our understanding cannot comprehend.* *Nihil inter Deum hominemque distaret, si consilia, & dispositiones illius Majestatis æternæ, cogitatio assequeretur humana*: *There would be no difference between God and man, if man's understanding could conceive the counsels and disposing of that eternal Majesty*; and therefore to be over-curious in searching how the all-powerful Word of God wrought in the Creation of the World, or his all-piercing and operative spirit distinguishing, gave form to the Matter of the Universal, is a labour and search like unto his, who not contented with a known and safe Foord, will presume to pass over the greatest River in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one lose his life, and the other his understanding. We behold the Sun, and enjoy his light, as long as we look towards it, but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warm our selves safely, while we stand neer the fire; but if we seek to out-face the one, to enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.

Esa. 55. 8.

Aug. Tract. 18. in John 17. 25.

Lact. in Præfat.

But to eschew curiosity: this is true, that the English word (*moved*) is most proper and significant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatsoever is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truly called, *Principium motus*, and with *Mirandula*, *Vis causæ efficientis*, *The force of the efficient cause*; S. *Augustine* sometimes taketh for the Holy Ghost; sometimes for a wind or breath, *Sub nomine Spiritus, under the name of a Spirit*, which is sometimes so taken: or for *virtualis creatura*, *For a created virtuality*: *Tertullian* and *Theodoret* call it also a breath or wind: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem*, *A pure or thin intelligible Spirit*: Anaxagoras, *Mentem*; Tostatus, *Voluntatem & mentem Dei*, *The will and mind of God*; which *Mens*, *Plato in Timæo* maketh *Animam mundi*, *The soul of the world*

world: and in his sixth Book *de Republica*, he calleth it *the Law of Heaven*; in his Epistles, *The Leader of things to come, and the presence of things past.* But as *Cyprian* wrote of the incarnation of Christ our Saviour, *Mens deficit, vox silet, & non mea tantùm, sed etiam Angelorum; My mind faileth, my voice is silent, and not mine onely, but even the voice of Angels:* so may all men else say in the understanding and utterance of the waies and works of the Creation; for to him (saith *Nazianzenus*) there is not one substance by which he is, and another, by which he can, *Sed consubstantiale illi est, quicquid ejus est, & quicquid est; Whatsoever attribute of him there is, and whatsoever he is, it is the very same substance that himself is.*

Nazian. lib. 2. Theol.

But the Spirit of God which moved upon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or wind, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite active power of God, which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustaineth and giveth continuance to the Universal. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the same is it *which maintaineth all things*, saith *Solomon. If thou send forth thy Spirit* (saith *David*) *they are created:* And *Gregory*, *Deus suo præsentiali esse, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quòd si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum defluerent universa; God giveth being to all things, by being present with all things, so as if he should withdraw himself from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would again fall away and vanish into nothing.* And this working of Gods Spirit in all things, *Virgil* hath expresst excellently:

Wisd. 1. v. 7.

Principio Cœlum ac Terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemq; globum Lunæ, Titaniaq; astra,
Spiritus intus alit: totamq; infusa per artus,
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.

Virg. Æneid. lib. 8. 724.

The Heaven, and Earth, and all the liquid Mayn,
The Moon's bright Globe, and Stars Titanian
A Spirit within maintains: and their whole mass,
A mind, which through each part infus'd doth pass,
Fashions, and works, and wholly doth transpierce
All this great Body of the Universe.

And this was the same Spirit, which moved in the Universal, and thereby both distinguished and adorned it. *His Spirit hath garnished the Heavens*, saith *Job.* So then the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and created in them their spirituality, and natural motion; motion brought forth heat; and heat rarifaction, and subtilty of parts. By this Spirit (which gave heat and motion, and thereby, operation to every nature, while it moved upon the waters, which were in one indigested lump, and Chaos, disposed to all forms alike) was begotten Aire: an element superiour, as lighter then the waters; through whose vast, open, subtile, Diaphanick, or transparent body, the light, afterwards created, might easily transpierce: Light for the excellency thereof being the first creature which God called good, whose creation immediately followed. This Spirit *Chrysostom* calleth a vital Operation, *Aquis à Deo insitam, ex qua aquæ non solum motionem, sed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint.* He calleth it, *A vital Operation given by God unto the waters, whereby the waters had not onely motion, but also power to procreate or bring forth living Creatures.*

Job c. 26. v. 13.

Gen. 1. 2.

§. VII.

Of the Light created, as the material substance of the Sun, and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledg of it: and of the excellency and use of it: and of motion, and heat annexed unto it.

THese Waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and united, and called the Sun, the Organ and Instrument of created light. For this first and dispersed light did not (as I conceive) distinguish the night from the day, but with a reference to the Suns creation, and the uniting of the dispersed light therein. This is proved by these words, *Let there be lights in the Firmament, to separate the day from the night:* which lights in the Firmament of Heaven, were also made for signes, and for seasons, and for daies, and for years, implying a motion instantly to follow, by which, days and years are distinguished; after which succeeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the measure of motion) began. For that space of the first three days which preceded the Suns creation, or formal perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be measured, and the Day named in the fifth Verse; was but such a space, as afterwards by the Suns motion made a civil or natural day. And as Waters were the matter of Aire, of the firmament, and of the lower and upper waters, and of the Seas, and Creatures therein; Earth, the matter of Beasts, Plants, Minerals, and Mans body: so may Light (for expression sake) be called the Chaos, or material substance of the

Gen. 1. 14.

the Sun, and other lights of heaven: Howbeit, neither the Sun, nor any thing sensible. is that light it self, *Quæ causa est lucidorum, Which is the cause that things are lightsome* (though it make it self and all things else visible:) but a body most illightned, which illuminateth the Moon, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the *Greeks* call *Æther*, the place of the supposed Element of fire) is effected and qualified, and by it all bodies living in this our ayr. For this light *Avicenna* calleth *Vehiculum & fomentum omnium cœlestium virtutum, & impressionum: The conducter, and preserver, or nourisher of all celestial virtues and impressions*, nothing descending of heavenly influences, but by the *medium*, or means of light. *Aristotle* calleth light a quality, inherent or cleaving to a Diaphanous body, *Lumen est qualitas inhærens Diaphano:* but this may be better avouched of the heat, which it transporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which heat (say the Platonicks) *Abeunte lumine residet in subjecto, The light being departed, doth reside in the subject*, as warmth in the ayr, though the same be deprived of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academicks* make incorporal, and so doth *Montanus*, *Cui nec duritia resistit, nec spatium*; *Which neither hardness resisteth, nor space leaveth.*

Lux dicitur, quæ se & omnia visibilia facit. Cusan. in Compend. cap. 7. & exercit. lib. 5.

Ficin. lib. lumine, cap. 11.

Aristotle findeth corporality in the beams of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, saith *Picolomineus*. *Democritus*, *Leucippus*, and *Epicurus*, give materiality to light it self, but improperly: for it passeth at an instant from the Heaven to the Earth, nor is it resisted by any hardness, because it passeth through the solid body of glass, or other Crystalline matter; and whereas it is withstood by unclean and unpure earthy substances, less hard, and more easie to invade then the former, the same is, *Quòd obstaculum naturâ terreum atq; sordidum, non capit candidam luminis puritatem; Because an obstacle by nature earthy and foul, doth not receive the pure clearness of light:* alluding to that most divine Light, which onely shineth on those minds, which are purged from all worldly dross, and humane uncleanness.

Pic. de fini.

Plotin.

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion; neither do I marvel at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philosophers, or School-men, or other antient or latter Writers, that any of them understood either it or themselves therein: all men (to cast off ignorance) have disputed thereof, but there is no man that hath been taught thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferiour to any in wit) as he hath shewed little strength of argument in refuting the opinions of *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Lombard*, *Lyranus*, and others: so is his own judgment herein, as weak as any mans; and most of the School-men were rather curious in the nature of terms, and more subtile in distinguishing upon the parts of doctrine already laid down, then discoverers of any thing hidden, either in Philosophy or Divinity: of whom it may be truly said, *Nihil sapientiæ odiosius acumine nimio; Nothing is more odious to true wisdom, then too accute sharpness.* Neither hath the length of time, and the search of many learned men, (which the same time hath brought forth and devoured) resolved us, whether this light be substantial, corporal, or incorporal: Corporal they say it cannot be, because then it could neither pierce the ayr, nor those hard, solid, and Diaphanous bodies, which it doth; and yet every day we see the ayr illightned: Incorporal it cannot be, because it sometime affecteth the sight of the eye with offence, and therefore by most of the Fathers so esteemed. Others say (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, because no form so excellent as it self to inform it: neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destruction of the subject: for light being taken from the Sun, the Sun is no more the Sun in existence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and form, then either, or both must be one of these, lucid or bright, dark or opake, Diaphanous or transparent; but darkness cannot be parent of light; and things Diaphanous (being neither light nor darkness, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of either, and therefore must the matter, or form, or both, be lucid and shining. Lucid and shining obtain their so being of the light; and therefore if we derive this being of light from a former, then would the progress go on infinitely and against nature; and therefore he concludeth, that light in the Sun hath his being primarily, and immediately of it self, and is therefore the Suns form, and the form of all lucid and shining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others judge.

Lucida corpora sunt plena sua luce, alienis tenebris impervia. Opaca sunt plena suis tenebris alieno lumine. Transparentia seu Diaphana carent suis & lumine & tenebris: alienis & lumine & tenebris permeantur. Scal. sub. ex. 71.

But in my understanding, *Lumen* (which may be Englished by the word *Shine*) is an intentional Species of that, which may be Englished by Light; and so, this shining which proceedeth from the Sun, or other lights of Heaven, or from any other light, is an Image, or intentional Species thereof; and an intentional Species may be understood by example of a red or green colour, occasioned by the shining of the Sun through red or green glass: for then we perceive the same colour cast upon any thing opposite; which redness or other colour, we call the *intentional Species*

cies of the colour in that glass. And again, as this light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet understood: so it is disputed, whether this light first created, be the same which the Sun inholdeth and casteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer than till the Suns creation.

But by the most wise and unchanged order, which God observed in the works of the World, I gather, that the Light, in the first day created, was the substance of the Sun: for *Moses* repeateth twice the main parts of the Universal: first, as they were created in matter; secondly, as they were adorned with form: first, naming the Heavens, the Earth, the Waters, all confused; and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made dry Land; and the Heavens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was uncovered, and before it was called *Arida*, or dry Land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or inriched with their virtual forms: So the Sun although it had not its formal perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (under the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day united, and set in the Firmament of Heaven: for, to Light created in the first day God gave no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation* (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this Light was congregated and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisdome of God find cause why it should move (by which motion, days and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by moving, the Sun might give light, heat, and operation.

But after the Earth (distinguished from Waters) began to bud forth the bud of the herb, *&c.* God caused the Sun to move, and (by interchange of time) to visite every part of the inferiour World; by his heat to stir up the fire of generation, and to give activity to the seeds of all natures: For, as a King, which commandeth some goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the same to that use and end, to which it was ordained; so it pleased God (saith *Procopius*) to command the Light to be; which by his all-powerful Word he approved, and approving it, disposed thereof, to the use and comfort of his future Creatures.

Quemadmodum Rex aliquis, &c. Procop. in Gen. 1.

But in that it pleased God to ask of *Job*, *By what way is the Light parted, and where is the way where Light dwelleth?* we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not under mans understanding; and therefore let it suffice, that by Gods grace we enjoy the effects thereof. *For this light is of the treasure of God* (saith Esdras:) *And those which inhabite the Heavens, do onely know the Essence thereof. Nihil ignotum in cœlo, nihil notum in terra: Nothing unknown in Heaven, nothing perfectly known on Earth. Res veræ sunt in mundo invisibili; in mundo visibili umbræ rerum: Things themselves are in the invisible World; in the world visible, but their shadows.* Surely, if this Light be not spiritual, yet it approacheth neerest unto spirituality; and if it have any corporality, then of all other the most subtile and pure; for howsoever, it is of all things seen, the most beautiful, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficial. For it ministreth unto men, and other creatures, all celestial influences; it dissipateth those sad thoughts and sorrows, which the darkness both begetteth and maintaineth; it discovereth unto us the glorious works of God, and carrieth up with an Angelical swiftness, our eyes unto Heaven, that by the sight thereof, our minds being informed of his visible marvels, may continually travel to surmount these perceived Heavens, and to find out their omnipotent Cause and Creator. *Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatis; Our knowledg doth not quiet it self in things created. Et ipsa lux facit, ut cætera mundi membra digna sint laudibus, cùm suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet; It is the Light* (Saith Saint Ambrose) *that maketh the other parts of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it self communicateth its goodness and beauty unto all.* Of which, *Ovid* out of *Orpheus*:

Esd. l. 2. c. 6. 40.

Herm.

Ficin.

Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum,
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,
Mundi oculus.

Ovid. Met. lib. 1.

The world discerns it self, while I the World behold,
By me the longest years, and other times are told,
I the worlds eye.

Lastly, If we may behold in any creature, any one spark of that eternal fire, or any far-off dawning of Gods glorious brightness, the same in the beauty, motion, and virtue of this Light, may be perceived. Therefore was God called *Lux ipsa*; and the Light, by *Hermes*, named *Lux sancta*; and *Christ* our Saviour said to be *that Light which lightneth every man that cometh into the world.* Yet in respect

Job 38. 24. 9.

Job. 1. 9. & 14. 46.

respect of Gods incomprehensible sublimity, and purity, this is also true, that God is neither a mind, nor a Spirit of the nature of other Spirits; nor a light, such as can be discerned. *Deus profectò non mens est, at verò ut sit mens causa est; nec spiritus, sed causa quâ spiritus extat; nec lumen, sed causa quâ lumen existit: God* (saith *Hermes* in Pœmandro) *certainly is not a mind, but the cause that the mind hath his being; nor spirit, but the cause by which every spirit is; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.*

So then the *Mass* and *Chaos* being first created, void, dark, and unformed, was by the operative Spirit of God, pierced and quickned; and the Waters, having now received Spirit and motion, resolved their thinner parts into Ayr, which God illightned: the Earth also by being contiguat, and mixt with waters (participating the same divine virtue) brought forth the bud of the herb that seedeth seed, *&c.* And for a mean and organ, by which this operative virtue might be continued, God appointed the Light to be united, and gave it also motion and heat, which heat caused a continuance of those severall *species*, which the Earth (being made fruitful by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begat the time and times succeeding.

Gen. 1. 10.

§. VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the waters above the Firmament: and whether there be any Crystalline Heaven, or any Primum mobile.

After that the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and light was created, God said, *Let there be a Firmament in the middest of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters:* that is, those waters which by rarifaction and evaporation were ascended, and those of the Earth and Sea.

But these waters, separate above this Extension, which the Latine Translation calleth *firmamentum*, or *expansum* (for so *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius* turn it) are not the Crystalline Heavens created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Basilius Magnus* calleth a childish supposition, making in the same place many learned arguments against this infancie. For the waters above the firmament, are the waters in the ayr above us, where the same is more solid and condense, which God separated from the neather waters by a firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space: the words *Raqnia* (which *Montanus* writeth *Rakiagh*), and *Shamajim*, being indifferently taken for the heaven and for ayr, and more properly for the ayr and *Æther*, then for the heavens, as the best Hebricians understand them, *Quo suprema ac tennia ab infimis crassis diducta, intersectaque distarent*, for that *whereby the supreme and thin bodies were placed in distance, being severed and cut off from low and gross matters:* and the waters above the firmament, expresst in the word *Majim*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters above the ayr, or in the uppermost region of the same.

Mon. Nat. hist. fol. 152.

And that the word Heaven is used for the Ayr, the Scriptures every where witness; as in the blessings of *Joseph*, and in the 104. Psalm: * *By these Springs shall the fowl of the Heaven dwell*; and *upon Sodom and Gomorrah it rained brimstone and fire out of the Heaven*; and in *Isaacs* blessing to *Jacob*; *God give thee therefore of the dew of Heaven:* and in *Deuteronomy* the 11. *But the land whither you go to possess it, is a land that drinketh water of the rayne of Heaven*; and in *Job*, *Who hath ingendred the frosts of Heaven?* and in S. *Matthew*, *Behold the Fowls of Heaven, for they sow not.* So as in all the Scriptures of the Old Testament throughout, is the word *Heaven* very oft used for Ayr, and taken also hyperbolically for any great Height, as, *Let us build us a Tower, whose top may reach to Heaven &c.* And in this very place *Basil* avoucheth, that this appellation of Heaven for the Firmament, is but by way of similitude: his own words be these; *Et vocavit Deus firmamentum cœlum. Hæc appellatio alii quidem propriè accommodatur, huic autem nunc ad similitudinem*; *And God called the firmament Heaven: This appellation* (saith *Basil*) *is properly applied to another* (that is to the Starry Heaven) *but to this* (that is, to the firmament dividing the waters) *it is imposed by similitude.* And if there were no other proof, that by the Firmament was meant the Ayr, and not the Heaven, the words of *Moses* in the eighth verse, conferred with the same word *Firmament* in the twentieth verse, make it manifest: for in the eighth verse it is written, that God called the Firmament, which divided waters from waters, Heaven; and in the twentieth verse he calleth the Firmament of Heaven, Ayr; in these words, *And let the Fowl flye upon the earth in the open firmament of Heaven.* And what use there should be of this ycie, or crystalline, or waterie Heaven, I conceive not, except it be to moderate and temper the heat, which the *Primum mobile* would otherwise gather and increase: though in very truth, instead of this help, it would add an unmeasurable greatness of circle, whereby the swiftness of that first Moveable would exceed all possibility of belief. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impossibilia*; *but no man*

* *Psal.* 104. 12. 2 *Gen.* 19. 24. *Cap.* 27. 28. *Deut* 11. 11. *Job* 38. 29. *Matth.* 6. 26.

Gen. 11. 4.

ought to be held to impossibilities: and faith it self (which surmounteth the height of all humane reason) hath for a forcible conductor the Word of Truth, which also may be called *lumen omnis rationis & intellectus; the light of all reason and understanding.* Now that this supposed first Moveable, turneth it selfe so many hundred thousand miles in an instant (seeing the Scriptures teach it not) let those that can believe mens imagination, apprehend it; for I cannot. [But of these many Heavens, let the Reader that desireth satisfaction, search *Orontius*; and of this waterie Heaven, *Basilius Magnus*, in his *Hexam. fol.* 40,41. *&c.* and *Matth. Beroaldus*, in his second Book and sixth chapter. For my self, I am perswaded, that the waters called, The waters above the Heavens, are but the clouds and waters engendred in the uppermost ayr.

§. IX.

A Conclusion, repeating the summ of the works in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finishing of it.

TO conclude, it may be gathered out of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, that this was the order of the most wise God in the beginning, and when there was no other nature, or Being, but Gods incomprehensible eternity. First, he created the matter of all things: and in the first three dayes he distinguished, and gave to every nature his proper form; the form of levitie to that which ascended; to that which descended, the form of gravity: for he separated light from darkness, divided waters from waters, and gathered the waters under the firmament into one place. In the last three days, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the World: he set in the Firmament of Heaven, the Sun, Moon, and Starrs; filled the Earth with Beasts, the Ayr with Fowl, and the Sea with Fish, giving to all that have life a power generative, thereby to continue their Species, and kinds; to Creatures vegetative and growing, their Seeds in themselves; for *he created all things, that they might have their being: and the generations of the world are preserved.*

Wisd. Sol. c. 1. 14.

§. X

That Nature, is no Principium per se; *nor Form, the giver of being: and of our ignorance how second causes should have any proportion with their effects.*

AND for this working-power, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion and rest, according to *Aristotle*; the same is nothing else, but the strength and faculty, which God hath infused into every creature, having no other selfe-ability, then a Clock, after it is wownd up by a mans hand, hath. Those therefore that attribute unto this faculty, any first or sole power, have therein no other understanding, then such a one hath who, looking into the Stern of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helm and Rudder, doth ascribe some absolute virtue to the peece of wood, without all consideration of the hand that guides it, or of the judgment, which also directeth and commandeth that hand: forgetting in this and in all else, that by the virtue of the first act, all Agents work whatsoever they work: *Virtute primi actus, agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt:* for as the mind of man seeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the ears, and maketh choyce by the will: and therefore we attribute sight to the eye, and hearing to the ears, *&c.* and yet it is the mind only, that giveth ability, life, and motion to all these his instruments and Organs; so God worketh by Angels, by the Sun, by the Starrs, by Nature or infused properties, and by men as by several Organs, several effects; all second causes whatsoever, being but instruments, conduits, and pipes, which carry and disperse what they have received from the head and fountain of the Universal. For as it is Gods infinite power, and everywhere-presence (compassing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giveth to the Sun power to draw up vapours, to be made clouds; clouds to contain rain, and rain to fall: so all second and instrumental causes together with Nature it self, without that operative faculty which God gave them, would become altogether silent, virtueless, and dead: of which excellently *Orpheus*; *Per te virescunt omnia, All things by thee spring forth in youthful green.* I enforce not these things, thereby to annihilate those variable virtues which God hath given to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heavenly and earthly bodies, *&c.* for all His workes in their virtues prayse him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philosophers, and those that follow them, have taken on them to teach: I say, there is not any one among them, nor any one among us, that could ever yet conceive it, or express it, ever enrich his own understanding with any certain truth, or ever edifie others (not foolish by selfe-flattery) therein. For (saith *Lactantius*, speaking of the wisdom of the Philosophers) *Si facultas inveniendæ veritatis huic studio subjaceret, aliquando esset inventa;*

Natura enim, remota providentia & potestate divina, prorsus nihil est. Lact. de fals. Sapientia. l. 3. c. 28.

ta; cum verò tot temporibus, tot ingeniis in ejus inquisitione contritis, non sit comprehensa, apparet nullam ibi esse sapientiam; If in this studie (saith he), *were means to find out the truth, it had ere this bin found out: but seeing it is not yet comprehended, after that so much time, and so many wits have been worn out in the inquiry of it, it appeareth, that there is no wisdom there to be had. Nam si de unâ re præcisa scientia haberetur, omnium rerum scientia necessariò haberetur: If the precise knowledg of any one thing were to be had, it should necessarily follow, that the knowledg of all things were to be had.* And as the Phylosophers were ignorant in Nature, and the waies of her working; so were they more curious, then knowing, in their first matter and Phisical form. For if their first matter had any being, it were not then the first matter: for, as it is the first matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaveth, when it doth subsist. And seeing it is neither a substance perfect, nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other substance should thence take concrescence, it hath not been taught, neither are these forms (saith a learned Authour) any thing, *si ex ea exprimatur potentia, quæ nihil est.* Again, how this first matter should be *subjectum formarum*, and passive, which is understood to precede the form, it is hard to conceive: for to make form, which is the cause, to be subsequent to the thing caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrary to all reason, divine and humane: only it may be said, that originally there is no other difference between matter and form, then between heat and fire, of which the one cannot subsist without the other, but in a kind of rational consideration. Leaving therefore these Riddles to their Lovers, who by certain Scholastical distinctions wrest and pervert the truth of all things, and by which *Aristotle* hath laboured to prove a false eternity of the World, I think it farr safer to affirm with Saint *Augustine*, *That all species and kinds are from God, from whom, whatsoever is natural proceedeth, of what kind or estimation soever; from whence are the seeds of all forms, and the forms of all seeds and their motions; A quo est omnis species, à quo est quicquid naturaliter est, cujuscunq; generis est, cujuscunq; æstimationis est; à quo sunt semina formarum, formæ seminum, motus seminum atq; formarum.* And thus much *Averrois* is forced to confess. *For all forms* (saith he) *are, in primo motore*; which is also the opinion of *Aristotle* in the twelfth of his *Metaph.* and of *Albertus* upon *Dionysius*.

Cypr. de mente l. 3.

12. Metaph.

§. XI.

Of Fate; and that the Starrs have great influence: and that their operations may diversly be prevented or furthered.

AND, as of Nature, such is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destinie, of which the opinions of those learned men that have written thereof, may be safely received, had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an inevitable necessity, and made it more general, and universally powerful then it is, by giving it Dominion over the mind of man, and over his will, of which *Ovid*, and *Juvenal*:

Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.
Servis regna dabunt, captivis Fata triumphos.

Juven. Sat. 7. 201.

'Gainst Fate no counsel can prevaile.
Kingdoms to Slaves by Destinie,
To Captives triumphs given be.

An errour of the Chaldeans, and after them of the Stoicks, the Pharisees, Priscillianists, the Bardisanists, and others, as *Basil*, *Augustine*, and *Thomas* have observed: but that Fate is an obedience of second causes to the first, was well conceived of *Hermes*, and *Apuleius* the Platonist. *Plotinus* out of the Astronomers calleth it a disposition from the acts of celestial Orbs, unchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the same being also true enough, in respect of all those things which a rational mind doth not order nor direct. *Ptolemie*, *Seneca*, *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Chrysippus*, *Empedocles*, and the Stoicks, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and inevitable necessity; and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (*quod de unoquoq; nostrum fatus est Deus*) and the definite lot of all living. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Starrs are instruments of far greater use, then to give an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after Sunset: it being manifest, that the diversity of seasons, the Winters, and Summers, more hot and cold, are not so uncertained by the Sun and Moon alone, who alway keep one and the same course; but that the Stars have also their working therein.

Basil. Hexa. 4. Aug. de hæres. 70. c. 35. Tho. cont. Gent. 3. cap. 8. 3. Ficin. in 12. de leg. Cic. de fat.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath given virtues to Springs and Fountains, to cold Earth, to Plants and Stones, Minerals, and to the excremental parts of the basest living creatures, why should we rob the beautiful Stars of their working powers? for seeing they are many in number, and of emi-

nent beauty and magnitude, we may not think, that in the treasury of his wisdom, who is infinite, there can be wanting (even for every Star) a peculiar virtue and operation; as every herb, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the Earth, hath the like. For as these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to cover and shadow her dusty face, but otherwise for the use of man and beast, to feed them and cure them; so were not those uncountable glorious bodies set in the Firmament, to no other end, then to adorn it; but for Instruments and Organs of his divine Providence, so far as it hath pleased his just will to determine. *Origen* upon this place of *Genesis*, *Let there be light in the Firmament, &c.* affirmeth, that the Starrs are not causes (meaning perchance binding causes;) but are as open Books, wherein are contained and set down all things whatsoever to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wisdom: which latter part I believe well, and this saying of *Syracides* withall: *That there are hid yet greater things then these be, and we have seen but a few of his works.* And though, for the capacity of men, we know somewhat, yet in the true and uttermost virtues of herbs and plants, which our selves sow and set, and which grow under our feet, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celestial bodies. For *hardly* (saith *Solomon*) *can we discern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour find we out those things that are before us: Who can then investigate the things that are in Heaven? Multum est, de rebus cœlestibus aliquid cognoscere: It is much to know a little of heavenly things.* But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen we doe not bind God to his creatures, in this supposed necessity of Destiny; so on the contrary, we do not rob those beautiful creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes despoiled God of his Prerogative, or had God himself constrained the mind and will of man to impious acts by any celestial inforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some, were justifiable; of whom S. Augustine, *Impia perversitate in malis factis rectissimè reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum potiùs Auctorem Syderum, quàm commissorem scelerum; Where we reprehend them of evil deeds, they again with wicked perverseness urge, that rather the Author and Creator of the Stars, then the doer of the evil, is to be accused.*

But that the Stars and other celestial bodies incline the will by mediation of the sensitive appetite, which is also stirred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. *Corpora cœlestia* (saith *Damascene*) *constituunt in nobis habitus, complexiones, & dispositiones. The heavenly bodies* (saith he) *make in us habits, complexions, and dispositions*; for the body (though *Galen* inforce it further) hath undoubtedly a kind of drawing after it the affections of the mind, especially bodies strong in humour, and weak in virtues; for those of cholerick complexions are subject to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they suffer themselves to be transported, where the Mind hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her Vassals, not her Masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonless mind, I am resolved: For all those which were created mortal, as birds, beasts, and the like, are left to their natural appetites; over all which, celestial bodies (as instruments and executioners of Gods providence) have absolute dominion. What we should judge of men, who little differ from beasts, I cannot tell; for as he that contendeth against those inforcements, may easily master or resist them; so whosoever shall neglect the remedies by virtue and piety prepared, putteth himself altogether under the power of his sensual appetite; *Vincitur fatum si resistas, vincit si contempseris, Fate will be overcome, if thou resist it; if thou neglect, it conquereth.*

But that either the Stars or the Sun have any power over the minds of men immediately, it is absurd to think, other then as aforesaid, as the same by the body's temper may be effected. *Lumen solis ad generationem sensibilium corporum confert, & ad vitam ipsam movet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit: The light of the Sun* (saith S. *Augustine*) *helpeth the generation of sensible bodies, moveth them to life, and nourisheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them:* yet still as a Minister, not as a Master: *Bonus quidem est Sol, in ministerio, non imperio, The Sun is good to serve, not to sway* (saith S. *Ambrose.*) And S. *Augustine, Deus regit inferiora corpora per superiora, God ruleth the bodies below by those above*; but he avoucheth not, that superiour bodies have rule over mens minds, which are incorporal.

But howsoever we are by the Stars inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the same, and weaken their operation; and *Aristotle* himself confesseth, that the Heavens do not always work their effects in inferiour bodies no more then the signs of rain and wind do always come to pass. And it is divers times seen, that paternal virtue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. *Est in Juvencis Patrum virtus, In the young Off-spring the Fathers virtue is*, and so the contrary, *Patrum*

Gen. 1.15.

Eccles. 42. ch 32.

Wisd. 9.16.

Aristotle.

Aug. 20. super Gen. ad lit.

Gal. l. tuor. an. seq. temp.

Quin.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 5.

Hex. lib. 4. de term. 3.

Hor. lib. 4 od. 30.

trum vitia: and herein also there is often found an enterchange; the Sons of virtuous men, by an ill constellation become inclinable to vice, and of vicious men to virtue.

Egregia est soboles scelerato nata parente:

A worthy son is born of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods reserved power) that so much setteth this art of influence out of square and rule, as Education doth: for there are none in the World so wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing up, may fashion anew and reform them; nor any so well disposed, whom (the reins being let loose) the continual fellowship and familiarity, and the examples of dissolute men, may not corrupt and deform. Vessels will ever retain a savour of their first liquor: it being equally difficult either to clense the mind once corrupted, or to extinguish the sweet savour of virtue first received, when the mind was yet tender, open, and easily seasoned; but where a favourable constellation (allowing that the Stars incline the will) and a virtuous education do happily arrive, or the contrary in both, thereby it is that men are found so exceeding virtuous or vicious, Heaven and Earth (as it were) running together and agreeing in one: for as the seeds of virtue may by the art and husbandry of Christian counsel produce better and more beautiful fruit, then the strength of Self-nature and Kind could have yielded them; so the plants apt to grow wild, and to change themselves into weeds, by being set in a soyl sutable, and like themselves, are made more unsavoury and filled with poyson. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapiens adjuvabit opus Astrorum, quemadmodum Agricola terræ naturam; A wise man assisteth the work of the Stars, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the soyl.* And *Ptolemy* himself confesseth thus much, *Sapiens, & omina sapientis Medici, dominabuntur Astris; A wise man, and the ominous art of a wise Physician shall prevail against the Stars.* Lastly, we ought all to know, that God created the Stars, as he did the rest of the Universal; whose influences may be called his reserved and unwritten Laws. But let us consider how they bind: even as the Laws of men do; for although the Kings and Princes of the World have by their Laws decreed, that a Thief and a Murderer shall suffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Judges and Magistrates (the Stars of Kings) executed accordingly; yet these Laws do not deprive Kings of their natural or religious compassion, or bind them without prerogative, to such a severe execution, as that there should be nothing left of liberty to judgment, power, or conscience: the Law in his own nature, being no other then a deaf Tyrant. But seeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) do sometimes for causes to themselves known, and by mediation, pardon offences both against others and themselves; it were then impious to take that power and liberty from God himself, which his Substitutes enjoy; God being mercy, goodness, and charity it self. Otherwise that example of Prayer by our Saviour taught; *And let us not be led into temptation, but deliver us from evil,* had been no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his own creatures truly) hath assured us, that there is no inclination or temptation so forcible, which our humble Prayers and Desires may not make frustrate and break asunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceive) that Fate or Destiny, though depending upon eternal power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a connexion and immutable dependency, that God himself should in a kind have shut up himself therein; *How miserable then were the condition of men* (saith S. *Augustine*) *left altogether without hope.* Mat. 6. 13.

And if this strength of the Stars were so transferred, as that God had quitted unto them all dominion over his creatures; be he Pagan or Christian that so believeth, *the only true God* of the one, and the imaginary gods of the other, would thereby be despoiled of all worship, reverence, or respect. John 17 4.

And certainly, God which hath promised us the reward of well-doing, which Christ himself claimed at the hands of the Father, (*I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do:*) and the same God, who hath threatned unto us the sorrow and torment of offences, could not, contrary to his merciful nature, be so unjust, as to bind us inevitably to the Destinies or Influences of the Stars, or subject our souls to any imposed necessity. But it was well said of *Plotinus*, that the Stars were significant, but not efficient, giving them yet something less then their due: and therefore as I do not consent with them, who would make those glorious creatures of God virtueless: so I think that we derogate from His eternal and absolute power and providence, to ascribe to them the same dominion over our immortal souls, which they have over all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the Souls of men loving and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it self, whereof the Sun clarity, and that

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of the Stars, is by *Plato* called but a ſhadow. *Lumen eſt umbra Dei, Deus eſt lumen luminis*; *Light is the ſhadow of Gods brightneſs, who is the light of light:* But to end this queſtion, becauſe this Deſtiny, together with Providence, Preſcience, and Predeſtination, are often confounded, I think it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two; for every man hath not obſerved it, though all learned men have.

Plat. pol. 6. Ficin. in l. 7. pol.

§. XII.

Of Preſcience.

PReſcience, or fore-knowledg (which the Greeks call *Prognoſis*, the Latines *præcognitio*, or *præſcientia*) conſidered in order and nature (if we may ſpeak of God after the manner of men) goeth before Providence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Preſcience is no other then an infallible fore-knowledg. For whatſoever our ſelves fore-know, except the ſame be to ſucceed accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Preſcience of God (as it is Preſcience onely) is not the cauſe of any thing futurely ſucceeding: neither doth Gods fore-knowledge impoſe any neceſſity, or bind. For in that we fore-know that the Sun will riſe, and ſet; that all men born in the World ſhall die again; that after Winter, the Spring ſhall come; after the Spring, Sommer, and Harveſt; and that according to the ſeveral ſeeds that we ſow, we ſhall reap ſeveral ſorts of grain; yet is not our fore-knowledg the cauſe of this, or any of theſe: neither doth the knowledg in us bind or conſtrain the Sun to riſe and ſet, or men to die; for the cauſes (as men perſwade themſelves) are otherwiſe manifeſt and known to all. *The eye of man* (ſaith *Boetius*) *beholdeth thoſe things ſubject to ſenſe, as they are; the eye ſeeth that ſuch a beaſt is an horſe, it ſeeth men, trees, and houſes*, &c. *but our ſeeing of them (as they are) is not the cauſe of their ſo being, for ſuch they be in their own natures.* And again out of the ſame Author; *Divina providentia rebus generandis non imponit neceſſitatem, quia ſi omnia evenirent ex neceſſitate, præmia bonorum, & pœna malorum periret*; *Divine Providence* (ſaith he) *impoſeth no neceſſity upon things that are to exiſt; for if all come to paſs of neceſſity, there ſhould neither be reward of good, nor puniſhment of evil.*

Boetius de conſol.

§. XIII.

Of Providence.

NOw Providence (which the *Greeks* call *Pronoia*) is an intellectual knowledg, both fore-ſeeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not onely behold all paſt, all preſent, and all to come, but is the cauſe of their ſo being, which Preſcience (ſimply taken) is not: and therefore Providence by the Philoſophers (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) is divided into Memory, Knowledge, and Care: Memory of the paſt; Knowledg of the preſent; and Care of the future: and we our ſelves account ſuch a man for provident, as, remembring things paſt, and obſerving things preſent, can by judgment, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future, and times ſucceeding. That ſuch a thing there is as Providence, the Scriptures every where teach us; *Moſes* in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions, Chriſt himſelf and his Apoſtles aſſure us hereof; and beſides the Scriptures, *Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledg the Providence of God; yea the *Turks* themſelves are ſo confident therein, as they refuſe not to accompany and viſit each other in the moſt peſtilent diſeaſes, nor ſhun any peril whatſoever, though death therein do manifeſtly preſent it ſelf.

The places of Scripture proving Providence, are ſo many, both in general and particular, as I ſhall need to repeat but a few of them in this place: *Sing unto God* (ſaith *David*) *which covereth the Heavens with clouds, and prepareth rain for the earth, and maketh the graſs to grow upon the Mountains, which giveth the beaſts their food, and feedeth the young Raven that cries: All theſe wait upon thee, that thou mayeſt give them food in due ſeaſon: And thou ſhalt drink of the River Chearеth* (ſaith God to *Eliah*) *and I have commanded the Ravens to feed thee there. Behold, the Fowls of the Air, they ſow not, nor reap, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them:* Again, *Are not two Sparrows ſold for a farthing? and one of them ſhall not fall on the ground without your Father: yea, all the hairs of your head are numbred:* And S. Peter, *Caſt all your care on him, for he careth for you: And his judgments are written*, ſaith *David*.

Pſal. 147. 8. *Pſal. 104. 27. 9. & 145. 15.* *1 Reg. 17. 4* *Matth. 6. 26* *Luke 12. 6, 7.* *1 Pet. 5. 7.* *Pſal. 36. 6.*

God therefore, who is every where preſent, *Who filleth the Heavens and the Earth, whoſe eyes are upon the righteous, and his countenance againſt them that do evil*, was therefore by *Orpheus* called *oculus infinitus, an infinite eye*, beholding all things; and cannot therefore be eſteemed as an idle looker on,

Jer. 23. 24.

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as if he had transferred his power to any other; for it is contrary to his own word, *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo, I will not give my glory to another.* No man commandeth in the Kings presence, but by the Kings direction; but God is every where present, and King of Kings. The example of Gods universal Providence is seen in his creatures. The Father provideth for his children: beasts and birds and all livings, for their young ones. If Providence be found in second Fathers, much more in the first and Universal: and if there be a natural loving care in men, and beasts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whose Divine love was the beginning, and is the bond of the Universal: *Amor divinus rerum omnium est principium, & vinculum universi* (saith *Plato:*) *Amor Dei est nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumque ejus immobile sustentaculum, ac universæ machinæ fundamentum; The love of God is the perpetual knot, and link or chain of the world, and the immovable pillar of every part thereof, and the Basis and foundation of the Universal.* God therefore who could onely be the cause of all, can onely provide for all, and sustain all; so as, to absolute power; to every where presence; to perfect goodness; to pure and divine love; this attribute transcendent hability of Providence is onely proper and belonging.

Esay 42. 8.

1 Joh. 4. 1. God is love.

§. XIV.

Of Predestination.

NOw for Predestination, we can difference it no otherwise, from Providence and Prescience, then in this; that Prescience onely fore-seeth; Providence fore-seeth and careth for, and hath respect to all creatures, even from the brightest Angels of Heaven to the unworthiest Worms of the Earth: and Predestination (as it is used specially by Divines) is onely of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their salvation properly, in the common use of Divines; or perdition, as some have used it. Yet *Peter Lombard, Thomas, Bernensis Theologus*, and others, take the word Predestination more strictly, and for a preparation to felicity. Divers of the Fathers take it more largely sometimes: among whom Saint *Augustine* speaking of two Cities, and two Societies, useth these words, *Quarum est una, quæ prædestinata est in æternum regnare cum Deo, altera æternum supplicium subire cum Diabolo; Whereof one is it, which is predestinated to reign for ever with God, but the other is to undergo everlasting torment with the Devil*; for according to *Nonius Marcellus, Destinare, est præparare*; and of the same opinion are many Protestant Writers, as *Calvin, Beza, Bucanus, Danæus*, and such like: and as for the manifold questions hereof arising, I leave them to the Divines; and why it hath pleased God to create some vessels of honour, and some of dishonour, I will answer with *Gregory*, who saith, *Qui in facti is Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem suam considerans, cur non videat, rationem videt; He that seeth no reason in the actions of God, by consideration of his own infirmity, perceiveth the reason of his blindness.* And again, with S. *Augustine, Occulta esse causa potest, injusta esse non potest; Hidden the cause of his Predestination may be, unjust it cannot be.*

Rom. 8. & 9.

Lomb. l. 1. dist 39. Thom part. 1. dist. 23. Bern. de Probl. de p. d. Aug. l. 15. c. 1. de Civit. Dei.

Cal. in c 9. ad Rom. v. 11. Bez. in magn. anot. in cap. 9. ad Rom. Danæus l. 3. de Salut. Greg. Mag. Joh. 9.

Aug. ad Polin. ep. 59.

§. XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reason of some things that seem to be by Fortune, and against Reason and Providence.

LAstly, seeing Destiny or Necessity is subsequent to Gods Providence, and seeing that the Starrs have no other dominion, then is before spoken, and that Nature is nothing, but, as *Plato* calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificiosum Dei Organum, The art, or artificial Organ of God:* and *Cusanus, Divini præcepti instrumentum; The instrument of the divine precept:* we may then with better reason reject that kind of Idolatry, or God of fools, called, *Fortune* or *Chance*; a Goddess, the most reverenced, and the most reviled of all other, but not antient: for *Homer* maketh her the Daughter of *Oceanus*, as *Pausanias* witnesseth in his *Messeniacks*. The *Greeks* call her Τυχὼ, signifying a relative being, or betiding, so as before *Homers* time this great Lady was scarce heard of; and *Hesiodus*, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all these counterfeit gods, hath not a word of *Fortune*; yet afterward she grew so great and omnipotent, as from Kings and Kingdoms, to Beggars and Cottages, she ordered all things; resisting the wisdom of the wisest, by making the Possessor thereof miserable; valuing the folly of the most foolish, by making the success prosperous: insomuch as the actions of men were said to be but the sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens lives, but her pastimes: of which *Palladius, Vita hominum ludus fortunæ est; The life of man is the play of Fortune:* and because it often falleth out, that enterprises guided by ill counsels, have equal success to those by the best judgment conducted; therefore had Fortune the same external figure with Sapience; whereof *Athenæus:*

Longissimè

Sen. ep. 91. Aur. vict. de Pertinace. Sen ep 74. Demetrius Poliorcetes in the great and often changes of his Fortune, is said, to have used to cry out upon *Fortune*, applying to her a Verse of Æschilus, *Tu me exulisti eodem mels (sentio) perditum.*

Longissimè à Sapientia Fors dissidet,
Sed multa perficit tamen similima:

From Wisedom Fortune differs far,
And yet in works most like they are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly understood) is nothing else but a power imaginary, to which the successes of human actions and endevours were for their variety ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be given, then was it attributed to Fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant; contrary to this true ground of *Plato*, *Nihil est ortum sub Sole, cujus causa legitima non præcesserit*; *Nothing ever came to pass under the Sun, of which there was not a just preceding cause.* But *Aquinas* hath herein answered in one distinction, whatsoever may be objected; for many things there are (saith he) which happen, *besides the intention of the Inferior, but not besides the intention of the Superior*; *Præter intentionem Inferioris, sed non præter intentionem Superioris* (to wit, the ordinance of God;) and therefore (saith *Melanchthon*) *Quod poetæ Fortunam, nos Deum appellamus*; *whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God.* And that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth us; as in the Law of Murther, *He that smiteth a man, and he die, shall die the death*; *and if a man hath not laid wait, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee.* Now, where the Scripture hath these words, *God hath offered him into his hands*, we say, If he hurt him by Chance: and in *Deuteronomy* the nineteenth, where the slipping of an Ax from the helve, whereby another is slain, was the work of God himself; we in our phrase attribute this accident, to Chance or Fortune: and in *Proverbs* the sixteenth, *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord:* so as that which seemeth most casual and subject to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else; and hereof the wiser sort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as *Cicero* witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion of *Aristotle* and his Sectators, with those of *Plato*, and the *Academicks*, to this effect, That the same power which they called *Animam mundi*; *The soul of the World*, was no other then that incomprehensible Wisdom, which we express by the name of God, governing every Being aswell in heaven as in earth; to which Wisdom and Power they sometime gave the title of Necessity or Fate, because it bindeth by inevitable ordinance: sometime, the style of Fortune, because of many effects there appear unto us no certain causes. To this effect speaketh S. *Augustine* in his questions upon *Genesis* the first Book: the same hath *Seneca* in his fourth of *Benefits*; which was also the doctrine of the *Stoicks*, of which Sect he was: *For whatsoever* (saith he) *thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the same, differenced by divers terms, according as he useth, and exerciseth his power diversly.*

But it may be objected, That if Fortune and Chance were not sometimes the causes of good and evil in men, but an idle voice, whereby we express success; how comes it then, that so many worthy and wise men depend upon so many unworthy and empty-headed fools? that riches and honour are given to external men, and without kernel; and so many learned, virtuous, and valiant men wear out their lives in poor and dejected estates? In a word, there is no other inferiour, or apparent cause, beside the partiality of mans affection, but the fashioning and not fashioning of our selves according to the nature of the times wherein we live: for whosoever is most able, and best sufficient to discern, and hath withal an honest and open heart and loving truth; if Princes, or those that govern, endure no other discourse then their own flatteries: then, I say, such an one, whose virtue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall evermore hang under the wheel; which kind of deserving well and receiving ill, we alwayes falsly charge Fortune withal. For whosoever shall tell any great Man or Magistrate, that he is not Just; the General of an Army, that he is not valiant; and great Ladies that they are not fair; shall never be made a Counseller, a Captain, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wise with a wise Prince, valiant with a valiant, and just with him that is just, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperity; but he must also change with the successor, if he be of contrary qualities; sail with the tyde of the time, and alter form and condition, as the Estate or the Estate's Master changeth: Otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attain to honour and riches, but by such an observant slavish course? These men having nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfeit kind of wondering at other men, and by making them believe that all their vices are virtues, and all their dusty actions crystalline, have yet in all ages prospered equally with the most virtuous, if not exceeded them. For, according to Menander, *Omnis insipiens, arrogantiâ & plausibus capitur*; *Every fool is*

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Te facimus Fortuna Deam, cœloq; locamus. Sat. 10. 366.

Exod. 21. 12, 13.

Vers. 5.

Vers. 33.

Cic. ac quæst. l. 1.

Senec. l. 4. c. 7.

wonne with his own pride, and others flattering applause: so as whosoever will live altogether out of himselfe, and study other mens humours, and observe them, shall never be unfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and virtue (except the season wherein he liveth be of all these, and of all sorts of goodness, fruitful) shall never prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise man, not to war or contend in vain against the nature of times wherein he liveth: for such a one is often the author of his own misery; but best it were to follow the advice, which the Pope gave the Bishop of that age, out of *Ovid*, while the Arian Heresie raged:

Ovid. Met. lib. 1. *Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.*
While fury gallops on the way,
Let no man furie's gallop stay.

And if *Cicero* (then whom that world begat not a man of more reputed Judgment) had followed the counsel of his Brother *Quintus*, *Potuisset* (saith *Petrarch*) *in lectulo suo mori, potuisset integro cadavere sepeliri*; *He might then have died the death of nature, and been with an untorn and undissevered body buried*; for, as *Petrarch* in the same place noteth *Quid stultius quàm desperantem, (præsertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari? What more foolish then for him that despairs (especially of the effect) to be entangled with endless contentions?* Whosoever therefore will set before him Machiavel's *two marks to shoot at* (to wit) Riches, and Glory, must set on and take off a back of yron to a weak wooden Bow, that it may fit both the strong and the feeble; for as he who first devised to add sayls to rowing vessels, did either so proportion them as being fastened aloft, and towards the head of his Mast, he might abide all winds and storms, or else he sometime or other perished by his own invention: so that man which prizeth virtue for it selfe, and cannot endure to hoyse and strike his sayls, as the divers natures of calmes and stormes require, must cut his sayls and his cloth of mean length and breadth, and content himself with a slow and sure navigation, (to wit) a mean and free estate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and the rest, or whatsoever Lords or Gods, imaginary powers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolishness) of man hath found out: let us resolve with S. *Paul*, who hath taught us, that there is *but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him*; there are diversities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all. *1 Cor. c. 8. v. 6. c. 12. v. 6.*

CHAP. II.

Of Man's estate in his first Creation, and of God's rest.

§. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was first created.

THe creation of all other creatures being finished, the heavens adorned, and the earth repleni shed, God said, *Let us make man in our own Image, according to our likeness.* *Gen. 1. 26.*

Man is the last and most admirable of Gods works to us known: *Ingens miraculum homo*; *Man is the greatest wonder* (saith *Plato* out of *Mercurius*:) *Naturæ ardentissimæ artificium, The artificial work of the most ardent or fire-like nature* (as saith *Zoroaster*) though the same be meant, not for any excellency external, but in respect of his internal form, both in the Nature, Qualities, and other Attributes thereof: in nature, because it hath an essence, immortal, and spiritual; in qualities, because the same was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, because man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein. *Trif. Asel. 2. & de volunt Dei. Plat. leg. l. 1.*

Sanctius his animal, mentisq; capacius altæ,
Deerat adhuc, & quod dominari in cætera posset:
Natus homo est.

Sanctum, quia pars prior immortalis, anima, quia in mortali. In locum Ovid. Met. l. 1. 76.

More holy then the rest, and understanding more,
A living creature wants, to rule all made before:
So man began to be.

Of this Image and Similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers, Schoolmen, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceive, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire and Dominion, as S. *Chrysostom*, *Ambrose*, and some others: which S. *Ambrose* denieth to the woman in these words, *Ut sicut Deus unus, ab eo fieret homo unus; & quomodo ex Deo uno*

omnia, ita ex uno homine omne genus esset super faciem totius terræ: unus igitur, unum fecit, qui unitatis ejus haberet imaginem; *That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kind should be upon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one, made one, that should have the Image of his unity.* But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the same Verse, that man was after the Image of God in respect of rule and power; it is written *Dominamini* in the plural number; *and let them rule over the fish in the Sea, &c.* and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceive, that Man is said to be after the Image of God in respect of his immortal soul onely: because as God is invisible, so the soul of man is invisible; as God is immortal and incorporal, so is the soul of Man immortal and incorporal; and as there is but one God which governeth the world, so but one soul which governeth the body of man; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, so is the soul of man wholly in every part of the body: *Anima est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte*; *The soul is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in every part thereof*, according to *Aristotle*; though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men deny that doctrine; which that it is otherwise then potentially true, all the Aristotelians in the world shall never prove. These and the like arguments do the *Jews* make (saith *Tostatus*) and these resemblances, between the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The School-men resemble the Mind or Soul of Man to God, in this respect especially; because that as in the Mind there are three distinct powers, or faculties (to wit) Memory, Understanding, and Will; and yet all these, being of real differences, are but one Mind: so in God there are three distinct persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and yet but one God. They also make the Image and Similitude diverse; and again, they distinguish between *Imaginem Dei*, and *ad Imaginem Dei*; and spin into small threds with subtile distinctions, many times the plainness and sincerity of the Scriptures: their wits being like that strong water, that eateth thorow and dissolveth the purest gold. *Victorinus* also maketh the Image of God to be substantial, but not the similitude: *Sed in substantia nomen qualitatis declarativum*; *A word declaring quality in the substance.* Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is inferred, that as the Image and Similitude do greatly differ, so the sinful soul doth not therefore leave to be the Image of God; but it hath not his Similitude, except it be holy and righteous. S. *Augustine* also against *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth, that by sin, the perfection of this image is lost in man; and in his Retractations maintaineth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, then the Image.

But howsoever the School-men and others distinguish, or whatsoever the Fathers conceive; sure I am, that S. *Paul* maketh the same sense of the Image, which *Victorinus* doth of the similitude, who saith: *As we have born the image of the earthy, so shall we bear the image of the heavenly*; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scripture, that the words *Image* and *Similitude* were used but in one sense, and in this place the better to express each other; whatsoever *Lombard* hath said to the contrary. For God knows, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himself in the Scriptures, which neither *Moses*, the *Prophets*, or *Apostles*, ever conceived. Now as S. *Paul* useth the word (Image) for both: so Saint *James* useth the word (Similitude) for both, in these words: *Therewith bless we God even the Father, and therewith curse we Men, which are made after the similitude of God.* Howsoever therefore S. *Augustine* seemeth, out of a kind of elegancy in writing, to make some difference: as where he writeth, *Confitemur imaginem in æternitate, similitudinem in moribus inveniri*; *we confess that this image is found in eternity, but his similitude in manners*, that is in the spiritual dispositions and qualities of the mind; yet thus he elsewhere speaketh plainly: *Quasi verò possit esse imago aliqua, in qua similitudo non sit: si enim omnino similis non est, procul dubio nec imago est*; *As if* (saith he) *there could be any image, where the similitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeness, there is no image.* The very words of the Text make this most manifest, as, *Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness:* which is, Let us make man in our image, that he may be like us: and in the next Verse following, God himself maketh it plain; for there he useth the word (Image) only as thus: *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him.* And to take away all dispute or ambiguity, in the first Verse of the fifth Chapter, the word (Similitude) is used again by it self, as, *In the day that God created* Adam, *in the likeness of God made he him.* And this similitude S. *Paul. Coloss.* the third, calleth the Image; *Put on* (saith he) *the new man which is renewed in knowledg after the image of him that created him.* And in *Syracides* it is written, *He made them according to*

1 Cor. 15. 49.

Jam. 3. 9.

vi supra.

Aug. ut supra.

Vers. 10.

to his image. Now if we may believe S. *Paul* before *Peter Lombard* and other Schoolmen, then it is as manifest as words can make it, that the image and similitude is but the same; for S. *Paul* useth both the words directly in one sense. *For they turned the glory of the incorruptible God, to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man.* Rom. 1. 23.

Zanchius laboureth to prove, that Man was formed after the image of God, both in body and mind: *Nulla pars in homine, quæ non fuerit hujusce imaginis particeps; No part in a man* (saith he) *which was not participating God image; for God said, Let us make man according to our own image.* But the soul alone is not man, but the *Hypostasis* or whole Man compounded of body and soul. *The body of man* (saith he) *is the image of the world, and called therefore Microcosmus*; but the *Idea* and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his body, must needs be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his own objection seemeth to me sufficient, where he allegeth that it may be said, that *Moses* spake by the figure *Synechdoche*, As when a man is called a mortal man, yet is not the whole man mortal, but the body onely: so when God said, *Let us make man after our image*, he meant the soul of man, and not the body of earth and dust: *Maledictus qui Deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* (saith S. *Augustine:*) *Cursed is he that referreth the Deity of God to the lineaments of mans body: Deus enim non est humanæ formæ particeps, neque corpus humanum divinæ* (saith *Philo*;) *God is not partaker of humane form, nor humane body of the form divine.* The *Hebrew* word for image, is *Tselem*, which signifieth a shadow or obscure resemblance: *In imagine pertransit homo; Man passeth away in a shadow:* Let us then know and consider, that God, who is eternal and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition; for it is both against his Nature and his Word; an errour of the *Anthropomorphitæ*, against the very essence and Majesty of God. Zanch. de oper. Dei. l. 3. c. 1. In Gen.

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a *Heathen*, had yet a more divine understanding then these gross Hereticks: *Ad similitudinem Dei propius accedebat humana virtus, quàm figura; The virtue which is in man* (saith he) *came nearer the similitude of God then the figure.* For God is a spiritual substance, invisible, and most simple; God is a just God, God is Merciful, God is Charity it self, and (in a word) Goodness it self, and none else simply good. And thus much it hath pleased God himself to teach us, and to make us know of himself. What then can be the shadow of such a substance, the image of such a nature, or wherein can man be said to resemble his unexcogitable power and perfectness? Certainly, not in Dominion alone; for the Devil is said to be the Prince of this World, and the Kingdom of Christ was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father: Neither because man hath an immortal soul, and therein the faculties of Memory, Understanding, and Will; for the Devils are also immortal, and participate those faculties, being called *Dæmones*, because *scientes* of knowledg and subtilty: Neither because we are reasonable creatures, by which we are distinguished from beasts: For who have rebelled against God? Who have made gods of the vilest beasts, of Serpents, of Catts, of Owls, yea, even of shameful parts, of lusts and pleasures, but reasonable men? Yet do I not condemn the opinion of S. *Chrysostom* and *Ambrose*, as touching Dominion, but that, in respect thereof, man was in some sort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, such as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with Justice and Piety; for God did not onely make man a Ruler and Governour over the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowls of Heaven (or of the air) and over the Beasts of the Field; But God gave unto man a dominion over men, he appointed Kings to govern them, and Judges to judge them in equity. Neither do I exclude Reason, as it is the ability of Understanding. For I do not conceive, that *Irenæus* did therefore call Man, the image of God, because he was *animal rationale* onely; but that he understood it better, with *Sybilla*; *Imago mea est homo, rectam rationem habens, Man that is endued with right reason is said to resemble God,* (that is) by right reason to know and confess God his Creatour, and the same God to serve, love, and obey: and therefore said S. *Augustine* (who herein came nearer the Truth) *Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem suam in mente; God made man in respect of the intellect after his own image and similitude*; and *Reynerius*, *Homo, quod habet mentem, factus est ad imaginem Dei; Man was made after the image of God, in mind,* or, *in that he hath a mind,* Eph. 6. 12. Joh. 18. 36. Plat. in Cratol. Osorius de Just. lib. 5. Reyn. de ment.

§. II.

Of the Intellectual mind of man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by Sin.

BUt *Mens* is not taken here for *anima physica*, according to *Aristotle*, which is, *forma vel natura hominis, The form or nature of man*; but this faculty or gift of God, called *Mens*,

is taken for *prima vis animi, the principal ſtrength of the mind*, or ſoul, *cujus actus eſt perpetua veritatis contemplatio; whoſe act*, exerciſe, or office, *is the perpetual contemplation of truth*; and therefore it is alſo called *Intellectus divinus, intellectus contemplativus, &* Pæmand. *anima contemplativa, A divine underſtanding, and an intellect or mind contemplative. Eſt au-* De mente Idiot. l. 3. *tem mens noſtra* (ſaith *Cuſanus*) *vis comprehendendi; & totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compoſitum: Our intellectual mind* (ſaith he) *is a power of comprehending; even the whole, that is in this kind powerful, compounded of all the powers of comprehenſion:* unto which *Mercurius* attributeth ſo much (if his meaning accompany his words) that he eſteemeth it to be the very eſſence of God (which was alſo the errour of the *Manichees*, and others) and no otherwiſe ſeparate from God (ſaith he) then the light from the Sun: for this *Mens* or underſtanding (ſaith *Mercurius*) Sen. ep. 65. f. & 31. f. Lib. 9. c. 5. *eſt Deus in hominibus, Is God in men*; or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For, as the Sun is not of the ſame eſſence or nature with the divine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; ſo is this *Mens* or underſtanding in men, not of the eſſence of Gods infinite underſtanding, but a power and faculty of our ſouls the pureſt; or, the *lumen animæ rationalis*, by the true and eternal light illightned. And this *Mens*, others call *Animam animæ, The ſoul of the ſoul*, or, with S. *Auguſtine*, the eye of the ſoul, or receptacle of Sapience and divine Knowledg, *Quæ amorem ſapientiæ tanquam ducem ſequitur, Which followeth after the love of ſapience as her guide* (ſaith *Philo*;) between which and reaſon; between which and the mind, called *anima*; between which and that power which the Latines call *animus*, there is this difference: Reaſon, is that faculty by which we judge and diſcourſe; *Anima*, by which we live. Hereof it is ſaid, *Anima corpus animat, id eſt, vivificat*; or, *The ſoul is that which doth animate the body, that is, giveth it life*; for death is the ſeparation of body and ſoul: and the ſame ſtrength (ſaith *Philo*) which God the great Director hath in the World, the ſame hath this *Anima*, or mind, or, ſoul in Man. *Animus*, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this *Baſil* agreeth, which called this *Mens*, or divine underſtanding, *Perſpicacem animæ partem, The perceiving part of the mind*, or, The light by which the ſoul diſcerneth: *Dormientum mens, non anima, ſopitur; & in furioſis mens extinguitur, anima manet: In men that ſleep it is this* (mens, or) *underſtanding, and not the mind or ſoul, which reſteth*, during which time it is but habitual in wiſe men, *and in mad men this* (mens) *is extinguiſhed, and not the ſoul*; for mad men do live, though diſtract.

Therefore this word being often uſed for the Soul giving life, is attributed abuſively to mad men, when we ſay that they are of a diſtract mind, in ſtead of a broken underſtanding: which word (Mind) we uſe alſo for Opinion, as, I am of this mind, or, that mind: and ſometimes for mens conditions or virtues, as, He is of an honeſt mind, or, a man of a juſt mind: ſometimes for affection, as, I do this for my mind's ſake: and *Ariſtotle* ſometimes uſeth this word (*Mens*) for the phantaſie, which is the ſtrength of the imagination: ſometimes for the knowledg of principles, which we have without diſcourſe: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels, and Intelligences: but as it is uſed in the proper ſignification, including both the underſtanding agent and poſſible, it is deſcribed to be, A pure, ſimple, ſubſtantial act, not depending upon matter, but having relation to that which is intelligible, as to his firſt object: or more at large, thus; A part or particle of the Soul, whereby it doth underſtand, not depending upon matter, nor needing any organ, free from paſſion coming from without, and apt to be diſſevered, as, eternal from that which is mortal. Hereof excellently *Mercurius*; *Anima eſt imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti præeſt, mens animæ, anima corpori; The Soul* (meaning that which giveth life) *is the image of this underſtanding*, or *Mens*; *and this* (*Mens*) or *underſtanding is the Image of God. God is Preſident or Ruler over this underſtanding, this underſtanding over the Soul, and this Soul over the body.* This diviſion and diſtinction out of the *Platonicks* and *Peripateticks*, I leave to the Reader to judge of. That *Mens humana* hath no need of any organ, Zanch. de oper. Dei, part. 3. l. 1. cap. 2. *Marſilius Ficinus* in his ninth Book of the Soul's immortality, laboureth to prove. *Zanchius* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words; for (ſaith he) *Ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam, non eget Mens organo; tanquam medio, per quod intelligat: quanquam eget objecto in quod intuatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat. Hoc autem objectum ſunt phantaſmata, ſeu rerum à ſenſibus perceptarum ſimulachra ad phantaſiam prolata: To exerciſe the faculty of underſtanding, the mind of man* (ſaith he) *needeth no inſtrument, as a mean, by which it may underſtand: but it needeth an object, whereon to look, and whence to conceive the act of underſtanding. This object are the phantaſms, or the reſemblances of things received from the ſenſe, and carried to the phantaſie.* But in effect, his concluſion ſeemeth to carry a contrary ſenſe, when he maketh the Phantaſie,

sie, in representing the object to the understanding, to be a corporal *Organum*; neither can it be understood to be an *Organum* of any thing, but of the understanding. And he addeth, that the resemblance of things in mans imagination, are to his understanding and mind, as colours are to the sight; whence it so followeth, that the imagination or phantasy it self is to the faculty of understanding, as the eye is to the faculty of seeing: and as this is an *Organum*, so that. Of this question, How the mind in all her actions maketh use of the body, and hath communion with the body, I refer the Reader to a most grave and learned Discourse in the last Reply of M. D. *Bilson*, late Bishop of *Winchester*, unto *Henry Jacob*. Howsoever the Truth be determined, we must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which we discourse, nor in respect of the mind it self, by which we live, nor in respect of our souls simply, by which we are immortal, that we are made after the Image of God. But most safely may we resemble our selves to God *in mente*, and in respect of that pure faculty, which is never separate from the contemplation and love of God. Yet this is not all; For Saint *Bernard* maketh a true difference between the nature and faculties of the Mind or Soul, and between the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being added to the nature, essence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the Image of God: whose words are these, *Non propterea imago Dei est, quia sui meminit Mens, seque intelligit & diligit* (which also was the opinion of S. *Augustine*,) *sed quia potest meminisse, intelligere, ac diligere eum à quo facta est*, (that is) *The Mind* (or *Mens*) *was not therefore the Image of God, because it remembreth, understandeth, and loveth it self; but because it can remember, understand, and love God, who created it.* And that this Image may be deformed and made unprofitable, hear *Basil*; *Homo ad Imaginem & Similitudinem Dei factus est. Peccatum verò Imaginis hujus pulchritudinem deformavit, & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiscentiæ affectibus immersit: Man was made after the Image and Similitude of God, but Sin hath deformed the beauty of this Image, and made it unprofitable, by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiscence.*

Pag. 185. & sequent. *Ad imaginem. Dei creavit illum, id est, sapientiæ, virtutis, ac bonitatis compotem, qui sese intuitus Creatorem agnosceret suum; atque imitari, pro ingenii, proq; auctoritatis, sibi concessa ratione, studeret. Exam.*

It is not therefore (as aforesaid) by reason of Immortality, nor in Reason, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of these by it self, nor in all these joyned, by any of which, or by all which we resemble, or may be called the shadow of God, though by reason and understanding, with the other faculties of the Soul, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of Original righteousnes, most perfectly infused by God into the Mind and Soul of man in his first Creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberality, that we were printed with the seal of Gods Image (though Reason may be said to be of her gift, which, joyned to the Soul, is a part of the Essential Constitution of our proper *Species*) but from the bountiful grace of the Lord of all goodnes, who breathed life into Earth, and contrived within the Trunk of Dust and Clay, the inimitable hability of his own Piety and Righteousnes.

So long therefore (for that resemblance which Dominion hath) do those that are powerful retain the Image of God, as according to his Commandments they exercise the Office or Magistracy to which they are called, and sincerely walk in the ways of God, which in the Scriptures is called, *walking with God*; and all other men so long retain this Image, as they fear, love, and serve God truly, that is, for the love of God alone, and do not bruise and deface his Seal by the weight of manifold and voluntary offences, and obstinate sins. For the unjust mind cannot be after the Image of God, seeing God is Justice it self; The bloud-thirsty hath it not, for God is Charity and Mercy it self; Falshood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of Satan; and therefore cannot dwell in one soul, together with God: and to be short, there is no likelihood between pure light and black darkness, between beauty and deformity, or between righteousness and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common understanding, have made us capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receive this Image of Gods goodness, which the sensual souls of Beasts cannot perceive; yet were that aptitude natural more inclinable to follow and imbrace the false and dure-less pleasures of this Stage-play World, then to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanship of God's Wisdom, and the liberality of his Mercy, formed eyes to our souls, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impurity of our flesh, behold the highest Heavens, and thence bring Knowledg and Object to the Mind and Soul, to contemplate the ever-during Glory, and term-less Joy, prepared for those which retain the Image and Similitude of their Creatour, preserving undefiled and unrent the garment of the new man, which, after the Image of God, is created in Righteousnes, and Holiness, as saith S. *Paul*. Now whereas it is thought by some of the Fathers, as by S. *Augustine*,

Gen. 5. 22.

2 Cor. 6. 14.

S *Ambroſe* *Auguſtine*, with whom S. *Ambroſe* joyneth, that by ſin, the perfection of the Image is loſt, and not the Image it ſelf: both opinions by this diſtinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the Image of God, in man, may be taken two wayes; for, either it is conſidered according to natural gifts, and conſiſteth therein; namely, to have a reaſonable and underſtanding nature, &c. and in this ſenſe, the Image of God is more loſt by ſin, then the very reaſonable or underſtanding nature, *&c.* is loſt, (or ſin doth not aboliſh and take away theſe natural gifts:) or, the Image of God is conſidered, according to ſupernatural gifts, namely, of divine Grace and heavenly Glory, which is indeed the perfection and accompliſhment of the natural Image; and this manner of ſimilitude and Image of God is wholly blotted out, and deſtroyed by Sin.

§. III.

Of our baſe and frail Bodies: and that the care thereof ſhould yield to the immortal Soul.

THE external man God formed out of the duſt of the Earth, or (according to the ſignification of the word, *Adam*) of *Adamath*, of red Earth, or *ex limo terræ*, out of the ſlime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. *Non ex qualibet humo, ſed ex ghaphar adamath (id eſt) ex pinguiſſima & molliſſima: Not that God made an Image or Statue of Clay, but out of Clay, Earth, or Duſt, God formed and made fleſh, bloud, and bone, with all parts of man.*

Arias Mont. de nat. f. 156.

That, man was formed of Earth and Duſt did *Abraham* acknowledg, when in humble fear he called unto God, to ſave *Sodom: Let not my Lord now be angry, if I ſpeak, I that am but duſt and aſhes:* And, *In theſe Houſes of Clay, whoſe foundation is in the duſt,* do our ſouls inhabit, according to *Job*. And though our own eyes do every where behold the ſudden and reſiſtleſs aſſaults of Death, and Nature aſſureth us by never-failing experience, and Reaſon by infallible demonſtration, that our times upon the Earth have neither certainty nor durability; that our Bodies are but the Anvils of pain and diſeaſes, and our Minds the Hives of unnumbred cares, ſorrows, and paſſions: and that (when we are moſt glorified) we are but thoſe painted poſts, againſt which Envy and Fortune direct their darts; yet ſuch is the true unhappineſs of our condition, and the dark ignorance which covereth the eyes of our underſtanding, that we onely prize, pamper, and exalt this Vaſſal and Slave of death, and forget altogether (or onely remember at our caſt-away leiſure) the impriſoned immortal Soul, which can neither dye with the Reprobate, nor periſh with the mortal parts of virtuous men: ſeeing Gods juſtice in the one, and his goodneſs in the other, is exerciſed for evermore, as the ever-living ſubjects of his reward and puniſhment. But when is it that we examine this great account? Never while we have one vanity left us to ſpend: we plead for Titles, till our breath fail us; dig for Riches, while our ſtrength enableth us; exerciſe Malice, while we can revenge; and then when time hath beaten from us both youth, pleaſure, and health, and that Nature it ſelf hateth the houſe of old age, we remember with *Job*, that *we muſt go the way from whence we ſhall not return, and that our bed is made ready for us in the dark*; And then, I ſay, looking over-late into the bottom of our conſcience (which Pleaſure and Ambition had locked up from us all our lives,) we behold therein the fearful Images of our actions paſt, and withal this terrible Inſcription: *That God will bring every work into judgment, that man hath done under the Sun.*

Job 10. 21. & 17. 13.

Eccl. 12. 14.

But what examples have ever moved us? what perſwaſions reformed us? or what threatnings made us afraid? we behold other mens Tragedies plaid before us, we hear what is promiſed and threatned: but the World's bright glory hath put out the eyes of our minds, and theſe betraying lights, (with which we onely ſee) do neither look up towards term-leſs joyes, nor down towards endleſs ſorrows, till we neither know, nor can look for any thing elſe at the Worlds hands. Of which excellently *Marius Victor*:

Nil hoſtes, nil dira fames, nil denique morbi
Egerunt, ſumus, qui nunc ſumus; iiſque periclis
Tentati: nihilo meliores reddimur unquam;
Sub vitiis nullo culparum fine manentes.

Diſeaſes, famine, enemies, in us no change have wrought,
What er'ſt we were, we are; ſtill in the ſame ſnare caught:
No time can our corrupted manners mend;
In Vice we dwell, in Sin that hath no end.

But let us not flatter our immortal Souls herein; for to neglect God all our lives, and know that we neglect him; to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, caſting our hopes on the Peace, which we truſt to make at parting, is no other then a rebellious preſumption, and (that which is the worſt of all) even a contemptuous laughing to ſcorn, and deriding of God, his Laws and Precepts. *Fruſtra ſperant qui ſic de miſericordia*

cordia Dei ſibi blandiuntur; *They hope in vain,* ſaith *Bernard, which in this ſort flatter themſelves with Gods mercy.*

Bern. in Pſal. qui habitat.

§. IV.

Of the Spirit of Life, which God breathed into man in his creation.

IN this frame and carcaſs God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a living Soul: (that is) God gave a body of Earth and of corruptible matter, a Soul ſpiritual and incorruptible; not that God had any ſuch bodily inſtruments as men uſe, but God breathed the Spirit of Life and Immortality into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into ſuch as love and fear him. *The Spirit of God* (ſaith *Elihu in Job*) *hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life: In qua ſententia* (ſaith *Rabanus*) *vitanda eſt paupertas ſenſus carnalis, ne fortè putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formâſſe corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labiis ſuis inſpirâſſe in faciem formati, ut vivere poſſit & ſpiraculum vitæ habere: Nam & Propheta cum ait, Manus tuæ fecerunt me, &c. tropica hac locutione magis quàm propria, (id eſt, juxta conſuetudinem, qua ſolent homines operari) loquutus eſt: In which ſentence* (ſaith he) *the beggarlineſs of carnal ſenſe is to be avoided, leſt perhaps we ſhould think, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of ſlime, or breathed with jaws or lips upon his face (being formed) that he might live, and have the Spirit of life: for the Prophet alſo when he ſaith; Thy hands have made me, ſpeak this Tropically, rather then properly (that is) according to the cuſtom which men uſe in working. Quantum eſt periculi his, qui Scripturas ſenſu corporeo legunt? In what danger are they that read the Scriptures in a carnal ſenſe?* By this breath was infuſed into man, both life and ſoul, and therefore this (Soul) the Philoſophers call *Animam, quæ vivificat corpus, & animat; Which doth animate and give life to the body. The inſpiration of the Almighty giveth underſtanding,* ſaith *Job*; and this ſpirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reaſonable ſoul of man, returneth again to God that gave it, as the body returneth unto the Earth, out of which it was taken; according to *Eccleſiaſtes: And duſt ſhall return to the Earth, out of which it was taken, and the ſpirit ſhall return to God that gave it.* Neither is this word (Spirit) uſually otherwiſe taken in the Scriptures, then for the ſoul; as when *Stephen* cried unto God: *Domine, ſuſcipe ſpiritum meum; Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit:* and in S. *John, And Jeſus bowed his head and gave up the Ghoſt,* or Spirit; (which was) that his life and ſoul left his body dead. And that the immortal ſoul of man differeth from the ſouls of beaſts, the manner of creation maketh it manifeſt: for it is written, *Let the waters bring forth in abundance every creeping thing, and let the earth bring forth the living thing according to his kind, the beaſt of the Earth,* &c. But of man it is written, *Let us make man in our own Image,* &c. and further, that *the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life.* Wherefore, as from the Water and Earth were thoſe creatures brought forth, and thence received life; ſo ſhal they again be diſſolved into the ſame firſt matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath everlaſting, which God breathed into Man, ſhall, according to *Eccleſiaſtes, return again to God that gave it.*

Job 33. 4.

Eccleſ 12. 7.

Act. 7 50.

John 9. 30.

Gen. 1. 20. 24. 26.

Gen. 2. 7.

Eccl. 12. 7.

§. V.

That man is (as it were) a little World: with a digreſſion touching our mortality.

MAn, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abſtract or model or brief Story in the Univerſal: in whom God concluded the Creation, and work of the World, and whom he made the laſt, and moſt excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued with a divine underſtanding, by which he might contemplate, and ſerve his Creatour, after whoſe Image he was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of Reaſon and other abilities, that thereby alſo he might govern and rule the World, and all other God's Creatures therein. And whereas God created three ſorts of living natures, (to wit) Angelical, Rational, and Brutal; giving to Angels an intellectual, and to Beaſts a ſenſual nature, he vouchſafed unto Man, both the intellectual of Angels, the ſenſitive of Beaſts, and the proper rational belonging unto man: and therefore (ſaith *Gregory Nazianzene*) *Homo eſt utriuſque naturæ vinculum, Man is the bond and chain which tieth together both Natures:* and becauſe in the little frame of man's body there is a repreſentation of the Univerſal, and (by alluſion) a kind of participation of all the pars there, therefore was man called *Microcoſmos*, or the little World. *Deus igitur hominem factum, velut alterum quendam mundum, in brevi magnum, atque exiguo totum, in terris ſtatuit; God therefore placed in the Earth the man whom he had made, as it were another World; the great and large World in the ſmall and little World:* for out of the Earth and Duſt, was formed the fleſh of man, and therefore heavy and lumpiſh: the

Ar. Phyſ. l. 8. c. 2. l. 17. f.

Greg. Naz. Epiſt. Omnis in hominе creatura, & cælum & terrè.

Aug. l. qu. 83. 84. 67.

Petr l. 1. c. 2.

bones

bones of his body we may compare to the hard Rocks and Stones, and therefore ſtrong and durable; of which *Ovid:*

Ovid. Met. l. 1. *Inde genus durum ſumus, experienſque laborum,*
Et documenta damus qua ſimus origine nati:

From thence our Kind hard-hearted is,
enduring pain and care,
Approving, that our bodies of
a ſtony nature are.

His bloud, which diſperſeth it ſelf by the branches of veins through all the body, may be reſembled to thoſe waters, which are carried by Brooks and Rivers over all the earth; his breath to the Air, his natural heat to the incloſed warmth which the Earth hath in it ſelf, which ſtirred up by the heat of the Sun, aſſiſteth Nature in the ſpeedier procreation of thoſe varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radical Moiſture, Oyl, or Balſamum (whereon the natural heat feedeth and is maintained) is reſembled to the fat and fertility of the Earth; the hairs of mans body, which adorns, or overſhadows it, to the graſs, which covereth the upper face and ſkin of the Earth; our generative power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the leight, wandring and unſtable clouds, carried every where with uncertain winds; our eyes to the light of the Sun and Moon; and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very ſhort time, or with the Sun's heat, dry up and wither away, or the fierce puffs of wind blow them from the ſtalks; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure underſtanding (formerly called *Mens*, and that which always looketh upwards) to thoſe intellectual Natures, which are always preſent with God; and laſtly, our immortal ſouls (while they are righteous) are by God himſelf beautified with the title of his own Image and Similitude. And although, in reſpect of God, there is no man juſt, or good, or righteous (for, *In Angelis deprehenſa eſt ſtultitia, Behold, He found folly in his Angels*, ſaith *Job*); yet, with ſuch a kind of difference, as there is between the ſubſtance and the ſhadow, there may be found a goodneſs in men: which God being pleaſed to accept, hath therefore called Man, the Image and Similitude of his own Righteouſneſs. In this alſo is the little World of man compared, and made more like the Univerſal (man being the meaſure of all things; *Homo eſt menſura omnium rerum*, ſaith *Ariſtotle* and *Pythagoras*) that the four Complexions reſemble the four Elements, and the ſeven Ages of man the ſeven Planets; Whereof, our infancie is compared to the *Moon*, in which we ſeem onely to live and grow, as Plants; the ſecond Age to *Mercurie*, wherein we are taught and inſtructed; our third Age to *Venus*, the days of Love, Deſire, and Vanity; the fourth to the *Sun*, the ſtrong, flouriſhing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we ſeek honour and victory, and in which our thoughts travel to ambitious ends; the ſixth Age is aſcribed to *Jupiter*, in which we begin to take accompt of our times, judge of our ſelves, and grow to the perfection of our underſtanding; the laſt and ſeventh, to *Saturn*, wherein our days are ſad, and over-caſt, and in which we find by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loſs which can never be repaired, that of all our vain paſſions and affections paſt, the ſorrow onely abideth: Our attendants are ſickneſſes, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more we are accompanied with plenty, by ſo much the more greedily is our end deſired, whom when *Time* hath made unſociable to others, we become a burthen to our ſelves: being of no other uſe, then to hold the riches we have from our Succeſſors. In this time it is, when (as aforeſaid) we, for the moſt part, and never before, prepare for our eternal habitation, which we paſs on unto with many ſighs, grones, and ſad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanſhip of death, finiſh the ſorrowfull buſineſs of a wretched life; towards which we always travel both ſleeping and waking: neither have thoſe beloved companions of honour and riches any power at all to hold us any one day, by the glorious promiſe of entertainments; but by what crooked path ſoever we walk, the ſame leadeth on directly to the houſe of death, whoſe doors lie open at all hours, and to all perſons. For this Tide of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetual Ebb and falling Stream, but never floweth again: our Leaf once fallen, ſpringeth no more; neither doth the Sun or the Summer adorn us again, with the garments of new Leaves and Flowers.

Job 14. 18.

Ariſt. 10. Met. c. 1. f.

Redditur arboribus florens revirentibus ætas,
Ergo non homini, quod fuit antè, redit.

To which I give this ſenſe.

The Plants and Trees made poor and old
By Winter envious,
The Spring-time bounteous
Covers again from ſhame and cold:
But never man repair'd again
His youth and beauty loſt,
Though Art, and care, and coſt,
Do promiſe Nature's help in vain.

And

And of which,

CATULLUS, EPIGRAM. 53.

Soles occidere & redire possunt:
Nobis cùm semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

The Sun may set and rise:
But we contrariwise
Sleep after our short light
One everlasting night.

For if there were any baiting place, or rest, in the course or race of mans life, then, according to the doctrine of the *Academicks*, the same might also perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in natural living things, and as the sap and juyce, wherein the life of Plants is preserved, doth evermore ascend or descend; so is it with the life of man, which is alwayes either increasing towards ripeness and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottenness and dissolution.

§. VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his first Creation, to dispose of himself.

THese be the miseries which our first Parents brought on all Mankind, unto whom God in his creation gave a free and unconstrained will, and on whom he bestowed the liberal choice of all things, with one onely Prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God set before him, a mortal and immortal Life, a nature celestial and terrene, and (indeed) God gave man to himself, to be his own Guide, his own Workman, and his own Painter, that he might frame or describe unto himself what he pleased, and make election of his own form. Eccles. 15. 14. *God made man in the beginning* (saith *Siracides*) *and left him in the hands of his own counsel.* Such was the liberality of God, and man's felicity: whereas beasts, and all other creatures reasonless, brought with them into the World (saith *Lucilius*), and that even when they first fell from the bodies of their Dams, the Nature, which they could not change; and the supernal Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or soon after, of that condition, in which they remain in perpetual eternity. But (as aforesaid) God gave unto man all kind of Seeds and Grafts of life (to wit) the vegetative life of Plants, the sensual of Beasts, the rational of Man, and the intellectual of Angels; whereof which soever he took pleasure to plant and cultive, the same should futurely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his own choice and plantation. This freedom of the first man *Adam*, and our first Father, was ænigmatically described by *Asclepius Atheniensis* (saith *Mirandula*) in the person and Fable of *Proteus*, who was said, as often as he pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated *Metamorphoses* among the Pythagoreans, and antient Poets, wherein it was fained, that men were transformed into divers shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens conditions, from Reason to Brutality, from Virtue to Vice, from Meekness to Cruelty, and from Justice to Oppression. For by the lively Image of other creatures did those *Antients* represent the variable passions, and affections of mortal men; as by Serpents were signified Deceivers; by Lyons, Oppressors, and cruel men; by Swine, Men given over to lust and sensuality; by Wolves, ravening, and greedy men; which also S. *Matthew* resembleth to false Prophets, *which come to you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves:* by the images of stones and stocks, foolish and ignorant Men; by Vipers, ungrateful Men: of which S. *John Baptist*, *O ye generation of Vipers*, &c. Matth. 7. 15. Matth. 3. 7.

§. VII.

Of God's ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the Universal created was exceeding good.

IN this work of Man, God finished the Creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finished, *Cui voluisse est fecisse*; *With whom, to will is to make*, saith *Beda*. Neither did God so rest, that he left the World made, and the Creatures therein to themselves: for *my Father worketh to this day* (saith *Christ*) *and I work*; but God rested (that is) he created no new *species* or kinds of creatures, but (as aforesaid) gave unto man a power generative, and so to the rest of living creatures, to Plants and Flowers, their seeds in themselves; and commanded Man to multiply and fill the Earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their several kinds: all which being finished, God saw that his works were good; not that he foreknew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they were; for God made every Plant of the field before it was in the Earth; but he gave to all things which he had created the name of Good, thereby to teach men, that from so good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whose John 5. 17. Gen. 1. 28. 22. 24.

simple purity and from so excellent a cause there could proceed no impure or imperfect effect. For man having a free will and liberal choice, purchased by disobedience his own death and mortality; and for the cruelty of mans heart, was the Earth afterward cursed, and all creatures of the first Age destroyed, but the righteous man *Noah* and his Family, with those creatures which the Ark contained, reserved by God to repleniſh the Earth.

CHAP. III.

Of the place of Paradise.

§. I.

That the seat of Paradise is greatly mistaken: and that it is no marvel that men should erre.

CONcerning the first Habitation of man, we read, that *the Lord God planted a Garden Eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made*, Gen. 2. 6. Of this seat and place of *Paradise*, all Ages have held dispute; and the opinions and judgments have been in effect, as divers, among those that have written upon this part of *Genesis*, as upon any one place therein, seeming most obscure: Some there are, that have conceived the being of the terrestrial *Paradise*, without all regard of the Worlds Geography, and without any respect of the East and West, or any consideration of the place where *Moses* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the Heavens) the way how to find out and judg, in what Region of the World this Garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding respective and precise. Others, by being themselves ignorant in the *Hebrew*, followed the first Interpretation; or, trusting to their own judgments, understood one place for another; and one Errour is so fruitful, as it begetteth a thousand Children, if the licentiousnes thereof be not timely restrained. And thirdly, those Writers which gave themselves to follow and imitate others, were in all things so observant Sectators of those Masters, whom they admired and believed in, as they thought it safer to condemn their own understanding, then to examine theirs. For (saith *Vadianus* in his Epistle of *Paradise*) *Magnos errores, magnorum virorum authoritate persuasi, transmittimus*; *We pass over many gross errours, by the authority of great men led and perswaded.* And it is true, that many of the Fathers were far wide from the understanding of this place. I speak it not, that I my self dare presume to censure them, for I reverence both their Learning and their Piety, and yet not bound to follow them any further, then they are guided by truth: for they were men; *Et humanum est errare.* And to the end that no man should be proud of himself, GOD hath distributed unto men such a proportion of Knowledg, as the wisest may behold in themselves their own weakness: *Nulli unquam dedit omnia Deus*; *God never gave the knowledg of all things to any one.* Saint *Paul* confes'd that he knew not, whether he were taken up into the third Heaven in the flesh, or out of the flesh; and Christ himself acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, seeing knowledg is infinite, it is God (according to S. *Jude*) who is only wise. *Sapientia ubi invenitur*, (saith *Job*)? *But where is wisdom found? and where is the place of understanding? Man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the Land of the living.* And therefore seeing God found folly in his Angels, mens judgments (which inhabit in houses of Clay) cannot be without their mistakings: and so the Fathers, and other learned men, excusable in particulars, especially in those whereupon our salvation depended not.

2 Cor. 12. 2. Mat. 24. 36. Jude. Ep. v. 2. Job. 28. 12, 13. 4. 18.

§. II.

A recital of strange Opinions touching Paradise.

NOw touching *Paradise*, first it is to be enquired, Whether there were a *Paradise*, or no? or whether *Moses* description were altogether mystical, and allegorical? as *Origen*, *Philo*, *Fran. Georgius*, with others, have affirmed; and that under the names of those four Rivers *Pison*, *Gehon*, *Hiddekel*, and *Perath*, *the Tree of Life*, *and the Tree of Knowledg*, there were delivered unto us other mysteries and significations; as, that by the four Rivers were meant the four Cardinal Virtues, *Justice*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude*, and *Prudence*; or (by other) *Oyle*, *Wine*, *Milk*, and

Bariaſ. ſem. 2. l. 1. 143.

and *Honey*. This Allegorical understanding of *Paradise* by *Origen* divulged, was again by *Franciscus Georgius* received (saith *Sixtus Senensis*;) whose frivolous imaginations *Sixtus* himself doth fully and learnedly answer, in the 34. Annotation of his fift Book, *fol.*338. the last Edition.

S. *Ambrose* also leaned wholly to the Allegorical construction, and set *Paradise* in the third Heaven, and in the virtues of the mind, *& in nostro principali*, which is, as I conceive it, *in mente*, or in our souls: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this sort. By the place or garden of *Paradise*, was meant the Soul or Mind; by *Adam*, *Mens*, or, Understanding; by *Eve*, the Sense; by the *Serpent*, Delectation; by the *Tree* of good and evil, Sapience; and by the rest of the Trees, the virtues of the mind, or in the mind planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, upon the first of the *Corinth. c.6.* he in direct words alloweth both of a celestial and terrestrial *Paradise*; the one into which S. *Paul* was wrapt; the other, into which *Adam* was put by God. *Aug. Chrysamensis* was of opinion, that a *Paradise* had been; but that there was not now any mark thereof on the earth: the same being not onely defaced, but withall the places now not so much as existing. To which *Luther* seemeth to adhere.

Amb. de Parad.

The *Manichees* also understood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole Earth; to which opinion, *Vadianus* inclineth, as I conceive his words, in two several places. First, upon this; *Fill the earth*, Gen. 10. Of which he gives this judgment. *Hoc ipso etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini universis animantibus, subjicite terram, clarissimè docet, totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (ut tum erat) fructibus consitam, sedem & hortum illum* Adæ, *& posteritatis futuræ fuisse*; *These words* (saith he) *in which God said, Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it, and rule over every creature, do clearly shew, that the Universal earth, set or filled with all sorts of fruits (as then it was,) was the garden and seat of* Adam, *and of his future posterity.* And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the *Acts*, Cap. 17. *Apostolus ex uno sanguine omne genus humanum ideò factum docet, ut habitarent super universam faciem terræ: tota igitur terra Paradisus ille erat*; *The Apostle* (saith he) *teacheth, that God hath made of one bloud all mankind, to dwell over all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth* (saith he) *was that Paradise.* Which conjectures I will answer in order. *Goropius Becanus* differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that *Adam* was first planted by God in one certain place, and peculiar Garden; which place *Goropius* findeth near the River of *Acesines*, in the Confines of *India*.

Vers. 26.

Tertullian, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*, make *Paradise* under the Equinoctial; and *Postellus*, quite contrary, under the North-pole: the Chaldeans also for the most part, and all their Sectators, followed the opinion of *Origen*, or rather *Origen* theirs, who would either make *Paradise* a figure, or Sacrament onely, or else would have it seated out of this sensible world, or raised into some high and remote Region of the Air. *Strabus*, and *Rabanus*, were both sick of this vanity, with *Origen*, and *Philo*: so was our venerable *Beda*, and *Peter Comestor*, and *Moses Barcephas* the Syrian, translated by *Masius*. But as *Hopkins* sayes of *Philo Judæus*, that he wondred, *Quo malo genio afflatus, By what evil Angel he was blown up into this errour*; so can I but greatly marvel at the learned men, who so grosly and blindly wandred; seeing *Moses*, and after him the Prophets, do so plainly describe this place, by the Region in which it was planted, by the Kingdoms and Provinces bordering it, by the Rivers which watered it, and by the points of the Compass upon which it lay, in respect of *Judea*, or *Canaan*.

Bart. 16. 126.

Bed. in Gen. Pet. Comest. l. 1. cap. 3. Moses Barc. de Par.

Noviomagus also upon *Beda*, *De natura rerum*, believeth that all the Earth was taken for *Paradise*, and not any one place. For the whole Earth (saith he) hath the same beauty ascribed to *Paradise*. He addeth, that the Ocean was that Fountain from whence the four Rivers, *Pison*, *Gehon*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, had their beginning; for he could not think it possible, that these Rivers, of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, (whereof the one ran through *India*, the other through *Egypt*, and the other through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*) could rise out of one Fountain, vvere it not out of the Fountain of the Ocean.

§. III.

That there was a true local Paradise Eastward, in the Countrey of Eden.

TO the first therefore, that such a place there was upon the earth, the words of *Moses* make it manifest, where it is written, *And the Lord God planted a Garden Eastward in Eden, and there he put the Man whom he had made*: and howsoever the vulgar translation, called *Jerom*'s translation, hath converted this place thus, *Plantaverit Dominus Deus Paradisum voluptatis à principio, The Lord God planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginning*; putting the word (*pleasure*) for *Eden*,

Gen. 2

and (*from the beginning*) for *Eastward*: it is manifest, that in this place *Eden* is the proper name of a Region. For, What sense hath this translation (saith our *Hopkins*, in his Treatise of *Paradise*) that he planted a Garden in Pleasure, or, that a River went out of pleasure to water the Garden? But the Seventy Interpreters call it *Paradisum Edenis*, *The Paradise of Eden*; and so doth the *Chaldean* Paraphrast truly take it for the proper name of a Place, and for a Noun appellative; which Region, in respect of the fertility of the Soil, of the many beautiful Rivers and goodly Woods, and that the Trees (as in the *Indies*) do always keep their leaves, was called *Eden*, which signifieth in the *Hebrew*, Pleasantness, or delicacy; as the *Spaniards* call the Country, opposite to the Isle of *Cuba*, *Florida*: and this is the mistaking, which may end the dispute, as touching the double sense of the word, That as *Florida* was a Country, so called for the flourishing beauty thereof; so was *Eden* a Region, called Pleasure, or Delicacy, for its pleasure or delicacy: and as *Florida* signifieth Flourishing; so *Eden* signifieth Pleasure: and yet both are the proper names of Countries; for *Eden* being the proper name of a Region (called Pleasure in the *Hebrew*) and *Paradise* being the choise seat of all that Region, *Paradise* was truely the Garden of *Eden*, and truely the Garden of Pleasure.

Now, for *Eastward*, to translate it, *from the beginning*, it is also contrary to the translation of the Seventy; to the ancient Greek Fathers, as *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, *Theodoret*, *Gregory*; and to the *Rabines*, as *Ramban*, *Rabbi Solomon*, *R. Abraham*, and *Chimchi*; and of the Latines, *Severinus*, *Damascenus*, *&c.* who plainly take *Eden* for the proper name of a Region, and set the word (*Eastward*) for *ab initio*; for *Damascene*'s own words are these, *Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter constitus*; *Paradise is a place marvellously planted by the hands of God in Eden, toward the East.*

And after all these Fathers, *Guilhelmus Parisiensis*, a great learned man, and *Sixtus Senensis*, of latter times, do both understand these words of *Eden* and of the *East*, contrary to the vulgar Translation; *Parisiensis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senensis*, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their own words: *After this I will begin to speak of Paradise terrestrial, which God planted from the beginning, or Eastward, &c. Post hæc incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantâsse Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem &c.* And then *Senensis*; Moses *enim clarissimè prodit, Paradisum à Deo constitum in regione terræ Orientalis, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden autem esse proprium nomen, apparet ex quarto capite Gen. ubi legimus*, Cham *habitâsse ad Orientalem plagam Heden*; For *Moses* (saith he) *doth shew most clearly, that Paradise was planted of God in a Region of the East Countrey, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Genesis, where we read, that* Cham *dwelt on the East border of Heden.* *Pererius* endeavoureth to qualifie this Translation; for this particle (saith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the Creation, and not to the very first day; alledging this place of Christ, that although the Devil was said to be a *Man-slayer from the beginning*, yet that was meant but after the sixth day. But surely, as I think (referring my self to better judgment) the Devil was from the instant of his fall a Man-slayer in disposition, though he had not whereon to practise till mans Creation. And for conclusion, S. *Hierom* (if that be his translation) adviseth himself better in the end of the third Chapter of *Genesis*, converting the word (*Eden*) by (*ante*) and not (*à principio*) as, *God did set a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden*; *Collocavit Deus ante Paradisum voluptatis, Cherubin*; and *Pererius* himself acknowledgeth, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the Hebrew, *Posuit à parte Orientali horti Heden, Cherubin*; *He set on the East-side of the Garden of Heden, a Cherubin.* *Becanus* affirmeth, that the *Hebrew* word (*Be*) signifieth (with) as well as (in) and so the Text beareth this sense; That God planted a Garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But *Becanus* followeth this construction, onely to the end to find *Paradise* upon the River of *Asecines*; for there he hath heard of the *Indian* Fig-tree in great abundance, which he supposeth to be the Tree of knowledg of good and evil, and would therefore draw *Paradise* to the Fig-Tree: which Conceit of his I will answer hereafter.

Verse 15. *Job.* 8. 44. *Gen.* 3. 24.

Now, because *Paradise* was seated by *Moses* toward the East, thence came the custom of praying toward the East, and not by imitation of the *Chaldeans*: and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the Sun riseth in *March*, which is directly over *Paradise* (saith *Damascenus*:) affirming, that we always pray towards the East, as looking towards *Paradise*, whence we were cast out; and yet the Temple of *Solomon* had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned themselves in their service and divine ceremonies, always towards the West, thereby to avoid the superstition of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*.

But

But becauſe Eaſt and Weſt are but in reſpect of places; (for although *Paradiſe* were Eaſt from *Judea*, yet it was Weſt from *Perſia*) and the ſerving of God is every where in the world; the matter is not great, which way we turn our faces, ſo our hearts ſtand right, other then this, that we who dwell Weſt from *Paradiſe*, and pray turning our ſelves towards the Eaſt, may remember thereby to beſeech God, that as by *Adams* fall we have loſt the *Paradiſe* on earth; ſo by Chriſts death and paſſion we may be made partakers of the *Paradiſe* celeſtial, and the Kingdom of Heaven. To conclude, I conceive, that there was no other myſtery in adding the word (Eaſt) to *Eden* by *Moſes*, then to ſhew, that the Region of *Eden*, in which *Paradiſe* was, lay Eaſtward from *Judea* and *Canaan*: for the Scriptures alwayes called the people of thoſe Nations, the Sons of the Eaſt which inhabited *Arabia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldea*, and *Perſia*: of which *Ovid*.

Eurus ad Auroram, Nabathæaq; regna receſſit,
Perſidaque, & radiis juga ſubdita matutinis.

The Eaſt wind with *Aurora* hath a biding
Among th' *Arabian* and the *Perſian* Hills,
Whom *Phœbus* firſt ſalutes at his firſt riſing.

And if it be objected, that *Jeremy* the Prophet, threatning the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, doth often make mention of *Northern* Nations, it is to be noted, that the *North* is there named, in reſpect of thoſe Nations that followed *Nabuchodonozer*, and of whom the greateſt part of his Army was compounded; not that *Babylon* it ſelf ſtood *North* from *Jeruſalem*, though inclining from the *Eaſt* towards the *North*.

Now to the difference of this Tranſlation, *Peter Comeſtor* giveth beſt ſatisfaction: for he uſeth the word *From the beginning, that is, from the firſt part of the World, (à principio) id eſt*, (ſaith he) *à prima orbis parte*; and afterward he affirmeth, that *à principio*, and *ad Orientem*, have the ſame ſignification: *From the beginning and Eaſt-ward is all one*; *à principio idem eſt quod ad Orientem.*

But to return to the proof of this place, and that this ſtory of Mankind was not Allegorical, it followeth in the Text of the 2. Chap. and 9. Verſe, in theſe words: *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree pleaſant to the ſight, and good for meat, &c.* ſo as firſt it appeared that God created *Adam* elſe-where as in the World at large, and then *put him into the Garden*: and the end why, is expreſs'd: *that he might dreſs it and keep it*; *Paradiſe* being a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the moſt excellent kinds, pleaſant to behold, and (withal) good for meat: which proveth that *Paradiſe* was a terreſtrial Garden, garniſhed with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taſte. And to make it more plain, and to take away all opinion of Allegorical conſtruction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a River; expreſſing alſo the Region, out of which this River ſprang, which he calleth *Heden*; and that *Heden* is alſo a Country neer unto *Charon* in *Meſopotamia*, *Ezekiel* witneſſeth.

Verſ. 18.

Verſ. 10.

Ezek. 27. 23.

But to all theſe Cabaliſts, which draw the Truth and Story of the Scriptures into Allegories, *Epiphanius* anſwereth in theſe words; *Si Paradiſus non eſt ſenſibilis, non eſt etiam fons; ſi non eſt fons, non eſt flumen; ſi non eſt flumen, non ſunt quatuor principia, non Piſon, non Gehon, non Trigis, nec Euphrates; non eſt ficus, non folia, non comedit* Eva *de arbore, non eſt* Adam, *non ſunt homines, ſed veritas jam fabula eſt, & omnia ad Allegorias revocantur*; *If Paradiſe be not ſenſible, then there was no fountain, and then no river; if no river, then no ſuch four heads or branches, and then not any ſuch river, as Piſon, or Gehon, Tigris, or Euphrates; no ſuch fig-tree, or fruit, or leaves;* Eve *then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any* Adam, *or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things eſteemed are called back into Allegories.* Words to the ſame effect hath S. *Hierome* upon *Daniel*: *Contiteſcant eorum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate ſequentes, ipſam conantur evertere veritatem, ut Paradiſum & flumina, & arbores putent Allegoriæ Legibus ſe debere ſubruere: Let the dotage of them be ſilent, who following ſhadows and images in the Truth, endeavour to ſubvert the Truth it ſelf, and think that they ought to bring Paradiſe, and the Rivers, and the Trees, under the Rules of Allegory.*

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Story, is the place made more manifeſt. For, God gave *Adam* free liberty to eat of every Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of knowledg excepted) which Trees *Moſes* in the ninth Verſe ſaith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Beſides, God left all beaſts to *Adam* to be named, which he had formerly made; and theſe beaſts were neither in the third heaven, nor neer the circle of the Moon, nor beaſts in imagination: for if all theſe things were Enigmatical or myſtical, the ſame might alſo be ſaid of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel*, ſpeaking of the glory of the Aſſyrian Kings, uſeth this ſpeech: *All the Trees of Eden, which were in the Garden of God, envied him*; which proveth both *Eden*, and *Paradiſe* therein ſeated, to be terreſtrial: for the Pro-

Ezek 31 9.

phets

phets made no imaginary comparisons. But *Moses* wrote plainly, and in a simple style, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the description of *Paradise*, than in any other place of Scripture; of purpose, to take away all scruple from the incredulity of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecy) to be apt to fabulous inventions; and that if he had not described both the Region and the Rivers, and how it stood from *Canaan*, many of the unbelieving Israelites, and others after them, would have misconstrued this Story of Man-kind. And, is it likely, there would have been so often mention made of *Paradise* in the Scriptures, if the same had been an *Utopia?* For we find that the Valley, wherein *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* stood, Gen. 13.10 (sometimes called Pentapolis, of the five principal Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their unnatural sin purchased) compared to the *Paradise* of the Lord, and like to the Land of Egypt toward Zoar: In like manner was Israel resembled to the *Paradise* of God, before the Babylonians wasted it: which proveth plainly, that *Paradise* it self, exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof: being compared to a seat and soil of far exceeding excellency.

Besides, whence had *Homer* his invention of *Alcinous* Gardens, as *Justin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moses* his description of *Paradise? Gen.* 2. And whence are their praises of the Elizian fields, but out of the Story of *Paradise?* To which also appertain those Verses of Ovid. Met. l. 1. the Golden Age in *Ovid:*

Ver erat æternum; placidique tepentibus auris,
Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores.

The joyfull Spring did ever last,
And Zephyrus did breed
Sweet flowers by his gentle blast,
Without the help of Seed.

And it is manifest, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pindarus*, *Hesiodus*, and *Homer*, and, after him, *Ovid*, one out of another, and all these together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their Sectators, did greatly enrich their Inventions, by venting the stoln Treasures of Divine Letters, altered by prophane additions, and disguised by poetical conversions, as if they had been conceived out of their own speculations and contemplations.

But besides all these testimonies, if we find what Region *Heden*, or *Eden* was; if we prove the River that ran out of it, and that the same afterwards was divided into four Branches; together with the kingdoms of *Havila*, and *Cush*; and that all these are Eastward from *Canaan*, or the Desarts of the *Amorites*, where *Moses* wrote; I then conceive that there is no man that will doubt, but that such a place there was. And yet I do not exclude the Allegorical sense of the Scripture; for as well in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the old Testament throughout: the Story being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose (saith Saint *Augustine*) *Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententiæ: una est eorum, qui tantummodò corporaliter Paradisum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantùm (id est) Ecclesiam: tertia eorum, qui utroque modo Paradisum accipiunt*; (that is) *There are three opinions of Paradise: the one of those men, which will have it altogether corporal: a second of those, which conceive it altogether spiritual, and to be a figure of the Church: the third of those, which take it in both senses*; which third Opinion, S. *Augustine* approveth, and of which *Suidas* giveth this allowable judgment: *Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul conditus erat: sic & hujus sanctissimum nemus sensibile simul & intelligibile, & duplici specie est præditum*; (that is) *As man was created at one time, both sensible, and intelligible; so was this holy Grove, or Garden, to be taken both ways, and endued with a double form.* Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 13. c. 21. Suidas in verbo Paradisus.

§. IV.

Why it should be needfull to intreat diligently of the place of Paradise.

BUt it may be objected, that it is needless, and a kind of curiosity to enquire so diligently after this place of *Paradise*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no use. To which I answer, that there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the Story be necessary, then by the place proved, the same is also made more apparent. For if we should conceive that *Paradise* were not on the Earth, but lifted up as high as the Moon; or that it were beyond all the *Ocean*, and in no part of the known World; from whence, *Adam* was said to wade through the Sea, and thence to have come into *Judea*, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would give any credit unto it. For what could seem more ridiculous than the report of such a place? and besides, what maketh this seat of *Paradise* so much disputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Pishon* should be *Ganges*, which watereth the East *India*; and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt:* and these two Rivers so far distant, as (except

(except all the World were *Paradise*) these streams can no way be comprised therein?

Secondly, if the birth and works, and death of our Saviour, were said to have been in some such Countrey, of which no man ever heard tell, and that his Miracles had been performed in the Air, or no place certainly known: I assure my self, that the Christian Religion would have taken but a slender root in the minds of men: for times and places are approved witnesses of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we should relie, or give place to the judgment of some Writers upon this place of *Genesis* (though otherwise for their doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour and reverence) I say that there is no Fable among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would believe that there were a piece of the World so set by it self, and separated, as to hang in the Air under the circle of the Moon? or who so doltish to conceive, that from thence the four Rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, should fall down, and run under all the Ocean, and rise up again in this our habitable world, and in those places where they are now found? Which lest any man think that I enforce, or strain to the worst, these are *Peter Comestor's* own words. *Est autem locus amœnissimus, longo terræ & maris tractu à nostra habitabili Zona secretus, adeò elevatus, ut usque ad lunarem globum attingat*, &c. (that is) *It is a most pleasant place, severed from our habitable Zone, by a long tract of Land and Sea, elevated so, that it reacheth to the globe of the Moon.*

Bart. converted by Masius.

And *Moses Barcephas* upon this place writeth in this manner: *Deinde hoc quoque responsum volumus, Paradisum multò sublimiore positum esse regione, atque hæc nostra extet terra, eòque fieri ut illinc per præcipitium delabantur fluvii tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non possis; eóque impetu impulsi pressique sub Oceani vado rapiuntur, unde rursus prosiliant ebullidntque in hoc à nobis culto orbe:* which have this sense: *Furthermore* (saith he) *we give this for an answer, that Paradise is set in a Region far raised above this part which we inhabit; whereby it comes to pass, that from thence these Rivers fall down with such a headlong violence, as words cannot express; and with that force so impulsed and prest, they are carried under the deep Ocean, and do again rise and boil up in this our habitable World:* and to this he addeth the opinion of *Ephram*, which is this: *Ephram dicit, Paradisum ambire terram, atque ultra Oceanum ita positum esse, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet Regione, non aliter atque Lunæ orbis Lunam cingit*; (which is) *That Paradise doth compass or embrace the whole Earth, and is so set beyond the Ocean Sea, as it environeth the whole Orbe of the Earth on every side, as the Orbe of the Moon doth embrace the Moon.* To the end therefore that these ridiculous Expositions and Opinions do not bring question unto Truth it self, or make the same subject to doubts or disputes, it is necessary to discover the true place of *Paradise*, *which God in his wisdom* appointed in the very Navel of this our World, and (as *Melanchon* saies) *in parte Terræ meliore, in the best part thereof*, that from thence, as from a Center, the Universal might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, we shall the better judge of the beginning of Nations, and of the Worlds inhabitation: for near unto this did the Sons of *Noah* also disperse themselves after the Floud, into all other remote Regions and Countreys. And if it be a generous desire in men, to know from whence their own forefathers have come, and out of what Regions and Nations; it cannot be displeasing to understand the place of our first Ancestor, from whence all the streams and branches of Mankind have followed and been deduced. If then it do appear by the former, that such a place there was as *Paradise*, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine several Opinions before remembred, by the Truth it self; and to see how they agree with the sense of the Scripture, and with common Reason; and afterward to prove directly, and to delineate the Region in which God first planted this delightfull Garden.

§. V.

That the Floud hath not utterly defaced the marks of Paradise, nor caused Hills in the Earth.

AND first, whereas it is supposed by *Aug. Chysamensis*, that the Floud hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such sort, as no man can find any mark or memory thereof (of which opinion there were others also, ascribing to the Floud the cause of those high Mountains, which are found on all the Earth over, with many other strange effects): for mine own opinion, I think neither the one, nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the face of *Paradise* was after the Floud withered, and grown old, in respect of the first beauty (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed): yet if there had been no sign of any such place, or if the soil and seat had not remained, then would

would not *Moſes*, who wrote of *Paradiſe* about 850 years after the Floud, have deſcribed it ſo particularly, and the Prophets long after *Moſes*, would not have made ſo often mention thereof. And though the very Garden it ſelf were not then to be found, but that the Floud, and other accidents of time made it one common field and paſture with the Land of *Eden*, yet the place is ſtill the ſame, and the Rivers ſtill remain the ſame Rivers. By two of which (never doubted of) to wit, *Tygris*, and *Euphrates*, we are ſure to find in what longitude *Paradiſe* lay; and learning out one of theſe Rivers, which afterward doth divide it ſelf into four branches, we are ſure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it ſelf. For it
Gen. 2.10. is written, that out of *Eden* went a River to water the Garden, and from thence it was divided, and became into four heads; Now, whether the word in the Latine Tranſlation (*Inde*) *from thence*, be referred to *Eden* it ſelf, or to *Paradiſe*; yet the diviſion, and branching of thoſe Rivers, muſt be in the North, or South ſide of the very Garden (if the Rivers run as they do, North and South) and therefore theſe Rivers yet remaining, and *Eden* manifeſtly known, there could be no ſuch defacing by the Floud, as is ſuppoſed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be ſo altered, as future ages knew it not, ſo is there no probability that either theſe Rivers were turned out of their courſes, or new Rivers created by the Floud which were not, or that the Floud (as aforeſaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decreaſe, was the cauſe of high Hills, or deep Valleys. For what deſcent of waters could there be in a Spherical and round body, wherein there is nor high nor low? ſeeing that all violent force of waters is either by the ſtrength of wind, by deſcent from a higher to a lower, or by the Ebb or Floud of the Sea. But that there was any wind (whereby the Seas are moſt enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrary is probable: for it is written, *Therefore God made a wind*
Gen. 8. 1. *to paſs upon the Earth, and the waters ceaſed.* So as it appeareth not, that, untill the waters ſank, there was any wind at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodneſs, cauſed the wind to blow, to drie up the abundant ſlime and mud of the Earth, and make the Land more firm, and to cleanſe the Air of thick vapours, and unwholſome miſts: and this we know by experience, that all downright rains do evermore diſſever the violence of outragious winds, and beat down, and level the ſwelling and mountainous billows of the Sea: for any Ebbs and Flouds there could be none, when the waters were equal, and of one height over all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bays, or Gulfs to receive a Floud, or any deſcent, or violent falling of waters in the round form of the Earth and Waters, as aforeſaid: and therefore it ſeemeth moſt agreeable to reaſon, that the Waters rather ſtood in a quiet calm, than that they moved with any raging or overbearing violence. And for a more direct proof that the Floud made no ſuch deſtroying alteration, *Joſephus* avoweth that one of thoſe pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to be ſeen in his days; which pillars were ſet up above 1426 years before the Floud; counting *Seth* to be an hundred years old at the erection of them; and *Joſeph* himſelf to have lived ſome fourty or fifty years after Chriſt: of whom, although there be no cauſe to believe all that he wrote, yet that which he avouched of his own time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in queſtion. And therefore it may be poſſible, that ſome foundation or ruine thereof might then be ſeen. Now, that ſuch pillars were raiſed by *Seth*, all Antiquity hath avowed. It is alſo written in *Beroſus* (to whom, although I give little credit, yet I cannot condemn him in all) that the City of Enoch, built by *Cain* about the mountains of *Libanus* was not defaced by length of time: yea, the ruines thereof, *Annius* (who commented upon that invented fragment) ſaith, were to be ſeen in his days, who lived in the reign of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* of *Caſtile*. And if theſe his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent: for, ſpeaking of this City of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this ſort: *Cujus maximæ & ingentis molis fundamenta viſuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Civitas Cain, ut noſtri mercatores, & peregrini referunt; The foundation of which huge maſs is now to be ſeen, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the City of Cain, as both our ſtrangers and Merchants report.* It is alſo avowed by *Pomponius Mela* (to whom I give more credit in theſe things) that the City of *Joppa* was built before the Floud, over which *Cepha* was King: whoſe name, with his brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds and principles of their Religion, was found graven upon certain Altars of ſtone. And it is not impoſſible, that the ruines of this other City, called *Enoch* by *Annius*, might be ſeen, though founded in the firſt age: but it could not be of the firſt City of the World, built by *Cain*; the place rather than the time denying it.

And to prove directly that the Floud was not the cauſe of mountains, but that there were

were mountains from the Creation, it is written, that *the waters of the Floud overflowed by fifteen Cubits the higheſt Mountains.* And *Maſius Damaſcenus*, ſpeaking of the Floud, writeth in this manner: *Eſt ſupra Minyadam excelſus Mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confugientes multos, ſermo eſt, Diluvii tempore liberatos. And upon Minyada there is an high Mountain in Armenia (called Baris) unto which it is ſaid, that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they ſaved themſelves thereon.* Now, although it is contrary to Gods Word, that any more were ſaved than eight perſons (which *Maſius* doth not avouch, but by report) yet it is a teſtimony, that ſuch Mountains were before the Floud, which were afterward, and ever ſince, known by the ſame names; and on which Mountains it is generally received, that the Ark reſted: but untruly, as I ſhall prove hereafter. And again it appeareth, that the Mount *Sion* (though by another name) was known before the Floud; on which the Thalmudiſts report, that many Giants ſaved themſelves alſo; but, as *Annius* ſaith, without all authority, either divine or humane.

Gen. 4. 17.

Laſtly, it appeareth that the Floud did not ſo turn upſide down the face of the earth, as thereby it was made paſt knowledge, after the waters were decreaſed, by this, that *when Noah ſent out the Dove the ſecond time, ſhe returned with an Olive leaf in her mouth,* which ſhe had pluckt, and which (until the Trees were diſcovered) ſhe found not: for otherwiſe ſhe might have found them floting on the water; a manifeſt proof, that the Trees were not torn up by the roots, nor ſwam upon the waters, for it is written: *folium, olivæ raptum*, or *decerptum, a leaf pluckt*, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to tear off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the Floud made no ſuch alteration, as was ſuppoſed, but that the place of *Paradiſe* might be ſeen to ſucceeding Ages, eſpecially unto *Moſes*, by whom it pleaſed God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation, and unto the Prophets which ſucceeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Diſcovery.

Gen. 8. 11.

§. VI.

That Paradiſe was not the whole Earth, as ſome have thought: making the Ocean to be the fountain of thoſe four Rivers.

THis conceit of *Aug. Chyſamenſis* being anſwered, who onely giveth *his opinion* for reaſon, I will in a few words examine that of the Manichees, of *Noviomagus*, *Vadianus*, *Goropius*, *Becanus*, and all thoſe that underſtood, that by *Paradiſe* was meant the whole Earth. But in this I ſhall not trouble the Reader with many words, becauſe by thoſe places of Scripture formerly remembred, this Univerſality will appear altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alledgeth, *Bring forth fruit and multiply, Fill the Earth, and ſubdue it, Rule over every Creature*, &c. with this of the *Acts*, *And hath made of one bloud all Mankind, to dwell on all the face of the Earth*, do no way prove ſuch a generality: for the World was made for man, of which he was Lord and Governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his uſe. Now, although all men were of one and the ſame fountain of bloud originally; and *Adam*'s Poſterity inhabited in proceſs of time over all the face of the Earth: yet it diſproveth in nothing the particular Garden, aſſigned to *Adam*, to dreſs and cultive, in which he lived in ſo bleſſed an eſtate before his tranſgreſſion. For if there had been no other choice, but that *Adam* had been left to the Univerſal; *Moſes* would not then have ſaid, *Eaſtward in Eden*, ſeeing the World hath not Eaſt nor Weſt but reſpectively. And to what end had the Angel of God been ſet to keep the Eaſt-ſide, and entrance into *Paradiſe* after *Adam*'s expulſion, if the Univerſal had been *Paradiſe?* for then muſt *Adam* have been chaſed alſo out of the World. For if all the Earth were *Paradiſe*, that place can receive no better conſtruction than this, That *Adam* was driven out of the World into the World, and out of *Paradiſe* into *Paradiſe*, except we ſhould believe with *Metrodorus*, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to deny, he thinks all one, as to affirm, *That in ſo large a field, as the Univerſal, there ſhould grow but one Thiſtle.* *Noviomagus* upon *Beda*, ſeemeth to be led by this, that it was impoſſible for thoſe three Rivers, *Ganges*, *Nilus*, and *Euphrates* (which water three portions of the World ſo far diſtant) to riſe out of one Fountain, except the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.

Gen. 1. 28. Acts 17. 26.

And it is true, that thoſe four Rivers, being ſo underſtood, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it ſhall plainly appear, that *Piſon* was falſly taken for *Ganges*, and *Gehon* falſly for *Nilus*, although *Ganges* be a River by *Havila* in *India*, and *Nilus* run through *Ethiopia*. The *Seventy* write *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, and thereby the errors of the Maniches, and the miſtakings of *Noviomagus*, *Goropius*, and *Vadianus*, with others, are made manifeſt. Yet was their conjecture far more

probable, than that of *Ephrem*, *Cyrillus*, and *Athanasius*, That *Paradise* was seated far beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at last came toward the Countrey in which he was created, and was buried at Mount *Calvary* in *Hierusalem*. And certainly, though all those of the first Age were of great stature, and so continued many years after the Floud, yet *Adam*'s shinbones must have contained a thousand fathome, and much more, if he had scoorded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needs no argument to disprove it.

§. VII.

Of their opinion which make Paradise as high as the Moon: and of others which make it higher than the Middle Region of the Air.

THirdly, whereas *Beda* saith, and as the School-men affirm, *Paradise* to be a Place altogether removed from the knowledge of men, (*locus à cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Barcephas* conceived, that *Paradise* was far in the East, but mounted above the Ocean, and all the Earth, and near the Orbe of the Moon (which opinion, though the School-men charge *Beda* withall, yet *Pererius* lays it off from *Beda*, upon *Strabus*, and his Master *Rabanus*:) and whereas *Rupertus*, in his Geographie of *Paradise*, doth not much differ from the rest, but finds it seated next or neerest Heaven; It may seem, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*: but neither of them (as I conceive) well understood; who (undoubtedly) took this place for Heaven it self, into which the Souls of the blessed were carried after death.

Diog. Laert. Soc. True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for fear of the Areopagites (in this, and many other divine apprehensions) set down what they believed in plain terms, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death for acknowledging one onely powerfull God; and therefore did the Devil himself do him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Justine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and S. *Augustine* gave this judgment of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to me, that both *Tertullian* and *Eusebius* conceive, that *Socrates*, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestial *Paradise*, and not this of *Eden*. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull, and healthfull, upon the top of Mount *Atho* (called *Acrothonos*) which being above all Clouds of Rain, or other inconvenience, the people (by reason of their so many years) are called *Macrobici* (that is) *Long-liv'd*. A further Argument is used, for proof of the height of this place, because therein was *Enoch* preserved from the violence of the Floud: approved by *Isidore*, and *Peter Lombard*: in which place also *Tertullian* conceived, that the blessed Souls were preserved till the last Judgment; which *Irenæus* and *Justine Martyr* also believed. But this opinion was of all *Catholique Divines* reproved, and in the *Florentine Councel* damned; of which Saint *Augustine* more modestly gave this judgment: *Sicut certum est, Enoch & Eliam, nunc vivere: ita ubi nunc sunt, an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est*; (that is) *As it is certain that Enoch and Elias do now live; so where they live, in Paradise, or elsewhere, it is uncertain.* But *Barcephas* gives a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessary that *Paradise* should be set at such a distance and height, because the four Rivers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not have had sufficient force to have thrust themselves under the great Ocean, and afterward have forced their passage through the Earth, and have risen again in the far distant Regions of *India*, *Egypt*, and *Armenia*.

These strange fancies and dreams have been answered by divers learned men long since, and lately by *Hopkins*, and *Pererius*, writing upon this subject; of whose arguments I will repeat these few: (for to use long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be judged a vanity in the Answerer, not much inferiour to that of the Inventer.)

It is first therefore alledged, that such a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being set so near the Moon, it had been too near the Sun, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have been too joynct a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the Air in that Region is so violently removed, and carried about with such swiftness, as nothing in that place can consist or have abiding. Fourthly, because the space between the Earth and the Moon (according to *Ptolemie* and *Alfraganus*) is seventeen times the *Diameter* of the Earth, which makes in a gross account about one hundred and twenty thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that *Paradise*, being raised to this height, must have the compass of the whole Earth for a *Basis* and foundation. But had it been so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men, seeing it would deprive us of the

Just. Mart. adm. ad Gent. Aug.

the Sun's light, all the fore-part of the day, being ſeated in the Eaſt, as they ſuppoſe. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, *Toſtatus* addeth this, that thoſe people which dwell neer thoſe fals of waters, are deaf from their infancy, like thoſe that dwell neer the *Catadupæ*, or over-fals of Nilus. But this I hold as feigned. For I have ſeen in the Indies, far greater water-fals, then thoſe of Nilus, and yet the people dwelling neer them are not deaf at all. *Toſtatus* (the better to ſtrengthen himſelf) citeth *Baſil* and *Ambroſe* together: to which *Pererius, Sed ego hæc apud* Baſilium & Ambroſium *in eorum ſcriptis, quæ nunc extant, nuſquam me legere memini*; *But I do not remember* (ſaith he) *that I ever read thoſe things either in* Baſil *or* Ambroſe.

Cicero Somn. Scip.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath diſpoſed of them according to his wiſdom. Their taking up might be into the celeſtial *Paradiſe*, for ought we know. For although fleſh and bloud, ſubject to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, and the ſeed muſt rot in the ground before it grow, yet we ſhall not all die (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *but all ſhall be changed*: which change in *Enoch* and *Elias*, was eaſie to him that is Almighty. But for the reſt, the Scriptures are manifeſt, that by the Floud all periſhed on the earth, ſaving eight perſons; and therefore in the terreſtrial *Paradiſe* they could not be.

1 Cor. 15. 36. 51.

1 Pet. 3. 20.

For *Toſtatus* his own opinion, who ſoared not altogether ſo high as the reſt, but believed that *Paradiſe* was raiſed above the middle Region of the Ayr, and twenty cubits above all Mountains, that the Floud did not therefore reach it (which *Scotus* and other latter School-men alſo believed; for, ſay they, there were no ſinners in *Paradiſe*, and therefore no cauſe to over-whelm it:) this is alſo contrary to the expreſs letter of the Scripture, which directly, and without admitting of any diſtinction, teacheth us, that *the waters over-flowed all the mountains under heaven.* And were it otherwiſe, then might we aſwell give credit to *Maſius Damaſcenus*, and the Thalmudiſts, who affirm, that there were of the Gyants that ſaved themſelves on the Mountain *Baris*, and on *Sion*. But to help this, *Scotus* being (as the reſt of the School-men are) full of diſtinction, ſaith; That the waters ſtood at *Paradiſe*, as they did in the Red Sea, and at Jordan; and as the Floud was not natural, ſo was *Paradiſe* ſaved by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifieth this high conceit with this ſuppoſition, That it was not believed, that *Paradiſe* was ſo ſeated, as *Beda* and others ſeem to affirm in words, but by *Hyperbole* and comparatively, for the delicacy and beauty ſo reſembled.

Gen. 7. 19.

Exod. 14. 21.

But this I dare avow of all thoſe School-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better teach all their Followers to ſhift, then to reſolve, by their diſtinctions. Wherefore not to ſtay long in anſwering this opinion of *Toſtatus*, I confeſs that it is written, that the Mountains of Olympus, Atho, and Atlas, over-reach and ſurmount all winds and clouds, and that (notwithſtanding) there is found on the heads of the Hills both ſprings and fruits; and the Pagan Prieſts, ſacrificing on theſe mountain-tops, do not find the aſhes (remaining of their ſacrifices) blown thence, nor thence waſh'd off by rains, when they return: yet experience hath reſolved us, that theſe reports are fabulous; and *Pliny* himſelf (who was not ſparing in the report of wonders) avoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the height of theſe Mountains is far under the ſuppoſed place of *Paradiſe*; and on theſe ſelf-Hills the ayr is ſo thin (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, whom herein I miſtruſt) that it is not ſufficient to bear up the body of a bird, having therein no feeling of her wings, or any ſenſible reſiſtance of ayr to mount her ſelf by.

§. VIII.

Of their opinion that ſeat Paradiſe under the Æquinoctial: and of the pleaſant habitation under thoſe Climats.

THoſe which come neerer unto Reaſon, find *Paradiſe* under the *Æquinoctial line*, as *Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*: judging, that there-under might be found moſt pleaſure, and the greateſt fertility of ſoil: but againſt it *Thomas Aquinas* objecteth the diſtemperate heat, which he ſuppoſeth to be in all places ſo directly under the Sun. But this is (*non cauſa pro cauſa,*) for although *Paradiſe* could not be under the Line, becauſe Eden is far from it, in which *Paradiſe* was; and becauſe there is no part of Euphrates, Tygris, or Ganges under it (Ganges being one of the four rivers, as they ſuppoſe) yet this conceit of diſtemper (being but an old opinion) is found to be very untrue, though for the conjecture not to be condemned, conſidering the age when thoſe Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that every Country, as it lay by degrees neerer the Tropick, and ſo toward the *Æquinoctial*, did ſo much the more exceed in heat; it was therefore a reaſonable conjecture, that thoſe Countries which were ſituated directly under it, were of a diſtemper uninhabitable: but it ſeemeth that *Tertullian* conceived bet-

ter, and so did *Avicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those days it might be thought a fantastical opinion (as all are which go against the vulgar) yet we now find, that if there be any place upon the earth of that nature, beauty, and delight that *Paradise* had, the same must be found within that supposed uninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neerest to the Line it self. For hereof Experience hath informed Reason, and Time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be discovered. Indeed, it hath so pleased God to provide for all living creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that such inconveniences which we contemplate a far off, are found by tryal and the witness of mens travails, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vain, or as a fruitless lump to fashion out the rest. For *God himself* (saith *Esay*) *that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vain, he formed it to be inhabited.* Now we find that these hottest Regions of the world, seated under the *Æquinoctial line*, or neer it, are so refreshed with a daily gale of Easterly wind (which the *Spaniards* call the *Brize*) that doth evermore blow strongest in the heat of the day, as the down-right beams of the Sun cannot so much master it, that there is any inconvenience or distemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh, and equal, by reason of the entire interposition of the earth, as (for those places which my self have seen, neer the Line and under it) I know no other part of the World of better, or equal temper: Only there are some tracts, which by accident of high Mountains are barr'd from this ayr and fresh wind, and some few sandy parts without trees, which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest; and such difference of soils we find also in all other parts of the world. But (for the greatest part) those Regions have so many goodly Rivers, Fountains, and little Brooks, aboundance of high Cedars, and other stately trees, casting shade; so many sorts of delicate fruits, ever bearing, and at all times beautified with blossom and fruit both green and ripe, as it may of all other parts be best compared to the *Paradise* of *Eden*: the boughs and branches are never unclothed and left naked, their sap creepeth not under ground into the root, fearing the injury of the frost: neither doth *Pomona* any time despise her withered Husband *Vertumnus*, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countries called *Terræ vitiosæ, Vicious Countries*: for Nature being liberal to all without labour, necessity imposing no industry or travel, idleness bringeth forth no other fruits then vain thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that, to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and those of his opinion, were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who misliked this opinion, and followed a worse; and (to say the truth) all the School-men were gross in this particular.

Isay 45. 1.

§. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that Eden in Cœlosyria, there is a Country in Babylon, once of this name, as is proved, out of Esa. 37. *and* Ezek. 27.

THese opinions answered, and the region of *Eden* not found in any of those imaginary worlds, nor under *Torrida Zona*; it followeth that now we discover and find out the seat thereof, for in it was *Paradise* by God planted. The difficulty of which search resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations have often changed names with their Masters; so are most of these places, by *Moses* remembred, forgotten by those names of all Historians and Geographers, as well antient as modern.

Besides, we find that the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Persians* (*Cyrus* only and a few other excepted) sought to extinguish the *Hebrews*. The *Grecians* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romans* despised, once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: so did they transform the names of all those principal Places and Cities in the East: And after them, the *Turk* hath sought (what he could) to extinguish in all things, the antient memory of those people, which he hath subjected and inthralled.

Now besides those notable marks, *Euphrates* and *Tygris*, the better to find the way which leadeth to the Country of *Eden*, we are to take for guides these two Considerations (to wit) That it lay Eastward from *Canaan* and *Judæa*; and, that it was of all other the most beautiful and fertile. First then in respect of situation, the next Country to *Judea* Eastward was *Arabia Petræa*; but in this Region was *Moses* himself when he wrote: and the next unto it Eastward also was *Arabia* the *Desart*, both which in respect of the infertility could not be *Eden*; neither have any of the *Arabians* any such Rivers, as are expres'd to run out of it: So as it followeth of necessity, that *Eden* must be Eastward, and

and beyond both *Arabia Petræa*, and *Deſerta*. But becauſe *Eden* is by *Moſes* named by it ſelf, and by the fertility, and the rivers only deſcribed, we muſt ſeek it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour-Nations better deſcribed. In the Prophet *Iſay*, I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countries, in theſe words, ſpoken in the perſon of *Senacherib* by *Rabſakeh*: *Have the gods of the Nations delivered them, which my Fathers have deſtroyed; as* Goſan, *and* Haran, *and* Reſeph, *and the children of* Eden, *which were at Telaſſar?* and in *Ezechiel*, where he prophecieth againſt the *Tyrians*: *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Aſhur, and Chilmad, were thy Merchants*, &c.

Iſai. 77. v. 12.

Cap. 27. v. 23.

But to avoid confuſion, we muſt underſtand that there were two *Edens*, one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembreth, where he divideth *Syria* into three Provinces, whereof the firſt he maketh *Syria Damaſcene*, or *Decapolitan*: the ſecond part is that Valley called *Avenis*, otherwiſe *Convallis*, or the tract of *Chamath*, where *Aſſyria* is joyned to *Arabia* the *Deſart*, and where *Ptolemie* placeth the City of *Averia*: and the third is knowen by the name of *Domus Edenis*, or *Cœlo-Syria*, otherwiſe *Vallis cava*, or *the hollow Valley*, becauſe the mountains of *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*, take all the length of it on both ſides, and border it: for *Cœle* in *Greek* is *Cava* in *Latine*. But this is not that *Eden*, which we ſeek: neither doth this Province lie Eaſt from *Canaan*, but North, and ſo joyneth unto it, as it could not be unknown to the *Hebrews*. Yet, becauſe there is a little City therein called *Paradiſe*, the *Jews* believed this *Cœlo-Syria* to be the ſame which *Moſes* deſcribeth. For the ſame cauſe doth *Hopkins* in his Treatiſe of *Paradiſe* reprehend *Beroaldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden*, with the other *Eden* of *Paradiſe*, though, to give *Beroaldus* his right, I conceive that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other later Writers, ſaving, That he failed in diſtinguiſhing theſe two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether miſ-underſtood two of the four Rivers (to wit) *Piſon* and *Gehon*, as ſhall appear hereafter. Now to find out *Eden*, (which as *Moſes* teacheth us) lay Eaſtward from the Deſarts, where he wrote, after he had paſſed the Red-Sea; we muſt conſider where thoſe other Countries are found, which the Prophet *Iſaiah* and *Ezechiel* joyneth with it. For (ſaith *Iſaiah*) *Goſan, Haran, and Reſeph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telaſſar.* Alſo *Ezechiel* joyneth *Haran* with *Eden*, who together with thoſe of *Sheba*, *Aſhur*, and *Chilmad*, were the Merchants that traded with the City of *Tyre*, which was then (ſaith *Ezechiel*) *The Mart of the people for many Iſles*. And it hath ever been the cuſtom, that the *Perſians* conveyed their Merchandiſe to *Babylon*, and to thoſe Cities upon *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, and from thence tranſported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterrane* Sea: as in ancient times to the City of *Tyre*, afterward to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the *Bay* of *Iſſicus*, now *Lajazzo*. *Ezechiel* in the deſcription of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the Eaſt, as the onely Mart-town of that part of the World, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and alſo what commodities every Country yielded; and having counted the ſeveral People and Countreys, he addeth the particular Trade, which each of them exerciſed: *They were thy Merchants* (ſaith the Prophet) *in all ſorts of things, in rayments of blue Silk, and of broydered works, fine Linnen, Coral, and Pearl:* and afterwards ſpeaking of the Merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah*, and what kinds they traded, he hath theſe words: *The Merchants of Sheba, and Raamah were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy Fairs, with the chief of all Spices, and with all pretious Stones, and Gold.* Now, theſe be indeed the riches which *Perſia* and *Arabia Fœlix* yield: and becauſe *Sheba* and *Raamah* are thoſe parts of *Arabia*, which border the Sea, called the *Perſian Gulf*, therefore did thoſe Nations both vent ſuch Spice, ſweet Gumms, and Pearls, as their own Countries yielded: and (withall) having trade with their Neighbors of *India*, had from them alſo all ſorts of Spices, & plenty of Gold. The better to convey theſe commodities to that great Mart of *Tyre*, the *Shebans*, or *Arabians* entred by the mouth of *Tygris*, and from the City of *Terredon*, (built or enlarged by *Nebuchodonozor*, now called *Balſara*) thence ſent up all theſe rich Merchandizes by Boat to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as far as it bended Weſtward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reached within three days journey of *Aleppo*, and then over Land they paſt to *Tyre*, as they did afterward to *Tripoly*, (formerly *Hieropolis*) and thence to *Alexandretta*, as aforeſaid. Now, the Merchants of *Canneh*, which *Ezechiel* joyneth with *Eden*, inhabited far up the River, and received this trade from *Arabia* and *India*, beſides thoſe proper commodities which themſelves had, and which they received out of *Perſia*, which bordered them. Saint *Hierome* underſtandeth by *Cannch*, *Selencia*, which is ſeated upon *Euphrates*,

Cap. 1. v. 1.

Strabo.

Ezek. 27. v. 23.

Verſe 24.

Euphrates, where it breaketh into four heads, and which took that name from *Seleucus,* who made thereof a magnificent City. *Hierosolymitanus* thinks it to be *Ctesiphon:* but *Ctesiphon* is seated down low upon *Tygris,* and *Canneh* cannot be on that side. I mean, on the East-side of *Tygris*; for then were it out of the Valley of *Shinar.* *Plinie* placeth the *Schenitæ* upon *Euphrates,* where the same beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of *Syria,* after it leaveth to be the bound of *Arabia* the Desart, and where the River of *Euphrates* reflecteth from the Desart of *Palmirena:* for these people of *Canneh* (afterward *Schenitæ*) inhabited both borders of *Euphrates,* stretching themselves, from their own City of *Canneh* in *Shinar,* Westward along the banks of *Euphrates,* as far as the City of *Thapsacus,* where *Ptolemy* appointed the Foords of *Euphrates:* which also agreeth with the description of the *Schenitæ* by *Strabo,* whose words are these: *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam, & Babyloniam euntibus iter est per Schenitas; The Merchants which travel from Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites.* Therefore those that take *Canneh* for *Charran,* do much mistake it. For *Charran,* to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* in *Chaldea* (called by God) standeth also in *Mesopotamia*; not upon *Euphrates* it self, but upon the River of *Chaboras,* which falleth into *Euphrates:* and the Merchants of *Charran* are distinctly named with those of *Canneh* in *Ezechiel* (as) *They of Haran and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Asher, and Chilmad, were thy Merchants.* Wherefore *Charran,* which is sometimes called *Charre,* and *Haran,* and *Aran,* is but the same *Charran* of *Mesopotamia*; and when it is written *Aran,* then it is taken for the Region of *Mesopotamia*; or *Aran fluviorum,* the Greek word (*Mesopotamia*) importing, A countrey between Rivers: for *Mesos* in Greek, is *medius* in Latine, and *Potamos, fluvius.* And when it is written *Haran* or *Aran,* it is then taken for the City it self, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* (as aforesaid.) For *Strabo* in the description of *Arabia,* giveth that tract of Land from the borders of *Cœlosyria,* to the edge of *Mesopotamia,* to the *Schenitæ,* who also inhabited on both sides of *Euphrates,* and were in after-ages accounted of these *Arabians* which inhabit *Batanea,* and the North part of the Desarts, stretching themselves toward the inhabited solitude of *Palmirena,* which lieth between *Syria,* and *Arabia* the Desart. So as these of *Canneh* lay in the very high-way from *Babylon* to *Tyre,* and were neighbours (in different) to *Charran,* and to *Eden:* and therfore they are by the Prophet *Ezechiel* coupled together, *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden,* &c. But S. *Hierome* made a good interpretation of *Canneh,* or *Chalne,* by *Seleucia:* for *Seleucia* was antiently called *Chalanne* (witness *Appian*) and so *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his Commentaries upon *Genesis*; the name by time and mixture of Languages being changed from *Chalne,* or *Canneh,* to *Chalanne:* of which name there are two other Cities, standing in Triangle with *Seleucia,* and almost the next unto it (as) *Thelbe-Canne,* and *Mann-Canne,* the one a little to the West of *Seleucia,* and the other opposite unto it; where these Rivers of *Tygris* and *Euphrates* are ready to joyn. Therefore, which of these the ancient *Canne* was (being all three within the bound of the Valley *Shinar*) it is uncertain: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certain seat thereof, that so many other Cities did retain a part of the name in so many ages after. Neither is it unlikely, that these additions of *Thelbe* and *Man* to the word *Canne,* were but to make difference between the East and the West, or the greater and the less *Canne,* or between *Canne* the old and the new: which additions to distinguish Cities by, are ordinary in all the Regions of the World.

Plin. l. 8. c. 26.

Strabo. l. 16

Gen. 11. 31.

Now of the other City joyned with Eden, as Haran, or Charran, S. *Hierome* on the *Judges* speaketh thereof in these words: *Cumque reverterentur, pervenerunt ad Charran, quæ est in medio itinere contra Ninevem, undecimo die; When they returned, they came to Charran (which is the mid-way against Nineveh) the eleventh day.* Judg. 1.

This City is by the Martyr *Stephen,* named Charran (speaking to the High-Priest:) *Ye Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: the God of glory appeared to our Father Abraham, while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran.* But the seat of this City is not doubted of: for it is not only remembred in many Scriptures, but withall exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of *Crassus* the Romane, who for his unsatiable greedines, was called *Gurges avaritiæ; the Gulf of avarice.* Whereof *Lucan:* Acts 7. 1.

Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carras. Lucan. l. 1. 105.

With Roman bloud th'Assyrian Carre he defil'd.

But this City Canne, or Chalne, is made manifest by *Moses* himself, where it is written of *Nimrod: And the beginning of his Kingdoms was Babel, & Erech, and Acad, and Chaln, in the Land of Sinaar,* or *Shinar:* where *Moses* sheweth the first composition of the Babylonian Empire, and what Cities and People were subject unto *Nimrod*; all which lay in the Gen. 10. 10.

the said Valley of Shinar, or near it; and this Valley of Shinar is that Tract afterwards called Babylonia and Chaldea, into which also Eden stretcheth it self, *Chaldæa, Babylonia, Sinar, idem sunt* (saith *Comestor.*) *Three names of one Countrey:* which Region of Babylonia, took name of the Tower Babel; and the Tower of the confusion of Tongues. And that Shinar was Babylonia, it is proved in the eleventh Chapter of *Genesis*, in these words: *And as they went from the East, they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar, and there they* Verse 2. *abode:* in which Plain Babylon was built (as aforesaid.)

Now Shinar being Babylonia, and Canneh, in the first beginning of *Nimrod*'s greatness, and before he had subdued any strange, or far-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by *Moses* to be in Shinar, it proveth that Canneh joyneth to Babylonia; which also *Ezechiel* coupleth with *Eden*, and (further) affirmeth that those of *Eden* were also the Merchants which traded with the Tyrians: and *Isaiah* in the threats of *Senacherib* against Jerusalem (with other Nations that *Senacherib* vaunted that his Fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of Verse 7. Eden which were at Telassar. But before I conclude where Eden it self lyeth, it is necessary to describe those other Countreys, which *Ezechiel* joyneth therewith, in the places before remembred, as, those of Sheba and Raamah. It is written in *Genesis* the tenth: *Moreover the Sons of Ham were Cush*, &c. *And the Sons of Cush were Seba, and Havila and Sabtah, and Raamah*, &c. *And the Sons of Raamah were Sheba*, &c. and anon after; *Cush begat Nimrod:* so as *Sheba* was the grand-child of *Cush*, and *Nimrod* the Son of *Cush*, whose elder brother was *Sebah:* though some there are that conceive to the contrary, that *Nimrod* was the elder in valour and understanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of Shinar, where Babel was built, afterwards Babylonia. His brother *Raamah* or *Regma* took that part adjoyning to Shinar, toward the Sea side and Persian gulf (called afterwards *Raama* and *Sheba*, by the Father and his Sons, which possessed it.) *For* (saith *Ezechiel*) *the Merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy fairs with the chief of all Spices, and all precious Stones, and Gold.* So as Sheba was that Tract of Countrey, which parteth *Arabia Deserta* Strabo. l. 16. from *Arabia Fœlix*, and which joyneth to the Sea where Tygris and Euphrates fall out, and render themselves to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Countrey, *Strabo* calleth *Catabria*, where the best Myrrhe and Frankincense is gathered: which people have an interchange or trade with *Elana*, lying on the East-side of the *Persian* gulf. By this it appeareth who were the *Shebeans* spoken of by *Ezechiel*, and said to have been the Merchants of *Tyre*, for Gold, Spices, and precious Stones: of which they had not onely plenty of their own, but were also furnished from that part of *India* (called *Elana*, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromatiques, and other proper commodities. For, as *Strabo* reporteth out of *Eratosthenes*, *In Persicæ oræ initio Insula est, in qua multi & pretiosi uniones gignantur: in aliis verò, clari & perlucidi lapilli. Eratosthenes* (saith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that, *In the beginning of the Persian gulf, there is an Island, in which there are many precious Pearls bred: and in other, very clear and shining Stones.* Now, the difference between *Sheba* the Son of *Raamah*, and *Seba* the Son of *Cush*, is in this, That *Seba* is written with the Hebrew (*Samech*;) and *Sheba* with (*Schin:*) but whatsoever the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthography, their Countreys and Habitations are diverse. For *Sheba* is that which bordereth the *Persian* Sea, and *Saba* (whence the Queen of *Saba*) neighboured the Red-Sea; and so that place of the 72 *Psalm* expounded *Reges Arabum & Sabæ*, hath in the Hebrew this sense: *Reges Shebæ & Sabæ.*

The *Shebans*, *Ezechiel* nameth together with the *Edenites*, because they inhabited upon the Out-let of the same River, upon which the *Edenites* were seated: and so those of *Sheba*, towards the Sea-coast, and upon it, past up the Countrey, by *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, being joyned in one main stream, and so through the Region of *Eden*, which *Tygris* boundeth, thereby the better to convey their merchandise toward *Tyre*. And as the Cities of *Charran*, and *Channeh*, border *Eden* on the West and North-west: so doth *Sheba* on the South, and *Chilmad* on the North-east: *Chilmad* being a Region of the higher *Media*, as appeareth in the *Chaldean* Paraphrast; which Countrey, by the Geographers is called *Coromitena*, (*L*) placed by exchange for (*R*) which change the *Hebrews* also often use.

Thus much of those Counnries which border *Eden*, and who altogether traded with the *Tyrians:* of which, the chief were the *Edenites*, inhabiting *Telassar:* for these *Senacherib* vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed; and this place of *Telassar* lay most convenient, both to receive the Trade from *Sheba* and *Arabia*, and also to convey it over into *Syria*, and to *Tyrus*. Now, to make these things the more plain, we must remember, that

that before the death of *Senacherib*, many parts of the *Babylonian* Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death these Monarchies were utterly dis-joyned.

For it appeareth both in *Esay* the 37. and in the second of *Kings*. by the threats of *Rabsache*, the while the Army of *Assyria* lay before *Jerusalem*, that the Cities of *Gosan*, *Haran*, *Reseph*, and the *Edenites* at *Telassar*, had resisted the *Assyrians*: though by them (in a sort) mastered and recovered. *Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have destroyed as Gosan, and Haran, Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar?* But it appeared manifestly after *Senacherib*'s death, that those Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subjection: for *Esar-Haddon* held *Assyria*; and *Merodach Baladan*, *Babylonia*. And after that the Army of *Senacherib*, commanded by *Rabsache* which lay before *Jerusalem* (*Hezekias* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in *Egypt*, was by the Angel of God destroyed; the King of *Babel* sent to *Hezekias*, both to congatulate the recovery of his health, and his victory obtained over the *Assyrians*. After which overthrow, *Senacherib* himself was slain by his own sons in the Temple of his Idols, *Esar-Haddon* succeeding him in *Assyria*. To the *Babylonian* Ambassadours sent by *Merodach*, *Hezekias* shewed all his treasures as well proper as consecrate, which invited the Kings of *Babylon* afterward to undertake their conquest and subversion. So as, the suspition of war encreasing between *Babylon* and *Assyria*, the *Edenites* which inhabited the borders of *Shinar* towards the North, and towards *Assyria*, were employed to bear off the incursions of the *Assyrians*; and their Garrison-place was at *Telassar*: and the very word (*Telassar*) saith *Junius*, signifying as much as a Bulwork against the *Assyrians*. This place *Hierosolymitanus* takes for *Resem*, others for *Seleucia*: but this *Telassar* is the same, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the History of *Julian* (whom he followed in the enterprize of *Persia*) calleth *Thilutha* in stead of *Telassar*, who describeth the exceeding strength thereof in his 24. Book: It is seated in an Island of *Euphrates* upon a steep and unassaultable Rock, in so much as the Emperour *Julian* durst not attempt it; and therefore it was a convenient place for a Garrison against the *Assyrians*, being also a passage out of *Mesopotamia* into *Babylonia*, and in which the *Edenites* of the Country adjoyning were lodged to defend the same. This place *Ptolemy* calleth *Teridata*, having *Reseph* (which he calleth *Resepha*) on the left hand; and *Canneh*, (which he calleth *Thelbe-Canne*) on the right hand; not far from whence is also found the City of *Mann-Canne*) upon *Tygris*; and all these seated together, as *Esay* and *Ezechiel* have sorted them. But the understanding of these places is the more difficult, because *Assyria* (which the *Chaldeans* call *Atturia*) and *Mesopotamia*, were so often confounded; the one taken for the other by interchanging of Dominion. *Assyria & Mesopotamia in Babyloniæ nomen transierunt* (saith *Niger*,) *Assyria and Mesoptamia took the name of Babyliona.* Lastly, it appeareth by those adjacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the World *Eden* is seated, as, by *Charran* or *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*: also by *Canneh* and *Reseph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in these words translateth this place: *Plantaverat autem JEHOVAH Deus hortum in Eden, ab Oriente*; *The Lord God planted a Garden in Eden Eastward*: that is (saith he in his Annotations) *Jusserat nasci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabiæ & Mesopotamiæ*; *He commanded Trees to grow in Eden, an Eastern Region in the borders of Arabia and Mesopotamia.*

Esay 37. v. 12.
2 Kings 19. 35. 20. 12.
Esay 39. 1.
Esay 37. 38.
Esay 39. 1.
Asiæ Tab. 4.
Cosmog. Asiæ

§. X.

Of divers other testimonies of the Land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradise.

AND for a more particular pointing out of this *Eden*, it seemes by the two Epistles of the Nestorian Christians, that inhabit *Mesopotamia*: which Epistles in the year 1552. they sent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, and *Andræas Masius* hath published them, translated out of *Syriac* into *Latine*. By these Epistles (I say) it seemes we may have some farther light for the proof of that, which we have said about the Region of *Eden* in those parts. For in them both, there is mention of the Island of *Eden* in the River *Tygris*, or at least, *Tygris* in both these Epistles is called the River of *Eden*. This Island, as *Masius* in his Preface to these Epistles saith, is commanly called *Gozoria* (as it were, The Island, by an eminency.) It hath (saith he) ten miles in circuit, and was sometimes walled round about, which name of the Island *Eden* may (doubtless) remaine to this day; though in the rest of the Region so called, this name be swallowed up with the fame of those flourishing Kingdoms of *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*. This Island of *Eden* hath up the River, and not far beyond it, the City of *Hasan-Cepha*, otherwise *Fortis Petra*: below it, it hath *Mosal* or *Mosel*, from which (as in that which

which followeth it ſhall appear out of *Maſius*) it is not above twelve miles diſtant. Neither is it to trouble us, That *Moſal* or *Moſel*, by *Marius Niger* is remembred among the Cities higher up *Tygris*, in theſe words, *Juxta autem Tygrim, Civitates ſunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quæ nunc Moſel dicitur; magna ſanè*, &c. (that is) *By Tygris are theſe Cities, Dorbeta neer unto mount Taurus (which is now called Moſel) which is a great one*, &c. This opinion of *Niger*, diſplacing *Moſel*, and making it to be *Dorbeta* (I ſay) needs not here to trouble us: ſeeing for this matter, the teſtimony of *Maſius*, informed by the Chriſtians that dwelt there (the Seat of whoſe Patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, avowing that this *Moſal* (or *Mozal*) is in the Confines of *Meſopotamia* and *Aſſyria*, ſeated upon *Tygris*, and in the neighbour-hood of *Nineve*; and that it is the famous *Seleucia Parthorum*. The Neſtorian Chriſtians in their former Epiſtle, call it *Attur* in theſe words: *Ex omnibus civitatibus & pagis quæ ſunt circum Civitatem Moſel (hoc eſt) Attur, in vicinia Nineves; Of all the Cities and Townes which are about the City of Moſal (that is) Attur in the neighbour-hood of Nineve.* As alſo *Niger* acknowledgeth *Cteſiphon* a City thereabout to be called *Aſſur*, (which is the ſame as *Attur*, after the Dialect of thoſe Nations, which change *Sh* into *T*.) Neither is it much that he ſhould miſtake *Cteſiphon*, (which is not far off *Seleucia*) for *Seleucia*, to be *Aſſur*. By this then we may come ſomewhat near the end of our purpoſe. For the Iſle of *Eden*, which lieth in the breſt of *Tygris*, is but twelve miles from *Moſal*, and that antient City, which *Ptolemy* and *Tacitus* call *Ninus*, and the Scriptures *Nineve*; *Philoſtratus*, and *Simeon Sethi*, *Moſula*, and *John Lean*, *Moſal*, others *Moſſe*, (though it be not the ſame with *Moſal*) is ſet but a little higher upon the ſame River of *Tygris*, near *Moſal*: ſo that we are like to find this Iſle of *Eden* hereabout. For the ſame *Andræas Maſius*, which placeth it above *Moſal*, makes it to be below *Haſan-Cepha*, which is upon the ſame River of *Tygris*.

vi ſupra.

The only difficulty is this, that ſome perhaps may think, that the words of the *Neſtorians* in both their Epiſtles, ſpeak not of any Iſle in *Tygris*, called the Iſle of *Eden*, but of an Iſle in *Tygris*, a River of *Eden*. But this ſenſe of their words in my opinion ſeemeth the more unprobable. And yet, if this were the meaning here, we have a teſtimony from the Learned of thoſe parts, that not only *Euphrates*, but alſo *Tygris* was a River of *Eden*, and that the name of *Eden* in thoſe parts is not yet quite worn out, though the Region hath been ſubject to the ſame change; that all other Kingdoms of the world have been, and hath by conqueſt and corruption of other Languages, received new and differing names. For the South part of *Eden*, which ſtretcheth over *Euphrates*, was after the Floud called *Shiner*, and then, of the Tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*; and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, and *Armenia*, which imbraceth both the banks of *Tygris* between Mount *Taurus*, and *Seleucia*. And of this Region of *Eden* that antient *Æthicus* maketh mention, (not that latter *Æthicus*, Diſciple of *Gallinicus*, otherwiſe by *Plutarch* and *Athæneus* called *Iſtri*, who lived in *Egypt* in the Reign of *Philadelphus*; but another of a far higher and remote time) the ſame being made *Latine* out of the *Greek* by Saint *Hierom*. And though by corruption of the antient Copie it be written, in *Æthicus*, *Adonis* for *Edenis*: yet *Adonis* being a River of *Phœnicia*, cannot be underſtood to be the Region named by *Æthicus*. For *Æthicus* makes it a Country, and not a River, and joyneth it with *Meſopotamia* and *Æthiopia*, calling the land of *Chus Æthiopia*, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And laſtly, the River which watereth the Regions (ſaith *Æthicus*) falleth into the Gulf of *Perſia*: which River he called *Armodius* for *Tygris*; *Tygris* being but a name impoſed for the ſwiftneſs thereof. And out of *Armenia*, both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* have their original: for out of *Eden* came a River, or Rivers, to water the Garden, both which Rivers (to wit) *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them traverſe *Meſopotamia*, Regions firſt of all known by the name of *Eden*, for their beauty and fertility. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained alſo ſome part of *Armenia*; and the excellent fertility thereof in divers places is not unworthy the name of *Eden*. For in ſome part thereof (ſaith *Strabo*) the leaves are alway green, and therefore therein a perpetual Spring. Alſo *Stephanus*, *de Urbibus*, mentioneth the City of *Adana* upon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in uſe in *Amos*'s time, though he ſpake not of *Eden* in the Eaſt, but of *Eden* in *Cælo-Syria*. But to the end I may not burthen the Readers patience with too long a Diſcourſe, it may ſuffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tygris* (once joyned together, and afterward ſeparate) are two of thoſe four heads, into which theſe Rivers which are ſaid to water the Garden of *Paradiſe*, were divided: whoſe courſes being known, *Eden* (out of which they are ſaid to come) cannot be unknown. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath*, were *Tygris* and *Euphra-*

tes, it is agreed by all: for the Seventy and all others convert *Perath* by *Euphrates: & Hiddekel, Tygrim omnes exponunt*; *And all men understand Hiddekel by Tygris* (saith *Vatablus.*) And because that which I have said of the Isle of *Eden* shall not be subject to the censure of self-invention, I have here-under set down the words out of the two general Epistles of the *Nestorians*, as *Masius* (*ad verbum*) hath converted them into *Latine*. The occasion of those Letters and Supplications to the Pope, were, That the *Nestorian* Christians, which inhabit *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, *Babylonia*, and have to this day (at least in Queen *Marys* time they had) fifteen Churches in one City called *Seleucia Parthorum*, or *Mosel* upon the River of *Tygris*; having no sufficient authority to choose themselves a Patriarch (which cannot be done without four or three Metropolitan Bishops at the least) sent to the Bishop of *Rome*, in the year of Christ 1552. (as afore-said) a Petition to obtain allowance unto such an Election, as themselves had made: having three hundred year before that, upon the like defect, sent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made known to the Bishop of *Rome* the state of the Christian Church in those parts: for, upon the death of their Patriarch (who of a covetous desire to enrich himself, had forborn to institute Metropolitan Bishops, when the places fell void) they all assembled themselves together to consult of the Church-government. And because all the Patriarchs for an hundred years had been of one House and Family to the prejudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Bishop of the same Stock and Kindred, who aspired to the same dignity which his Predecessors had held; the rest of the professors refused to allow him. Upon which occasion, and for the choice of a Governour more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches assembled themselves. The words of the general Epistle to the Pope are these, about the middle of the said Epistle; *Verùm nos non acceptavimus, neq; proclamavimus ipsum; sed subitò convenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Civitatibus & Pagis quæ sunt circum civitatem Mosel (hoc est, Attur) in vicini â Nineves, ex Babylonià, ex Charrâ, ex Arbelâ, ex Insulâ quæ est in medio Tygris, fluminis Eden*, &c. i. e. *But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but suddenly we assembled our selves out of all parts of the East, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about Mosel (or Attur) neighbouring upon Nineve; and out of Babylon, Carrha, Arbella; and out of the Island which lyeth in the middle of Tygris, a River of Eden*, or rather *out of the Isle of Eden, which lyeth in the River Tygris.* And in a second Epistle at the same time sent, they used these words: *Neq; supersunt apud nos Metropolitæ, quorum est ordinare Catholicum: sed soli panci Episcopi, Episcopus Arbelæ, Episcopus Salmasti, Episcopus Adurbeigan; en è vestigio convenimus in Insulam, quæ est intra Tygrim flumen, Eden; fecimusq; compactum inter nos*, &c. (which is) *Neither are there remaining among us any Metropolitan Bishops, to whom it belongs to ordain a Patriarch, but only a few Bishops, as the Bishop of Arbela, the Bishop of Salmastus, and the Bishop of Adurbeigan: but lo, we assembled speedily in the Island of Eden, which is in Tygris, and agreed between our selves*, &c.

Now this Island of *Eden*, *Masius* describeth with other places; which being well conceived, the *Nestorian* Epistles, and the state of the Church may be in those parts (saith he) the better understood. And after he hath distinguished the four sorts of Christians in those parts of the World, and in the South part of *Africa*, which he calleth *Nestorians*, *Jacobites*, *Marcnitæ*, and *Cophti*, he goeth on in these words: *Mox, audita illius morte, concurrisse aiebant tumultuariò in illam quam modò dixi Tygris Insulam, quæ duodecim circiter passuum millibus supra Mosal posita, decem fere millia passuum suo ambitu continet, muris undiq; cincta, & à paucis aliis quàm Christianis hominibus habitata*: which is, *Now hearing of the death of the Patriarck*, (as those that came to *Rome* reported) *they ran tumultuously together into that Island of Tygris* or *Eden before spoken of, which Island is situated about twelve miles above Mosal, containing very neer ten miles in compass, and every where inviroued with a wall, inhabited by few other men then Christians.* And afterward, he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest he addeth the Isle of *Eden* by the name of *Geserta*, *Insula Tygris*; *sive Geserta.* Furthermore, describing the City of *Hosan-Cepha*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *supra prædictam Tygris Insulam, rupi asperæ impositam*; *Above the aforesaid Island of Tygris, being seated on a steep Rock.* Of this Island of *Geserta*, *Andrew Thevet* maketh mention in his tenth Book of his general Cosmography, in these words: *Geserta ou Gesire est au milieu de la Riviere du Tygre, & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie*; *Geserta or Gesire is in the middle of Tygris, the soyle the most fertile of all Asia.*

By this we see that the antient name of *Eden* liveth; and of that *Eden* which lyeth Eastward from *Arabia Petræa*, and the Desart where *Moses* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Carran* according to *Ezechiel*, and that

that *Eden* which is seated according to the assertion of the said Prophet, and joyned with those Nations of *Reseph*, *Canneh*, and *Charran*, and the rest which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Assyria*, and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Thelassar* were garrisoned to resist the *Assyrians*, whose displantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as above written;) and lastly, the same *Eden*, which embraceth *Tygris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the known Rivers of those four, which are by all men ascribed to *Paradise*.

§. XI.

Of the difficulty in the Text, which seemeth to make the four Rivers to rise from one stream.

BUt it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, *That a River went out of Eden*, and not Rivers in the plural: which scruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus answered in his Chronologie: The *Latine* Translation, saith he, hath these words: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde dividebatur in quatuor capita: Quæ verba melius consentient cum rei narratione, & ejusdem explicatione, si ita reddantur; Et fluvius erat egrediens ex Edene (hoc est) fluvii procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium; & inde dividebatur, & erat in quatuor capita:* which is, *And a River went out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was divided into four heads*: Which words (saith *Beroaldus*) do better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated; *And a River was going forth of Eden* (that is) *Rivers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard; and from thence it was divided, and they became four heads.* The *Tygurine* differs from the Vulgar or Latine; for it converts it thus, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de deliciis; And a River went out of pleasure*, in stead of *Eden*; and the Latine addeth the word *locus*, or place, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis; And a River went out of the place of pleasure:* and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to *Eden*, which was (of all other) a Region most delightful and fertile; and so also the word (*inde*) and *thence*, was divided, hath reference to the Country of *Eden*, and not to the Garden it self.

And for the word (*River*) for Rivers, it is usual among the *Hebrews:* for it is written: *Let the Earth bud forth the bud of the Herb that seedeth Seed, the fruitful Tree*, &c. Here the *Hebrew* useth the Singular for the Plural, *Herb and Tree, for Herbs and Trees*; and again, We eat of the fruit of the Tree, in stead of (Trees:) And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God; In medio ligni Paradisi; In the middle of the tree of the Garden*, for (*Trees.*) And of this opinion is *David Kimchi*, and *Vatablus*, who upon this place of *Genesis* say, that the *Hebrews* do often put the Singular for the Plural, as *illud*, for *unumquodq; illorum*; and he giveth an instance in this question it self, as, *A River* (for *Rivers*) *went out of Eden.*

And this answer out of divers of the Learned, may, not without good reason, be given to the objection, That *Moses* speaketh but of one River, from which the heads should divide themselves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, we may expound the four heads, to be four notable passages into famous Countries. And so we may take the word (River) Verse the tenth for one River, (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this River (after he is past the place, where we suppose *Paradise* to have been) divides it self, and ere long yieldeth four notable passages into several Countries, though not all the way down stream (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the River downward, there is conveyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to Assyria) were up *Tygris*.

To this end the Text speaking of *Hiddekel*, as it riseth from the River of *Eden*, doth not say, it compasseth or washeth the whole Region of *Assyria* (as it had used this phrase of *Pison* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth towards *Assyria*. The first branch *Pison*, is *Nahar-malcha* (by interpretation) *Basilius*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into *Tygris* under *Apamia*; whence riseth the name of *Pasi-Tygris*, as it were *Piso-Tygris*. This leadeth to the Land of *Havila* or *Susiana*. The second branch *Gehon*, is that which in Historians is *Nabarsares* or *Narragas*; for *Nahar-ragas:* both which names signifie *flumen derivatum* (a River derived,) also *Acracanus*, *quasi Ranosus*, by reason of the Froggie Fens which it maketh: this *Gehon* leadeth to the first seat of *Chus*, about the borders of *Chaldea* and *Arabia*, and it is lost at length in the Lakes of *Chaldea*. The third branch *Hiddekel*, may be expounded the upper stream of *Pison*, or *Basilius*, which runneth into *Hiddekel*, properly so called (that is, into *Tygris*) above *Seleucia*, where it sheweth a passage up *Tygris* into *Assyria:* where, because at length it is called *Hiddekel* or *Tygris*, having before no known proper name, the Text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The

fourth *Perath*, or *Euphrates*, so called *per excellentiam*, being the body of the River *Euphrates*, which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otris*. But be it a River or Rivers, that come out of *Eden*, seeing that *Tygris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that *Paradise* was not far from these Rivers: for that *Perath* in *Moses* is *Euphrates*, there can be no question; and (indeed) as plain it is that *Hiddekel* is *Tygris*. For *Hiddekel* goeth (saith *Moses*) Eastward towards *Assur*, as we find, that *Tygris* is the River of *Assyria proprie dicta*, whose chief City was *Nineveh*, as in *Genesis* the tenth it is written: That out of that Land (to wit) *Babylonia*, *Nimrod* went into *Assur*, and builded *Nineveh*, which was the chief City of *Assyria*.

And as for the kind of speech here used in the Text, speaking of four heads; though the heads of Rivers be (properly) their Fountains, yet here are they to be understood, to be spoken of the beginning of their division from the first stream. *Caput aquæ* (saith *Ulpianus*) *illud est unde aqua noscitur; si ex fonte nascatur, fons; si ex flumine, vel ex lacu, prima initia*, &c. *If the beginning of the water be out of a Fountain, then is the Fountain taken for the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake*; and if from a main River any branch be separate and divided, then where that branch doth first bound it self with new banks, there is that part of the River, where the branch forsaketh the main stream, called the head of the River.

§. XII.

Of the strange fertility and happiness of the Babylonian Soyl, as it is certain that Eden was such.

IT may also be demanded, whether this Region of *Eden*, by us described, be of such fertility and beauty, as *Eden* the seat of *Paradise* was: which, if it be denied, then must we also consider, that there was no part of the Earth, that retained that fertility and pleasure, that it had before the Curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulness to any part of the Earth, nor the same virtue to any Plant thereon growing, that they had before the Floud; and therefore this Region of *Eden* may be now no such flourishing Countrey, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I find written of it: First, in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witness, and speaketh of the very place it self; for the Isle of *Eden* is but twelve miles, or thereabout, from *Nineveh*, and so from *Mosal*. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tygrim, alterum flumen, juxta quod Urbs Ninì sita erat. Hæc Regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima est*, &c. *Where* Euphrates *runneth out into* Tygris, *not far from the place where* Ninus *is seated. This Region, of all that we have seen, is most excellent:* and he addeth afterward; *Cereris autem fructu procreando adeò ferax est, ut nunquam non ferè ducenta reddat*, &c. (that is) *It is so fruitfull in bringing forth Corn, that it yieldeth two hundred fold: The leaves of Wheat and Barley, being almost four fingers broad. As for the height of Millet and Sesame, they are even in length like unto Trees; which although I know to be true, yet I forbear to speak hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulness, will seem very incredible to those, which never were in the Countrey of* Babylon. *They have commonly in all the Countrey Palm-Trees growing of their own accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both Meats and Wine, and Honey, ordering them as the Fig-Trees.* Thus far *Herodotus*.

To this Palm-Tree, so much admired in the *East-India*, *Strabo* and *Niger* add a fourth excellency, which is, that *it yieldeth bread*; *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt*; *Of which these people make Bread, Wine, Honey, and Vineger.* But *Antonius* the Eremite findeth a fifth commodity, not inferiour to any of those four, which is, that from this self-same Tree, there is drawn a kind of fine Flax, of which people make their garments, and with which in *East India* they prepare the cordage for their Ships. And that this is true, *Athanasius* in the life of *Antonius* the Eremite, confesseth, saying: *That he received a garment made thereof from the* Eremite *himself, which he brought with him out this Region.* So therefore those Trees which the *East Indies* so highly esteem and so much admire (as indeed the Earth yielded no plant comparable to this) those Trees (I say) are in this upper *Babylon*, or Region of *Eden*, as common as any Trees of the Field. *Sunt etiam* (saith *Strabo*) *passim per omnem Regionem palmæ sua sponte nascentes*; *There are of Palms over all the whole Region, growing of their own accord.* Of this place, *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report: *Euntibus à parte læva Arabiæ (odorum fertilitate nobilis) regio campestris interest inter Tygrim & Euphratem jacens, tam ubere & pingui solo, ut à pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat*; (that is) *As you travel on the left hand of* Arabia (*famous for plenty of sweet Odours*) *there lieth a Champain Countrey placed between* Tygris *and* Euphrates, *of so fruitfull and fat a soil, that they are said to drive their*

Herod. Clia. l. 1.

their Cattel from pasture, lest they should perish by satiety. Bis in anno segetes Babylonii *secant*; *The* Babylonians *cut their Corn twice a year* (saith *Niger.*) And as Countreys generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, than in the Northern parts: so we may judge the excellency of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South parts of *America*, which is the North border of *Eden*, or a part thereof. His words be these in the Latine: *Tota enim hæc regio frugibus & arboribus abundat mansuetis, itemque semper virentibus*; *This Region aboundeth with pleasant fruits, and Trees always green:* which witnesseth a perpetual Spring, not found elsewhere but in the *Indies* onely, by reason of the Sun's neighourhood, the life and stirrer up of Nature in a perpetual activity. In brief, so great is the fertility of the ground, that the people are constrained twice to mow down their Corn-fields, and a third time to eat them up with Sheep: which husbandry the *Spaniards* wanting in the Valley of *Mexico*, for the first fourty years, could not make our kind of Wheat bear seed, but it grew up as high as the Trees, and was fruitless. Besides, those fields are altogether without weeds (saith *Pliny*) who addeth this singularity to that soil, That the second year, the very stubble (or rather falling down of the seeds again) yieldeth them a harvest of Corn without any further labour: his words are these, *Ubertatis tantæ sunt, ut sequenti anno sponte restibilis fiat seges.*

Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 18. c. 17.

§. XIII.

Of the River Pison, and the Land of Havilah.

AFter the discovery of *Eden*, and the testimonies of the fertility thereof, it resteth to prove that *Pison* and *Gehon* are branches of *Tygris* and *Euphrates:* For, that the knowledge and certainty of these two Rivers should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me; seeing necessity it self (*Tygris* and *Euphrates* being known) findeth them out: for *Euphrates*, or *Tygris*, or both, be that River or Rivers of *Eden*, which water *Paradise*; which River or Rivers, *Moses* witnesseth afterward divided into four heads, whereof the one is called *Pison*, the other *Gehon*, &c. Could there be a stranger fancy in the world, than when we find both these (namely) *Tygris* and *Euphrates* in *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, to seek the other two in *India* and *Egypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus?* Two Rivers as far distant as any of fame known or discovered in the world: the Scriptures making it so plain, that these Rivers were divided into four branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason, and Experience bearing witness. There is no errour which hath not some slippery and bad foundation, or some appearance of probability, resembling truth, which when men (who study to be singular) find out (straining Reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention and jangling; not doubting, but in the variable deformity of mens minds, to find some partakers or sectators, the better by their help to nurse and cherish such weak Babes, as their own inventions have begotten.

But this mistaking (and first for the River of *Pison*) seemeth to have grown out of the not-distinguishing of that Region in *India*, called *Havilah*, from *Havilah* which adjoyneth to *Babylonia*, afterward known by the name of *Susiana*. For *Havilah* upon *Tygris*, took name from *Havilah* the Son of *Cush*; and *Havilah* in *India*, from *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*; the one remembred by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*, the other where *Moses* setteth down the generations of *Noah*, and his Sons after the Floud. For the Sons of *Cush* were *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, and *Raamah*; and the Sons of *Joctan* were *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, &c. of which latter (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Havilah* the Sons of *Joctan*, that Island of *Ophir*, (whence *Solomon* had Gold) and *Havilah* adjoyning, had their names. Now, because *Ganges* is a great and a famous River of the *East India*, and *Havilah* a Country of the same, and is situated upon *Ganges*, hence it came that *Ganges* was taken for *Pison*, which River is said by *Moses*, to water the Land of *Havilah*. Or perhaps, it was supposed, that those four Rivers named by *Moses*, must of necessity be four of the greatest in the World; whence (supposing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous River after *Tygris* and *Euphrates*) they chose out this River to make one of the four. And yet certainly there is another River, whom in these respects they should rather have chosen than *Ganges*: for the River *Indus* on this side *India*, for beauty, for nearness, and for ability, giveth no way place to *Ganges*, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceive, that *Ganges* can be of the four heads, seeing *Indus* cometh between it and *Tygris?* and between *Tygris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Persia*, consisting of many Kingdoms. And again, farther towards the East, and beyond *Indus*, are all those ample Dominions of *India intra Gangem*, which lie between those two proud

Gen. 10. 7.

Gen. 10. 29.

Gen. 2. 11.

Rivers

Rivers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the Kingdom of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the four, becauſe it is removed from *Tygris* by all the breadth of *Perſia*, then how much leſs *Ganges*, which falleth into the Ocean, little leſs than fourty degrees to the Eaſtward of *Indus*? Surely, whoſoever readeth the Story of *Alexander*, ſhall find that there is no River in *Aſia*, that can exceed *Indus*. For *Hydaſpis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great *Gallies* tranſported himſelf, and the greateſt part of his Army, and in ſailing down that branch of *Indus*, found it ſo large and deep, and by reaſon thereof ſo great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleet, which was ready to be ſwallowed up therein: *Hydaſpis* (as aforeſaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great as it, having beſides this, the Rivers of *Coas*, of *Suaſtus*, *Aceſines*, *Adris* (otherwiſe *Hirotis*,) *Hiſpalis*, and *Zaradus*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are ſwallowed up with all their children and companions, which being all incorporated and made one ſtream, it croſſeth athwart *Aſia*, and then at *Cambaia* viſiteth the Ocean Sea.

But becauſe *Piſon*, which compaſſeth *Havilah*, as alſo *Gehon*, which watereth *Cuſh*, muſt ſomewhere be joyned with the reſt in one body, or at leaſt be found to proceed out of the ſame Country of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads do proceed; out of doubt they cannot either the one or the other be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: For *Nilus* riſeth in the uttermoſt of the South, and runneth Northward into the *Mediterran* Sea; and the River *Ganges* riſeth out of the Mountain *Imaus*, or (as others will have it) *Caucaſus*, which divides the Northern *Scythia* from *India*, and runneth from North to South into the *Indian Ocean*. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tygris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, near *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other is not far off in the ſame *Armenia*, by the *Georgian* Mountains; ſo as *Ganges*, who only travaileth in her own *India*, and *Nilus* through *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*, never ſaw the land of *Eden*, or joyned themſelves in one channel, either with themſelves, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence be ſeparated, or divided into four heads or branches, according to *Moſes*.

Gen. 2.15.

Therefore the River *Piſon*, which inricheth *Havilah*, is the ſame which by joyning it ſelf with *Tygris*, was therefore called *Piſi-Tygris* or *Piſo-Tygris*, of *Piſon* and *Tygris*, which River watereth that *Havilah*, which

Gen. 2. *v.* 12.

Havilah the ſon of *Cuſh* gave name unto, and not *Havilah* of *India*, ſo called of *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the Eaſt. And this *Havilah* of the *Cuſhites* had alſo Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx ſtone. This Bdellium is a Tree of the bigneſs of an Olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yieldeth a certain Gum ſweet to ſmell to, but bitter in taſte, called alſo Bdellium. The *Hebrews* take the Loadſtone for Bdellium. *Beroaldus* affirmeth, that *Bdela* in *Hebrew* ſignifieth Pearl: ſo doth *Eugubinus*; and *Hierom* calls it *Oleaſter*: be it what it will, a tree bearing Gum or Pearl, *Havilah* or *Suſiana* hath plenty of both. Now this Country of *Suſiana* or *Havilah*, ſtretcheth it ſelf towards the North as far as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence imbraceth all the Tract of Land Southward, as far as the *Perſian Gulfe*, on the Eaſt ſide thereof: from which Eaſt ſide had the *Shebans* (which traded with the City of *Tyre* according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of Gold; which *Strabo* alſo witneſſeth, as was ſhewed before.

The *Greeks* had a conceit, that *Piſon* was *Danubius*: the *Rabbins* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-Ezra* (ſaith *Hopkins*) out of *Rabbi Saadia*, tranſlateth *Piſon* into *Nilus*: But *Nilus* findeth the ſame impoſſibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Helleſpont*, and all *Aſia* the leſs between it and *Tygris*. Now *Piſon*, which runneth through *Havilah* or *Suſiana*, doth to this day retain ſome ſigne of this name; for where it and *Tygris* embraceth each other under the City of *Apamia*, there do they agree of a joynt and compounded name, and are called *Piſo-Tygris*. And it is ſtrange unto me, that from ſo great antiquity there ſhould be found remaining any reſembling ſound of the firſt name: for *Babylon* it ſelf, which dwelleth ſo near theſe Rivers, is by ſome writers known by the name of *Bandas*, as, by *Poſtellus*: by *Caſtaldus*, of *Balduch*: by *Barius*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Boughedor*, by *Andrew Thevet*; and yet all thoſe that have lately ſeen it, call it *Bagdet*. To this River of *Piſon Ptolemy* indeed with many others give the name of *Baſilius* or *Regius*, and *Gehon* they term *Maharſares*, and *Marſias*, and *Baarſares*. So is *Euphrates*, near the Spring and Fountain, by *Strabo* and *Pliny* called *Pixirates*: by *Junius*, *Puck-perah*, out of the *Hebrew* (that is) The proſuſion, or coming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through the Mountain *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the *Hebrews* *Parath* (ſaith *Ar. Montanus*:) *Pagninus*, *Perath*: *Joſephus*, *Phorah*; *Euſebius*, *Zozimus*: *Ammianus*,

Steuch. Hopk. de Par.

Poſt. Coſmog.

Thevet. Coſmog. Aſiæ lib. 4.

Plin. lib. 5. c. 24.

Ammianus, *Chalymicus*: *Giſtilianus* and *Colinutius*, term it *Cobar*: which *Ezechiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Aſſyrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Nahor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

The ſame confuſion of names hath *Tygris*, as *Diglito* and *Diglath*, *Seilax* and *Sollax*: of the *Hebrews* it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the inhabitants, *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* upon *Geneſis* conceiveth rightly of theſe Rivers: for *Euphrates* and *Tygris* (ſaith he) ſtream into four branches; two of which keep their antient names, and the other two are called *Piſon* and *Gehon*. The reaſon why theſe two Rivers, joyned in one (below *Apamia*,) loſe their names and are called *Piſi-Tigris*, and the memory of *Euphrates* extinguiſhed, is, becauſe the beſt part of *Euphrates* running through the channel of *Gehon*, ſinketh into the Lakes of *Chaldea*, not far from *Ur*, the City of *Abraham*, and fall not entirely into the *Perſian* Sea, as *Tygris*, accompanied with *Piſon*, doth.

This errour, That *Piſon* was *Ganges*, was firſt broached by *Joſephus*, (whoſe fields, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weeds) and other men (who take his authority to be ſufficient in matter of deſcription, whereupon depended no other important conſequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For, *Epiphanius*, *Auguſtine*, and *Hierom*, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as *Piſon* was tranſported into the *Eaſt India* to find out *Havilah*: ſo was *Gehon* drawn into *Africa* to compaſs *Æthiopia*. But if *Havilah*, whereof *Moſes* ſpeaketh in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*, be found to be a Region, adjoyning to *Babylon* on the one ſide, and *Cuſh* (which is falſly interpreted *Æthiopia*) faſthed to it on the other ſide, we ſhall not need then to work wonders (that is) to impoſe upon men the tranſportation of Rivers, from one end of the World to the other, which (among other uſes) were made to tranſport men. Now it was in the Vally of *Shinar*, where *Cuſh* the Son of *Ham* firſt ſate down with his Sons *Shebah*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, &c. and of *Havilah*, the Son of *Cuſh* did that Region take name, which *Piſon* compaſſeth; and the Land (called *Cuſh*) which *Gehon* watereth, took name of *Cuſh* himſelf. For as the Sons of *Joctan*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, ſeated themſelves as near together as they could in *India*, ſo did the Sons of *Cuſh* in *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Havilah*, or *Chavilah*, was firſt *Chuſea*, of *Cuſh*; then *Chuſa*, *Suſa*, and *Suſiana*.

From this *Havilah* unto the Deſarts of *Sur*, did the *Iſraelites* and *Amalekites* poſſeſs all the interjacent Countries: for *Saul* ſmote the *Amalekites* from *Havilah* to *Sur*: which *Sur*, the *Chaldean* Paraphraſt converteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the Red-Sea. But this was not meant from *Sur* upon the Red-Sea, to *Havilah* in the *Eaſt India*, for *Saul* was no ſuch Travailer or Conquerour, and therefore *Havilah* muſt be found nearer home, where the Sons of *Iſmael* inhabited, and which Country *Saul* waſted: for *Amalek* and the *Amalekites* poſſeſs'd that neck of Country, between the *Perſian* Sea, and the Red Sea; *Havilah* being the extream of the one, towards the Eaſt, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Egypt* and the Weſt, leaving that great body of *Arabia fœlix* towards the South, and they ſpread themſelves with the *Midianites* and *Edumæans*, from the Eaſt-part, or backſide of the Holy Land, to the banks of *Euphrates*, compriſing the beſt part of *Arabia Petræa*, and *Deſerta*.

1 Sam. 15. 7.

§. XIV.

Of the River Gehon, and the Land of Cuſh, and of the ill tranſlating of Ethiopia for Cuſh, 2 Chron. 21. 16.

NOw as *Havilah* in the *Eaſt India* drew *Piſon* ſo far out of his way thither, ſo I ſay did *Cuſh* (being by the Seventy tranſlated *Ethiopia*) force *Gehon* into *Africa*. For *Cuſh* being taken for *Ethiopia* by the *Greeks*, whom the *Latines* followed, *Gehon* conſequently was eſteemed for *Nilus*. But *Ethiopians* are, as much as *black or burnt faces*, whoſe proper Country called *Thebaides*, lyeth to the Southward of all *Egypt*. And although there be many other Regions of *Ethiopians*, and far South in *Africa*; yet thoſe of *Thebaides* are thoſe ſo often remembred in the *Egyptian* ſtories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of *Egypt*: all which *Ethiopians* are very near, or elſe directly under the *Equinoctial line*, which is very far from that Land inhabited by the *Chuſites*, who are neither black of colour, nor in any ſort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this tranſlation of the Septuagint, *Pererius* doth qualifie in this manner: There are (ſaith he) two *Ethiopia*'s, the Eaſt, and Weſt: and this diviſion he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now becauſe there is no colour to make *Chus Ethiopia* in *Africa*, *Pererius* will make *Ckuſh* and the land of the *Chuſites* (which is *Arabia Petræa*, and part of *Arabia the Happy*, with the Region of *Madian*) to be the Eaſt *Ethiopia*.

See more of this point c. 7. Sect. 10.

Now, if it be granted, that *Chuſh*, and the Land

Land of the *Chuſhites* be that Tract from *Sur* to *Havilah*, according to the Scriptures: *Habitavit Iſhmael ab Havilah uſque Sur, quæ reſpicit Ægyptum introeuntibus Aſſyrios*, Iſmael *dwelt from* Havilah *unto* Sur, *that is, towards* Egypt, *as thou goeſt toward* Aſſyria. The ſame ſufficeth to prove that *Gehon* cannot be *Nilus*, but a River that watereth *Cuſh*, and not *Æthiopia*. But this place of Scripture, *Habitavit Iſmael*, &c. hath this ſenſe: *Iſmael* dwelt from *Havilah*, which is the way of *Aſſyria*, or the Countrey bordering *Aſſyria*; and *Sur*, which lieth toward *Egypt*, which is as much to ſay, as, The iſſues of *Iſhmael* (whereof there were twelve Princes) whom God had promiſed to make a great people, inhabited all thoſe Regions between the border of *Egypt* and *Aſſyria*. And that they were (according to the Word of God) ſo increaſed and multiplied, it well appeared, when *Zearah* the *Chuſite*, which others call *Tharantha*, brought an Armie of ten hundred thouſand againſt *Aſa* King of *Juda*. Which Armie came not out of *Æthiopia* beyond *Egypt*; for that had been a ſtrange progreſs for ſuch a multitude, as ten hundred thouſand, having ſo mighty a King as the King of *Egypt*, between *Paleſtina* and *Æthiopia*. But theſe were the *Chuſites*, *Amalekites*, *Madianites*, *Iſmaelites*, and *Arabians*. For it is written, that after *Aſa* (ſtrengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, he in following his Victory took ſome of the Cities of King *Zearah* round about, as *Gerar*. Now, that *Gerar* is a City of the *Æthiopians*, it cannot be ſuſpected: for theſe be the words of the Scripture diſproving it: *And Abraham departed thence, toward the South Countrey, and dwelt between* Kadeſh *and ſojourned in* Gerar: Now *Sur* is that part upon which *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites* firſt ſet their feet after they paſſed the Red-Sea, where the *Amalekites* in *Rephidim* ſet on them, ſuppoſing that they had been weary, and unable to reſiſt. Again, in the Story of *Iſaac* it is written: *Wherefore* Iſaac *went to* Abimelech, *and the* Philiſtines *unto* Gerar: and I am ſure *Abimelech* and the *Philiſtines* were no *Æthiopians*. And laſtly, *Moſes* himſelf, where he deſcribeth the bounds of *Canaan*, hath theſe words: *Then the border of the* Canaanites *was from* Sydon, *as thou comeſt to* Gerar: for *Sydon* was the frontier of *Canaan* towards the North, and *Gerar* by *Gaza* towards the South. But indeed, howſoever *Pererius* doth, with an honeſt excuſe, ſalve this Tranſlation of *Chus* for *Æthiopia*; yet it appeareth plainly, that the *Septuagint* and *Joſephus* did altogether miſ-underſtand this place. And firſt, for *Homer*'s Eaſt and Weſt *Æthiopia*, they are both found elſewhere: For *Pliny* in his fifth Book, and eighth Chapter, citeth *Homer* for an Authour of theſe two *Æthiopia*'s. But the Eaſt *Æthiopia* is that which compaſſeth *Nilus* to the South of *Egypt*, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the *Abiſſines* under *Preſter John*; And the Weſt *Æthiopia* is that which joyneth it ſelf with the River *Niger*, which we call *Senega* and *Gambra*: for thereabouts are theſe *Æthiopians* called *Perorſi*, *Dararites*, with divers other names, which *Pliny* numbreth. But all theſe are in *Africa*, and beyond the Deſarts thereof, ſaith *Pliny* out of *Homer*, *Agrippa* and *Juba*; which Regions indeed (I mean that of *Niger*, and that of *Preſter John*, and the *Troglodites*) lie due Eaſt and Weſt. But as for *Cuſh*, and the Region of the *Iſmaelites*, &c. they are extended directly North from that *Æthiopia*, which is beyond *Egypt*. Now, that *Joſephus* was exceeding groſs herein, it appeareth by that fiction which he hath of *Moſes* when he ſerved *Pharaoh*, in the Wars againſt the *Æthiopians*: for in that (to make *Chus*, *Æthiopia*) he tranſporteth *Madian* by miracle over the Red-Sea, and beyond all *Egypt*, and ſetteth it in *Æthiopia*, as ſhall be ſhewed more at large in the Chapter of the World's Plantation. Again, that *Gehon* was improperly tranſlated *Nilus*, *Pererius* confeſſeth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the *Greek* Copie, than otherwiſe. And whereas the *Septuagint* have converted this place of the Prophet *Hieremie*; *And what haſt thou now to do in the way of* Egypt, *to drink the water of* Nilus? *Quid tibi vis in via* Egypti, *ut bibas aquam* Gehon? To this ſaith *Pererius*, *profectò* Hebraicè *ibi non eſt vox* Gehon, *ſed* Sichor, *quæ ſignificat Nigrum & turbidum: Truly* (ſaith *Pererius*) *the word* Gehon *in this place, is not found in the* Hebrew, *but* Sichor; *which ſignifieth black and troubled water.*

Furthermore, this is a manifeſt and unanſwerable argument, that *Chus* was ill taken for *Æthiopia*. *Moſes* married the daughter of *Jethro*, Prince and Prieſt of *Madian*, whom both the *Greek* and *Latine* call a *Madiante*, and not *Æthopiſſan*, as (with *Joſephus*) the *Geneva* converts it, though it help it a little with a marginal Note. Now it is without diſpute, that *Zipporah* was of the Countrey of *Madian*, which is that part of *Arabia Petræa*, bordering the Red-Sea; for it is written in the ſecond of *Exodus*, that *Moſes fled from* Pharaoh *into the Land of* Midian, *and ſate down by a Well*, &c. And again, in the third of *Exodus*; *When* Moſes *kept the Sheep of* Jethro, *his father-in-law, Prieſt of* Madian, &c. Indeed, theſe four Nations are every where mixt in the Scriptures, becauſe they

Gen. 25. 18. Verſ. 16. 2 Chron. 14 9. Gen. 10. v. 11. Exod. 17. 8. Exod. 10. 19. Plin. l. 5. c. 8. C. 2. v. 18. Exod. 2. 21. & 3. 1. Numb. 12. 1. Verſe 15. Verſe 1.

they dwell confuſedly together (to wit) the *Madianites*, the *Iſmaelites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Chuſites*, which were all, in one general word, *Arabians*; and in the Scriptures ſometimes called by one of theſe names, and ſometimes by another; as in *Gen.* 37. *v.* 25, 27, and 28. that *Joſeph* was ſold to the *Iſmaelites*; and in the ſame Chapter, *v.* 36. it is written, that the *Madianites* ſold *Joſeph* to *Potiphar*, *Pharaoh*'s Steward. The *Genevians*, in a marginal Note (to avoid this confounding of the Nations) ſay, that *Moſes* wrote according to their opinon, who took the *Madianites* and *Iſmaelites* to be all one. But *Moſes* wrote not after any mans opinion, he wrote the truth; and theſe were all *Arabians:* and ſo in this very place it appeareth by their Merchandiſe, which they brought with them, when they bought *Joſeph:* for their Camels were loaden with Spicerie, and Balm, and Myrrhe, which are the trades of *Arabia fœlix:* from whence chiefly, and from the *Eaſt India*, all the World is ſerved with Myrrhe and Frankincenſe; and their Spices they received from the Eaſt ſide of the *Arabian* Gulf, as aforeſaid. And in the 39 Chapter, it is ſaid: That *Potiphar* bought *Joſeph* of the *Iſmaelites*, which the *Chaldean Paraphraſt* in the ſame place calleth *Arabians*. Now to make this the more manifeſt, it is written, *Judg.* 6. That when *Iſrael* had ſown, then came up the *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, and they of the Eaſt, and came upon them: they of the Eaſt were *Arabians* of the Deſart; ſo as where before in the buying of *Joſeph*, the *Madianites* and the *Iſmaelites* were confuſed, here the *Madianites* and *Amalekites* are made one Nation. For in the proſecution of the Story of *Gedeon*, the *Madianites* onely are named, as comprehending both Nations; and in the eighth Chapter, *v.* 24. theſe Nations are called *Iſmaelites*, and neither *Madianites*, nor *Amalekites*. As when *Gedeon* deſired that every man would give him the golden Ear-rings, which they had taken after the victory againſt *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, Kings of *Arabia*, amounting to 1700. ſhekels of Gold, it is written: *For they had golden Ear-rings, becauſe they were* Iſmaelites. And theſe *Iſmaelites* were a great and valiant Nation, and ever in action of War. *Manus ejus contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum*; *His hand* (ſaith God, of *Iſmael*) *ſhall be againſt all men, and every mans hand againſt him.* Of theſe *Iſmaelites* come the *Mahometan Arabians*, though ſome Writers think *Mahomet* to be of the *Schenitæ*. And theſe *Iſmaelites*, which inhabit chiefly in *Cedar*, and the Deſarts of *Sur* and *Pharan* (ſaith *Joſephus*) uſe poyſon upon their Arrows, as the *Indians* do. Toward the South-eaſt are the *Madianites*, and *Chuſites:* and beyond them towards the Deſarts of *Arabia*, the *Amalekites*, and all are one Nation, and all *Arabians*.

Gen. 37. 25.

Verſ. 10.

Verſe. 3.

Chap. 7. & 8. v. 24.

Gen. 16. 12.

Laſtly, the ill Tranſlation of *Æthiopia* for *Chus*, is, among other places, made moſt apparent in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, in theſe words: *So the Lord ſtirred up againſt* Jehoram *the ſpirit of the* Philiſtines, *and the* Arabians, *which confine the* Æthiopians; ſo *Hierome* reads it: the *Geneva* Tranſlation hath it, *which were beſides the* Æthiopians. Now, how far it is off between the *Philiſtines* and the *Negro*'s or the *Æthiopians*, every man that looketh in a Map may judge. For the *Philiſtines* and *Arabians* do mixe and joyn with the Land of the *Chuſites*, and are diſtant from *Æthiopia* about two and thirty, or three and thirty degrees; and therefore not their next neighbours; but all *Egypt*, and the Deſart of *Sur* and *Pharan* are between them. So as this place of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, ſhould have been tranſlated in theſe words: *So the Lord ſtirred up againſt* Jehoram, *the ſpirits of the* Philiſtines, *and the* Arabians, *which confine and border upon the* Chuſites, who indeed are their next neighbours. * *Nulla ſupereſt dubitatio quin* Æthiopia *in ſacris literis ſit* Arabia *propinqua*; *There remaineth no doubt* (ſaith *Steuchius*) *but* Æthiopia *in the Scriptures, is taken for that Countrey which joyneth to* Arabia.

2 Chro. 21. 16.

* Steuch. Eugub. in Gen. c. 2.

Now, may we think, is it probable, or poſſible, that *Moſes* could be ignorant of *Nilus?* No, he knew it, no living man ſo well, and therefore would never have named *Gehon* for *Nilus*, or *Nilus* for *Gehon*. Surely, if *Moſes* had meant *Nilus*, when he named *Gehon*, he would have called the River (into which he was caſt upon Reeds, and preſerved by God, working compaſſion in the Daughter of *Pharaoh*) a River of *Egypt*, wherein he was born and bred, and wrought ſo many miracles. Beſides, the River of *Nilus* is often named in the Scriptures, but never by the name of *Gehon*. And if *Moſes* had told the *Iſraelites*, that *Nilus* had been a River of *Paradiſe*, they might juſtly have thought, that he had derided them: for they had lived there all days of their lives, and found no ſuch *Paradiſe* at all, nor any memory, or ſpeech thereof, except we ſhall believe the *Paradiſe* of *Heſperides*, where (ſaith *Pliny*) there was nothing found in his time, but wilde Olives in ſtead of golden Apples. But *Nilus* is twice called *Sichor*, once in *Iſaiah*, and once in the Prophet *Jeremie*; and yet in thoſe places it is not ſaid to be a River of *Æthiopia*, but of *Egypt*. For in a word, the *Iſraelites* had never any communion or affairs with

Exod. 2.

Plin. l. 5. c. 1. c. 25. v. 3. c. 2. v. 18.

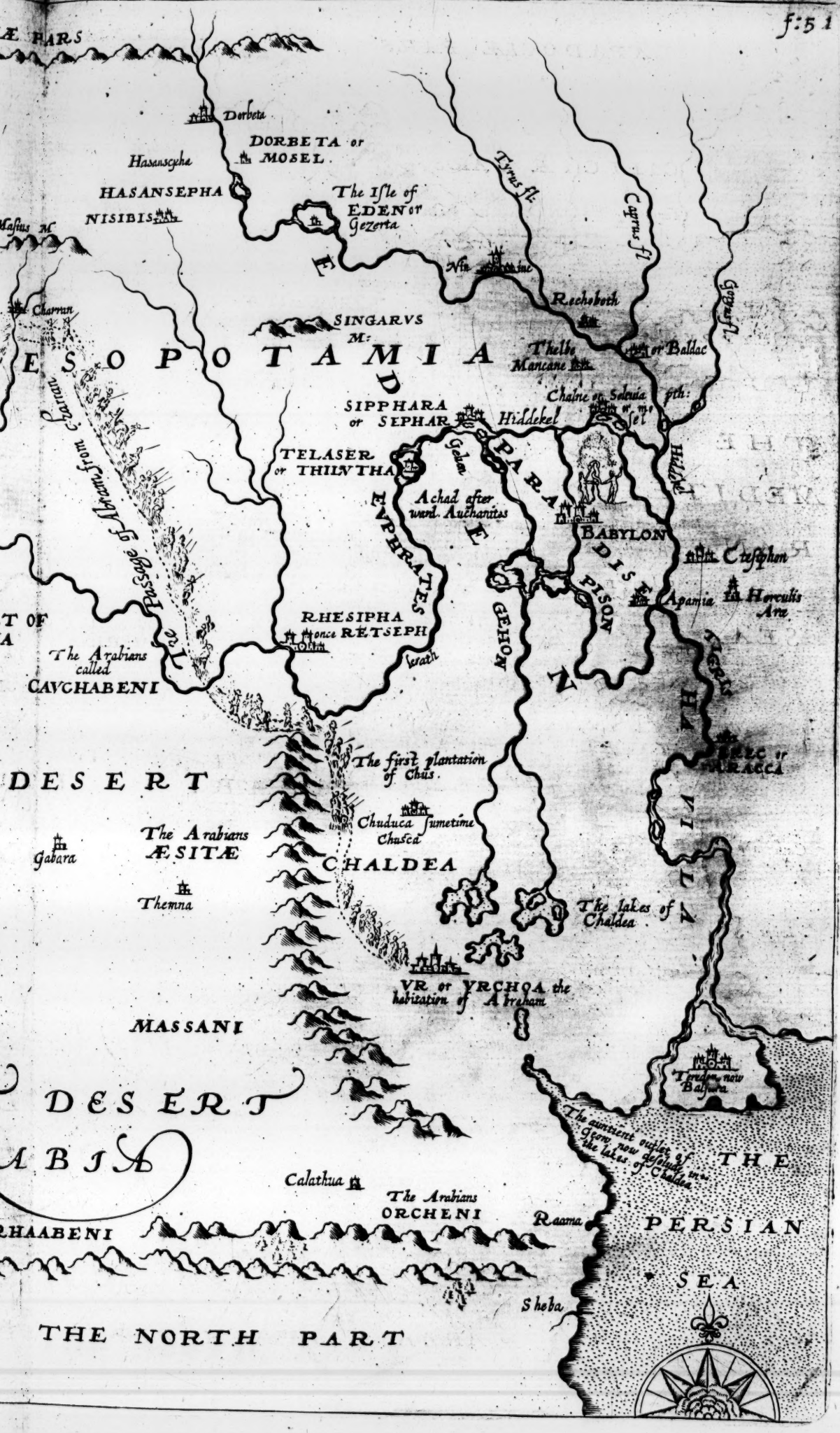
the *Æthiopians*, nor any intelligence or trade beyond *Egypt*, to the South; but the enemies which they had on the South, and East parts, were these Nations of the *Chusites*, *Philistines*, *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, and *Madianites*: who being often governed by many little kings, or *Reguli*, were distinguished in names, according to the Fathers or Heads of those Nations; but in one general name were all *Arabians*. On the North side of *Canaan*, they were afflicted with the *Cælo-Syrians*, with the *Magogians*, *Tubalites*, and others their adherents. And thirdly, within themselves, the Nations which remained of the ancient *Canaanites*, held the strongest Cities upon the Sea-coast, as *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Acon*, *Gaza*, and many others; yea, *Jerusalem* it self was with-held from *Israel*, from the days of *Moses*, even unto the time of *David*, by the *Jebusites*.

That which now remaineth of most difficulty, is, that it doth not appear that any part of *Gehon* watereth that part of *Arabia* the stony, which the *Chusites* inhabited in the times of the Kings of *Israel*: and in this *Desart* it was, that *Matt. Beroaldus* lost himself in seeking out *Paradise*: for he was driven (to my understanding) to create two Rivers, and call them *Gehon* and *Pison*; to the end that the one might water *Chus*, and the other *Havilah*; for I find none such *In rerum Natura*, as he hath described: by which Rivers he also includeth within *Paradise*, even *Arabia* the Desart.

And as he well proved that *Pison* was not *Ganges*, nor *Gehon Nilus*; so where to find them elsewhere, it seemeth he knew not. Certainly, this River of *Gehon*, which he maketh to fall into the Mediterran at *Gaza*, and whose Springs he findeth far East in *Arabia*, is but imaginary; for the Current by *Gaza*, is but a small stream, rising between it and the Red-Sea, whose head from *Gaza* it self is little more than twenty *English* miles, as shall appear hereafter. But questionless, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the *Chusites*, as they were planted when the state of *Israel* stood, and when it flourished, being then their near neighbours, and never looked back to the first seats and plantation of *Chus*. For after the Floud, *Chus* and his children never rested, till they found the Valley of *Shinar*, in which, and near which himself, with his Sons, first inhabited. *Havilah* took the River-side of *Tygris* chiefly on the East, which after his own name he called *Havilah*, (now *Susiana*:) *Raamah*, and *Sheba* farther down the River, in the entrance of *Arabia-fœlix*. *Nimrod* seated himself in the best of the Valley, where he built *Babel*, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of *Babylonia*. *Chus* himself and his brother *Mizraim* first kept upon *Gehon*, which falleth into the Lakes of *Chaldæa*; and in process of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselves more Westerly towards the Red or *Arabian* Sea: from whence *Mizraim* past over into *Egypt*, in which Tract the *Chusites* remained for many years after. Now, because there could be no such River found in *Arabia* the stony, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they translated *Chus*, *Æthiopia*; and *Gehon*, *Nilus*. And if we do examine this mistaking by example, we shall the better perceive it as it was. For let us suppose, that *Brute*, or whosoever else that first peopled this Island, had arrived upon the River of *Thames*, and called the Island after his name *Britannia*, it might be said that *Thames* or *Tems* was a River that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards, in process of time, the same *Brute* had also discovered and conquered *Scotland*, which he also entituled by the same name of *Britannia*, after-ages might conclude that *Scotland* was no part thereof, because the River of *Tems* is not found therein. Or let us suppose that *Europa*, the Daughter of the King of *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, gave the name to *Europe*, according to *Herodotus*, and that the first discoverers thereof arrived in the mouth of the River in *Thrace*, which then watered as much of *Europe*, as he first discovered; Shall we in like sort resolve that *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, &c. are no pars of *Europe*, because that River is not found in them, or any of them? In like manner was it said by *Moses* in his description of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole Land of *Chus*; but not the whole Land which the *Chusites* should, or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit; seeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) have been Masters in time, (as the *Saracens*, which came of them, were) of a great part of the World. For, though the *Babylonian* Empire which took beginning in *Nimrod* the Son of *Chus*, consisted at the first but of four Cities, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalne*; yet we find, that his Successours within a few years after, commanded all the whole World in effect: and the fame of *Babel* consumed the memory of *Chusea*. For of this *Tower of Confusion* did all that Land take the name of *Babylonia*: and the greatness of that Empire founded by *Nimrod* a younger Son, obscured the name and Nation of his Father *Cush* in those parts, until they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther

Herod. l. 1. and 4.

CAPADOCIÆ PARS
ARMENIÆ PARS
CILICIÆ PARS
Edessa
Tarsus
Adana
Mallus
Mara
CYRRESTICA
Masius M.
Issus
Sinus Issicus
or Alexandretta
Alexandretta
Aleppo or Hierapolis
CYPRVS
Antiochia
Charran
CHALCIDICI
THE
MEDITE
RAN
SEA
Laodicia
Apamia
Adada
Passage of Abram
Arndus
Antarndus
Tripolis
Botris
CATANY
Byblus
Berytus
Archis
Palmyra
PALMYRENA
Sidon
Libanus
COELESYRIA
Syrian Desert
THE DESERT OF
PALMERINA
Tyre
Alsadamus
Antelibanum
Damascus
Cæsaria
philippi
Berathi
Saue or Saba
Machati
Syria
Soba
SACCEA
Geſsuri
BATANEA
ARABIA
AGREI
Gabara
Baſsan
Cæsaria
Amorites
Sichem
Ammonites
Bethel
Iericho
MARTENI
Aurana
IERVSALEM
Moabites
AGVBENI
ARABIA
Midianites
Idumites
PETREA
Pharan deſart
Petra deſerti
THE GREAT D
OF ARAB
Amalekites
Iſmalites
RHAABI
THE RED SEA
ARABIA THE HAPPIE


Æ HARS
Dorbeta
DORBETA or MOSEL
Hasansepha
HASANSEPHA
NISIBIS
Masius M.
The Isle of EDEN or Gezerta
Tygris fl.
Caprus fl.
Gyndes fl.
Nin
Rechoboth
Charran
SINGARVS M:
ESOPOTAMIA
Thelbe Mancane
or Baldac
Chalne or Seleucia
SIPPHARA or SEPHAR
Hiddekel
TELASER or THILVTHA
Gelan
ARABIA DESERTA
Achad after ward Auchanites
BABYLON
Ctesiphon
Apamia
Herculis Ara
PISON
GEHON
EVPHRATES
RHESIPHA once RETSEPH
Iesath
The Arabians called CAVCHABENI
DESERT
The first plantation of Chus.
Chuduca sumetime Chusca
The Arabians ÆSITÆ
CHALDEA
Gabara
Themna
The lakes of Chaldea
VR or VRCHOA the habitation of Abraham
MASSANI
DESERT
ARABIA
Calathua
The Arabians ORCHENI
Rasma
PERSIAN SEA
Sheba
THE NORTH PART

ther from the *Babylonian* Empire, where the *Chuſites* retained their names, which alſo they faſtned to the Soil and Territory, by themſelves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not think, that *Chus*, or any of his, could in haſt creep through thoſe deſart Regions, which the length of 130. years after the Floud had (as it were) fortified with Thickets, and permitted every Buſh and Bryar, Reed and Tree, to joyn themſelves (as it were) into one main body and Foreſt. For if we look with judgment and reaſon into the Worlds Plantation, we ſhall find, that every Family ſeated themſelves as near together as poſſibly they could; and though neceſſity enforced them, after they grew full of people, to ſpread themſelves, and creep out of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*; yet did they it with this advice, as that they might at all times reſort and ſuccour one another by River, the fields being then (without all doubt) impaſſible. So *Nimrod*, who out of wit and ſtrength uſurped dominion over the reſt, ſate down in the very confluence of all thoſe Rivers, which watered *Paradiſe*: for thither it was, to which the greateſt troups of *Noah*'s children repaired; and from the ſame place whence Mankind had his beginning, from thence had they again their increaſe. The firſt Father of men, *Adam*, had therein his former habitation: The ſecond Father of Mankind, *Noah*, began from thence his diſperſion.

Now as *Nimrod* the youngeſt, yet ſtrongeſt, made his choyce of *Babel* (as aforeſaid) which both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* cleanſed and enriched; ſo did *Havilah* place himſelf upon *Piſo-Tygris*; *Ramah* and his Son *Sheba* farther down upon the ſame River, on the Sea coaſt of *Arabia*: *Chuſh* himſelf upon *Gehon*, the faireſt branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to ſpread themſelves farther off, yet they alwaies faſtened themſelves to the Rivers ſides: for *Ninive*, *Charran*, *Reſeph*, *Canneh*, *Ur* in *Chaldea*, and the other firſt-peopled Cities, were all founded upon theſe navigable Rivers, or their branches; by which the one might give ſuccour and aſſiſtance to the other, as is already often remembred.

§. XV.

A concluſion, by way of repetition of ſomething ſpoken of before.

BUt now to conclude this Diſpute; It appeareth to me by the teſtimonies of the Scripture, that *Paradiſe* was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, ſeated in the lower part of the Region of *Eden*, afterward called *Aram fluviorum*, or *Meſopotamia*, which taketh into it alſo a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region ſtanding in the moſt excellent temper of all other (to wit) 35. degrees from the *Æquinoctial*, and 55. from the North-pole: in which Climate, the moſt excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyle, Grain of all ſorts, are to this day found in aboundance. And there is nothing that better proveth the excellency of this ſaid ſoil and temper, then the abundant growing of the Palm-trees, without the care and labour of man. For wherein ſoever the Earth, Nature, and the Sun can moſt vaunt that they have excelled; yet ſhall this Plant be the greateſt wonder of all their works: This Tree alone giveth unto man whatſoever his life beggeth at Nature's hand. And though it may be ſaid, that theſe Trees are found both in the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, which Countries are alſo bleſſed with a perpetual Spring and Summer; yet, lay down by thoſe pleaſures and benefits, the fearful and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diſeaſes, the multitude of venimous Beaſts and Worms, with other inconveniences; and then there will be found no compariſon between one and the other.

What other excellencies this Garden of *Paradiſe* had, before God (for man's ingratitude and cruelty) curſed the Earth, we cannot judg; but I may ſafely think, that by how much *Adam* exceeded all living men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanſhip of God, by ſo much did that choſen and particular Garden exceed all parts of the Univerſal World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the Trees, of Life, and of Knowledg; Plants only proper and becomming the *Paradiſe*, and Garden of ſo grant a Lord.

The ſum of all this is; That whereas the eys of men in this Scripture have been dimſighted (ſome of them finding *Paradiſe* beyond our known World: ſome, above the middle region of the ayr: ſome, elevated near the Moon: others, as far South as the Line, or as far North as the Pole, *&c.*) I hope that the Reader will be ſufficiently ſatisfied, that theſe were but like Caſtles in the ayr, and in mens fancies vainly imagined. For it was Eaſtward in *Eden* (ſaith *Moſes*;) Eaſtward, in reſpect of *Judea*, that God planted this Garden; which *Eden* we find in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in ſome part) remaineth to this day. A River went out of *Eden* to water this Garden, and

from thence divided it self into four branches; and we find that both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* swimming through *Eden* do joyn in one, and afterward taking waies apart, do water *Chus* and *Havilah*, according to *Moses*, the true seats of *Chus* and his Sons being then in the Vally of *Shinar*, in which *Nimrod* built *Babel*. That *Pison* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, reason, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was never joyned, cannot be divided; *Ganges*, which inhabiteth *India*, cannot be a branch of the Rivers of *Eden*; That *Gehon* was *Nilus*, the same distance maketh the same impossibility; and this River is a greater stranger to *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, then *Ganges* is: for although there are between *Tygris* and *Ganges* above four thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the World; but *Nilus* is begotten in the Mountains of the Moon, almost as far off as the *Cape of good hope*, and falleth into the *Mediterrane* Sea: and *Euphrates* distilleth out of the Mountains of *Armenia*, and falleth into the *Gulf of Persia*: the one riseth in the South, and travaileth North; the other riseth in the North, and runneth South, threescore and three degrees the one from the other. In this leaf following, I have added a *Chorographical* description of this terrestrial *Paradise*, that the Reader may thereby the better conceive the preceding Discourse; and this is the reward I look for, that my labour may but receive an allowance suspended, until such time as this description of mine be reproved by a better.

CHAP. IV.

Of the two chief Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

§. I.

That the Tree of Life was a material Tree; and in what sense it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden Fruit, is made subject to death.

FOr eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of Knowledg, was *Adam* driven out of *Paradise*, *In exilium vitæ temporalis*, *Into the banishment of temporal life*, saith *Beda*. That these Trees of Life and Knowledg were material Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospel) it is not doubted by the most religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are so volatile as nothing can fix them, and so slippery as nothing can fasten them, have in this also delivered to the World, an imaginary doctrine.

The Tree of Life (say the *Hebrews*) hath a Plural construction, and is to be understood, *Lignum vitarum*, *The Tree of lives*, because the fruit thereof had a property, to preserve both the growing, sensitive, and rational life of man; and not only (but for *Adam*'s transgression) had prolonged his own daies, but also given a dureful continuance to all his posterity; and that, so long, as a body compounded of Elements could last.

Som. Sept. 2. l. 1. 174.

And although it is hard to think, that flesh and bloud could be immortal, but that it must once perish and rot, by the unchanged Law of God imposed on his creatures; Man (notwithstanding) should have enjoyed thereby a long, beautiful, and ungrieved life: after which (according to the opinion of most Divines) he should have been translated, as *Enoch* was. And, as before the Floud, the days of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred years; and soon after the Floud, of two hundred years and upwards, even to five hundred: so if *Adam* had not disobeyed Gods first and easie Commandment, the lives of men on earth might have continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men have conceived. *Chrysostom*, *Rupertus*, *Tostatus*, and others were of belief, that (but for *Adams* fall and transgression) *Adam* and his Posterity had been immortal. But such is the infinite Wisdom of God, as he foresaw that the earth could not have contained Mankind; or else, that millions of Souls must have been ungenerated, and have had no being, if the first number wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for ever: And therefore that of *Chrysostom* must be understood of immortality of bodies, which should have been translated and glorified.

But of what kind or *Species* this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach; in

in which respect many have conceived, that the same was not material, but a meer *Allegorie*; taking their strength out of *Solomon*, where Wisdom is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also *Christ* is called the Tree of Life; as out of the *Apocalyps*, *I will give to him that overcometh, to eat of the Tree of life which is in the Paradise of God.* But to this place Saint *Augustine*'s answer may suffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terrestrial *Paradise*, so there was a celestial. For although *Agar* and *Sarah* were Figures of the *Old* and *New Testament*; yet to think that they were not Women, and the Maid and Wife of *Abraham*, were meer foolishness. And so in this place, the sense of the Scripture is manifest; For *God brought out of the Earth every Tree fair to the sight, and sweet to the taste; the Tree also of Life in the midst of the Garden:* which sheweth, that among the Trees, which the Earth by God's commandment produced, the Tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or *Chaos*, *Hesiod*, *Homer*, *Ovid*, and others, steal the invention of the created World; so from the Garden of *Paradise* they took the Platform of the Orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Hesperides*: and from the Tree of *Life*, their *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, signifieth *making young*; and *Ambrosia*, *immortality*; and therefore said to be the meat and drink of the gods.

Apocal. 2. 7.

§. II.

Of Becanus *his opinion, that the Tree of Knowledg was* Ficus Indica.

NOw, for the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil, some men have presumed farther, especially *Goropius Becanus*, who giveth himself the honor to have found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could ever guess at, whereat *Goropius* much marvelled. But as he had an inventive brain, so there never lived any man, that believed better thereof, and of himself. Surely, howsoever his opinion may be valued, yet he usurpeth the praise due to others, at least if the invention be at that price at which he setteth it. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* fastened on this conjecture above six hundred years before *Becanus* was born: and *Bar-Cephas* himself referreth the invention to an antiquity more remote, citing for his Authour *Philoxenus Maburgensis*, and others, whose very words *Goropius* useth, both concerning the Tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other men to that belief. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* in his Treatise of *Paradise* (the first Part and *fol.* 48) saith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*, *The Indian Fig-Tree*; of which the greatest plenty (saith *Becanus*) are found upon the banks of *Acesines*, one of the Rivers which falleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his Fleet of Gallies, in or near the Kingdom of *Porus*.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bigness of a great Peaze, or (as *Pliny* reporteth) somewhat bigger; and that it is a Tree, *Se semper serens*, *Always planting it self*; that it spreadeth it self so far abroad, as that a troup of Horse-men may hide themselves under it. *Strabo* saith, that it hath branches bending downwards, and leaves no less than a shield. *Aristobulus* affirmeth, that fifty Horse-men may shadow themselves under one of these Trees. *Onesicritus* raiseth this number to four hundred. This Tree (saith *Theophrastus*) exceeded all other in bigness, which also *Pliny* and *Onesicritus* confirm: to the trunk of which, these Authours give such a magnitude, as I shame to repeat. But it may be, they all speak by an ill-understood report. For this *Indian* Fig-tree is not so rare a Plant as *Becanus* conceiveth, who, because he found it no where else, would needs draw the Garden of *Paradise* to the Tree, and set it by the River *Acesines*. But many parts of the world have them, and I my self have seen twenty thousand of them in one Valley, not far from *Paria* in *America*. They grow in moist grounds, and in this manner: After they are first shot up some twenty or thirty foot in length (some more, some less, according to the soil) they spread a very large top, having no bough nor twig in the trunk or stem: for from the utmost end of the head-branches, there issueth out a Gummy juyce which hangeth downward like a cord or sinew, and within a few moneths reacheth the ground; which it no sooner toucheth, but it taketh root, and then being filled both from the top-boughs, and from his own proper root, this cord maketh it self a Tree exceeding hastily. From the utmost boughs of these young Trees, there fall again the like cords, which in one year and less (in that World of a perpetual Spring) become also Trees of the bigness of the neather part of a Lance, and as streight as Art or Nature can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a kind of Grove, as no other Tree in the world can do. Now, one of these Trees considered, with all his young ones, may

Plin. l. 12. c. 3.

Lib. 1. cap. 2.

may (indeed) ſhroud four hundred or four thouſand Horſ-men, if they pleaſe; for they cover whole Valleys of ground where theſe Trees grow near the Sea-bank, as they do by thouſands in the inner parts of *Trinidado*. The cords which fall down over the banks into the Sea, ſhooting alway downward to find root under water, are, in thoſe Seas of the *Indies* where Oyſters breed, intangled in their beds, ſo as by pulling up one of theſe cords out of the Sea, I have ſeen five hundred Oyſters hanging in a heap thereon; whereof the report came, That Oyſters grew on Trees in *India*. But that they bear any ſuch huge leaves, or any ſuch delicate fruit, I could never find, and yet I have travelled a dozen miles together under them. But to return to *Goropius Becanus*: This Tree (ſaith he) was good for meat, and pleaſing to the ſight, as the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil is deſcribed to be.

Secondly, This Tree having ſo huge a trunk (as the former Authours report, and *Becanus* believeth) it was in this Tree that *Adam* and *Eve* hid themſelves from the preſence of God; for no other Tree (ſaith he) could contain them. But firſt it is certain, that this Tree hath no extraordinary magnitude, as touching the trunk or ſtem: for among ten thouſand of them, it is hard to find any one bigger than the reſt, and theſe are all but of a mean ſize. Secondly, the words of *Moſes* tranſlated, *In medio ligni*, are by all the Interpreters underſtood in the plural number (that is) *In the midſt of the Trees*. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moſes Bar-Cephas*) word for word,
Gen. 3. 7. is, That when *Adam* and *Eve* found themſelves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaves; which proveth (indeed) that either the Tree it ſelf was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew near it: becauſe *Adam* being poſſeſt with ſhame, did not run up and down the Garden to ſeek out leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it ſelf; and theſe
Plin. l. 12. c. 5. leaves of all other were moſt commodious, by reaſon of their largeneſs; which *Pliny* avoweth in theſe words; *Latitudo foliorum peltæ effigiem Amazoniæ habet; The breadth of the leaves hath the ſhape of an Amazonian ſhield:* which alſo *Theophraſt* confirmeth; the form of which Targets *Virgil* toucheth:

Virg. Æn. l. 1. 494. *Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis*
Penthesilæa *furens.*

The *Amazons* with Creſcent-formed ſhield
Penthesilæa leads into the field.

Here *Becanus* deſireth to be believed, or rather threatneth us all that read him, to give credit to this his borrowed diſcovery, uſing this confident (or rather cholerick) ſpeech: *Quis erit tam impudenter obſtinatus, ſi hæc à nobis, de ficu hac, ex antiquis ſcriptoribus cum* Moiſis *narratione comparet, ut audeat dicere, Aliam arborem inveniri poſſe, quæ cum illa magis quadret? Who will be ſo impudently obſtinate, if he compare theſe things which we have reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers delivered, with the narration of* Moſes, *as to dare to avow, That any other Tree can be found, which doth more properly anſwer, or agree therewith?* But for my ſelf, becauſe I neither find this Tree, ſorting in body, in largeneſs of leaves, nor in fruit to this report; I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*. That the Earth never brought forth any of theſe Trees, neither before nor after. But I leave every man to his own belief, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kind; onely thereby, and by the eaſie Commandment by God given to *Adam*, to forbear to feed thereon, it pleaſed God to make trial of his obedience: *Prohibita non propter aliud quam ad commendandum puræ ac ſimplicis obedientiæ bonum; Being forbidden, not for any other reſpect, than thereby to commend the goodneſs of pure and ſimple Obedience.* Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, l. 13. c. 20.

§. III.

Of Becanus *his not-unwitty allegorizing of the Story of his* Ficus Indica.

BUt in this I muſt do *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his ſuppoſition of the Tree it ſelf to be true. The effects whereof, becauſe his diſcourſes are exceeding ample, I have gathered in theſe few words. As this Tree (ſaith he) ſo did Man grow ſtraight and upright towards God, until ſuch time as he had tranſgreſſed and broken the Commandment of his Creatour; and then like unto the boughs of this Tree, he began to bend downward, and ſtooped toward the Earth, which all the reſt of *Adam*'s Poſterity after him have done, rooting themſelves therein, and faſtning themſelves to this corrupt world. The exceeding umbragiouſneſs of this Tree, he compareth to the dark and ſhadowed life of man, through which the Sun of juſtice being not able to pierce, we have all remained in the ſhadow of death, till it pleaſed *Chriſt* to climb the Tree of the Croſs for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to find among ſo many large leaves, may be compared (ſaith he) to the little virtue, and unperceived Knowledge among

ſo

ſo large vanities, which obſcure and ſhadow it over. And as this fruit is exceeding ſweet, and delicate to the taſte and palate: ſo are the delights and pleaſures of the World moſt pleaſing, while they dure. But as all thoſe things which are moſt mellifluous, are ſooneſt changed into choler and bitterneſs: ſo are our vanities and pleaſures converted into the bittereſt ſorrows and repentances. That the leaves are ſo exceeding large, the fruit (for ſuch leaves) exceeding little; in this, by compariſon we behold (ſaith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their ſollicitude, their outward ſhews, and publick oſtentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we ſeek for the fruit, which ought to be their virtuous and pious actions, we finde it of the bigneſs of the ſmalleſt peaze; glory, to all the world apparent; goodneſs, to all the World inviſible. And furthermore, as the leaves, body and boughs of this Tree, by ſo much exceed all other Plants, as the greateſt men of power and worldly ability ſurpaſs the meaneſt: ſo is the little fruit of ſuch Men, and ſuch Trees, rather fitting and becoming the unworthieſt Shrub, and humbleſt Bryar, or the poreſt and baſeſt Man, then ſuch a flouriſhing ſtatelyneſs, and magnitude. Laſtly, whereas *Adam*, after he had diſobeyed God, and beheld his own nakedneſs and ſhame, ſought for leaves to cover himſelf withal: this may ſerve to put us in mind of his and our ſins, as often as we put on our garments, to cover and adorn our rotten and mortal bodies: to pamper and maintain which, we uſe ſo many uncharitable and cruel practices in this world.

§. IV.

Of the names of the tree of Knowledg of good and evil: with ſome other notes touching the ſtory of Adam's *ſin.*

NOw, as touching the ſenſe of this Tree of Knowledg of good and evil, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the propertie of the Tree it ſelf, *Moſes Bar-Cephas*, an antient *Syrian*-Doctor (tranſlated by *Maſius*) giveth this judgment: That the fruit of this Tree had no ſuch virtue or quality, as that by the taſting thereof, there was any ſuch knowledg created in *Adam*, as if he had been ignorant before; but as *Junius* alſo noteth: *Arbor ſcientiæ boni & mali (id eſt) experientiæ boni & mali ab eventu. The Tree of Knowledge of good and evil (that is) the experience of good and evil by the event.* For thus much we may conceive, that *Adam* being made (according to the *Hebrew* phraſe) by the workmanſhip of Gods own hand, in greater perfection than ever any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created Plant, out of whoſe ſeed all men living have grown up; and having received immortality from the breath or ſpirit of God; he could not (for theſe reſpects) be ignorant, that the diſobeying of Gods commandment was the fearfulleſt Evil, and the obſervation of his Precepts the happieſt Good. But as men in perfect health do (notwithſtanding) conceive, that ſickneſs is grievous, and yet in no ſuch degree of torment, as by the ſuffering and experience in themſelves they afterwards witneſs: ſo was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the puniſhnents, due to neglect and diſobedience; and yet felt by the proof thereof in himſelf another terrour than he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glaſs of his own guilty ſoul, he beheld therein the horrour of Gods Judgments; ſo as he then knew, (he feelingly knew) and had trial of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchaſed evil, which could not be expreſs'd. He then ſaw himſelf naked both in Body and mind; that is, deprived of Gods grace and former felicity: and therefore was this Tree called the Tree of Knowledg, and not becauſe the fruit thereof had any ſuch operation by any ſelf quality or effect: for the ſame phraſe is uſed in many places of the Scriptures, and names are given to Signs and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In ſuch ſort, as this Tree was called the Tree of Knowledg, becauſe of the event, as is aforeſaid: ſo was the Well of contention therefore called *Eſek*, and the Well of hatred *Sitnath*, becauſe the Heardſmen of *Iſaac* and *Gerar* contended for them: and the heap of Stones called the *heap of witneſs*, between *Jacob* and *Laban*; not that the Stones bare witneſs, but for a memory of the Covenant. So *Jacob* called the houſe of God *Bethel*; and *Hagar*, the Well in the Deſart, *Viventis, & videntis.*

Num. 20. 13. *Gen.* 16. 20, 21. *Cap.* 31. 48. *Cap.* 28. 19. *Cap.* 16. 14.

But *Adam* being both betrayed and maſtered by his affection, ambitious of a farther knowledg then he had perceived in himſelf, and looking but ſlightly (as all his iſſue do) into the miſeries and ſorrows incident; and greatly affecting the ſuppoſed glory which he might obtain by taſting the fruit forbidden: he was tranſported and blown forward, by the gentle wind of pleaſing perſwaſions, unawares; his progreſſion being ſtrengthened by the ſubtile arguments of Sathan, who laboured to poyſon mankind in

in the very root, which he moistened with the liquor of the same ambition, by which himself perished for ever.

Ben. sem. 2. l. 2. But what means did the Devil find out, or what instruments did his own subtilty present him, as fittest and aptest to work this mischief by? even the unquiet vanity of the Woman; so as by *Adams* hearkning to the voice of his wife, contrary to the express commandement of the living God, Mankind by that her incantation became the subject of labour, sorrow, and death: the woman being given to man for a comfort and companion, but not for a counsellor. *But because thou hast obeyed the voice of thy wife*, &c. (said God himself) *Gen. 3. 17.* *Cursed is the earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all thy life.* It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; even by the most ugly and unworthy of all beasts into whom the Devil entred and perswaded.

Secondly, what was the motive of her disobedience? even a desire to know what was most unfitting for her knowledg; an affection which hath ever since remained in all the posterity of her Sex. Thirdly, what was it that moved the man to yield to her perswasions? even the same cause which hath moved all men since to the like consent; namely, an unwillingness to grieve her and make her sad, lest she should pine and be overcome with sorrow. But if *Adam* in the state of perfection, and *Solomon* the Son of *David*, Gods chosen servant, and himself a man endued with the greatest wisdom, did both of them disobey their Creator, by the perswasion and for the love they bare to a woman, it is not so wonderful as lamentable, that other men in succeeding ages have been allured to so many inconvenient and wicked practices by the perswasions of their wives, or other beloved darlings, who cover over and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfeit passion of dissimulate sorrow and unquietness.

CHAP. V.

Of divers memorable things, between the Fall of Adam, *and the Floud of* Noah.

§. I.

Of the cause and the revenge of Cains *sin: and of his going out from God.*

THe same Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward possess'd *Adam*, *Cain* also inherited: for *Cain* (envious of the acceptation of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) slew him, making himself the first Manslayer, and his Brother the first Martyr: the revenge of which unnatural murther, although it pleased God to mitigate, when *Cain* cried out that his punishment was greater then he could bear. For the same offence chiefly (wherewith the Sons of *Adam*, as it were, urged and provoked God) he destroyed all Mankind, but *Noah* and his Family: for it is written, *The Earth also was corrupt before God*: *Gen. 6. v. 11, 13.* of which in the same place, *Moses* giveth a reason: for saith he, *The Earth was filled with cruelty*: and anon after, God himself made the cause known unto *Noah*, saying; *An end of all flesh is come before me, for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will destroy them with the Earth, or from the Earth.* Neither was this cruelty meant to have been in taking away the lives of men onely, but in all sorts of Injustice and Oppression. After this Murther of *Abel*, Cain *went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of Nod, towards the East-side of Eden:* *Gen. 4. 16.* in which words, The going out of *Cain* from the presence of the Lord, is not to be understood after the literal sense, God being wholly in all parts of the World: *Totus in cœlo est, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, sed utrumque simul*; *God* (saith S. *Augustine*) *is wholly in Heaven, and wholly in Earth, not by enterchanged times, but all at once*; And that this is true, *David* witnesseth: *If I be in Heaven* (saith *David*) *thou art there*; *if in Hell, thou art there also.* But what is meant thereby? *Exiit à facie Dei* (saith *Chrysostom*) Cain *went out from the presence of the Lord*; (that is) *he was left of God, disfavoured and bereaved of his protection.*

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 12. c. 19. *Psal. 139. 8.* *Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 21.*

§. II.

Of Cains *dwelling in the Land of* Nod: *and of his City* Enoch.

THis word *Nod* or *Naid*, S. *Hierom* and many others understand to signifie wan-

Hier. tad. Heb.

wandring, or uncertain habitation: vexation or agitation, saith *Junius*; but the Seventy convert it otherwise, and take *Nod* for the proper name of a Country, and so doth *Josephus*. But it seemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his cogitations, than any thing else; and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in regard of the Murther committed, justly fearing (by his own words) the like violence: *And whosoever findeth me* (saith *Cain*) *shall slay mé*. Now, that *Nod* or *Naid* was a Region wherein *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word (*dwelt*) for *dwelling* signifieth an Abiding: and we call those people Wanderers and Vagabonds that have no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifest, *Moses* teacheth in what part of the earth this his habitation was which he affirmeth towards the East-side of *Eden*. Secondly, it is said by *Moses*, that after *Cain* departed from the presence or favour of God, he built a City, and called it by the name of his first-born, *Enoch*; which sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather sought to fortify himself against revenge. *Cyrillus* saith, that *Cain* and *Abel* were figures of *Christ*, and of the *Jews*; and that as *Cain* after that he had slain *Abel* unjustly, had thence-forth no certain abiding in the World: so the *Jews*, after they had crucified the Son of God, became Runnagates: and it is true, that the *Jews* had never since any certain Estate, Common-weal, or Prince of their own upon the Earth. Now, this Land of *Nod*, *Junius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deserta*, a Region of the *Nomades*; but *Arabia* the Desart is not Eastward, or on the East part of *Eden*, neither are these *Nomades* any particular People or Nation. For all these, in what part of the World soever, which in old time lived by Pastorage, and fed (as we call it in *Ireland*) upon white meat, without tilling of the ground, are called by the *Greeks Nomades*, and by the *Latines*, *Pastores vagi*, as the Northern *Tartarians*, the *Getulians*, and *Numidians* in *Africa*, the ancient *Britains*, and the Northern *Irish*: yea, such were the Inhabitants of *Italy* it self, till such time as *Italus* (who gave them that name) taught them the husbandry of Tillage, used at this day. But the Region Eastward from *Eden* is that part of *Assyria*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Calena*; which also might be derived of *Carena*, the Country of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in those parts, it may be gathered by the first possession of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is written, *Genes.* 3. *Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the Earth whence he was taken*: and in the Verse following: *Thus he cast out man*, &c. *and at the East-side of the Garden of Eden he set the Cherubims*: which sheweth that the entry into *Paradise* was from the East, by which entrance *Adam* was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that side of *Paradise* which was Eastward, according to the Text. *Cain* also in the same Region sought his dwelling place. Now, if the word *Nod*, or *Naid*, do signifie *profugus*, that is, a Fugitive, we can give no longer time to this uncertain habitation of *Cain*, then till he built the City of *Enoch*, the first of the World, which he enclosed, either for his own defence, or (as *Josephus* writeth) to oppress others thereby. So as, for mine own opinion, I am resolved with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (Vagabond) which *Cain* useth of himself, it seemeth by the perclose of the same Verse, that (Vagabond) is therein understood for such an one as travelleth in fear of revengement: *For whosoever findeth me* (saith *Cain*) *shall slay me*; or else (Vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the favour of God.

And because these *Henochians*, so called of the City of *Henoch*, were the first society and civil assembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of these People (either for cruelty, strength, or other actions) lived in memory of *Noah* and his Sons; so that after the Floud (as there were of all sorts of natures, some vertuously, some impiously disposed, and every active mind setting before it whom to follow or imitate) those People, which delighted in cruelty and oppression, took on them their names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these *Henochians* were not the least. Perchance the place it self, where *Henoch* stood before the Floud, and whereof Monuments might remain (as the pillars or foundation of *Joppe* did) gave occasion to the Planters of that place, to call themselves by the same name: for of those *Henochians* there were many Nations in the borders of *Pontus*, and *Colchis* in *Iberia*, *Sogdiana*, and *Bactria*; of the same name many mountains, as those which are otherwise call'd *Coraxici*. And seeing that it is hard to find out the truth of these things, which the most aged Time hath covered over, or defaced, we may (according to the counsel of *Plato*) exceedingly rejoyce, and therewith satisfie our selves, if of so great, and almost worn-out Antiquity, of the eldest Peoples names and nations, there remain any print or footsteps to Posterity.

In * *Pliny*, *P. Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, we find those *Henochei* described, though diversly written: as in

Quotidiè de liquid in hoc magno orbe mutatur: nova urbium fundamenta jaciuntur, nova Gentium nomina (extinctis nominibus prioribus) oriuntur. Senec. ad Albinum.

* *Plin. l. 6. c. 9 11. & 16. Mel. l. 1. c. 8. Strab. l. 11. Val. Flacc. l. 6. Lucan. l. 3. v. 37.*

Pliny, ſometimes *Henochii*; in *Mela*, *Enochii*; in *Flaccus*, *Heniochi*; in *Lucan*, *Eniochi*: All which inhabit upon the Sea *Euxinus*, but yet none of theſe are on the Eaſt ſide of *Eden*, or (according to *Moſes* words) Eaſtward from *Eden*. For *Moſes*, in all places where he deſcribeth any Region, was ſo exceeding preciſe, as ſometimes he uſeth the word Eaſt or South without borrowing or addition; at other times with a borrowing, as Eaſtward, or Southward, or towards the Eaſt or South. In the place of *Geneſis* the eleventh, he writeth the word (Eaſt) ſimply and directly. *And as they went from the Eaſt, they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar*; but in this of *Cain*, he addeth the word (towards) as, *in the land of Nod, towards the Eaſt-ſide of Eden*; which may be taken, as inclining ſome one point or two, either to the North, or to the South of the Eaſt.

Verſe 2.

But, as we may conjecture that theſe Nations took name of *Henoch* the City of *Cain*; or of the Region wherein it ſtood, when the ſame was re-peopled after the Floud: ſo it is probable that theſe *Henochii* of *Colchis*, and other parts adjoyning, were not the firſt of that name after the Sons of *Noah* began to fill the World again: becauſe, had this *Henoch* the City of *Cain* ſtood in any of theſe parts, it had then been ſeated North, and not Eaſt or Eaſtward from *Eden*. But as *Pliny* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, ſo afterwards he goeth on Eaſtward, till he track them or trace them out to their original. For he calleth theſe of *Colchis* (now, *Mengrelia*) *Sanni Heniochi*; *Ptolemy*, *Zani*; beyond which an hundred & fifty mile Eaſtward, he findeth another Nation of them about *Iberia* and *Albania*; and beyond theſe he again diſcovereth a third Nation, from whence all the reſt took beginning, which inhabited on the Weſt ſide of the mountains of *Paro-paniſus*; between them and the great River of *Oxus*, which bordereth *Bactria* on the North ſide; and theſe *Henochii* are due Eaſt from the Region of *Eden*, and Eaſtward from the very Garden it ſelf.

Plin. l. 6. c. 4, 5. Ptol. tab. Aſiæ. 3.

And although we cannot be aſſured that theſe *Henochii* took name from the memory of the City of *Enoch* directly; yet becauſe they inhabited due Eaſt from *Paradiſe*, and afterwards ſpread themſelves Weſtward (as all *Noah*'s Sons did that came into *Shinar*) the conjecture is far more probable than that of *Annius* the Frier, who ſets *Henoch* in *Phœnicia*, quite contrary to *Moſes* word: *Phœnicia* from all parts of *Eden*, being directly Weſt.

And beſides theſe ſeveral Nations of the *Henochii*, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called *Henochia*, and the ſame alſo in the Eaſt, with divers mountains about *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, of the ſame name. Onely the Grecians (according to their fabulous inventions of all things elſe) out of the word (*Heniochi*) which ſignifieth Cart or Coach-men, make theſe Nations to have ſprung from the Waggoners of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* (to wit) *Amphites* and *Telchius*, who attended them in the interprize of *Jaſon* into *Colchis*. And though I do not deny, but that *Jaſon*, with other *Greeks*, ranged the coaſts of *Aſia* the leſs, in an open Boat or kind of ſmall Gally,* of whom I ſhall ſpeak in his own time: yet no man doubteth but that the tale of the golden Fleece was for the moſt part Poetical; and withall, that in ſuch an open Boat, which could hardly carry their own Rowers, being fifty four, there was no place, and leſs uſe, of Coach-horſes or Waggoners.

Steph. de Urb.

Nat. Comes calleth them Rhœteas. Nat. com. l. 8 c. 9. Strab l. 11.

* In the ſecond Book of this firſt part, *Cap.* 13. *Sect.* 5.

§. III.

Of Moſes *his omitting ſundry things concerning* Cain's *Generation.*

BUt of the remembrance and teſtimonies of the name of the City of *Henoch* in prophane Story, thus much may ſuffice: Now it followeth to anſwer ſome few Objections againſt certain particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of *Geneſis*: againſt which, for the firſt, it is demanded, How it was poſſible for *Cain* (having no other aſſiſtance than his Son *Henoch*) to perform ſuch a Work as the building of a City, ſeeing there is thereto required ſo many hands, and ſo great a maſs of all ſorts of materials? To which it is anſwered, that we are firſt to conſider, That of *Cain* (becauſe he was the Parent of an impious Race) *Moſes* uſeth no ample declaration; and ſo it beſt agreeth with his divine Reaſon, ſeeing that he containeth the whole Story of the firſt Race, which laſted, by the leaſt account, 1656. years, in five ſhort Chapters: Yet thus much may every man borrow of his own weakeſt reaſon, That ſeeing it pleaſed God to beſtow on the firſt generations of mens lives ſo long a meaſure as 800. and 900. years, that in ſuch a ſpace *Cain* had not want of leiſure and means to build many ſuch Cities as *Henoch*, be the capacity anſwering to what other of the World ſoever: for in what Age of *Cain*'s life he built it, the Scriptures are ſilent: as of whoſe times, and the times of his iſſues, *Moſes* had the leaſt care. And as it is ſaid of *Cain*, that he built a City: ſo it was ſaid of *Noah*, that his three Sons peopled all the World; but in both, the proceſs of time required is to be underſtood: which advice, ſeeing *Moſes* uſeth where the ſpace leſs requireth

quireth it, as knowing that he writ the Scriptures to reasonable men, we may easily understand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference between the birth of *Abel*, and the oblation of *Cain*, he spake it in this sort, *Fuit autem post dies multos*, or *à fine dierum* (that is) in process of time, *it came to pass that Cain brought an oblation.* And therefore it is in like sort to be understood of *Cain*, that many years foregone, and when his people were increased, he built the City of *Enoch* or *Henoch.*

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built *Enoch*, so of *Solomon*, that he built the Temple of *Jerusalem*; yet it is well known of *Solomon*, that he imployed in that
1 King. 16. Work 150000. labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selves to say, the King invaded, when he caused an invasion to be made: and he built, when he commanded such a building. And therefore seeing that we find that *Moses* had no regard to the ages, birth, or death of any of *Cain*'s issues, it is not to be marvelled at, why he also passeth over in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumstance: for of *Cain*, *Moses*
Gen. 4. 17. writeth in this manner: *Cain also knew his wife, who conceived and bare Henoch, and he built a city, and called the name of the city after the name of his Son Henoch. And to Henoch was born Irad, and Irad begat Mehujael, and Mehujael begat Methusael, and Methusael Lamech.*
18.

Now, of *Seth*, *Moses* writeth far other-
c. 5. v. 5. wise, and in this manner. *And Seth lived an hundred and five years, and begat Enoch, and Seth lived after he begat Enoch* 807. *years, and begat Sons and Daughters: so as all the days of Seth were* 912. *years, and he dyed:* as for the years and times of the wicked, they were not numbred in *Libro viventium*, saith *Cyril.* But in *Seth* was the Church of God established; from whom Christ descended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and work *Moses* walked in, and finished it with care, passing over the reprobate Generation, (as aforesaid.) Of the Line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moses* remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning *Adam* for one; and of the Line of *Adam* by *Seth* ten, counting *Adam* also therein, as followeth.

I. ADAM.

2 *Cain.*
3 *Henoch.*
4 *Irad.*
5 *Mehujael.*
6 *Methusael.*
7 *Lamech*, who by *Adah* had
8 *Jubal*, and *Tubal*; and by *Silla*, *Tubal-Cain* and *Noema.*

I. ADAM.

2 *Seth.*
3 *Enosh.*
4 *Cainan.*
5 *Mahaleel.*
6 *Jared.*
7 *Henoch.*
8 *Methusalem.*
9 *Lamech*, and
10 *Noah.*

These be the Generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the Scriptures mention: but *Josephus* giveth unto *Lamech* threescore and seventeen Sons and daughters, by his two Wives, *Ada* and *Sylla:* and to these three Sons of *Lamech*, *Moses* ascribeth the invention of Pastorage, of Musick, and the working in Metal; for it seemeth that *Jubal* first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly were untamed, and brought them into Herds and Droves: *Tubal* Gen. 4. 20, invented Musick, and *Tubal-Cain* the work- 21, 22.
ing in Brass and Iron: the one being addicted to Husbandry, the other was Mechanical, the third given to idleness and pleasure. In whom began these three meaner degrees, of Shepherds, Handy-crafts-men, and Musicians. And in the issues of *Seth* began the Services of God, Divinity, Prophecie, and Astronomy: the Children of the one beheld the Heavens, the other the Earth.

§. IV.

Of the diversities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Children.

A Second scruple hath been made, How it came to pass that the Patriarchs begat their children at so divers Ages, as *Cainan* or *Cenan* at seventy years, *Mahalecl* and *Enoch* at threescore and five years, whereas *Jared* begat not any of his untill he was 162. years old: *Methusalem* begat at 187. *Lamech* at 182. and *Noah* at 500. years. Now this difference hath been the more enforced, because it cannot be conjectured, that either *Jared*, *Methusalem*, or *Lamech* abstained from Marriage out of the Religion of Abstinence, seeing that *Enoch*, who was translated by God for his singular Sanctitie, begat children before he was threescore and ten years old.

The apparent difference hereof ariseth in this, that *Moses* did not number the Generations before the Floud precisely, according to the first-begotten and eldest Sons of the Patriarchs, but he drew down the Line of *Noah* from *Seth*, and afterward from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true Ancestours, were they elder or younger, as he found them: for it is likely that *Henoch* was not the eldest of *Jared*, nor *Lamech* the first-born of *Me-*

thuſalem, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing known to the contrary, but that *Noah* might have had many Sons before *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*; though theſe three were onely named, and ſurviving, and which by God were reſerved to be the Fathers of mankind after the Floud; and therefore when we find *Mahaleel* to be begotten by *Kenan* at threeſcore and ten years, who was the firſt Son of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Methuſalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187. year of his life, the difference ſeemeth ſtrange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldeſt. But *Moſes* rejecteth all the other Sons of *Methuſalem* but *Lamech* onely, becauſe he was the Father of *Noah*, as aforeſaid. Of this Saint *Auguſtine* hath ſomewhat elſe in his twentieth, and one and twentieth Chapters, *De Civitate Dei.*

But as *Moſes* counted the Generations of the firſt Age, and ſo to *Abraham*, and the children of the promiſe after him; ſo doth St. *Matthew* recite the Genealogy of Chriſt, not by the eldeſt Sons, but from thoſe whom God had choſen and bleſſed, without reſpect of the firſt-born, who have hereby the prerogative in Eſtates, worldly and tranſitory only; and therefore the Evangeliſt
Mat. 1. 2. nameth *Iſaac*, and not *Iſmael*, though *Iſmael* were firſt in time: ſo doth he take *Jacob* the younger, and not *Eſau* the elder; neither is Chriſt derived from any of the three eldeſt Patriarchs, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, or *Levi*, but from *Juda* a fourth Brother, and ſo from *David* a younger Son of *Jeſſai*; and laſtly, we find, that the Kingdom it ſelf of *Juda* was not given to the Heir in Nature, but to
1 Kings 1. the Heir of Grace, namely *Solomon.*

§. V.

Of the long lives of the Patriarchs, and ſome of late memory.

THe third Objection is, that the great difference of years between thoſe of the firſt Age, whereof ſome of them had well neer ſeen a thouſand years, makes it diſputable, whether the account of times were of the ſame meaſure as in after-Ages, ſeeing that ſoon after the Floud, men lived not a third part of that time; and in ſucceeding Ages, and to this day, not the tenth.

Sol. Pol. hiſt. c. 3. Macrob. Satur. lib. 1. cap. 8. Plin. l. 7. c. 48. They that have hereon reſolved that thoſe years were but Lunary years (to wit) of a moneth or thereabouts, or *Egyptian* years, are eaſily confuted. For whereas *Seth* begat *Enoſh* in the year of his life an hnndred and five, if thoſe years be taken but for moneths, then had *Seth* lived but eight years and one moneth when he begat *Enoſh*: and if the time of *Enoſh* have the ſame allowance when he begat *Kenan*, then could *Enoſh* at that time have been but ſix years and fourty eight weeks old; and ſo it may be gathered of the reſt, excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the trees in their kind, bearing Fruit and Seed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to give an ability of generation at ſix, ſeven, or eight years, agreeth with the ſhort lives of the *Pigmies*, and not with the conſtitutions of our firſt Fathers, who being deſcended from *Adam*, the workmanſhip of Gods hands, and begotten and born in the ſtrong youth of the World, had length of daies, and ability of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunary years, then there would follow this extremity, that thoſe which lived longeſt, and upwards of nine hundred years, had by that account but the time of fourſcore and ten and odd years; which were not only leſs by far then the Patriarchs lived after the Floud, but ſhort of many mens lives in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed fourſcore, and ſome an hundred years. Further (if need be) to diſprove this reckoning, whereas it is written, *Gen.* 25. That *Abraham* died in a good Age, an old man, and of great years: all which (if the former accompt were of Lunary years) makes but ſeventeen and an half of our years.

And if we ſeek for a cauſe of this long life in Nature, then is it reaſonable, that the firſt man, created in higheſt perfection, ſhould alſo beget children of equal ſtrength or little differing: for of the firſt and pureſt ſeed there muſt of neceſſity ſpring up the faireſt and fruitfulleſt plants. Secondly, the Earth it ſelf was then much leſs corrupt; which yielded her increaſe, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any ſuch mixture of harmful quality, as ſince that time the curſe of God, for the cruelty of mans heart, brought on it and mankind: Neither had the waters of the Floud infuſed ſuch an impurity, as thereby the natural and powerful operation of all Plants, Herbs, and Fruits upon the Earth received a qualification and harmful change. And as all things under the Sun have one time of ſtrength, and another of weakneſs, a youth and beauty, and then age and deformity: ſo Time it ſelf (under the deathful ſhade of whoſe wings all things decay and wither) hath waſted and worn out that lively virtue of Nature in Man, and Beaſts, and Plants; yea the Heavens themſelves, being of a moſt pure and *Pſal. 102. v. 26.* cleanſed matter, ſhall wax old as a garment; and

and then much more the power generative in inferiour Creatures, who by the ordinance of God receive operative Virtue from the ſuperiour.

But beſides the old Age of the World, how far doth our education and ſimplicity of living differ from that old time? The tender bringing up of Children, firſt fed and nouriſhed with the Milk of a ſtrange Dugge; an unnatural curioſity having taught all Women (but the Beggar) to find out Nurſes, which neceſſity only ought to commend unto them: The haſty Marriages in tender years, wherein, Nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her ſelf hath not yet any root ſufficient to maintain her own top; and ſuch half-ripe ſeeds (for the moſt part) in their growing up wither in the bud, and wax old even in their Infancy. But above all things, the exceeding luxurioufneſs of this gluttonous age, wherein we preſs Nature with over-weighty burthens, and finding her ſtrength defective, we take the work out of her hands, and commit it to the artificial help of ſtrong Waters, hot Spices, and provoking Sawces; of which *Lucan* hath theſe elegant Verſes:

Pharſal. 4. —— *O Prodiga rerum*
Luxuries, nunquam parvo contenta paratu;
Et quæſitorum terra pelagoque ciborum
Ambitioſa fames, & lautæ gloria menſæ,
Diſcite quàm parvo liceat producere vitam:
Et quantum natura petat.
Non auro myrrháque bibunt: ſed gurgite puro
Vita redit: ſatis eſt populis, fluviuſque, Cereſque.

O waſtfull Riot never well content
With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious
Of Cates by Land and Sea far fetcht and ſent;
Vain-glory of a Table ſumptuous,
Learn with how little life may be preſerved.
In Gold and Myrrhe they need not to carouſe,
But with the Brook the peoples thirſt is ſerved;
Who fed with Bread and Water are not ſterved.

Pier. Hieroglyph. l. 2. The Egyptians affirm, that the longeſt time of man's life is an hundred years, becauſe the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to ſtrength fifty years, and afterwards by the ſame degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philoſophy, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty years, and *Beroſus* to an hundred and ſeventeen years. Theſe opinions *Pliny* repeateth and reproveth, producing many examples to the contrary. In the laſt taxation, number, and review of the eighth Region of *Italy*, there were found in the Roll (ſaith *Pliny*) four and fifty perſons of an hundred years of age: ſeven and fifty of an hundred and ten: two of an hundred and five and twenty: four of an hundred and thirty: as many that were an hundred and five and thirty, or an hundred and ſeven and thirty years old: and laſt of all, three men of an hundred and fourty: and this ſearch was made in the times of *Veſpatian* the Father, and the Son. Plin. l. 7. c. 49.

The ſimple diet and temperate life of the *Eſſæans*, gave them long account of many years: ſo did it to the Secretaries of *Egyptian* Ceremonies, to the *Perſian* Magicians, and *Indian* Brachmans. The *Greeks* affirm out of *Homer*, that *Neſtor* lived three Ages, and *Tireſias* ſix, *Sybilla* three hundred years, *Endymion* of the leſs *Aſia*, little leſs: Alſo *Maſaniſſa* of *Numidia* lived very long, and *Dando* of *Illyria*. Among the Kings of *Arcadia* many lived three hundred years (ſaith *Ephorus*.) *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the *Epeians*, that ſome of them lived full two hundred years; and ſo doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the *Egyptians*: and that theſe reports are not fabulous, *Joſephus* bringeth many witneſſes with himſelf; as *Marethon*, *Beroſus*, *Mochus*, *Eſtius*, *Hieronymus*, *Egyptius Hecataus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthony Fume*, an Hiſtorian of good reputation reporteth, that in the year 1570. there was an *Indian* preſented to *Solyman*, General of the *Turks* Army, who had out-lived three hundred years. I my ſelf knew the old Counteſs of *Deſmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Munſter*, who lived in the year 1589. and many years ſince, who was married in *Edward* the Fourth's time, and held her joynture from all the Earls of *Deſmond* ſince then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Munſter* can witneſs: *Strozzius Sicogna*, out of *Torquemada*, *Maffæus*, and the like Authours, telleth of ſome that have not onely farr exceeded the term preſcribed by *Epigenes*; but been repaired from the withered eſtate of decrepit age to freſh youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference between the ability of men in thoſe days wherein *Galen* the Phyſician lived, it may eaſily prove unto us, what Reeds we are in reſpect of thoſe Cedars of the firſt Age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let Bloud ſix pound weight, whereas we (for the moſt part) ſtop at ſix ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Conſtellations) which are the natural cauſes of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) ſtrong Joſ. ant. l. 13 c. 8. Plin. l. 7. c. 48.

Parents,

Parents, a pure and thin ayr, and temperate use of diet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring stone, cannot stand long upright; on Ayr we feed alwaies and in every instant, and on meats but at times: and yet the heavy load of abundance, wherewith we oppress and overcharge Nature, maketh her to sink unawares in the mid-way; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure Ayr, and a temperate use of those things which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

§. VI.

Of the Patriarchs delivering their knowledg by Tradition: and that Enoch *writ before the Floud.*

A Fourth scruple hath been made, How the certain knowledg of the Creation came to *Moses*, seeing there was no Story thereof written; and if any such had been, yet it is conceived, that all memory of Antiquity perished in the Universal Floud.

But if we consider the curiosity and policy of elder Ages, we shall find, that knowledg was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also covered and hid from the vulgar sort, as Jewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreverent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoever was attained unto concerning God, and his working in Nature, the same was not left to publike dispute, but delivered over by heart and tradition from wise men to a posterity equally Zealous; *Ex animo in animum sine literis, medio intercedente verbo: From mind to mind without Letters, by way of Tradition or word of mouth.* And it was thought by *Esdras*, *Origen*, and *Hilarius* (as *Mirandula* conceiveth) that *Moses* did not only upon the Mount receive the Law from God, but withal, *secretiorem & veram legis enarrationem; a more secret and true explanation of the Law*; which (saith he, out of the same Authors,) he delivered by mouth to *Joshua*, and *Joshua* to the Elders: for, to teach these mysteries, which he called *secretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quàm dare sanctum canibus, & inter porcos spargere Margaritas; then to give holy things to Dogs, and to cast Pearls before Swine.* In succeeding times this understanding and wisdom began to be written in Ciphers and Characters, and Letters bearing the form of Beasts, Birds, and other creatures; and to be taught only to such as served in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priests. Of the first the *Cabala* of the *Jews* was an imitation: the invention of the other is ascribed to *Zoroaster*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but falsely.

Dion. Arcop.

Fol. 18.

This *Cabala* importeth a Law, received by tradition and unwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is *Receptio* in Latine, and a *Receiving* in English. And this custome was also held by the *Druids* and *Bards* of our antient *Brittains*, and of latter times by the *Irish* Chroniclers called Rimers. If then such as would seem wisest in the use of reason, will not acknowledg, that the story of the Creation or beginning of all things, was written by inspiration, the Holy-Ghost guiding the hand of *Moses*; yet it is manifest, that the knowledg thereof might by Tradition (then used) be delivered unto him by a more certain presumption, then any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquity had preserved and left to their successors: which their wise men (as they terme them) did lay up and defend from the injury of the time and other hazards. For, leaving to remember that *Adam* instructed *Seth*, and *Seth his* children and successors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that *Methusalem* lived together with *Adam* himself two hundred fourty and three years, and *Noah* with *Methusalem* no less then five hundred years: and before *Noah* died, *Abraham* was fifty and eight years old: from whence this knowledg by an easie and ordinary way might come to *Israel*, and so to *Moses*.

Cabala est scientia Theologiæ non revelata. P. M. 83. Miran. 110. fol.

But besides this Tradition, it is questionless, that the use of Letters was found out in the very infancy of the world, proved by those Prophecies written on Pillars of Stone and Brick by *Enoch*: of which *Josephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained even in his time (meaning belike some ruin or foundation thereof) which Pillars by others are ascribed to *Seth*. But of these Prophecies of *Enoch*, St. *Jude* testifieth; and some part of his Books (which contained the course of the Stars, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia fœlix*, in the Dominion of the Queen of *Saba* (saith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth, that he had seen, and read some whole Pages. It is not therefore strange, that *Moses* came to the knowledg of the Creation, and story of the first Age, seeing he might receive it both by Tradition and Letter, had not the spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did: which also his many and strange Miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifest.

Joseph. l. 1.

Jude Epi v. 14.

Origen Homil. 1. in Numb.

Now for the Books of *Enoch*, howsoever some men make mention of them, sure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*,

Origen. Hom. 28. in Num. & comment. in Evang. Johan.

pius, *Gazeus* (with others) cite them in their writings: although *Medina*, for an argument to prove them unwritten Traditions, alledgeth that Pope *Gelasius* among other the Apocryphal Scriptures (which he rejecteth) named not these of *Enoch*; but that whatsoever was remembred out of them, the same was delivered by Tradition from the *Jews*. But I rather think with *Pererius*, that such a Book there was, and that the same was corrupted after the death of the Apostles, and many things added thereunto by Hereticks, who took occasion upon the antiquity thereof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the Devil about the body of *Moses*, to frame and add thereunto many inventions of their own. One of the greatest arguments against these Books, is, that neither *Philo* nor *Josephus* (the most diligent searchers of Antiquity) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of St. *Augustine*, *Scripsisse quidem nonnulla divina* Enoch, *illum septimum ab* Adam, *negare non possumus: That* Enoch *the seventh from* Adam, *did write divers divine things, we cannot deny.* Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the antiquity, and of fables of Giants, supposed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by so much the more, because no such Book was found amongst those Canonical Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Priests in *Armario Judaico* (saith *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth, that this Book might be preserved by *Noah*. Surely, that *Enoch* wrote the Prophesies remembred by *Jude*, no man can deny; how they were delivered to posterity, I know not; whether by the *Jews Cabala*, or by what other means, the same is but mans conjecture. And (certainly) by the knowledg ascribed to *Noah* of the motions of the Heavens, and of the natures and conjunctions of the Stars; and afterwards to some of his Sons, to *Zoroaster*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had seen and might preserve this book. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledg therein (as these men had) was suddenly invented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath been said before. And therefore if Letters and Arts were known from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* lived with *Methusalem*, who lived with *Adam*, and *Abraham* lived with *Noah*; it is not strange (I say) to conceive how *Moses* came to the knowledg of the first Age, be it by Letters, or by *Cabala* and Tradition, had the undoubted Word of God need of any other proof then self-authority.

Gelas. dist. 15.

Tert. de habit. mulierum.

Heb. 11. 15.

§. VII.

Of the men of renown before the Flood.

NOw let us consider the relation of *Moses*, who nameth seven descents of *Cains* children: and of *Adam* by *Seth*, ten; *Seth* being given by God in stead of *Abel*: And of *Seth* was *Enosh* begotten, in whose time men began to profess Religion, and to offer sacrifice in publick. For although *Adam* instructed his Children in the knowledg of God their Creator, as appeared by the Sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it seemeth that after the death of *Enosh*, men began publickly to call on the Name of the Lord, that is, they served and praised God by Communion and in publick manner, or calling upon the Name of the Lord; and thereby were the Sons of God, or the Godly, distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of *Enosh* the Son of *Seth*, to the time of *Henoch* the Son of *Jared*, there is nothing remembred by *Moses*, but their owne births, the birth of their Sons, the length of their lives, and deaths. But of *Henoch* it is written: *That he walked with God, and he was no more seen:* for God took him away. By that, *that he walked before God*, was meant, that he was a just and upright man, and that he feared, loved, and obeyed God. For the same phrase *Moses* useth of *Noah*; Noah *was a just and upright man in his time*, *and* Noah *walked with God.* The Seventy convert it, *Enoch placuit Deo*; Enoch *pleased God.* And although *Aben-Ezra*, and others, understand this place, (*tulit eum Deus*) *scilicet, mortuus est*; *God took him away*, (*that is*) *he dyed*, which (indeed) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God took him away when he died; yet the difference which *Moses* maketh between the piety of *Henoch*, and the rest of the Patriarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which he useth to all else, makes it manifest, that *Henoch* was not dissolved as the rest. For to all the rest of the Patriarchs, *Moses* useth these words, *And he dyed*; but of *Henoch* he spake otherwise, saying only, *He was missing*, or, *he was not seen. Et non inveniebatur* (saith the Apostle to the *Hebrews*) *quia Deus eum transtulit*; *And he was not found, for the Lord took him away.* In the same place it is expressly added, *that he saw not death.*

Gen. 5. 24.

V. 1.

But whether this taking away of *Henoch* were not with the same kind of changing which St. *Paul* promiseth, when he saith, that, *when the end shall come, we shall not all die, but*

1 Cor. 15. 51.

but all shall be changed, I leave it to the learned Divines.

After *Enoch*, *Moses* passeth over to *Methusalem* and *Lamech*, remembring (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: saving that *Lamech* propheſied of his Son *Noah*,

Gen. 5. 29. saying, *This same shall comfort us concerning our work, and sorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed.* Of *Noah*, *Moses* writeth more amply than of any of the rest of *Adams* children by *Seth*, being the last

Gen. 6. 9. of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his Family) preserved, because he was an upright man in his time, and feared God.

But of the war, peace, government, and policy of those strong and mighty men, so able both in body and wit, there is no memory remaining: whose stories, if they had been preserved, and what else was then performed in that newness of the world, there could nothing of more delight have been left to Posterity. For the exceeding long lives of men (who to their strength of body and natural wits, had the experience added of 800. and 900. years) how much of necessity must the same adde of wisdom and undertakings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all whatsoever can be told of aftertimes, especially in respect of this old age of the world, when we no sooner begin to know, but we

Aphor. 1. begin to die; according to *Hippocrates: Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus præceps*; (which is) *Life is short, art is long, time is headlong.* And that those people of the first Age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of *Moses*; *These*

Gen. 6. 4. *were mighty men, which in old time were men of renown.* But these men of renown (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of body, and cruelty of mind) trusted so much to their own abilities, as they forgat altogether the piety of *Seth*, and the ways wherein *Henoch* walked: *for all the imaginations of their hearts were evil, onely evil and continually evil.* And this wickedness was not onely found in the issues of *Cain*, but it was then universal, when the children and Sons of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and mis-led by their Idolatrous Wives, the Daughters of *Cain*, or of those other men, loving themselves and the world onely.

Gen. 6. 5. That these *Sons of God* were Angels, which being taken with the beauty of women, accompanied them, and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed; namely, *Lactantius*, and *Eusebius*, mis-led by *Josephus*: of whom I can not doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this mistaking many Writers have taken great advantage, and have troubled themselves with large answers, and very needless: the question being uncapable of dispute, especially since S. *Chrysostom* and S. *Augustine* have answered it largely long ago. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth every where appear in Scripture; and on the contrary, to think that Angels, who (as Christ witnesseth) behold the face of God, (that is) always attend his commandments, should after a separation from the rest which fell with *Lucifer*, forsake the glorious presence of their Creatour, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrary both to Nature and Grace, were more than madness to imagine.

§. VIII.

That the Giants, by Moses *so called, were indeed men of huge bodies: as also, divers in later times.*

OF these Giants which *Moses* calleth mighty men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antuerpian* (who thought his own wit more Gigantical than the bodies of *Nimrod*, or *Hercules*) hath written a large Discourse, intituled, *Gigantomachia*; and strained his brains to prove, that there were never any such men: his reasons (whosoever desires to lose time) he may find them in the Treatises before named. It is true, that *Cyrillus* reproves the *Grecian* Poets for their monstrous fictions: who affirm shamelessly, That the Giants have in elder times, not onely cast up Mountains upon Mountains, but removed Islands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that invention of casting up Hills, and making War with the gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the Story of *Nimrod*, as before remembred; and even out of this Scripture. That *the Sons of God saw the Daughters of Men*, of whom the first Giants were begotten, was that conceit, taken from *Orpheus* and *Hesiodus*, That Giants were the Sons of the Heaven and the Earth; meaning by the Heavens the *Sons of God*, and by the Earth, the *Daughters of Men*: which verses of *Orpheus* are by *John Cassam* (who hath written a very witty Discourse of this Subject) thus changed into Latine:

Nomine cœlestes illos dixêre Gigantes,
Orti quòd terrâ fuerint & sanguine cœli.

From th' Earth, and from thy bloud, O heaven, they came,
Whom thereupon the gods did Giants name.

But

But what will not Opiniators, and ſelf-believing men diſpute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceive that there were in the firſt Age ſuch kind of men; and of which there have been in all times ſince; ſeeing the Scriptures avow the one manifeſtly, and common experience the other?

And for that ſuperlative ſtraining of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was given to Oppreſſors and Tyrants, and not to ſtrength of body, and eminent ſtature: ſuch men might with better reaſon call them Oppreſſors, becauſe they were Giants; and therefore had ability to oppreſs, than ſay, That they were called Giants onely, becauſe Oppreſſours. For firſt, *Moſes* himſelf calleth them mighty men; which ſheweth a ſtrength ſurpaſſing others: and afterwards men of renown (that is) of great undertaking and adventurous actions. And if the ſame ſtature of body, and ability, had not been found among divers Nations after the general Floud, then might this place of *Moſes* have more willingly hearkened to a diſpute, and yielded to interpretation.

But beſides all theſe famous Giants found in prophane Hiſtories (which I will reſerve to accompany the Giants of *Albion*, in the Story of *Britany*) the Scriptures do cleerly, and without all Allegorical conſtruction, avow, That beſides *Nimrod*, there were found of theſe Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moſes*, of *Joſuah*, and of *David*; namely, the *Rephaims* in *Aſteroth*; the *Zuzæi*, or *Zanzummims* in *Ham*, and the *Emims* which dwelt anciently in the Land of *Moab*; whom *Moſes* (for ſtature) compareth with the *Anakims* which dwelt in *Hebron*; for they alſo were taken for Giants as the *Anakims*. Likewiſe where *Moſes* ſpeaketh of the Land of *Ammon*, he uſeth theſe words: *That alſo was taken for a Land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein afore-times: and, whom the* Ammonites *call* Zanzummims; *a people that was great, and many, and tall as the* Anakims. And theſe Giants called *Rephaims* in *Aſteroth* and *Karnaim*, and the *Zuzæi* or *Zanzummims*, *Chederlaomer*, King of *Elam*, overthrew, aſſiſted by other Kings his aſſociates. Alſo the Prophet *Amos* found among the *Ammonites*, men of Giant-like ſtature, whom he compareth to the Cedar, and whoſe ſtrength to the Oaks: and the Prophet *Baruch*, *Theſe were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of ſo great ſtature, and ſo expert in warr.* Particularly, it is written of *Og* King of *Baſan*, that his bed of Iron was nine Cubits long, and four Cubits broad: for onely *Og* King of *Baſan* remained of the remnant of the Giants who commanded the Kingdom of *Baſan* four hundred years after the Expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreover, thoſe Diſcoverers and Searchers of the Land of Promiſe (ſent by *Moſes* from *Cadesbarne* in *Paran*) made report at their return of the great ſtature of thoſe people in general, and eſpecially of the Sons of *Anak*, in theſe words: *All the people which we ſaw in it, are men of great ſtature: for there we ſaw Giants, the Sons of* Anak, *which come of the Giants, ſo that we ſeemed in our ſight, like Graſhoppers, and ſo we were in their ſight* (that is) the Searchers found in their own judgments a marvellous difference between the *Anakims* and themſelves: inſomuch that the *Iſraelites* were ſo ſtricken with fear, as they rather ſought, and deſired, to return again into *Egypt*, and were more willing to endure their former ſlavery, than to fall by the ſtrokes of thoſe fearfull Nations. Furthermore, the Scriptures put us out of doubt, that *Goliah* the *Philiſtine* of *Gath*, was a Giant of ſix Cubits and a ſpan long: the Armour which he wore, weighed five thouſand ſhekels of Braſs: the ſhaft of his ſpear was like a Weavers beam, and his ſpear head weighed ſix hundred ſhekels of Iron. Alſo in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliah*, ſurnamed *Getheus*, becauſe he was of *Gath*: and of three other Giants; of which the firſt was ſlain by *Jonathan*, *David*'s Nephew, who had twelve fingers, and as many toes: a man of great ſtature, and his fingers were by ſixes, even four and twenty.

Alſo that *Sampſon* was of ſurpaſſing ſtrength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lion as it had been a Kid, and after ſlew thirty of the *Philiſtines*, and (after that) a thouſand more of them with a Jaw-bone of an Aſs: And laſtly, he took the gates of *Azzah*, and the two poſts, and lifted them away with the barrs, and put them upon his ſhoulders, and carried them to the top of the Mountain before *Ebron*. If then it be approved by every judgment, that both Nature, and the Heavens wax old, and that the great age of Time hath (with it ſelf) infeebled and almoſt worn out the virtue of all things, then, I ſay, That as in all other kinds the Earth (before that Sin had increaſed the curſe and corruption) brought forth her young ones more ſtrong and beautifull, than it did in after ages: ſo alſo thoſe Giants, thoſe mighty men, and men of renown, as far exceeded the proportion, nature, and ſtrength of thoſe Giants, remembred by *Moſes* of his own time, and after him their ſucceſſors, as the ordinary proportion of men in general, ſoon after the Floud, and in times far off, exceeded the bulks and bodies of men which are now born, in the withered

Gen. 14. 5. Numb. 15. 34. Deut. 2. v. 19. 20. Verſ. 21. Amos 1. Bar. 3. v. 26. Deut. 3. v. 11. Numb. 13. v. 34. Cap. 14. 4. 1 Sam. 17. v. 4. 2 Sam 21. v. 19. 1 Chron. 20. 7. Jud. 14. 6. 14. 19. 16. 3.

quarter and Winter of the World. If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth Age, much more in the first flourishing youth and newness of the World.

But the wickedness (especially in cruelty and oppression) of these men was such, as God therefore by the Floud, gave end to all flesh, but to the just *Noah* and his Family. *And God repented him that he had made man:* which Saint *Augustine* thus expoundeth; *Neque enim sicut hominem, ita Deum facti sui pœnitet, cujus est de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa sententia, quam certa præscientia. Sed si non utatur Scriptura talibus verbis, non se quodammodo familiarius insinuabit omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consultum: ut & perterreat superbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quærentes, & alat intelligentes;* God (saith he) *doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done (as men use to do) but if the Scripture did not use those words, or the like, it should not (in a sort) insinuate it self familiarly to all sorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrifie the proud, stir up the negligent, exercise the searchers of the truth, and nourish those that understand.*

Gen. 6. 6. De Civit. Dei. l. 15. c. 15.

CHAP. VI.

Of Idolatrous corruptions, quickly rising, and hardly at length vanishing in the World; and of the Reliques of Truth touching these ancient Times, obscurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.

§. I.

That in old Corruptions, we may find some signs of more ancient Truth.

HEre, before we proceed any further, the occasion offereth it self for us to consider how the *Greeks*, and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inventions, and by breaking into parts the Story of the Creation, and by delivering it over in a mystical sence, wrapping it up mixed with other their own trumpery, have sought to obscure the truth thereof; and have hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive those inter-mixed Discourses of God and Nature, for the inventions of Poets and Philosophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stoln out of the Books of God. But, as a skilfull and learned Chymist can as well by separation of visible elements draw helpfull Medicines out of poison, as poison out of the most healthfull Herbs and Plants (all things having in themselves both life and death) so, contrary to the purposes and hopes of the Heathen, may those that seek after God and Truth, find out every where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Story of the first Age, with all the works and marvels thereof, amply and lively expresst.

§. II.

That the Corruptions themselves were very ancient, as in the Family of Noah, *and in the old* Egyptians.

BUt this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in Angels, and afterwards in men (the one having erred but once, the other ever) as concerning Man-kind, it took such effect, that thereby (the liberal Grace of God being withdrawn) all the posterity of our first Parents were afterwards born and bred in a world, suffring a perpetual Eclipse of spiritual light. Hence it was that it produced Plants of such imperfection and harmfull quality, as the waters of the general floud could not so wash out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of man-kind. Yea, even among the few Sons of *Noah*, there were found strong effects of the former poison. For as the children of *Shem* did inherit the virtues of *Seth*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*; so the Sons of *Cham* did possess the vices of the Sons of *Cain*, and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the *Chaldæans* began, soon after the Floud, to ascribe divine power and honour to the Creature, which was onely due to the Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sun, and then the Fire. So the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*

Phœnicians did not onely learn to leave the true God, but created twelve ſeveral Gods, and divine powers, whom they worſhipped, and unto whom they built Altars and Temples. For *Herodotus* ſaith, *Duodecim Deorum nomina primos Ægyptios in uſu habuiſſe, atque Græcos ab illis cepiſſe mutuatos, eoſque prius Aras, & Imagines, & Templa Diis, ſibi erexiſſe*; *The Egyptians* (ſaith he) *firſt deviſed the names of the twelve gods, which the* Greeks *received from them, who firſt erected unto themſelves Altars, Images, and Temples, for the gods.*

Herod. in Euterpe.

§. III.

That in proceſs of time, theſe leſſer errours drew on greater: as appeareth in the groſs Superſtitions of the Egyptians.

BUt as men once fallen away from undoubted truth, do then after wander for evermore in vices unknown, and daily travel towards their eternal perdition: ſo did theſe groſs and blind Idolaters, every Age after other, deſcend lower and lower, and ſhrink and ſlide downwards from the knowledg of one true and very God; and did not thereby erre in worſhipping mortal men onely, but they gave divine reverence, and had the ſame reſpect to Beaſts, Birds, Fiſhes, Fowls, Winds, Earth, Water, Ayr, Fire, to the Morning, to the Evening, to Plants, Trees, and Roots, to Paſſions and Affections of the Mind, to Paleneſs, Sickneſs, Sorrows, yea, to the moſt unworthy and baſeſt of all theſe. Which barbarous blaſphemy, *Rhodius Anaxandrides* derideth in this manner:

Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7.

Bovem colis, ego Deis macto bovem.
Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas: ego
Obſoniorum credidi ſuaviſſimum.
Carnes ſuillas tu caves, at gaudeo
His maximè: canem colis, quem verbero
Edentem ubi deprehendo fortè obſonium.

I ſacrifice to god the Beef which you adore.
I broyl th'*Egyptian* Eeles, which you (as god) implore:
You fear to eat the fleſh of Swine; I find it ſweet.
You worſhip Dogs; to beat them I think meet,
When they my ſtore devour.

And in this manner *Juvenal.*

Porrum, aut cæpe, nefas violare aut frangere morſu:
O ſanctas gentes, quibus hæc naſcuntur in hortis
Numina!

The *Egyptians* think it ſin to root up, or to bite
Their Leeks or Onyons, which they ſerve with holy rite:
O happy Nations, which of their own ſowing
Have ſtore of gods in every Garden growing!

§. IV.

That from the relicks of Ancient Records among the Egyptians *and others, the firſt Idols and Fables were invented: and the firſt* Jupiter *was* Cain, Vulcan, Tubal-Cain, *&c.*

BUt in ſo great a confuſion of vanities, where among the Heathens themſelves there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to find out from what example the beginnings of theſe inventions were borrowed, or after what ancient pattern they erected their building, were it not certain that the *Egyptians* had knowledge of the firſt Age, and of whatſoever was done therein, partly from ſome inſcriptions upon ſtone or metal remaining after the Floud; and partly from *Mizraim* the Son of *Cham*, who had learn'd the ſame of *Cham*, and *Cham* of his Father *Noah*: for, all that the *Egyptians* write of their ancient Kings, and date of times, cannot be fained: and though other Nations after them had by imitation their *Jupiters* alſo, their *Saturns*, *Vulcans*, and *Mercuries*, with the reſt, which S. *Auguſtine* out of *Varro*, *Euſebius* out of many prophane Hiſtories; *Cicero*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arnobius*, and many more have obſerved, to wit, the *Phœnicians*, *Phrygians*, *Cretians*, *Greeks*, and other Nations; yet was *Cain*, the Son of *Adam*, (as ſome very learned men conceive) called and reputed for the firſt and ancient *Jupiter*; and *Adam* for the firſt *Saturn*: for *Jupiter* was ſaid to have invented the founding of Cities; and the firſt City of the World was built by *Cain*, which he called *Enoch*, of whom were the *Henochii*, before remembred. And ſo much may be gathered out of *Plato* in *Protagoras*, which alſo *Hyginus* in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For beſides that many Cities were founded by divers men; *Tamen primam latiſſimam à primo & antiquiſſimo* Jove *ædificatam: yet the firſt and largeſt was built by the firſt and moſt ancient* Jupiter, ſeated in the Eaſt parts, or in *India*, according to that of *Moſes*: *And* Cain *dwelt towards the Eaſt ſide of* Eden, *&c.* where alſo the *Henochii* were found after the Floud. And therefore was *Jupiter* by the *Athenians* called *Polieus*, *Gen. 4. 16.*

Aug. l. 19. c. 22. De civit. Dei. Euſeb. l. 1. de Præp. Evang c. 7. & l. 2. c. 23. Cic. l. 2. de nat Deorum. Arnob. 4. contrà Gent.

a Founder of Cities, and *Herceios*, an Incloſer, or ſtrengthener of Cities (ſay *Phornutus* and *Pauſanias*;) and that to *Jupiter Herceios*, there were in very many places Altars and Temples erected. And, that there were Cities built before the Floud, *Plato* alſo witneſſeth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that, ſoon after mankind began to increaſe, they built many Cities; which, as his meaning, he delivereth in plain terms, in his third Book of Laws: for he ſaith, that Cities were built an exceeding ſpace of time before the deſtruction by the great Floud.

Phorn. l. de Natura Deorum. Pauſan. l. 4. & 5. & 10. in Proœmio.

This firſt *Jupiter* of the *Ethnicks* was then the ſame *Cain*, the Son of *Adam*, who marrying his own Siſter (as alſo *Jupiter* is ſaid to have done) inhabited the Eaſt, where *Stephanus de Urbibus* placeth the City *Henochia*. And beſides this City of *Henoch*, *Philo Judæus* conceiveth that *Cain* built ſix others, as *Maich*, *Jared*, *Tche*, *Jeſca*, *Selet*, and *Gebat*: but where *Philo* had this, I know not. Now, as *Cain* was the firſt *Jupiter*, and from whom alſo the *Ethnicks* had the invention of Sacrifice: ſo were *Jubal*, *Tubal* and *Tubal-Cain* (inventors of Paſtorage, Smith-craft, and Muſick) the ſame which were called by the ancient prophane Writers, *Mercurius*, *Vulcan*, and *Apollo*. And as there is a likelihood of name between *Tubalcain* and *Vulcan*: ſo doth *Auguſtine* expound the name of *Noema*, or *Naamath*, the Siſter of *Tubalcain*, to ſignifie *Venuſta*, or beautifull, *Voluptas*, or pleaſure; as the Wife of *Vulcan* is ſaid to be *Venus*, the Lady of pleaſure and beauty. And as *Adam* was the ancient and firſt *Saturne*; *Cain*, the eldeſt *Jupiter*; *Eva*, *Rhea*, and *Nomea*, or *Naamath* the firſt *Venus*: ſo did the Fable of the dividing of the World between the three Brethren, the Sons of *Saturne*, ariſe from the true Story of the dividing of the Earth between the three Brethren the Sons of *Noah*: ſo alſo was the fiction of thoſe golden Apples kept by a Dragon, taken from the Serpent which tempted *Evah*: ſo was *Paradiſe* it ſelf tranſported out of *Aſia* into *Africa*, and made the Garden of the *Heſperides*: the Prophecies, that *Chriſt* ſhould break the Serpents head, and conquer the power of Hell, occaſioned the Fables of *Hercules* killing the Serpent of *Heſperides*, and deſcending into Hell, and captivating *Cerberus*: ſo out of the taking up of *Henoch* by God, was borrowed the converſion of their *Heroes* (the inventors of Religion, and ſuch Arts as the life of man had profit by) into Stars, and heavenly Signes, and (withall) that leaving of the World, and aſcention of *Aſtræa*: of which *Ovid*;

Gen. 4. 20, 21, 22.

Lact. l. 4. c. 17.

Ovid. Met. l. 1.

Ultima cœleſtum terras Aſtræa reliquit.

Aſtræa laſt of heavenly Wights the Earth did leave.

For although thereby the *Ethnicks* would underſtand Juſtice it ſelf to have failed, as it is a vertue abſtract, and may be conſidered without a perſon; yet, as it is uſual among the ancient Poets to deſcribe Vertues and Vices by the perſons of men and women, as Deſire by *Cupid*, Valour by *Mars*, Beauty or Luſt by *Venus*; ſo do they alſo the perſons of men by like Vertues and Vices: and therefore by Juſtice and *Aſtræa*, *Enoch*; the juſtice and piety of *Enoch*, being in the ſame manner expreſt, as that of *Noah* was by *Moſes*: for *Noah* was ſaid to be a juſt man; *And Noah walked with God.* And of *Enoch* it is written, *That he walked with God, and he was no more ſeen: for God took him away.*

Nat. Com. l. 2. c. 2.

Gen. 7.

Gen. 5. 22, 24.

From this Story alſo of the firſt Age, and from that part where *Moſes* remembreth the Giants begotten by the Sons of good men upon the Daughters of the wicked (whom *Moſes* calleth mighty men, and men of renown) did they ſteal thoſe wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and again, their Warr undertaken againſt the Gods, from the building of the Tower of *Babel* by the Giant *Nimrod*, as S. *Auguſtine* termeth him. Which war of their Giants, *Cornelius Severus* thus deſcribeth.

Lib. de ci. vit. Dei.

Tentavere (nefas) olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, captivique Jovis transferre Gigantes
Imperium, & victo leges imponere cœlo.

The Giants did advance their wicked hand
Againſt the Stars, to thruſt them headlong down;
And robbing *Jove* of his Imperial Crown,
On conquer'd Heavens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purpoſed to raiſe the building of *Babel* to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deep, nor by any conjunction of the Stars, ſhould bury them under the moiſture of a ſecond Floud, but that by this building (if they had been herein victorious) they would have given the Law to Heaven it ſelf. Alſo the making of leagues, peace and covenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by Sacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eighth and twelfth of his *Æneids* hath a touch, was (as it ſeemeth) borrowed from *Moſes*, *Exod.* 24. who, when he read the Book of the Covenant, ſprinkled the people with bloud.

Joſeph. l. 1. contra Appian.

We find alſo many remembrances of *Seth*, the paternal Anceſtor of *Henoch* and *Noah*: for *Amenophis*, the ſame King of *Egypt* which reigned at ſuch time as *Moſes* carried thence the

the children of *Israel* (as of late some learned men, mistaking his time, supposed) called his Son and Successour *Setho*, of *Seth*: and of the same *Seth* (as many men of good judgment have granted) were the Princes of *Thrace*, called *Seuthes*, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memory of *Seth* most manifestly preserved, that the *Egyptians* worshipped *Seth*, as their most antient Parent, and of the first Tradition: in honour of whom they called a principal Province *Setheitica*. We also find in *Bithynia* the City of *Sethia*, and others of the same name elsewhere. And sure, from the *Egyptians* did the Grecians borrow this kind of Theologie, though they scorned to acknowledg any antiquity preceding their own: and that they might not seem to learn elsewhere, they gave the same names to their own Idols, which the *Egyptians* did to theirs.

Plut. in Iside.

Strab. l. 17.

§. V.

Of the three chiefest Jupiters, *and the strange story of the third.*

BUt of all those Armies of *Jupiters*, remembred by the Antients, *Cicero* maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which other Writers have also done, who sought out, and laboured in their originals.

The first was *Jupiter*, the Son of *Aether* and *Dies*, so called because the one had reference to his Celestial conditions (for *æther* is as much as *shining* or pure *fire*:) the other discovered his natural virtues, which daies and times make more perfect, and are the witnesses of mens actions.

The second was said to be the Son of *Cœlum* or Heaven, for the same former respect; and this *Jupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athens*.

The third, of whom all the *Grecian* fables were devised, was of *Crete* (now *Candie*,) the Son of *Saturn* and *Ops*. The name derived from the Latine is taken of *Juvans pater*, from the Greek word *Zeus*; it lignifieth life, but somewhat strained. *Boccas* in his Genealogie of the Gods, conceiveth, that his name was borrowed from *Jupiter* the Planet; but whether that Star had such a name before the same was given to men, I know not. *Jupiter* is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, adventurous, liberal, merciful, loving, and faithful (that is) giving these inclinations. And therefore those antient Kings beautified with these conditions, might be called thereafter *Jupiter*: but howsoever they were, or were not with those virtues inriched, yet by imitation, all Kings in the eldest times assumed those Titles and Sirnames: great Princes affecting as high Titles of honour and reputation in the world (howsoever deserved) as the worthiest that ever were; acquired by their well-deservings. *Joves omnes Reges vocârunt antiqui, The antients called all Kings Jupiters*, as *Tzetzes* in his *varia historia* confirmeth; *Reges olim* Joves *vocârunt omnes*; *In old times all Nations call'd their Kings Jupiters*. But where this last and most remembred *Jupiter* was born, it is uncertain. Some there are, that make him of *Crete*: others that he was but sent thither by his Mother *Ops*, or *Opis*, to be fostered and hidden from the fury of *Titan* his Uncle: because it was conditioned between *Saturn* and *Titan*, that *Saturn* being a younger Brother, and reigning (for his own life) by *Titans* permission, he should put to death all his male children, lest the *Titans* might be interrupted by any one of them in their succession; which agreement, because *Saturn* performed in his first born, it is feigned that *Saturn* devoured his own children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into Latine:

Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7.

Haud fit pinguior,
Crudis sepulchrum quòd sit ipse filiis.

Saturne to be the father is not known,
By being the grave and burial of his own.

This composition between *Titan* and *Saturn*, *Sybilla* also witnesseth in these words;

Conceptis verbis, Titan *jurare coëgit*
Saturnum, *de se natum ne nutriat ullum,*
Quò possint regnare, senis post fata, Nepotes.

Things thus agreed; *Titan* made *Saturn* swear
No Son to nourish, which by reigning might
Usurp the right of *Titans* lawful heir.

But *Opis* the Mother of *Jupiter*, being delivered at once both of *Jupiter* and *Juno* conveyed *Jupiter* (first called *Lysanias*) into *Crete*, as she did afterwards his two Brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where he was brought up in *Gnossus*, the chief City of that Island, by *Cresta* the King, or by the *Curetes*, a people and nation thereof.

Euseb. in Temp.

Others challenge him to be of *Thebes* and a *Thebane*: others call him an *Arcadian*: others make him of *Messena*. The like contention is found among the Greeks touching his education and first fostering. Some affirm that he was fed by Hony-bees: in recompence whereof he changed their black coats and

and ſkins into yellow; a reward well fitting ſuch a God; others, that he was nouriſhed by Bears: others, by Goats: and of all theſe the idle Greeks have many pretty tales. But in the end, when *Titan* had knowledg that *Saturn* had broken his faith, he ſet on him, and took him and his wife priſoners, whom *Jupiter* again reſcued and delivered.

But laſtly, the Father and the Son equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturn* being the leſs powerful, fled into *Italy*, and left his Kingdom in *Greece* to his Son. And although this Prince at the firſt purchaſed great honour, and for his many virtues, the name of *Jupiter* was given him: yet after he was once ſetled, and became potent, he gave himſelf over wholly to palliardize and adultery, without all reſpect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by ſuch as do aſcribe the actions of many to one *Jupiter*, that not therewith ſatisfied, he was afterwards known to offend in the ſin of *Sodom* with *Ganimedes* and others: and did not only begin with inceſt, marrying his owne Siſter *Juno*, but he raviſhed, betrayed, ſtole away, and took by ſtrong hand all the beautiful women born in his time, within the limits of his own Kingdoms, or bordering them. Among whom theſe hereafter written were of greateſt fame; *Niobe*, *Laodamia*, and *Alcmena*, the Wife of *Amphytrion*, by whom he had *Pelaſgus*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*, of whom the Mountain *Taygetus* took name; with another Son called *Saon*, of whom *Savonas*; by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Læda*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, *Hellen* and *Clytemneſtra*: by *Danae*, *Perſeus*; by *Jordana*, *Deucalion*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britomartis*: by *Protogenia*, he had *Athlius* the Father of *Endymion*: and by *Iö* (the daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the founder of *Memphis* in *Egypt*: which *Epaphus*, married *Libya*, of whom that Country took name, for ſo the Greeks afterward called *Africa*. He raviſhed *Aegina* the Daughter of *Aeſopus*, and carried her into the Iſland *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Aegina*, on whom he begat *Aeacus*: by *Torrhebia* he had *Archeſilaus* and *Carbius*: by *Ora*, *Colaxes*: he had alſo *Dardanus* by *Electra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterward *Ilium* or *Troy*. He begat the Brothers *Talici*, on *Thalia*; and on *Garamantis*, *Hiarbas*. He had beſides theſe (if they bely not their chief God) *Phileus* and *Pilumnus*, inventers of the Bakers craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that he could not be father to all theſe, who were born in Ages ſo far differing. And of theſe his ſeveral raviſhments, betrayings, ſtealing away of mens Wives, Daughters, and Sons, buying of Virgins, and the like, came in all thoſe antient fables of his transformations into ſhowers of Gold, Eagles, Bulls, Birds, and Beaſts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of *Grecian* forgeries. And yet did not the *Greeks* and *Romans* fear to entitle this Monſter *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his ſecond Book, *de natura Deorum*, affirm, that he deſerved nothing leſs; and in his Oration, *pro domo ſua*, reprocheth *Clodius* for his inceſt, by the name of *Jupiter*. His burial was in *Crete* (ſaith *Lucian.*) *Cretenſes non ſolùm natum apud ſe, & ſepultum Jovem teſtantur, ſed etiam ſepulchrum ejus oſtendunt*; *The Cretians, or Candians, do not only avow that Jupiter was born and buried among them, but they ſhew his Grave and Sepulchre*: which *Epiphanius* alſo confirmeth; for in his time there remained the Monuments of his Tomb in the Mountain *Jaſius*. This, *Callimachus* in his Hymns alſo witneſſeth; but, as offended thereat, ſaith thus: *Luc. in Sacrif.*

> The *Cretians* ever lyars were, they care not what they ſay:
> For they a Tomb have built for thee, O King, that liv'ſt alway.

Diodorus Siculus tells by way of report from the *Libyan* Fables, confirmed (as he ſaith) by ſome *Greek* Writers, that the original of theſe Gods was from the Weſtern parts of *Africa*. For there among the *Atlantidæ* reigned one *Uranus* (which ſignifieth Heaven) called ſo, for his great ſkill in *Aſtrology*; and for his knowledg, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many Wives fourty five Sons; but by his principal Wife *Titea*, he had ſeventeen Sons and two Daughters, all which were called after their Mothers name, the *Titanes*. Of *Titea*, likewiſe it is ſaid, that ſhe for her goodneſs was Canonized as a Goddeſs, being dead, and called the Earth, as her Huſband was ſtyled Heaven. But of all the children of *Titea*, her Daughter *Baſilea* (which name ſounding as Queen in *Engliſh*, ſhe is by the *Latine* tranſlatour of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the reſt as far in virtue as in years, was by general conſent of her Brethren, and of the People, appointed to rule as Queen after her Father's death, being as yet a Virgin. She took to huſband her Brother *Hyperion*, to whom ſhe bare a Son and a Daughter, called *Sun* and *Moon*. The beauty and towardlineſs of theſe children moved her Brethren to envie, and bred in them a fear of being excluded from the ſucceſſion: wherefore they took the Boy and drowned *Diod. l. 3. c. 5.*

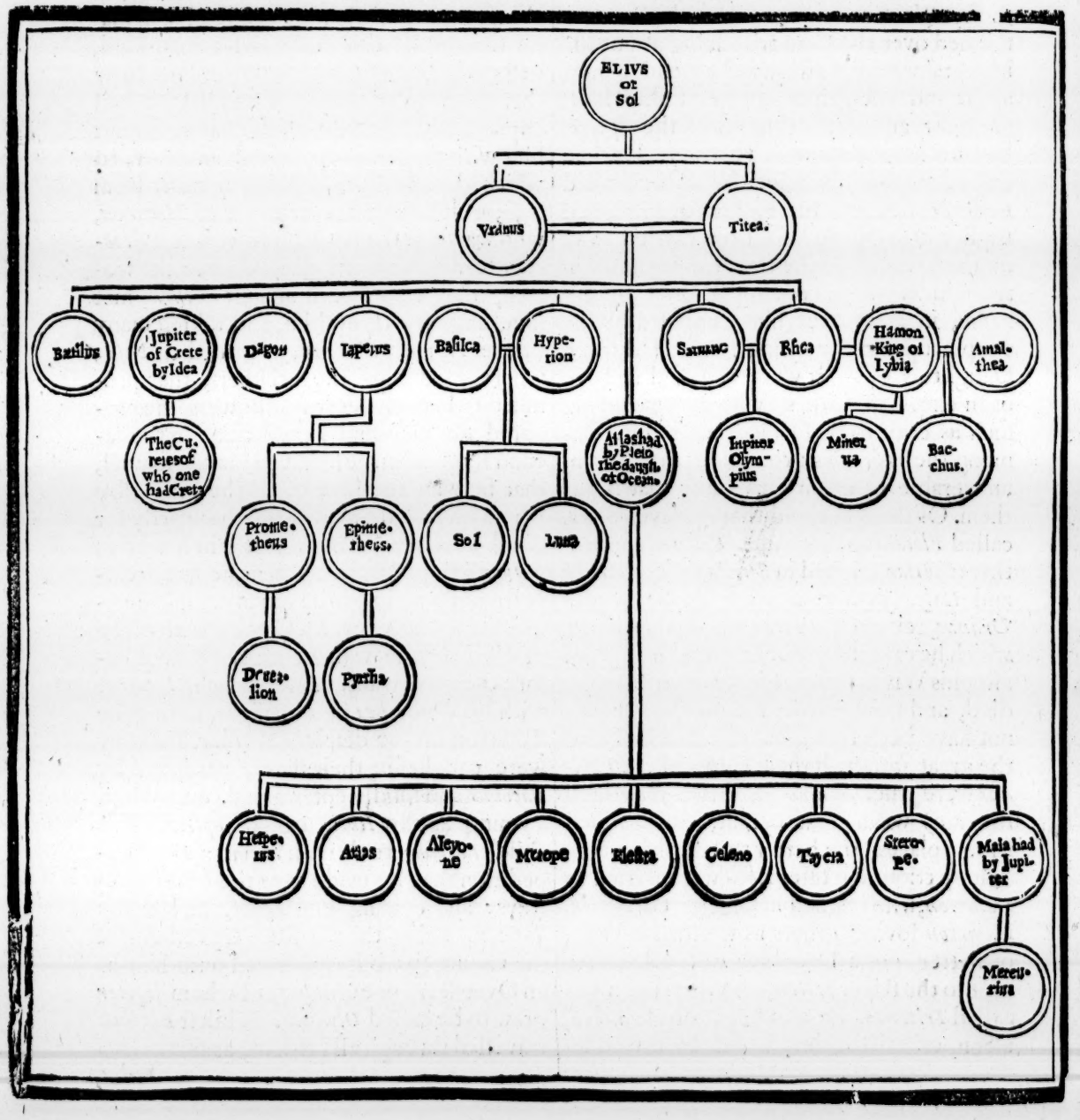
drowned him in the River *Eridanus*, now called *Poe*. The loſs of this child, cauſed his ſiſter to break her own neck; and the loſs of both her children, made the mother to play many mad prancks, dancing with Cymbals, after a wild faſhion, in ſight of all the people, before whom ſhe is ſaid to have vaniſhed away. Ere ſhe died, her Son (as the Fable hath it) ſignified unto her in a Dream, that he and his ſiſter, by the providence of God, ſhould become immortal; that alſo the *Sun* and *Moon* ſhould be called by their names, and that their death ſhould be revenged upon the Murtherers. According to which it is ſaid, that the people did ſo call thoſe two Planets, and withall held her ſelf as a goddeſs; and tearmed her the great Mother, which name they had formerly given to her, for her motherly care in cheriſhing her brethren whileſt they were young. *Hyperion* and his Race being extinguiſhed, the other Sons of *Æranus* divided the Kingdom. Of theſe, *Atlas* and *Saturn* were chief. *Atlas* reigned over the Countries lying about the Mountains, which afterward bare his name; a juſt and wiſe Prince, deeply ſkilfull in *Aſtrologie*: and, for invention of the *Sphere*, ſaid to have ſupported Heaven. He had many Sons; but the principal of them called *Heſperus*, being of his Fathers qualities and ſtudies, was ſaid to have been carried away by the Wind, from the top of an high Hill, in the middeſt of his contemplations; and his name, in honour of him, impoſed by the people upon the morning Starr. The ſeven Daughters of *Atlas* were alſo ſaid to have been excellent Ladies, who accompanying ſuch as came to be Deified, or regiſtred among the Worthies, brought forth children, anſwerable in quality to thoſe that begat them. Of theſe it is held, that the ſeven Stars, called *Pleiades*, took name. *Saturn*, the brother of *Atlas*, reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africk* and *Italy*. *Jupiter*, another of the Sons of *Uranus*, reigned in *Crete*; who had ten Sons, which he called *Curetes*: he called that *Iſland* after his Wives name, *Idea*; in which Iſle he died, and was buried. But this *Jupiter* muſt not have been that great one, but Uncle to the great *Jupiter*, if theſe Fables of the *Lybians* were true. *Saturn* (as theſe *Lybians* tell the tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified ſtrong places, the better to keep his people in ſubjection. His ſiſter *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in ſome part of *Africk*. *Hammon* loving others as well as his Wife, or better, got a Daughter called *Minerva*, neer to the River *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. He alſo begat on *Amalthea*, a Son, called *Bacchus*, whom he cauſed ſecretly, for fear of his life, to be brought up at *Nyſa*, an Iſland in the River *Triton*, under the tuition of his Daughter *Minerva*, and certain *Nimphs*. To *Amalthea* he gave in reward a goodly Country, that lay on the Sea-coaſt, bending in form like a Horn, whence grew the tale of *Amalthea*'s plentifull Horn, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard theſe news, ſhe fled from her Huſband to her brother *Saturn*, who, not onely entertained her as a ſiſter, but took her to Wife, and at her inſtigation, made warr upon *Hammon*, vanquiſhed him by the aſſiſtance of the *Titans*, and made him flee into *Crete*. The *Curetes*, *Jupiter*'s children before mentioned, held the Iſland at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Creta* the Kings Daughter, whom he took to Wife, and had with her (women, as may ſeem, being very gracious in thoſe names) the Kingdom. *Bacchus* was grown a proper young man, had found out the making of Wine, the art of planting of Trees, and many things elſe commodious for man-kind, before the flight of his Mother-in-law. Now therefore, hearing report of all that had hapned, and that *Saturn* was coming againſt him with the *Titans*; he levied an Army, to which the *Amazons*, living not farr from *Nyſa*, added great forces, in love of *Minerva*, who was entred into their profeſſion. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerva* the women, they ſet forward againſt *Saturn*, met him, and overthrew him, and taking many of the *Titans* priſoners, returned to *Nyſa*; where pardoning the priſoners, that promiſed to become his true followers, he prepared for a ſecond Expedition. In the ſecond Expedition he behaved himſelf ſo well, that he wan the love of all the people by whom he paſſed; in ſo much, that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturn*'s rigorous government, he was greatly ſtrengthened, and the Enemy as much enfeebled by daily revolts. Coming to the City of *Hammon*, he wan a battel of *Saturn* before the very walls. After which, *Saturn*, with his Wife *Rhea*, fled by night, ſetting the Town on fire, to deſpight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entertained. *Saturn* had a young Son by *Rhea*, called *Jupiter*. This child *Bacchus* took with him in a great Expedition that he made into the Eaſt-Countreys: and coming into *Egypt*, he left this *Jupiter*, being then a Boy, Governour of the Countrey; but appointed unto him as an Over-ſeer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Jupiter* grew to be called *Olympus*. Whileſt *Bacchus* travelled through all Nations, as farr as into

India,

India, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the *Titans* had found out his father *Hammon* in *Crete*, and began to war upon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*, with whom *Jupiter* from *Egypt*, and his sister *Minerva*, together with the rest, that afterwards were held gods, joining all their forces, went into *Crete*, overthrew the *Titans*, chased them, took and slew them, and freed the World of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were Deified; and the great *Jupiter*, the Son of *Saturn*, succeeding them, reigned Lord alone over all the world, having none of the *Titans* left alive, nor any other to disturb him. Between this tale of the *Lybian* gods, and the *Egyptian* Fables of *Osiris*, there is a rude resemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked Images of some one true History. For the Expeditions of *Osiris* and of *Bacchus*; the warrs of the Giants in the one Story, of the *Titans* in the other; the Kingdom of *Egypt* given by *Hercules Lybicus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Jupiter*, the rattles of *Isis*, and the Cymbals of *Basilea*, with many pretty circumstances, neerly enough resemble each other, howsoever not alike fitted to the right persons. *Sanchoniato* (as *Eusebius* cites him) would have all these to be *Phœnicians*, and is earnest in saying, That it is a true Story, and no Allegory. Yet he makes it seem the more allegorical, by giving to *Uranus* or heaven for daughters, *Fate*, and *Beauty*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, though *Diodorus* have enough. To the Genealogie, he adds *Elius*, or the *Sun*, as father of *Uranus*, and among the children of *Uranus*, *Japetus*, *Bætilus*, and *Dagon* (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giving withall to *Uranus*, the proper name of *Terrenus*, or *Indigena*, and of *Illus* to *Saturn*, but omitting *Jupiter* of *Crete*.

Euseb l. 1. cap. 7.

The Pedigree of them is this:



§. VI.

Of Cham, *and other wicked ones; whereof some gat, some affected, the name of God.*

OF *Jupiter Belus*, the Son of *Saturnus Babylonicus*, otherwise *Nimrod*, it seemeth that *Cicero* had not heard, (at least by that name;) who was more ancient than any of the former three, by him remembred: for long after these times were the *Greeks* but Salvages, if they seek no farther off for their gods.

But the *Egyptians*, even after the Floud, began (somewhat before this *Chaldean Jupiter*) to entitle *Cham*, the Parent of their own *Mizraim*, *Jupiter Chammon*, or *Hammon*. For the Etymologie of this word (*Hammon*) which the *Greeks* deduce *ab arenis*, *from the sands*, is ridiculous (saith *Pencer*;) neither yet is his own much better, who brings it from *Hammath*, which signifieth Heat: because the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon* was seated in *Libya*, where the ayr is exceeding hot and scorching. And as for the Antiquity of the latter *Jupiter* (among the *Greeks* and *Romans* the most renowned) it is certain that he was born not long before the War of *Troy*, as by many of his Sons is made manifest; namely, *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Hercules*, *Sarpedon*, and others, which lived in that Age of *Priamus*, under whom, and with whom, *Troy* was destroyed.

Pencer de Oraculo.

Now, seeing that mortal men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortal among the *Heathen*; it was not to be wondred at, that *Alexander Macedon*, *Tyberius Nero*, *Caligula*, and others, sought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed Monsters as the rest: for by what reason could the same *Deity* be denied unto *Laurentia* and *Flora*, which was given to *Venus*? seeing they were as notorious and famous Harlots, as she was.

§. VII.

That the wiser of the ancient Heathen had far better opinions of God.

BUt that ever *Pythagoras* or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other ancient and excellently learned, believed in any of these fooleries, it cannot be suspected, though some of them (over-busily) have mixed their own inventions with the Scriptures: for, in punishment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Hesiod* in Hell, where he fained that they were perpetually stung and pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read over all the Books of *Moses*, as by places stoln thence, almost word for word, may appear; of which *Justine Martyr* remembreth many in that Treatise converted by *Mirandula*. As for *Plato*, though he dissembled in some things for fear of the Inquisition of the *Areopagites*, yet S. *Augustine* hath already answered for him (as before remembred) *Et mirificè iis delectatus est, quæ de uno Deo tradita fuerant*; *And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God*, saith *Justine Martyr*. Now, howsoever *Lactantius* pleased to reprehend *Plato*, because (saith he) *Plato sought knowledge*, from the *Egyptians*, and the *Chaldeans*, neglecting the *Jews*, and Books of *Moses*; * *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Origen*, find reason to believe the contrary, thinking that from thence he took the grounds of all by him written of God, or savouring of Divinity: and the same opinion had S. *Ambrose* of *Pythagoras*.

* *Eusebius Præp Evang. l. 11. Cyril. cont. Julian. Origen. contra Celsum. Ambr. ad Iren. Ep. 6. lib. 1.*

But whether it were out of the same vanity, which possessed all those learned Philosophers and Poets, that *Plato* also published (not under the right Authours names) those things which he had read in the Scriptures; or fearing the severity of the *Areopagites*, and the example of his Master *Socrates*, by them put to death by poyson; I cannot judge. *Justine Martyr* (as it seemeth) ascribeth it wholly to *Plato*'s fear, whose words among many other of the same effect, are, these; Plato, Mosis *mentionem facere, ob id, quod unum solumque Deum docuerat, sibi apud Athenienses tutum non putavit, veritus Areopagum*; Plato, *fearing the Areopagites, thought it not safe for him among the Athenians, to make mention of* Moses, *that he taught there is but one God*. But for that Divinity which he hath written in *Timæo*, *Id ipsum de Deo disseruit quod & Moses*; *He discoursed and taught the same of God* (saith *Justine Martyr*) *which Moses did*. For, where it pleased God by his Angel to answer *Moses*, *Ego sum existens*, (which is) *I Am*; and, *Existens misit me ad vos*; *I am hath sent me unto you*; herein did *Plato* (saith *Justine Martyr*) no otherwise differ than that *Moses* used the word (*qui*) and *Plato* the word *quod*: Moses *enim*, *qui existit* (*inquit*;) Plato, *quod existit*; *for* Moses saith, *He who is*; Plato, *That which is*. Now, of Gods incomprehensible nature, and of the difficulty either to conceive, or express the same, he giveth this testimony: *Genitorem Universitatis tam difficile est invenire, quàm inventum impossibile digne profari*; *It is as hard to find out the Creator of the Universal, as it is impossible, if he were found, to speak of him worthily*. And what can be more agreeable to the Majesty of Gods Nature, than this property by *Plato* acknowledged? *Deus bonus*

Areopagus or *domus seu mons Martis*, *Mars* his hill: a house wherein capital matters are tried: so called at first, because *Mars* therein first pleaded his cause for the murther of *Halirrhothios*. *Pausan. in Attic. Nat. Com. l. 2. 6, 7. Just. Mart. adin. Gen. fol. 8. 14. ut sup. Exod. 3. 14.*

In Timæo.

De legib. c. 10. *bonus, & quidem Deus causa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non causa; God is absolutely good, and so (assuredly) the cause of all that is good: but of any thing that is evil, he is no cause at all.* And again, *Charitas Dei fuit causa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum; The love of God was the cause of the worlds creating, and the original of all things.*

Laertius. *Apuleius* the Platonist; *Summus Deus infinitus est, non solùm loci exclusione, sed etiam naturæ dignitate: & nihil est Deo similius & gratius, quàm vir animo perfecto bonus; The most high God is also an infinite God, not onely by exclusion of place, but by the dignity of nature: neither is there any thing more like, or more acceptable to God, than a Man of a perfect heart.* *Thales* affirmeth, that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient: *Quia nunquam esse cœpit; because he never had any beginning.* *Zeno*, that God beheld even the thoughts of men; *Athenodorus*, that therefore all men ought to be carefull in the actions of their life, because God was every where present, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to *Moses* story of the Creation, than this opinion and description of the Worlds beginning in *Euripides*, Scholar of *Anaxagoras*?

Cœlum terraque unius formæ fuit:
Sed cum fuissent abjuncta amplexu mutuo,
Emersit omnis in lucem res progenita;
Arbores, aves, feræ, quasque affert mare,
Genusque mortalium.

Heaven and Earth one form did bear:
But when dis-joyned once they were
From mutual embraces,
All things to light appeared then;
Of trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and men
The still-remaining races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*; so we find the same excellent understanding in *Orpheus*, who every where expressed the infinite and sole power of one God; though he use the name of *Jupiter*, thereby to avoid the envie and danger of the time: but that he could attribute those things to the Sons of men, and mortal creature, which he doth to this *Jupiter*, there is no man, who hath ever heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (saith *Mirandula*) *quos* Orpheus *canit, non decipientium Dæmonum, à quibus malum & non bonum provenit; sed naturalium virtutum divinarumque sunt nomina; The names of those gods whom* Orpheus *doth sing, are not of deceiving Devils, from whom evil comes, and not goodness; but they are the names of natural and divine Vertues.* Yea, that he reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himself, this his instruction to *Musæus*, and the *Hymn* following, teach us: *Respiciens verò ad divinum hunc sermonem, et diligenter animum adverte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem ascende viam, & solum aspice mundi regem. Unus est ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt: ipse verò in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Then marking this my sacred speech, but truly lend
Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend,
And see the worlds sole King. First, he is simply one,
Begotten of himself, from whom is born alone
All else; in which he's still: nor could it ere befall
A mortal eye to see him once, yet he sees all.

And again the same Authour,

Jupiter *omnipotens, et primus, et ultimus idem;*
Jupiter *est caput & mediũ:* Jovis *omnia munus.*
Jupiter *est fundamen humi, & stellantis Olympi.*
Jupiter *& mas est, & fœmina nescia mortis.*
Spiritus est cunctis, validi vis Jupiter *ignis.*
Et pelagi radix, Sol, Luna *est* Jupiter *ipse.*
Rex & origo simul rerum est, & terminus idem.
Nam prius occuluit; magno post numine sacrum
Cor referans, bonus in dulcẽ dedit omnia lucem.

The first of all is God, and the same last is he;
God is the head and midst, yea from him all things be,
God is the base of Earth, and of the starred skie.
He is the Male and Female too, shall never die.
The Spirit of all is God, the Sun and Moon, and what is higher.
The King th' original of all, of all the end.
For close in holy breast he did all comprehend,
Whence all the blessed light, his wondrous power did send.

Now (besides these former testimonies) that all the learned men of antient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the *Egyptians*, *Grecians*, and other Nations by them infected were, I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leave the Readers to those large and learned Collections of *Justine Martyr*, *Clemens*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Eugubinus*, *Peucer*, *Plessis*, *Danæus*, and others. For *Cleanthes* the *Stoick*, being demanded of

of what nature God was, described him by these Attributes and properties: *Bonus, justus, sanctus, seipsum possidens, utilis, speciosus, optimus, severus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, glorioſus, charitas, &c. Good, just, holy, possessing himself, profitable, beautiful, best, severe, free, alwaies doing good, safe without fear, glorious, and self-charity.* *Epicharmus* affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced every Nature, was only and every where powerful: agreeing with *Democritus: Rex omnium ipse solus; He is the only King of kings:* and with *Pindarus* the Poet, *Deus unus, Pater, creator summus atque optimus artifex, qui progressus singulis diversos secundum merita præbet; One God, the Father, the most high Creator, and best artificer, who giveth to every thing divers proceedings according to their deserts.* *This God* (saith *Antisthenes*) *cannot be resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere known; Nisi in patria illa perenni, cujus imaginem nullam habes: Save only in that everlasting Country, whose image thou hast none at all.* Hereof also *Xenophanes Colophonius: Unus Deus inter deos & homines maximus, nec corpore nec mente mortalibus similis; There is one God among gods and men most powerful, neither corporally nor mentally like unto mortals:* and *Xenophon*, *Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus potensque, quod omnibus patet: qualis autem forma sit, nemini patet, nisi ipsi soli, qui luce sua omnia perlustrat; God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at rest, is great and mighty; as is manifest to all: but of what Form he is, it is manifest to none, save only to himself, who illuminateth all things with his own light.* Finally, *Plato* saith, *Totius rerum naturæ causa, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, æternus animantium sospitator, assiduus mundi sui opifex, sine propagatione genitor, neque loco, neque tempore ullo comprehensus, eoque paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis; God is the cause, ground, and original of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the soul, the eternal preserver of living creatures, the continual framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can express what he is.* Therefore was it said by Saint *Hierom, Si enim cunctos Philosophorum revolvas libros, necesse est ut in eis reperias aliquam partem vasorum Dei: ut, apud* Platonem, *fabricatorem mundi Deum: apud* Zenonem, *Stoicorum Principem, inferos & immortales animas, &c. If thou consider all the books of the Philosophers, thou canst not but find in them some part of the Vessels of God, as, in* Plato, *God the Creatour of the world: in* Zeno, *Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortal Souls, &c.* And this is certain, that if we look into the wisdom of all Ages, we shall find that there never was man of solid understanding or excellent judgment; never any man whose mind the Art of education hath not bended; whose eys a fooliſh superstition hath not afterward blinded; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a pensive inspection advised; but that he hath found by an unresistable necessity, one true God, and everlasting Being, all for ever causing, and all for ever sustaining; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reverence acknowledged, or more learnedly expres'd, then that *Egyptian* Hermes, howsoever it failed afterward in his posterity: all being at length by deviliſh policy of the *Egyptian* Priests purposely obscured; who invented new gods, and those innumerable, best sorting (as the Devil perswaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keep in aw and order their common people.

Hieron. in Com. in Dan. in princip.

§. VIII.

That Heatheniſm and Judaiſm, after many wounds, were at length about the same time under Julian *miraculously confounded.*

BUt these are again vaniſhed: for the inventions of mortal men are no less mortal then themselves. The Fire, which the *Chaldeans* worshipped for a god, is crept into every mans chimny, which the lack of Fuel starveth, Water quencheth, and want of Ayr suffocateth: *Jupiter* is no more vexed with *Juno*'s Jealousies; *Death* hath perswaded him to chastity, and her to patience; and that time which hath devoured it self, hath also eaten up both the Bodies and Images of him and his: yea their stately Temples of Stone and dureful Marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where be found upon the Earth, nor any Monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in *Phœnicia* that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in *Lybia*, *Creta*, *Thessalia*, or elsewhere, that can ask counsel or help from *Jupiter*. The great god *Pan* hath broken his Pipes, *Apollo's* Priests are become speechless; and the trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Devils telling men's fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfeit *Egyptians*, and couzening *Astrologers*.

But it was long ere the Devil gave way to these his over-throws and dishonours: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chief mansions) was many times robbed,

burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repaired, and re-edified again, till by the hand of God himself it received the last and utter subversion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and Ornaments therein by the *Euboean* Pyrates: Secondly, by the *Phlegians* utterly sack'd: Thirdly, by *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles:* Fourthly, by the Army of *Xerxes:* Fifthly, by the Captaines of the *Phocenses:* Sixthly, by *Nero:* who carried thence five hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein again set up at the common charge. But whatsoever was gathered between the time of *Nero* and *Constantine*, the Christian Army made spoil of, defacing as much as the time permitted them: notwithstanding all this, it was again gloriously re-built, and so remained till such time as *Julian* the *Apostata* sent thither to know the success of his *Parthian* enterprise, at which time it was utterly burnt and consumed with fire from Heaven, and the Image of *Apollo* himself, and all the rest of the Idols therein, molten down, and lost in the Earth.

The like success had the *Jews* in the same *Julians* time, when by his permission they assembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of *Jerusalem:* for while they were busied to lay the foundations, their buildings were overthrown by an Earthquake, and many thousands of the *Jews* were overwhelmed with the ruines, and others slain and scattered by Tempest and Thunder: though *Am. Marcellinus* report it more favourably for the *Jews*, ascribing this to the nature of that Element. For, saith he, *Allypius* and the Ruler of the province of *Judea*, being by *Julian* busied in the re-edifying of this Temple, flaming Balls of fire issuing neer the foundation, and oft consuming the Workmen, made the Enterprize frustrate.

Am. Mar. l. 13. c. 1.

§. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Devil to maintain his Kingdom.

NOw the Devil, because he cannot play upon the open stage of this World, (as in those daies) and being still as industrious as ever, finds it more for his advantage to creep into the minds of men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, works them to a more effectual adoration of himself then ever. For whereas he first taught them to sacrifice to Monsters, to dead Stones cut into faces of Beasts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; he now sets before them the high and shining Idol of glory, the All-commanding Image of bright Gold. He tells them that truth is the Goddess of dangers and oppressions, that chastity is the enemy of Nature, and lastly, that as all virtue (in general) is without taste; so pleasure satisfieth and delighteth every sense: for true wisdom (saith he) is exercised in nothing else, then in the obtaining of power to oppress, and of riches to maintain plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-Polititian* find in his Pupils any remorse, any feeling or fear of God's future judgments, he perswades them that God hath so great need of men's Souls, that he will accept them at any time, and upon any condition: interrupting by his vigilant endeavours all offer of timeful return towards God, by laying those great blocks of rugged poverty and despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his divine presence. But as the mind of man hath two Ports, the one alwaies frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other desolate and over-grown with grass, by which enter our charitable thoughts and divine contemplations: so hath that of Death a double and twofold opening, worldly misery passing by the one, worldly prosperity by the other: at the entrance of the one we find our sufferings and patience to attend us: (all which have gone before us to prepare our joys) at the other our cruelties, covetousness, licentiousness, injustice, and oppressions (the harbingers of most fearful and terrible sorrow) staying for us. And as the Devil our most industrious enemy was ever most diligent: so is he now more laborious then ever; the long day of Mankind drawing fast towards an evening, and the Worlds Tragedy and Time neer at an end.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Noah's *Floud.*

§. I.

Of Gods fore-warning: and ſome humane Teſtimonies: and ſome doubting touching the truth of Noah's *Floud.*

OF this diſtruction it pleaſed God to give warning unto *Noah*: who (ſaith *Joſephus*) fearing to periſh among the reſt, *Decedens cum ſuis in aliam regionem migravit: He departed with his children, and travailed into another region.* And of theſe Giants from whom *Noah* withdrew himſelf, *Beroſus* writeth in this manner; *That they exceeded in all ſorts of inhumane and unnatural wickedneſs*, and that they were *contemptores & religionis & deorum; contemners of religion and of the gods*: among which mighty men (ſaith *Beroſus*) *unus erat qui deorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic nomen erat* Noah: *There was one more wiſe and reverencing the Gods then the reſt, whoſe name was* Noah: who with his three Sons, *Sem*, *Japhetus*, and *Cham*, and with their Wives, and the wife of *Noah*, (namely, *Titea* the great, *Pandora*, *Noela*, and *Noegla*) preſerved themſelves in the *Arke*. This *Arke* God commanded *Noah* to prepare: *And God ſaid unto* Noah, *Make thee an Arke of Pine-trees: thou ſhalt make cabins in the Arke, and ſhalt pitch it within and without with pitch.* For God made *Noah* to know, that an end of all fleſh was at hand, and that the graves of the rebellious and cruel Generations were already faſhioned in the Clouds, which ſoon after ſhould ſwallow up and cover all living creatures which breathed in the Ayr, *Noah* and his family excepted.

Joſeph. l. 1. c. 4.

Gen. 6. 14. v. 13.

But this univerſal grave of Waters, and general Deluge hath not been received by all: for divine teſtimonies do not perſwade all natural men to thoſe things to which their own reaſon cannot reach: *Dum obvoluta in obſcuro veritas latet: Whileſt the truth lieth wrapt in obſcurity.* Many there are who have diſputed againſt the univerſality of this Overflowing, and have judged that this floud of *Noah* fell but in ſome particular places and Kingdoms: moved ſo to think, becauſe in elder Ages there have been many other Flouds (as they ſuppoſe) of that nature.

Lact. im. præſ. de falſa relig.

Hereof *Nicolas Damaſcenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by *Joſephus*. *Eſt ſuper Minyadam excelſus Mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes ſermo eſt diluvii tempore liberatos, & quendam ſimul in Arca devectum in hujus vertice hæſiſſe, lignorumque reliquias multo tempore conſervatas, qui fortaſſe is fuit de quo etiam* Moſes *Judæorum legiſlator ſcribit*: thus far this Author. *There is* (ſaith he) *above Minyada* (or the Country of *Minyæ*) *an exceeding high Mountain in Armenia, called Baris: on which it is reported, that many having fled thither, were ſaved in the time of the Deluge; and that one was carried in an Ark, and reſted upon the top of the Mountain, whereon there remained a long time after certain pieces thereof; and this might be the ſame of which* Moſes *the Law-giver of the Jews makes mention.* And of this opinion were the *Talmudiſts* (ſaith *Annius*) that many Giants ſaved themſelves upon Mount *Sion*.

Joſ. ant. l. 1. c. 4. Euſeb de præp. l. 9. c. 4.

But *Beroſus* (who, after *Moſes*, was one of the moſt antient, howſoever he hath been ſince deformed and corrupted) doth in the ſubſtance of all agree with *Moſes* as touching the general Floud, taking from thence the beginning of his Hiſtory in theſe words: *Ante aquarum cladem famoſam, qua univerſus periit Orbis, &c. Before that famous deſtruction of Waters, by which the World univerſal periſhed*: witneſſing withall, that *Noah* with his Wife *Titea*, and his three Sons with their Wives (in all eight perſons) were only ſaved.

§. II.

Of the Floud in the time of Ogyges: *and that this was not* Noahs *Floud.*

BUt from the vanity of the *Greeks*, the Corrupters of all truth (ſaith *Lactantius*,) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquity, came the errour firſt of all: who therein flattering themſelves alſo, ſought to perſwade the World that there

was

Rho. l. 15. c. 33. was no Floud preceded the Floud of *Ogyges*, King of the *Thebans* in *Bœotia*, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore (saith *Rhodiginus*) *Ogygium id appellant Poetæ, tanquam pervetus dixeris ab Ogyge vetustissimo: The Poets gave the name of* Ogygia *to things exceeding ancient, as of* Ogyges *the most ancient.*

Euseb. de Præp. Evang l. 10. c 3. But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest that he lived but in *Jacobs* time (though *Eusebius* makes him later, and in *Moses* time) and was born 67. years after him. There is also an opinion, that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he farr later) as *Rhodiginus* in the ninth Book of his Antiquities remembreth: *Sunt tamen qui in Ægypto regnasse autumant hunc; unde sit* Cadmus, *qui in* Græciam *profectus* Thebas *condidit, à Bove jugulato sic nuncupatas; quoniam* Syrorum *lingua Bos dicitur* Thebe. *There are* (saith he) *who think that this* Ogyges *did reign in* Egypt, *whereby he should be* Cadmus, *who travelling into* Greece, *built* Thebes, *so named of a Beef slain: because in the* Syrian *Language, a Beef is called* Thebe.

Ca. 22.

But this Floud of *Ogyges* fell in the year of the World, 3440. according to *Eusebius*, who followed the account of the *Septuagint*: and the Floud of *Noah* in the year 2242. after the same account: and so there came 1200. between these Flouds, wanting but two, though herein *Eusebius* was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronologie*. Now, although the very year and time of this overflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, be not precisely set down, but that there is a great difference among Writers; yet whosoever makes it most ancient, finds above 500. years difference between that and the general Floud.

Lib. 1. cap. 7. For, *Paulus Orosius*, affirms that this tempest fell upon the *Athenians*, but 1040. years before *Rome* was built. *Bucholzerus* saith, it was 1043. elder than *Rome*; wich was founded (according to the same *Bucholzerus*) in the worlds year, 3219. though after the account which I follow (and whereof I wil give my reasons in the Story of *Abraham*) it was built in the Worlds year, 3280. Now, the general Floud preceded the building of *Rome* (saith *Bucholzerus*) 1563. years: and the Floud of *Ogyges*, (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by easie calculation, that (if he place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference between these two Flouds must be 520. years, to which we (allowing 60. more) find 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the same of *Noah* (except we call *Noah*, *Ogyges Priscus*, as some do) it appears by this, that the Floud of *Ogyges* then King of *Attica*, or *Ogygia*, did not extend it self any farther then the banks of *Archi-pelago*, or the *Ægæan* Sea. For, whereas *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* witness, that the City of *Joppe* in *Judæa* was founded before the Floud; and that (notwithstanding the height of waters) there remained on certain Altars of Stone, the Title of the King, and of his Brother *Phineus*, with many of the grounds of their Religion: sure it is no where found among prophane Historians, nor in the Scriptures, that ever the Floud of *Ogyges* spred it self over any part of *Syria*, much less over all the Earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Achaia* in *Peloponnesus*, it is very probable. For it seemeth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were swallowed up (Cities seated on the North part of *Peloponnesus*): of which *Ovid.*

Mela. l. 3; Plin. l. 5. Sol. ca. 47. Joppe opidum antiquissimum orbe toto, utpote ante inundationem terrarum conditum. Sol. ibid.

Si quæras Helicen, *&* Buran, *Achaidos urbes,*
Invenies sub aquis.

Ovid. Met. l. 15. 303.

Bura and *Helice*, on *Achaian* ground,
Are sought in vain, but under Sea are found.

Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 6. Of this Floud of *Ogyges*, was invented the Fable of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona*, the Daughter of *Cœus*, the Son of *Titan*, being beloved, and forced by *Jupiter*, and by him gotten with child, *Juno* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they say) no part of the Earth to be delivered on; and withall, caused the monstrous Serpent *Python*, to follow and affright her, whersoever she travelled; till at length arriving at the Isle of *Ortygia*, she was there received; in which she was delivered, first of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being Twins; whereof *Barlaam* makes this exposition: That at such time as the Deluge (which happened in *Ogyges* his reign) ceased, out of the abundant moisture of the Earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled such thick mists and fogs, that in *Attica*, and along the coasts of the *Ægean* Sea, neither the beams of the Sun by day, nor of the Moon by night, could pierce the ayr, or be perceived by the inhabitants: so as when at length (the Earth being dried, and these vapours dissipated) the ayr began to be clear, the people of *Ortygia* espied the light of the Moon somewhat before day, and in the same morning the Sun also appeared: fabulously (because *Diana* represented the Moon, and *Apollo* the Sun) they were reported to be born in the Isle of *Ortygia*, thereof afterwards called *Delos*; which signifieth Manifestation.

Plin. l. 4. c. 11.

Xenophon annianus.

And surely it is not improbable, that the Floud of *Ogyges*, being so great, as Histories have

have reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayr, sensibly discerned in those parts, and some unusual face of Skies. *Varro* in his Books, *de gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by S. *Augustine*) reports out of *Castor*, that so great a miracle hapned in the Star of *Venus*, as never was seen before, nor in after-times: For the colour, the greatness, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out, as *Adrastus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapolites*, famous Mathematicians affirmed, in the time of *Ogyges*.

Aug. de civit. Dei. l. 21. c. 8.

Now, concerning the course of that, or any other Planet, I do not remember, that I have any were read of so good Astrologers, flourishing among the *Greeks*, or elsewhere in those days, as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the Planets, so exact, that it should need no reformation: Of the colour and magnitudes I see no reason, why the difference found in the Star of *Venus*, should be held miraculous; considering, that lesser mists and foggs than those which covered *Greece* with so long darkness, do familiarly present our senses with as great alterations in the Sun and Moon. That the figure should vary, questionless it was very strange: yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it stands well with good reason, that the side of *Venus* which the Sun beholds, being enlightned by him, the opposite half should remain shadowed; whereby that Planet would, unto our eyes, descrying onely that part whereon the light falleth, appear to be horned, as the Moon doth seem; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension of our senses.

A worthy Astrologer now living, who by the help of perspective Glasses, hath found in the Stars many things unknown to the Ancients, affirmeth so much to have been discovered in *Venus*, by his late observations. Whether some watry disposition of the ayr might represent as much to them that lived with *Ogyges*, as *Galilæus* hath seen through his instrument; I cannot tell: sure I am, that the discovery of a truth formerly unknown, doth rather convince Man of ignorance, than Nature of errour. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular Floud of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of S. *Augustine*) accompanied with such unusual (and therefore the more dreadfull, though natural) signs, testifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the Floud of *Noah*, which was general, and altogether miraculous, may seem to have had no other token, or foreshewing, than the long preaching of *Noah* himself, which was not regarded: for they were eating and drinking, when the Floud came suddenly, and took them all away. *Luke* 17. v. 27.

§. III.

Of Deucalions *Floud: and that this was not* Noahs *Floud: nor the Umbri in* Italy, *a remnant of any universal Floud.*

A Second Floud of great fame, and of which the time is more certain, was that of *Deucalion* in *Thessalia*; of which S. *Augustin* out of *Varro*: *His temporibus* (*ut* Varro *scribit*) *regnante Athenienſibus* Cranao, *ſucceſſore* Cecropis (*ut autem noſtri*, Eusebius & Hieronymus) *adhuc eodem* Cecrope *permanente*, *Diluvium fuit*, *quod appellatum eſt* Deucalionis: (that is) *In these times*, (*as* Varro *reporteth*) Cranous *the ſucceſſor of* Cecrops *governed the* Athenians, *or*, (*as our* Eusebius *and* Hierome *say*) Cecrops *yet living*, *that Floud* (*called* Deucalions) *happened.*

And in the beginning of the 11. Chapter of the said 18. Book, he useth these words: *Eduxit ergo* Moses *ex* Ægypto *populum Dei noviſſimo tempore* Cecropis Athenienſium *Regis*, *cum apud* Aſſyrios *regnaret* Aſcatades, *apud* Sicyonios Marathus, *apud* Argivos Tripas: Moses *led the people of God out of* Egypt *about the latter time of* Cecrops, *King of the* Athenians, Aſcatades *reigning over the* Aſſyrians, *over the* Sicyonians Marthus, *and over the* Argives Triopas. So as leaving the curiosity of a few years, more or less, it appeareth, that this Floud of *Deucalion* was either at the egression of the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, or near it: and then after *Noah* 753. years, according to *Functius*, who makes *Cecrops* to live in the year of the World, 2409. or if we follow *Mercator*, then 739. years after *Noah*, and in the year of the World 2395. But if *Deucalion* were born in the age of the World 2356. according to *Codoman*; then giving unto *Deucalion* 40. years of age when this Floud happened, it falleth within one year of *Mercators* account. But *Deucalion*, by all approved Historians, is said to have been 82. years old at that time. Now, *Clemens Alexandrinus* dates the time of this Floud of *Deucalion*, and the conflagration and burning in *Phaëton's* time, by the Reign of *Crotopus*, King of the *Argives*; but *Crotopus* lived King of the *Argives* six years after *Israel* departed *Egypt*, which makes twenty years difference, according to *Functius*, who will have this Floud and Burning to have fallen 14. years before *Moses* left *Egypt*: for he gave of the Worlds years to the Floud and Burning, the year 2440. and to *Moses* egression, the year 2454. And yet *Cedrenus* thinks

thinks that *Moſes* was more ancient, and lived with *Inachus*; but that cannot be true: for then had the Floud of *Deucalion*, and the Burning of *Phaëton* preceded the Floud of *Ogyges*, which is denied by all: for that of *Theſſaly* (called *Deucalions*) followed that of *Attica* (called *Ogygia*) at leaſt 250. years, or thereabouts. *Euſebius* in his Chronologie, makes it 230. and ſo doth *P. Oroſius*: *Euſebius* about the 50. year of *Moſes* life, and *Cyrillus* about the 67. and both after *Noahs* Floud 770. years: for theſe be *Clemens Alexandrinus* his words: *Fuit autem in Grecia tempore quidem* Phornei, *qui fuit poſt* Inachum, *inundatio quæ fuit tempore* Ogygis: *There happened in* Greece, *in the time of* Phorneus, *who lived after* Inachus, *the Floud of* Ogyges. Now, if the Floud of *Ogyges* in *Attica* were 1020. or 1016. years before the firſt *Olympiad*, according to *Euſebius* and *Oroſius* (as before;) then it is manifeſt, that taking 763. out of this number of 1020. it falls out, that *Ogyges* Floud happened before the *Hebrews* left *Egypt* 250. years, or 260. years, according to the difference between the opinions of *Euſebius* and *Oroſius*. And for my ſelf (who rather follow thoſe Chronologers, which give 60. years more to *Abraham* after the Floud, than the reſt) I reckon the times which come between theſe Flouds in this ſort. The general Floud was in the year of the World 1656. *Jacob* was born in the year of the World 2169. ſo as from the beginning of the Floud to *Jacobs* birth, there were conſumed 513. years. *Ogyges* Floud happened 100. years after *Jacob* was born; and therefore after the general Floud 613. years. Now, *Deucalion* was born in the year of the World 2356. and had lived 82. years, when his kingdom of *Theſſaly* was overwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his floud was after *Noahs* Floud ended, 782. years. And hereto *Annius* his *Xenophon* agreeth, who makes 700. years between the general Floud and *Deucalions* birth; to which adde 82. years of his Age (as before) and then the floud of *Theſſaly* followed the general 782. years. The words of that *Xenophon* are theſe: *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum* Deucalionis, *ſecundo anno Sphæri, ſeptingenti ſupputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginta* Theſſaliam *vidit inundatam: From the drowning of the World to the birth of* Deucalion, *in the ſecond year of* Sphærus, *are numbred* 700. *years; and when* Deucalion *was* 82. *years old, he ſaw* Theſſaly *drowned.* This Floud hapned in the Winter time about *Parnaſſus*: witneſs *Ariſtotle*, in the firſt of his *Meteors*. And *Varro* (whom S. *Auguſtine* ſo often citeth for his excellent Learning, eſpecially in Antiquities) findeth this floud of *Deucalion* to have hapned in the time of *Cranaus*, who ſucceeded *Cecrops*: *Oroſius* thinks it ſomewhat later, *Amphitryon* reigning in *Athens*, the third from *Cecrops*: Onely this of *Deucalion* was very great, and reached not onely over *Theſſaly* it ſelf, and the Regions adjoyning Weſtward, but it covered the greateſt part of *Italy*: and either the ſame, or ſome other particular floud then hapning, oppreſt *Egypt*, ſaith *Euſebius*. And therefore did the *Greeks* either think it, or feign it to be univerſal; and *Deucalion* the King, ſaving himſelf, and ſome others on the Mountain of *Theſſaly* (of all other the higheſt, ſaith *Solinus*) was by reaſon thereof (as *Strabo* witneſſeth) ſaid to be the preſerver of man-kind. That this floud covered a great part of *Italy*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* make it probable, who affirm, that the people then inhabiting *Italy*, were therefore called Ὁμβρικοὶ: *quia ab imbribus diluvii ſuperfuiſſent*; and therefore alſo were they eſteemed the moſt ancient Nation, as *Strabo* confirmeth in his firſt Book, and *Trezenius* in his ſecond: which *Umbri* theſe Authours make the Parents of the *Sabines*, and the *Sabines* to be the Parents of the *Samnites*, *Piceni*, *Lucani*, *Brucii*, and all other inhabiting anciently the banks of the *Mediterrane* Sea. But that theſe *Umbri* were not the Inhabiters of *Italy* before the Floud of *Noah*, and ſo took name by ſaving themſelves upon the *Appenine* Mountains, the Scriptures teach us; ſhewing who, & who only then were preſerved, which is ſufficient. Report hath adventured further, telling us, that the firſt people which after the general Floud inhabited *Italy*, were the *Cameſenes*; (ſo named from *Cameſe*, whom *Cato in Originibus*, another of *Annius* his Authours, names for a conſort of *Janus*) which people lived altogether a ſavage life; till ſuch time as *Saturn* arriving on thoſe Coaſts, deviſed Laws to govern them by: the memory of whoſe Acts in that Region, *Diodore* and *Thallus* among the *Greeks*; *Nepos*, *Caſſius*, and *Varro* among the *Latines*, have preſerved; and of whom *Virgil*:

Primus ab æthereo venit Saturnus *Olympo,*
Arma Jovis *fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis.*
Is genus indocile, ac diſperſum montibus altis
Compoſuit, legeſque dedit; Latiumque vocari
Maluit.

Saturn deſcending from the heavens high
Fearing the Arms of *Jupiter* his Son,
His Kingdom loſt, and baniſht thence, doth fly,
Rude people on the Mountain tops he won
To live together, & by Laws: which done,
He choſe to call it *Latium.*

Cedren l. 1. fol. 34.

Clem. Alex. 1. Stro. ex Cteſ.

Euſeb. in Chron.

c. 1.

Solin. l. 14. Strab. l. 9. Plin. l. 3. c. 14. Scl. c. 7. Plin. ibid.

Athenæus dipnoſoph. l. 15. out of Dyco Corcyræus, ſaith, that Cameſe was the wife and ſiſter of Janus. Laſt. l. 1. c. 13.

Æn. l. 8. 319.

And

And afterwards in the Verses following he speaketh of the *Ausones*; and after them, of the *Sicani*: Nations, which again sought to dis-plant the antient Inhabiters:

Virg. l. 8. Æn. *Tum manus* Ausonia, *& gentes venêre* Sicani.

Then came th' *Ausoniam* Bands, and the *Sicanian* Tribes.

Of these *Sicani* (which left *Spain*, and sate down in *Italy*) *Thucydides* and *Pliny* give testimony: who were again expelled by the *Ligii*, saith *Thucydides*. After all these Plantations and re-plantations, came the *Umbri*, descended of the *Gauls* (saith *Annius*) not of those *Gauls* of *France*, but of those of *Scythia*, who commanded a great part of *Italy*, even all *Hetruria* and *Campania*; as *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and *Dionysius* have assured us: and therefore this Flood of *Deucalion*, was long after that of *Noah*. For all those Nations were planted in *Italy*, and dispossess'd of *Italy* again, before the *Umbri* were ever heard of, or had being. So that Kingdom was first called *Camasene*, then *Latium* or *Saturnia*, then *Ausonia*, then *Sicania*; before the *Umbri* (in whose time *Deucalions* Flood happened) possess'd the same, about 306. years before the War of *Troy*; *Lycaon* then governing *Arcadia*: who being the Father of two and twenty Sons, the youngest called *Oenotrius* invaded *Italy*, who gave it the name of *Oenotria*. This name it held until *Italus* of the same Nation changed it into *Italy*, after his own name, about 250. years before the fall of *Troy*. After these, came the *Pelasgi*, of whom *Pliny* in his third Book and fifth Chapter, and *Strabo* in his fifth, *Thucydides* in his sixth, speak at large: and after them the *Lydi*, under *Tyrrhenus* their Captain, that gave name to the *Tyrrheni*; who casting thence the *Umbri*, took from them three hundred Castles, and built therein twelve Cities; to which (after they had possess'd and past over the *Appenine* Mountains) they added divers others, whereof *Telsina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Thucyd. l. 6. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. Annius ex Samuele Thalmudista. Herod. l. 1. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. Dion. l. 1. & 2. Pausan. Arcad. l. 8. Arist. Pol. 7. c. 10. Herod. l. 2. Plin. l. 3. c. 4.

Now that there was not antiently such a Nation as these *Umbri* in those parts, I do not affirm; having respect to the testimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinks, that the name was derived from the *Greek* word *Ombros*; but that these *Umbri* of *Italy* were descended of the Nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it shall be shewed hereafter.

L.

§. IV.

Of some other Records testifying the universal Flood: and of two antient Deluges in Egypt: and of some elsewhere.

SAint *Augustine* out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the *Greeks* and *Latines* made not any mention of the Universal Flood, because they had nothing of Antiquity foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodoginus*, before remembred) were all things among the *Greeks* (which antiquity had worn out of knowledg) called *Ogygia*, which we in *English* commonly call (worm-eaten, or) of defaced date. But as all the parts of the Earth were successively planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did every Family, which afterward became a great people, with whom the knowledg of divine Letters was not received, find no Parent of more antiquity, then such as they had themselves, nor allow of any before their own; and as the *Grecians*, so did others vaunt themselves to be *Indigenæ*, and growing out of the Earth, or invent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldeans* had certain knowledg of *Noah*'s Flood, as *Berosus* witnesseth; and *Nicolaus Damascenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid) though he also affirm by hear-say, that some Giants saved themselves upon the Mountain *Baris* in *Armenia*, but speaketh not thereof as from any authority approved: using the word *Sermo est*; *That such a speech there was.* And *Eusebius* remembreth a place out of the antient Historian *Abydenus*: who writeth that *Sisithrus*, to preserve himself from a Flood, fore-told him by *Saturnus*, fled to the Hils of *Armenia* by ship, *ad Armeniam navigio confugiebat*: who the third day (after the waters were fallen) sent forth Birds, that finding no Land to rest on, returned again; which he also did a second time; but at the third return, the Birds feet were covered with mud and slime. To this effect are *Eusebius*'s words out of *Abydenus*, which may seem a true description (though in other terms) of *Noahs* Flood.

Euf. de præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4.

Cyrillus also affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhistor* maketh mention of this general Flood. And *Plato* in *Timæo* produceth an *Egyptian* Priest, who re-counted to *Solon* out of the holy Books of *Egypt*, the story of the Flood universal, which (saith he) happened long before the *Grecian* Inundations. Frier *Annius* his *Xenophon* remembreth a third Flood, which also *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, sowewhat

Diod. l. 1.

more antient then that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the general Floud for the first, which happened (saith he) under the old *Ogyges*; *sub prisco Ogyge*, which was *Noah*. He called the second, *Niliaca*; *Hercules* and *Prometheus* then living, 44. years before that of *Attica*, in the 34. year of *Belochus* King of the *Assyrians*, though I do not believe him as touching the time. But this Floud covered a great part of the nether *Egypt*, especially all the Region subject to *Prometheus*; and hereof came the fable of the *Vulture* on *Prometheus* his Liver, afterward slain by *Hercules* of *Egypt*: which fiction *Diod. Siculus* delivereth in these words: *Fluvium propter cursus velocitatem, profunditatemque aquarum, Aquilam tunc appellatum*, Herculem, *tum consilii magnitudine, tum virtute, volunt è vestigio compressisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum convertisse: Unde & Græci quidam Poetæ, rem gestam in fabulam vertentes*, Herculem *tradunt Aquilam* Promethei *jecur depascentem occidisse: This Floud* (meaning of *Nilus*) *for the swiftness of his course, as also for the depth, was in those dayes called the Eagle: but* Hercules *by his great judgment and virtue did again compress and straighten this River, so far extended and over-spread, turning it into the old channel: Whence certain Greek Poets (converting this labour and work of* Hercules *into a fable) devised, that* Hercules *slew the Eagle which fed on* Prometheus *liver*; meaning that he delivered *Prometheus* of that sorrow and torment, which for the loss of his people and Country (by the Waters destroyed and covered over) he suffered.

Nat. Com. l. 4. c. 6.

A fourth Floud chanced about *Pharus* in *Egypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annius* conceiveth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this brief sort writeth of all these Inundations: *Inundationes plures fuere: prima novimestris Inundatio terrarum sub prisco* Ogyge: *secunda Niliaca, &c. There were many Inundations* (saith the same *Xenophon:*) *the first, which was universal, of nine moneths; and this happened under the first* Ogyges: *the second was Niliaca*, and of one moneths continuance, in the time of *Hercules* and *Prometheus*, *Egyptians:* a third of two moneths, under *Ogyges Atticus:* the fourth of three moneths, in *Thessalia* under *Deucalion:* and a fifth of the like continuance, (called *Pharonica*) under *Proteus* of *Egypt*, about the time of *Helen's* rape. *Diodorus*, in his fifth Book and eleventh Chapter, taking the *Samothraces* for his Authors, remembreth a Floud in *Asia* the less, & else where, of no less destruction then any of the other particular Inundations, saying, that the same happened before that of *Deucalion*; the Sea of *Pontus* and *Hellespont* breaking in over the Land.

Xenop. de æquin. Comm. per Aunium, fol. 37.

But there have been many Flouds in divers times and Ages, not inferiour to any of these two last remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Egypt:* as in the year of our Redemption 590. when in *October* of the same year, *Gregory* then being Bishop of *Rome*, there happened a marvellous Overflowing in *Italy*, and especially in the *Venetian* Territory, and in *Liguria*; accompanied with a most fearful storm of Thunder and Lightning: after which followed the great Plague at *Rome*, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast up and left upon the land after the Waters decreased and returned. And in the year 1446. there perished 10000. people, by the breaking in of the Sea at *Dordroch* in *Holland*: of which kind I take that Floud to be of *Achaia* or *Attica*. Before that, in the year 1238. *Trithemius* speaketh of an Earthquake, which swallowed many thousands: and after that of a Floud in *Friseland*, in which there perished 100000. persons. *Strozius Sigog*, in his *Magia omnifaria*, telleth of an Inundation in *Italy*, in the time of Pope *Damasus*, in which also many Cities of *Sicil* were swallowed: another in the Papacie of *Alexander* the sixth: also in the year 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperour. He also remembereth a perilous over-flowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracovia*, by which many people perished. Likewise *Viginier*, a *French* Historian, speaketh of a great Floud in the South part of *Languedoc*, which fell in *Anno Domini* 1557. with so dreadful a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the World, and Judgment-day; saying, That by the violent descent of the Waters from the Mountain, about *Nismes*, there were removed divers old heaps and mountures of ground, and many other places torn up and rent: by which accident there was found both coyn of Silver and Gold, divers pieces of Plate and Vessels of other Mettal, supposed to be hidden at such time as the *Goths* invaded that Province, in the year 1156.

Munster.

Eclipsis, & terræmotus continui, multa hominum millia oppresserunt. Frisia quoque per maritimos fluctus ma pæne submersa fuit, & perierunt plusquam 100000.

§. V.

That the Floud of Noah *was supernatural; though some say it might have been foreseen by the Stars.*

NOw, howsoever all these Flouds, and many other, which have covered at several times, several Regions, not only in these parts of the World, but in *America* also, (as I have learned of some ancient Southsayers among them) may be ascribed to natural causes and accidents; yet that universal Floud

Floud (in the time of *Noah*) was poured over the whole face of the Earth by a power above Nature, and by the especial commandment of God himself; who at that time gave strength of influence to the Stars, and abundance to the Fountains of the deep: whereby the irruption of Waters was made more forcible than any ability of nature could effect, or any second causes by whatsoever union, could perform, without receiving from the Fountain of all power, strength and faculties supernatural. *Henricus Mechlinienſis*, a Scholler of *Albertus Magnus*, in his Commentaries upon the great conjunctions of *Albu Maſar*, observeth, that before the Floud of *Noah*, the like Conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn* happened in the last degree of *Cancer*, against that constellation, since called the *Ship of Argos*; by which the Floud of *Noah* might be fore-told, because *Cancer* is both a watry Sign, and the House of the Moon, which is the Lady of the Sea, and of moisture, according to the rules of *Astronomy*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* upon *Geneſis* confirmeth, affirming, that although *Noah* did well know this Floud by divine revelation, (yet this conjunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not only signs, but also working causes, by strength receiv'd from the first cause, which is God himself: and further, that by * *Catarractæ cœli*, *Englished* the Windows of Heaven) *Moſes* meant this great and watry Conjunction; the word *Catarractæ*, signifying flowing down, or coming down. Now (saith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleased God to ordain by the course of the Heavens such a Constellation, by which all men might behold therin their destruction towards, and thereby forsake those wicked ways wherein they walked, and call unto God for mercy.

Also *de Concordia Theologiæ & Astrolog. Gen.* 7. 11.

* The word καταῤῥακτης properly signifieth any place of stoppage, against which the force of the water being naturally carried downwards, dasheth and breaketh; of ἀράσσω, *allido*, or *frango*. Hence, because Windows do not only open, but also shut, the word hath been expounded (*Windows*) for Bars or Floud-gates.

Of this judgment was *Gul. Pariſienſis*, who understood, that the words *Catarractæ Cœli*, or Windows of Heaven, were to be taken for the former Conjunction, or for those watry signs, *Cancer*, *Piſces*, *Pleiades Hyades*, and *Orion*; and of the Planets, *Mars*, *Venus*, and the *Moon*: which are the forcible causes of the greatest Inundations. His own words are these: *Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebræorum Catarractas Cœli vocâſſe, niſi partes illas cœli, quæ generativæ ſunt pluviarum & inundationum Aquarum, quales ſunt ſigna aquatica, ut Cancer*, &c. as aforesaid. As yet (saith he) *I perceive not what the Prophet of the* Hebrews *meaneth by those words* (*Catarractæ cœli*, or Windows of Heaven) *unleſs he thereby underſtandeth thoſe celeſtial powers, by whoſe influences are ingendred the rain and inundations of waters, ſuch as are the watry ſigns of* cancer, *&c.*

But, in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his unsearchable wisdom this Conjunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) adde vigour and faculty, and gave to every operation increase of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and Fountains, commanding them to cast out the whole treasure and heap of their waters; taking retention from the clouds, and condensing ayr into water by the ministery of his Angels, or whosoever else best pleased his All-powerfulness.

§. VI.

That there was no need of any new Creation of matter to make the universal Floud: And what are Catarractæ Cœli, Gen. 7. *v.* 11.

NOw, if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God rested the seventh day: (that is, he did not then after create any new *ſpecies*) which granted, it may seem that then all the Earth and Ayr had not waters sufficient to cover the habitable World fifteen cubits above the highest mountains. Of this proposition, whether God had so restrained himself, or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the World had want of water to over-cover the highest mountains, I take that conceit to be unlearned and foolish; for it is written, *That the Fountains of the great deep were broken up*, (that is) the waters forsook the very bowels of the Earth; and all whatsoever was dispersed therein, pierced, and brake through the face thereof. Then let us consider, that the Earth had above one and twenty thousand miles, the *Diameter* of the Earth, according to that circle, seven thousand mile, and then from the *Superficies* to the *Center*, some three thousand five hundred miles. Take then the highest mountain of the World, *Caucaſus*, *Taurus*, *Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the mountains of *Armenia*, or *Scythia*, or that (of all other the highest) in *Tennerif*, and I do not find, that he that looketh highest, stretcheth above thirty miles upright. It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the Earth three thousand five hundred miles deep, should not well help to cover the space of thirty miles in height; this thirty miles upright being found in the depths of the Earth one hundred and sixteen times: for, *the Fountains of the great deep were broken up*, and the waters drawn out of the bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we consider what proportion the Earth beareth to the extension of the Ayr over and above it,

we shall find the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased God to condense but so much of this Ayr, as every where compasseth and imbraceth the Earth, which condensation is a conversion of Ayr into Water, a change familiar in those Elements; it will not seem strange to men of judgment, yea, but of ordinary understanding, that the Earth (God so pleasing) was covered over with Waters, without any new Creation.

Lastly; For the opinions of *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, and *Aliacensis*, to which I may adde *Berosus*, and others, That such a conjunction there was, fore-shewing that destruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word *Catarractæ Cœli*, or Windows of Heaven, was meant this conjunction; there needs no other answer than that observation of *Ludovicus Vives*, who affirmeth, That by the gravest *Astrologian* it was observed, that in the year 1524. there should happen the like conjunction as at *Noah*'s Floud; than which (saith he) there was never a more fair, dry, and seasonable year: The like destruction was prophesied, of the year 1588. But *Picus* Earl of *Mirandula* proveth, that there could not be any such conjunction at that time.

To conclude, I find no other mysterie in the word *Catarractæ Cœli*, than that the clouds were meant thereby: *Moses* using the word *Windows of Heaven* (if that be the sense of the word) to expres the violence of the Rains, and pouring down of Waters. For whosoever hath seen those fallings of Water, which sometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the Spouts, (where clouds do not break into drops, but fall with a resistless violence in one body) may properly use that manner of speech which *Moses* did; That the Windows, or Floud-gates of Heaven opened: (which is) That Waters fell contrary to custom, and that order which we call natural. God then loosened the power retentive in the uppermost ayr, and the Waters fell in abundance: *Behold* (says *Job*) *he withholdeth the Waters, and they dry up* (or better in Latine, *Et omnia siccantur*; *And all things are dried up*) *but when he sendeth them not, they destroy the Earth:* And in the 26 Chapter: *He bindeth the waters in the clouds.* But these Bonds God loosed at that time of the general Floud, and called up the Waters which slept in the great Deep; and these joyning together, covered the Earth, till they performed the work of his will: which done, he then commanded them to return into their dark and vast Caves; and the rest (by a Wind) rarified again into ayr, formerly condensed into drops.

Job 12. *v.* 15.

Gen. 8.1.

§. VII.

Of some remainder of the memory of Noah *among the Heathen.*

NOah, commanded by God, before the fall of those Waters, entred the Ark which he had built, with his own Wife, and his Sons, and his Sons Wives, taking with them of every Creature which took life by generation, seven of the clean, and of the unclean, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, signifieth Quietnes: after others, and according to the Prophecie of his Father *Lamech*, Cessation; to whom aftertimes gave many Names, answering his Antiquity, Zeal, Virtue, and other qualities: as, *The first Ogyges*, because in the time of the *Grecian Ogyges*, there was also a great Floud of *Achaia*: *Saturn* they called him, because he was the Father of Nations: Others gave him the Name of *Prometheus*, who was said to steal away *Jupiters* fire; Fire in that place being taken and understood for the knowledge of God and heavenly things. Others think, that he was so called for his excellent wisdom and foresight. He had also the Name of *Janus*, (*id est*) *Vinosus*, because *Jain* signifieth Wine in the *Hebrew*. And so *Tertullian* finds him written *in libris Ritualibus*, *in the Books of Ceremonies*, preceding both *Saturn*, *Uranus*, and *Jove*: which three enjoyed an elder time then all the other ancientest feigned gods. And this Name *Jain* is taken from the *Hebrew* and *Syrian*, and not from the *Latine*: for it was in use before there was any *Latine* Nation, or any Kingdom by that Name known. Of the antiquity of *Janus*, *Fabius Pictor* giveth this testimony: *Jani ætate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum hæserat ulla regnandi cupiditas*, &c. *Vinum & Far primus populos docuit* Janus *ad sacrificia: primus enim Aras & Pomœria & Sacra docuit*; *In the time of* Janus (saith he) *there was no Monarchy: for the desire of rule had not then folded it self about the hearts of men.* Janus *first taught the people to sacrifice Wine and Meal: he first set up Altars, instituted Gardens, and solitary Groves, wherein they used to pray*; *with other holy Rites and Ceremonies.* A greater testimony than this there cannot be found among all the *Heathen*, which in all agree so well with the Scriptures. For first, whilest *Noah* flourished, there was not any King, or Monarch; *Nimrod* being the first that took on him soveraign Authority. Secondly, *Noah*, after the Floud, was the first that planted the Vine, and became an Husband-man; and therefore offered the first-fruits of both (to wit) Wine and

Gen. 9. 20.

Gen. 8.20. and Meal. Thirdly, he was the first that raised an Altar, and offered sacrifice to God a thanksgiving for his merciful goodness towards him. *Noah* was also signified in the Arn. cont. Gent. l. 6. Name of *Bifrons* (which was given to *Janus*) because he beheld the times both before and after the Floud. *Quia præterita noverit, & futura prospexerit*, saith *Arnobius*: *Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come.* He was also in the person of *Janus* shadowed by the Name of *Chaos*, and *Semen Orbis*, *The seed of the World*: because, as out of that confused Heap was drawn all the kinds of Beasts and Plants; so from *Noah* came all Mankind. Whereof *Ovid* in the person of *Janus*:

Ovid. de Fastis. l. 1. *Me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant:*
Aspice quàm longi temporis acta cano!
The Antient call'd me *Chaos*: my great years
By those old times, of which I sing, appears.

He was also intituled *Cœlum* and *Sol*, *Heaven* and *the Sun*, for his excellent knowledg in Astronomy: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus* and *Alex. Aphrodiseus* so call, because he was the restorer of the *Greeks* to their former liberty, but in respect of the Floud. For the *Greeks* called *Liber* γῦ, and his Nurses *Hyades*, of Rain, because *Noah* entred the Ark when the Sun joyned with the Stars *Hyades*, a constellation in the Brow or Neck of *Taurus*, and ever after a Monument of *Noah*'s Floud. He was also by others surnamed *Triton*, a Marine god, the Son of *Neptune*; because he lived in safety on the Waters. So Nat. Com. l. 5. c. 13. was he known by the name of *Dionysus*, *quasi* Διονύσων, *mentem pungens*, *Bite-brain*, or *Wit-stinger*; though *Diodorus* conceive otherwise, and derive that name *à Patre & Loco*; *Of his Father and the place of his Birth*, (to Cœlius. wit) of *Jove*, and *Nisa*, a Town of *Arabia fœlix*, saith *Suidas*, out of *Orpheus*. He had Gen. 9. 20. also the by-name of *Taurus*, or *Taurophagus*; because he first yoaked Oxen, and Tilled the ground: according to that of *Moses*; *and* Noah *became an Husbandman.* Now howsoever the *Grecians* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus*, (otherwise *Dionysus*) it is certain, that the Name was borrowed, and the Invention stolen from *Noah*. But this name of *Bacchus*, more antiently *Boëcus*, was taken (saith *Gul. Stuckius*, and out of him *Danæus*) from *Noachus*, (*N*) being changed into (*B*); Stuck. in libris convivalibus, & Danæus de prima mundi ætate. and it is the more probable, because it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the first planter of the Vine after the Floud: and of *Noah* (the first and antient *Bacchus*) were all those fables devised, of which *Diodorus* complaineth in his fourth Book and fifth Chapter. This first *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah*, was surnamed *Nysius*, of the Mountain *Nysa* in *India*; where the *Grecian Bacchus* never came, whatsoever themselves feign of his enterprises: and these Mountains of *Nysa* joyn with those of *Paropanisus*, and those other *Eastern* Mountains, on which the Ark of *Noah* rested after the Floud.

Furthermore, to the end that the memory of this second Parent of Mankind might the better be preserved, there were founded by his Issues many great Cities, which bear his Name, with many Rivers and Mountains; which oftentimes forgat that it was done in his regard, because the many Names given him, brought the same confusion to places as to himself. Notwithstanding all which, we find the City of *Noah* upon the banks of the red Sea, and elsewhere: the River of *Noas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolemy*, *Danus*; dividing *Illyria* from *Panonia*. Thus much for the Name.

Plin l. 6. Steph. de Urb. Herod l. 4. Strabo l. 7.

§. VIII.

Of sundry particulars touching the Ark: as the place where it was made, the matter, fashion, and name.

NOw in what part of the World *Noah* built the *Ark*, it doth not appear in the Scriptures, neither do I find any approved Author that hath written thereof; only *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiveth, that *Noah* built his *Ark* neer the Mountains of *Caucasus*, because on those hills are found the goodliest Cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the war among the people, called *Nysæi*, inhabiting the other side of *Caucasus*, he found all their Burials and Sepulchres wrought over with Cedar. To this place (saith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to separate himself from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled against God and Nature, as also because he would not be interrupted in the building of the *Ark*; to which also he addeth the conveniency of Rivers, to transport the Timber which he used, without troubling any other Carriages.

Only this we are sure of, that the Ark was built in some part of the Eastern World; and to my understanding, not far from the place where it rested after the Floud. For *Noah* did not use any Mast or Sayle (as in other Ships) and therefore did the *Ark* no otherwise move, than the Hulk or body of a Ship doth in a calm Sea. Also, because it is not probable, that during these continual

and

and down-right Rains, there were any Winds at all, therefore was the *Ark* little moved from the place where it was fashioned and set together: for it is written, *God made a Wind to pass upon the Earth, and the Waters ceased.* And therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the Waters, there was not any Storm or forcible wind at all, which could drive the *Ark* any great distance from the place where it was first by the Waters lifted us. This is also the more probable, if that antient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the *Ark* had *fundum planum, A flat bottom,* and not rayſed in form of a Ship, with a sharpness forward, to cut the Waves for the better speed.

Gen. 8. 1.

This kind of Vessel the *Hebrews* call *Thebet*, and the *Greeks Larnax*, for so they termed *Deucalions* Ship: and some say, that the Hill *Parnassus*, to which in eight days he arrived, was first called *Larnassus*, and by the chang of (*L*) into (*P*) *Parnassus*; but *Pausanias* thinks that it took name of a Son of the Nymph *Cleodora*, called *Parnassus*, the Inventor of *Auguration.*

Steph de Urb. fol. 227.

Peucerus finds the word (*Parnassus*) to have no affinitie with the *Greek*, but thinks it derived from the *Hebrew* word *Nahas*, which signifieth *Auguration* and *Divination*; or from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his Chapter of Oracles, in the Leaf before cited.

De Oracul. fol. 94.

Josephus calls the *Ark*, *Machina*, by the general name of a huge Frame; and *Epiphanius* out of the *Hebrew*, *Aron*: but herein lieth the difference between *Aron* and *Thebet*, That *Aron* signifieth properly the *Ark* of the *Sanctuary*, but *Thebet* such a Vessel, as swimmeth, and beareth it self upon the Waters.

Epiph. in Ancor.

Lastly, this *Ark* of *Noah* differed from the fashion of a Ship, in this, that it had a Cover and Roofe, with a Crest in the middest thereof, and the sides declining like the Roof of an House; to the end, both to cast off the Waters, and that thereunder *Noah* himself and his children might shelter, and separate themselves from the noysomness of the many Beasts, which filled the other rooms and parts of the *Ark*.

Gen. 6. 4.

Of what Wood the *Ark* was built, it is uncertain. The *Hebrew* word *Gopher* once, and in this place only used, is diversly understood: and though the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the *Geneva* Translation calls it Pine-tree; the *Rabbine*, Cedar; the *Seventy*, square Timber; the *Latine*, smooth Timber. Others will have it Cypress Trees, as dedicated to the dead, because Cypress is worn at Funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* signifie any special kind of Timber, *Noah* obeyed the voice of God therein; If not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the wood, having the promise of God, and his Grace and mercy for his defence: For with *Noah* God promised *to establish his covenant.* *Plinie* affirmeth, that in *Egypt* it was the use to build Ships of Cedar, which the worms eat not; and he avoweth, that he saw in *Utica*, in the Temple of *Apollo*, Cedar beams, laid in the time of the foundation of the City, and that they were still found in his time, which was about 1188. years after: proving thereby, that this kind of wood was not subject to putrifying or mouldring in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carry, and of a sweet savour, lasting also better then any other wood, and because neer the place where the *Ark* rested, there are found great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the Mountains of the East, besides those of *Libanus*; it is probable enough that the *Ark* might be of that wood: which hath, beside the other commodities, the greatest length of Timber, and therefore fittest to build Ships withal. *Percrius* conceiveth, that the *Ark* had divers sorts of Timber, and that the bottom had of one sort, the deck and partition of another; all which may be true or false, if *Gopher* may be taken for Timber in general. True it is, that Cedar will serve for all parts of a Ship, as well for the Body, as for Masts and Yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction received from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the *Ark*; and to pitch it, and to divide it into Cabins; thereby to sever the clean Beasts from the unclean, and to preserve their several sorts of Food; and that it might be capable of all kind of living creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God; who by his Angels steered this Ship without a Rudder, and directed it without the help of a Compass or the North star. The Pitch which *Noah* used, is by some supposed to have been a kind of *Bitumen*, whereof there is great quantity about the Vally of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, now the dead Sea, or *Asphaltes*, and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the West *India*: and herein it exceedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sun, but by the Fire only, after the manner of hard Wax.

V. 18. *Plin. l. 16. c. 80.*

Pererius.

§. IX.

That the Ark was of sufficient capacity.

THe *Ark*, according to Gods commandement, had of length three hundred Cubites

Cubits, fifty of breadth, and thirty deep or high: by which proportion, it had six parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which S. *Augustine:* *Proculdubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc seculo Civitatis Dei, (hoc est) Ecclesiæ quæ sit salva per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Jesus Christus: nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinisque ejus significat corpus humanum, in cujus veritate ad homines prænunciatus est venturus, & venit,* &c. *Without doubt* (saith he) *it is a Figure of the City of God travelling in this world as a stranger, (that is) of the Church, saved by the Tree, whereupon the Mediator between God and Man, the Man Jesus Christ did hang: for even the very measure of the length, heighth and breadth, answereth the shape of Mans body, in the truth whereof the coming of Christ was fore-told and performed.* De Civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 26.

By what kind of Cubit the Ark was measured, it hath been a disputed question among the Fathers, and others; and the diffences are in effect these: The first kind of Cubit (called the common) containeth one foot and a half, measured from the sharp of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The second (the Palm-Cubit) which taketh one handfull more than the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the *Persian* Cubit, which exceedeth the common Cubit three inches. The fourth is the sacred Cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar Cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly, there is a fifth Cubit, called Geometrical, which containeth six common Cubits. But of all these sorts, which were commonly measured by the vulgar Cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens statures hath made the difference. For as there is now a less proportion of bodies, so is the common Cubit from the sharp of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of less length than it was in elder times.

Saint *Augustine*, considering the many sorts of Beasts and Birds which the Ark held, with their food and water, was sometime of opinion, that the *Ark* had proportion after the Geometrical Cubit, which containeth almost six of the common: For, measuring the *Ark* by the vulgar Cubit, it did not exceed the capacity of that Vessel built by *Hiero* of *Syracuse*, or the Ship of *Ptolemy Philo-pater*. But S. *Augustine* (who at the first was led by *Origen*) changed his judgment as touching the Geometrical Cubit; and found, upon better consideration, that there needed not so huge a Body to preserve all sorts of Creatures, by God appointed to be reserved. For it was not needfull to take any kinds of Fishes into the *Ark*, because they were kept living (saith S. *Augustine*) in their own Element. *Non fuit necesse conservare in Arca quæ possent in aquis vivere, non solum mersa sicut Pisces, verum super-natantia, sicut multæ alites: It was not needfull to conserve those creature in the Ark, which could live in the Waters; and not onely Fishes which can live under water, but also those Fowls which sit and swim on them.* And again, *Terra, non aqua, maledicta; quia* Adam *non hujus, sed illius fructum vetitum comedit: It was the Earth, and not the Waters which God cursed; for of the forbidden fruit of the Earth and not of the Sea, did* Adam *eat.* So, as S. *Augustine* gathereth hereupon (as aforesaid) that so huge a Frame needed not. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 5. c. 27.

Athen. dipnosp. l. 4. Plutarc. in vita Demetrii.

And if we look with the eyes of judgment hereunto, we shall find nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) have more of mischief and of ignorance, than of any reverend reason, found many impossibilities in this work of God. But it is manifest, and undoubtedly true, that many of the *Species*, which now seem differing, and of several kinds, were not then *in rerum natura*. For those Beasts which are of mixt natures, either they were not in that age, or else it was not needfull to preserve them, seeing they might be generated again by others: as the Mules, the *Hyæna's*, and the like; the one begotten by Asses and Mares, and the other by Foxes and Wolves. And whereas by discovering of strange Lands, wherein there are found divers Beasts and Birds, differing in colour or stature from those of these Northern parts; it may be supposed by a superficial consideration, that all those which were red and pied skins, or feathers, are differing from those that are less painted, and wear plain russet or black; they are much mistaken that so think. And for mine own opinion, I find no difference, but onely in magnitude, between the Cat of *Europe*, and the Ounce of *India*; and, even those Dogs which are become wild in *Hispaniola*, with which the *Spaniards* used to devour the naked *Indians*, are now changed to Wolves, and begin to destroy the breed of their Cattel, and do also oftentimes tear asunder their own Children. The common Crow and Rook of *India* is full of red feathers in the drowned and low Islands of *Caribana*; and the Blackbird and Thrush hath his feathers mixt with black and carnation in the North parts of *Virginia*. The Dog-fish of *England* is the Shark of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made a difference of *Species*, then Acost. lib. 3. India.

then were the *Nigro*'s, which we call the *Black-Moors*, *non animalia rationalia*, not Men, but some kind of strange Beasts: and so the Giants of the South *America* should be of another kind, than the people of this part of the World. We also see it daily, that the natures of Fruits are changed by transplantation, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Climate. Crabs may be made good Fruit by often grafting; and the best Melons will change in a year or two to common Cowcumers, by being set in a barren soyl. Therefore, taking the kinds precisely of all Creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the Earth by his Ordinance produced; the Ark after the measure of the common Cubit, was sufficiently capacious to contain of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we adde but half a foot of measure to the common Cubit, which had a foot and a half of Giantly stature (and less allowance we cannot give to the difference between them and us) then did the Ark contain 600. foot in length, and 100. foot in breadth, and 60. foot in depth.

But first of all, to make it manifest that the Geometrical Cubit is not used in the
Deut.3.11. Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the Bed of *Og*, King of *Basan*, had been nine Geometrical Cubits long, it had taken 54. Cubits of the common, which make 80. foot: and *Goliah*, who had
1 Sam.17. 4. the length of six Cubits and an handfull, which makes nine foot and a handfull (a proportion credible) if these Cubits had been Geometrical, then had been 54. foot in height, and upwards, which were monstrous and most incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Goliah* been nine foot long, and farr weightier and bigger then all *David*'s body, who carried it away.

Again, if the Geometrical Cubit had been used for a Measure in the Scripture, as many Commenters have observed, then had the Altar (appointed to contain five Cubits of length, five of breadth, and three of height) reached the length of 27. foot upright, and so must their Priests have ascended by steps or Ladders to have performed their Sacrifices thereon, which was contrary to Gods Commandment, given in these words:
Exod.20. 26. *Thou shalt not go up with steps unto mine Altar, that thy shame be not discovered thereon*; and therefore was the Altar but three common Cubits high, which make four foot, that their Priests standing thereby might execute their Office. Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometrical, but the ordinary Cubit of one foot and a half, according to the measure of Giantly stature; which measure (doubtless) might give much the more capacity to the Ark; although it be also probable, that as the Men were, so were the horses whereon they rode, and all other Creatures of a correspondent size. And yet, (as I take it) though by this means there were not any whit the more room in the Ark, it were not hard to conceive, how all the distinct *Species* of Animals, whose lives cannot be preserved in the Waters, might according to their present quantities be contained in a Vessel of those dimensions which the Ark had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a half of our now usual measure: whence it followeth of necessity, that those large bodies which were in the days of *Noah*, might have room sufficient in the Ark, which was measured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of Creatures to be saved, (that is, seven of the clean, two of the unclean, with necessary food) might have place in the Ark, *Butæo* hath very learnedly declared: the brief summ of whose discourse to that purpose, is this. *The length of the Ark was three hundred Cubits, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fifty Cubits, and the product by the height of thirty Cubits, sheweth the whole Concavity to have been* 450000. Now, whereas the posts, walls, and other partitions of Lodgings may seem to have taken up a great part of the hollow: the height of the roof, which (the perpendicular being one Cubit) contained 7500. cupical Cubes was a sufficient recompence: If therefore in a Ship of such greatness we seek room for 89. distinct *Species* of Beasts, or (lest any should be omitted) for 100. several kinds, we shall easily find place both for them, and for the Birds, which in bigness are no way answerable to them; and for meat to sustain them all. For there are three sorts of Beasts, whose bodies are of a quantity best known; the Beef, the Sheep, and the Wolf: to which the rest may be reduced, by saying, (according to *Aristotle*) that one Elephant is answerable to four Beeves, one Lion to two Wolves, and so of the rest. Of Beasts, some feed on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirty kinds of the greater sort, feeding on vegetables: of which number onely three are clean, according to the Law of *Moses*, whereof seven of a kind entred into the *Ark*, namely, three couples for breed, and one odde one for sacrifice: the other eight and twenty kinds were taken by two of each kind, so that in all there were in the *Ark* one and twenty great

Beasts

Beasts clean, and six and fifty unclean, estimable for largness as ninety one Beeves; yet for a supplement (lest perhaps any *Species* be omitted) let them be valued as an hundred and twenty Beeves. Of the lesser sort feeding on vegetables, were in the *Ark* six and twenty kinds, estimable, with good allowance for supply, as fourscore Sheep. Of those which devour flesh were two and thirty kinds, answerable to threescore and four Wolves. All these two hundred and eighty Beasts might be kept in one story or room of the *Ark*, in their several Cabins; their meat in a second: the Birds and their provision in a third, with place to spare for *Noah* and his Family, and all their necessaries.

§. X.

That the Ark rested upon part of the Hill Taurus (*or* Caucasus) *between the* East-Indies, *and* Scythia.

¶. I.

A Præterition of some Questions less material: with a Note of the use of this Question to find out the Metropolis of Nations.

WHat time *Noah* took to build the *Ark*, I leave to others to dispute: but he received the Commandment from God an hundred years before the Waters fell; and had therefore choice of time, and leisure sufficient. As for the number of Decks and Partitions, which *Origen* divides into four, Saint *Augustine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controversie: or, whether those Creatures which sometimes rest on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Alegartos*) the Sea-Cows, or Sea-Horses, were kept in the *Ark*, or no, I think it a needless curiosity; and yet to this saith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a Fish-pool might be made as well within the *Ark*, as in *Hiero* his Ship of *Syracuse*. Lastly, to consider or labour to disprove the foolery of the *Hebrews*, who suppose that the *Ark* was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had Windows of Crystal to receive in Light, and keep out Water, were but to revive the buried vanities of former times. But that which I seek most to satisfie my self and others in, is, In what part of the World the *Ark* rested after the Floud: because the true understanding of some of these places (as the seat of the terrestrial *Paradise*, and the resting of the *Ark*) do onely and truly teach the Worlds Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the Floud; and all Story, as well general as particular, thereby may be the better understood.

¶. II.

A Proposal of the common opinion, that the Ark rested upon some of the Hills of Armenia.

AND first, for the true place where the *Ark* rested after the Floud, and from what part of the World the Children of *Noah* travelled to their first settlement and plantation, I am resolved (without any presumption) that therein the most Writers were utterly mistaken. And I am not led so to think out of any Humour, or newness of opinion, or singularity; but do herein ground my self on the original and first truth, which is the word of God, and after that upon reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, *That the Ark stayed upon one of the mountains of* Ararat, which the *Chaldean Paraphrast* hath converted *Kardu*, meaning the hills *Gordæi*, or *Gordiæi*, in *Armenia* the greater (as the words *Gordæi*, and *Kardu*, seem to be one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are: I find neither Scripture nor Reason which teacheth any such thing (to wit) that it rested on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater *Armenia*. *Nicolaus Damascenus* calls this Mountain of *Ararat*, *Baris*; being the same which the *Chaldean* nameth *Kardu*, to which Mountain the Frier *Annius* (citing this place out of *Josephus*) makes him find another adjoyning, called *Ocila*, and to say that the *Ark* (of which *Moses* the Law-giver of the *Hebrews* wrote) did first take ground on this *Ocila*. But I do not find any such Mountain in being, as this *Ocila*, neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Josephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a Promontory in *Arabia fœlix* of that name; and *Pliny* finds a Mart-town so called in the same, which *Ptolemy* calls *Ocilis*, *Pinetus Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damascenus*, or rather of *Annius*, seemeth to be one and a part of the *Armenian* Mountains. *Berosus* calleth those Mountains of *Armenia Gordiæi*, and *Curtius Cordæi*: *Ptolemy Gordæi* and *Gordiæi*: of which the Countrey next adjoyning is, by this *Nicolaus Damascenus*, called *Nyniada*, perhaps (as *Becanus* conjectures) for *Milyada*, or rather *Minni*: which word is used for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* seems to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram*: as if we should say *Minni*

Gen. 8. 4.

Hiero. 51. 27.

Nat. Hist. l. 5. c. 12. of *Syria*; for that *Armenia* also was a part of *Syria*, *Pliny* witnesseth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cardyes* about these Mountains, whom others call *Gordieni* or *Gordeni*. The Mountains are seated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of the Mountains called *Taurus*, or *Niphates*, in the Plains of *Armenia* the great, near the Lake *Thospitis*: whence the River of *Tygris* floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. & 52. degrees of latitude. One of the Mountains, *Gordiæi* (that which surmounteth the rest) *Epiphanius* calls *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* signifieth a place of descent: but this out of *Josephus*. Which name (saith *Junius*) was of the event, because of *Noahs* coming down with his children. But this also I take to be a supposed event; seeing any Hill from whence on every side we must descend, may thus be called: as *Junius* corrects the place in *Josephus* *Joseph. de Antiq. l. 1. cap. 4.* Λουβαρις (*Kubaris.*) That the place is thus to be read, he conjectureth, because *Joseph.* l. 1. c. 4. says, the place is called Ἀναβατήριον (as it were the descent or coming down) and *Epiphanius* lib. 1. *contr. Hæres.* calls it Λίφας, which word in the *Armenian* and *Egyptian* Tongue signifieth Descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Lubra* is a *Synagogue*, because it was commonly built on some high place: whereof also the *Latine Delubrum* may seem to be derived; and *Acts* 6. 9. they that belonged to the *Synagogue* of the *Egyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra tenu.* Yet this opinion hath been embraced from Age to Age, receiving a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any further examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwise rightly be given, especially to that Mountain, by reason that the passage was more fair, up and down unto it, than to any of the rest adjoyning.

¶. III.

The first Argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, *would have come sooner, had they come from so near a place as* Armenia.

BUt there are many Arguments to perswade me, that the *Ark* of *Noah* did not rest it self in any part of *Armenia*, and that the Mountain *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Gordiæan* Mountains.

For the first: It is agreed by all who follow *Berosus*, *Beros. l. 1.* that it was in the year 130. or in the year 131. after the Floud, when *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinar*, which Valley was afterward call'd *Babylonia*, *Chush*, and *Chaldea*. If then the *Ark* had first found Land in *Armenia*, it is very unprobable, that the children of *Noah*, which came into that Valley, could have spent so many years in so short a passage: seeing the Region of *Mesopotamia* was onely interjacent, which might by easie journeys have been past over in twenty days; and to hasten and help which passage, the navigable River of *Tygris* offered it self, which is every where transpassable by Boats of great burthen: so as where the Desart on the one side resisted their expedition, the River on the contrary side served to advance it; the River rising out of the same Ledge of Mountains, or at the foot of them, where the *Ark* of *Noah* was first supposed to settle it self; Then, if the Nations which followed *Nimrod* still doubted the surprise of a second Floud (according to the opinions of the ancient *Hebrews*) it soundeth ill to the ear of reason, that they would have spent many years in that low and overflown Valley of *Mesopotamia*, so called, of the many Rivers which imbroider or compass it: for the effects witnessed their affections, and the works which they undertook, their unbelief; being no sooner arrived in *Shinar*, but they began to provide themselves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) against any future or feared Inundation. Now, at *Babel* it was, that *Nimrod* began his Kingdom, the first known City of the World, founded after the Floud, about 131. years, or (as others suppose) ten years later: though (for my self) I rather think that they undertook that work in two respects; first, to make themselves famous, *To get us a name* (saith the Text:) Secondly, thereby to usurp dominion over the rest. *Gen. 10. 10. Beros. l. 1.*

¶. IV.

The second Argument; That the Eastern People were most ancient in populosity, and in all humane glory.

FOr a second Argument: The civility, magnificence, and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the World first abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath been, or can be said for *Armenia*, and for *Noah*'s taking Land there. And that this is true, the use of Printing and Artillery (among many other things which the East had) may easily perswade us, that those Sunrising Nations were the most ancient. The certainty of this report, that the *East-Indians* (time out of mind) have had Guns and Ordnance of battery, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, make us now to understand, That the place of *Philostratus in vita Apollonii*

lonii Tianæi, l. 2. *c.* 14. is no fable, though expreſſed in fabulous words: when he ſaith, that the wiſe men, which dwell between *Hyphaſis* and *Ganges*, uſe not themſelves to go forth into Battel: but that they drive away their Enemies with Thunder and Lightning ſent from *Jupiter*. By which means there it is ſaid, that *Hercules Ægyptius* and *Bacchus*, joyning their forces, were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there caſt away his golden Shield. For the invention of Letters was ignorantly aſcribed to *Cadmus*, becauſe he brought them firſt into *Greece*: of which the people (then rude and ſavage) had reaſon to give him the honour, from whom they received the benefit. But it is true, that Letters are no leſs antient then *Seth* or *Henoch* were: for they are ſaid to have written on Pillars of Stone (as before remembred) long before the Floud. But from the Eaſtern world it was that *John Guthenberg* a *Germane*, brought the device of Printing: by whom *Conradus* being inſtructed, brought the practice thereof to *Rome*: and after that *Nicolaus Gerſon* a *Frenchman*, bettered both the Letters and Invention. And notwithſtanding that this Myſtery was then ſuppoſed to be but newly born, the *Chinois* had Letters long before either the *Egyptians* or *Phœnicians*; and alſo the Art of Printing, when as the *Greeks* had neither any civil knowledg, or any Letters among them.

And, that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* have witneſſed, who about an hundred years ſince diſcovered thoſe Kingdoms, and do now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinois* account all other nations but ſalvages in reſpect of themſelves.

And to add ſtrength to this argument, the conqueſt and ſtory of *Alex. Macedon* may juſtly be called to witneſs, who found more Cities and ſumptuoſity in that little Kingdom of *Porus*, which lay ſide by ſide to the Eaſt *India*, then in all his other travails and undertakings. For in *Alexander's* time, learning and greatneſs had not travailed ſo far to the Weſt as *Rome*. *Alexander* eſteeming of *Italy* but as a barbarous Country, and of *Rome* as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that ſtood in his eye, and the fame of the Eaſt pierced his ears. And if we look as far as the Sun-riſing, and hear *Paulus Venetus* what he reporteth of the uttermoſt Angle and *Iſland* thereof, we ſhall find that thoſe Nations have ſent out, and not received; lent knowledg, and not borrowed it from the Weſt. For the farther Eaſt (to this day) the more civil; the farther Weſt, the more Salvage. And of the Iſle of *Japan* (now *Zipingari*) *Venetus* maketh this report: *Incolæ religioni, literis, & ſapientiæ ſunt addictiſſimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more noſtro) ſacris in delubris exercent: unum cognoſcunt Principem, unum Deum adorant: The Iſlanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters, and philoſophy, and moſt diligent ſearchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent then prayer, which they uſe in their Churches, after the manner of Chriſtians: They acknowledg one King, and worſhip one God.* The antiquity, magnificence, civility, riches, ſumptuous buildings, and policie in government, is reported to be ſuch by thoſe who have been imployed in thoſe parts, as it ſeemeth to exceed (in thoſe formerly named, and divers other particulars) all other Kingdoms of the World.

§. V.

The third Argument, from the wonderful reſiſtance which Semiramis *found in the Eaſt Indies.*

BUt for a third argument, and alſo of a treble ſtrength to the reſt, I lay the invaſion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and adviſed Reader: who may conſider in what Age ſhe lived, and how ſoon after the Worlds new birth ſhe gathered her Army (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Cteſias* reporteth) of more then three millions to invade *India*, to which he adjoyned alſo 500000. Horſe; and 100000. Waggons: whereof if we believe but a third part, it ſhall ſuffice to prove that *India* was the firſt planted and peopled Country after the Floud. Now as touching the time wherein ſhe lived: All Hiſtorians conſent that ſhe was the Wife of *Ninus*, and the moſt approved Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Son of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Son of *Chuſh*, *Cuſh* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at ſuch time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinaar*, he was then a great Nation, as by the building of the City and Tower of *Babel* may appear; and being then ſo multiplied and increaſed, the two deſcents caſt between *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time thoſe multitudes, whereof her Army was compoſed. Let us then ſee with whom ſhe encountred in that War with this her powerful Army: even with a multitude, rather exceeding, then equalling her own, conducted by *Staurobates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whoſe multitudes this is the witneſs of *Diod. Siculus*; Staurobates *coactis majoribus, quàm quæ erant* Semiramidis, *copiis:* Staurobates

gathering together greater Troops then those of Semiramis. If then these numbers of *Indians* had been increased but by a *Colonie* sent out from *Shinaar* (and that also after *Babel* was built, which no doubt took some time in the performance) this increase in the East, and this Army of *Staurobates* must have been made of stone, or somewhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might easily grow up in that time, from so great a Troop as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the Story of *Israel*) so could not any such time, by any multiplication natural, produce so many bodies of men as were in the *Indian* Army victorious over *Semiramis*, if the *Colonies* sent thither had been so late as *Babel* overturned, and the confusion of Languages. For if we allow 65. years time after the Floud, before *Nimrod* was born: of which, thirty years to *Cush* ere he begat *Seba*, after whom he had *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*: and then thirty years to *Raamah*, ere he begat
Gen. 10. 7. *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were born before *Nimrod*: and five years to his five elder Brothers, which make sixty five, and then twice thirty years for two Generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba*, and *Dedan* with others, to beget their Sons; and that a third Generation might grow up, which makes in all an hundred twenty five years; there will then remain six years to have been spent in travailing from the East, ere they arrived in *Shinaar*, in the year after the Floud 131. And so the followers of *Nimrod* might be of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to have arrived at *Shinaar* in the year 101. and the Confusion to have been at *Pelegs* birth, these men do all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the help of time; and build *Nimrods* Tower in the Ayr; and not on those low and marish grounds (which require sound foundations) in the Plains of *Shinaar*. For except that huge Tower were built in a day, there could be no confusion in that year 101. or at *Pelegs* birth. And therefore it is far more probable, that *Nimrod* usurped Regal authority in the 131. year after the Floud (according to *Berosus*) and that the Work of *Babel* lasted fourty years (according to *Glycas*) *Hominibus in ea perficienda totis* 40. *annis incassum laborantibus*; *Men labouring in vain* 40. *years to finish it*. By which account it falls out that it was 170. years after the Floud, ere a *Colonie* was sent into *East India*; which granted, (the one being the main Body, and the other but a Troop taken thence) it can hardly be believed that *Staurobates* could have exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then Empress of all that part of the world gathered the most of Nations into one body.

Glyc. in Gen. & de Turris extructione fol. 173.

||. VI.

The fourth Argument from divers considerations in the person of Noah.

FOurthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the Floud, and had lived therein the long time of 600. years, was all that space 130. years after the Floud without any certain habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that *Nimrod* was but the conductor of those people, by *Noah* destined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the Western World; (which Travails *Noah* put over to young and able bodies) and that *Noah* himself, then covered with many years, planted himself in the same place which God had assigned him; which was, where he first came down out of the Ark from the waters: for it is written, that after *Noah* came down out of the Ark, he planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman, whose business was to dress and manure the Earth; and not to range over so many parts of the world, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia fœlix*, where he should (if the Tradition be sound) have left certain *Colonies*: thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*: then into *Spain* where they say he setled other companies, and built Cities after the names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his Sons Wives: from thence into *Italy*, where they say he found his Son *Cham* the *Saturn* of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the people and subjects of *Gomer* in his absence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the story) had patience for three years; but then finding no amendment, they say he banish'd him out of *Italy*. These be but the fancies of *Berosus Annianus*, a plain imitation of the *Grecian* fables. For let every reasonable man conceive, what it was to travail far in such a Forrest as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the Earth by the Floud, the same lay wast and over-grown for 130. or 140. years, and wherein there could hardly be found either part or passage through which men were able to creep for Woods, Bushes, and Bryers, that in those years were grown up.

And there are so many reasons, proving that *Noah* never came into the Valley of *Shinaar*, as we need not suspect his passage into *Italy* or *Spain*: For *Noah* who was Father of all those Nations, a man reverenced both for

for his Authority, Knowledg, Experience and Piety, would never have permitted his children and iſſues to have undertaken that unbelieving preſumptuos work of *Babel*. Rather by his preſence and prevalent perſwaſions he would have bound their hands from ſo vain labours, and by the authority which he received even from God himſelf, he would have held them in that awfull ſubjection, as, whatſoever they had vainly conceived or feared, yet they durſt not have diſobeyed the perſonal commandment of him, who in the beginning had a kind of Regal authority over his children and people. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former deſtruction of man-kind was by themſelves purchaſed through cruelty and diſobedience; and that to diſtruſt God, and to raiſe up building againſt his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a provocation of God to lay upon them the ſame, if not a more ſharp affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that ever he came ſo far Weſt as *Babylonia*; but rather, that he ſent thoſe numbers which came into *Shinaar* (being the greateſt troop, becauſe they had the greateſt part of the World to plant) under *Nimrod*, or thoſe upon whom he uſurped. *Nauclerus*, and *Cœleſtinus*, take the teſtimony of *Methodius* Biſhop of *Tyre* for currant, that there were three Leaders of the people after their increaſe (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene*, and *Joctan*, of which *Nimrod* commanded the iſſues of *Cham*, *Joctan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Japhet*. This opinion I cannot judge of, although I will not doubt, but that ſo great a work as the Worlds Plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the Sons of *Sem*: *Joctan*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*, are eſpecially noted to have dwelt in the *Eaſt-India*. The reſt of *Sem*'s iſſues had alſo the Regions of *Perſia*, and the other adjoyning to *Indus*, and held alſo a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Ur*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sons of *Joctan*, or of all the reſt a certain number (*Cham* and his iſſue onely excepted) that *Noah* kept with himſelf, it cannot be known. Of which Plantation I ſhall ſpeak at large in the Chapter following.

Now, another reaſon which moves me to believe that *Noah* ſtayed in the Eaſt far away from all thoſe that came into *Shinaar*, is, that *Moſes* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the Story of the *Hebrews*, or among any of thoſe Nations which contended with them. And *Noah* being the Father of all man-kind, and the choſen ſervant of God, was too principal a Perſon, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in reſpect of his age and wearieſome experience of the World) withdrawn himſelf, and reſted a-part with his beſt Beloved, giving himſelf to the ſervice and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after he had directed his children to their deſtined portions. For he landed in a warm and fertile ſoil, where he planted his Vineyard, and dreſt the Earth; after which, and his thankſgiving to God by ſacrifice, he is not remembred in the Scriptures, becauſe he was ſo farr away from thoſe Nations of which *Moſes* wrote: which were the *Hebrews* chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

||. VII.

Of the ſenſleſs opinion of Annius *the Commentor upon* Beroſus: *who finds divers places where the Ark reſted; as the* Caſpian *and* Gordiæan *Hills, which are three hundred miles aſunder; and alſo ſome places of* Scythia.

IT remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and Authorities of Frier *Annius*, who in his Commentaries upon *Beroſus* and others, laboureth marvellouſly to prove that the Ark of *Noah* reſted upon the *Armenian* Mountains called *Caſpii*; which Mountains ſeparate *Armenia* from the upper *Media*, and do equally belong to both. And becauſe all his Authors ſpeak of the Mountains of *Gordiæi*, he hath no other ſhift to unite theſe opinions, but by uniting thoſe far-diſtant Mountains together. To effect which, he hath found no other invention, than to charge thoſe men with errour, which have carefully over-ſeen, Printed, and Publiſhed *Ptolemies* Geography, in which they are altogether diſlevered. For that laſt Edition of *Mercators* ſets theſe Hills five degrees (which makes three hundred *Engliſh* miles) aſunder. And certainly, if we look into thoſe more ancient Copies of *Villanovanus*, and others, we ſhall find nothing in them to help *Annius* withall: for in thoſe the Mountains *Caſpii* ſtand ſeven degrees to the Eaſt of the *Gordiæi*, which makes 420. miles. And for thoſe Authors by whoſe authority *Annius* ſtrengthneth himſelf, *Diodorus* whom he ſo much followeth, giveth this judgment upon them in the like diſpute. *Aberrârunt verò omnes, non negligentiâ, ſed regnorum ſitûs ignorantiâ*; *They have all erred* (ſaith he) *not through negligence, but through ignorance of the ſituation of Kingdoms*. But for an induction, to prove that the Ark of *Noah* ſtood on the Mountains of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquity of

Ptol. tab. Aſiæ. 3.

Diod. l. c. 3.

of the *Scythians:* and to prove the same he citeth *Marcus Portius Cato*, who avoweth that 250. years before *Ninus*, the Earth was overflown with Waters, *Et in* Scythia *Saga renatum mortale genus*; *And that in* Scythia *the stock of mortal men was renewed.* The same Author also teacheth, that the *Umbri* before remembred (who were so called, because saved from *Deucalions* Floud) were the Sons of the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians. Ex his venisse* Janum *cum* Dyrim, *&* Gallis *progenitoribus Umbrorum*; *From these* Scythians, he saith, *that* Janus *came with* Dyrim, *and with the* Galli *the progenitours of the* Umbri: And again, *Equidem principatus originis semper* Scythis *tribuitur*; *Certainly, the prime Antiquity of Off-spring is alway given to the* Scythians. And herein truly I agree with *Annius*, that those Regions called *Scythia*, and now *Tartaria*, and by some Writers *Sarmatia Asiatica*, were among the first peopled: and they held the greatest part of *Asia* under Tribute till *Ninus* Time. Also *Pliny* called the *Umbri* which long since inhabited *Italy*, *Gens antiquissima, a most ancient Nation*, who descended of these *Scythians*. Now, that which *Annius* laboureth, is to prove that these ancient *Scythians* (meaning the Nephews of *Noah*) did first inhabit that Region of the Mountains, on which the Ark rested; and confessing that this great Ship was grounded in *Armenia*, he feigneth a Nation of *Scythians* called *Araxea*, taking name of the Mountain *Ararat*, near the River of *Araxes*. And because his Author *Cato* helpeth him in part (to wit, That in *Scythia* mankind was restored after the great Floud 250. years before *Ninus*) and in part utterly destroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the word *Saga*; as, *In* Scythia *Saga renatum mortale genus*; *In* Scythia *Saga, mankind was restored:* he therefore in the *Proœme* of his Commentary upon *Berosus*, leaveth out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato* his words, and writes, *homines in* Scythia *salvatos*. For *Scythia Saga*, or *Sacæ*, is undoubtedly under the Mountains of *Parapinisus*; on which, or near which it is most probable that the Ark first took ground: and from those East parts (according to *Moses*) came all those companies which erected the Tower of *Babel* in *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*.

Cato de orig. pars prima.

Plin. l. 3. c. 14.

Beros. l. 1.

Ptol. Asiæ tab. 7.

Gen. 11. 2.

But now, the best authority which *Annius* hath, is out of *Diodorus:* where he hath read that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name *à* Scytha *Rege eorum, from* Scytha *their King*. But (in a word) we may see his vanity, or rather (indeed) his falshood in citing this place. For *Diodorus*, a most approved and diligent Authour, beginneth in that place with these words: *Fabulantur* Scythæ, *The* Scythians *Fable:* and his Interpreter in the table of that work, giveth this Title to that very Chapter; *Scytharum origo & successus, fabula*; *The original and success of the* Scythians, *a Fable*. And (indeed) there needs no great disproof hereof, since *Ptolemy* doth directly delineate *Scythia Saga*, or *Sacæ*, and sets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the *Persians* (saith *Herodotus*) call all the *Scythians*, *Sacæ*; which *Pliny* confirms: for in respect that these *Sacæ* (saith *Pliny*) are the *Scythians* next to the *Persians*, therefore they gave all the rest that name. *L. 6. c. 67.* Now, that any Nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Persians*, there is no man believeth. But this supposed *Scythia Araxea* in *Armenia* lieth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees distant from the *Sacæ*; and the Countrey about *Araxes Ptolemy* calleth *Colthene*, and *Soducene*, and *Sacapene*, without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all those which are, or were reputed *Scythians* either within *Imaus*, or without, to the number of 100. several Nations, are by *Ptolemy* precisely set down. *Tab. Asiæ 7. & 8.*

But, to come to those latter Authours, whereof some have written, others have seen a great part of those North-East Regions, and searched their Antiquities with great diligence: First, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: (for *Scythia* without these Mountains, is also beyond our purpose) Scythia *inter* Imaum *montem ea est, quæ proprio vocabulo Gassaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occasu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab Oriente Imao Monte: à Septentrione terra cognita: à Meridie Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, usque ostia Oxæ amnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis; & parte ipsius maris hinc usq; ad Rha fluminis ostia terminatur:* Scythia *within the Mountain* Imaus, *is that part of the World which in their own speech is at this time called* Gassaria; *and the same is bounded on the West-side by* Sarmatia Asiatica, (*or of* Asia:) *on the East, by the* Imaan *Mountains: on the North, by unknown Lands: on the South, by the* Saccæ (which are the *Sacæ*) *the* Sogdiani, *and the* Margiani, *to the mouth of* Oxus, *falling into the* Hyrcan *Sea, and by a part of the same Sea as farr as the mouth of* Rha. *Rha*, Now *Wolga.*

Now, if *Niger* sets all *Sarmatia Asiatica* to the West of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia* (*quæ magna sanè Regio est, & quæ innumeras nationes complectitur, Which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable nations*, saith *Niger*) much of it being between *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth sufficiently warrant us, that *Armenia* can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make *Com. 2. Asiæ fol. 472.*

make it more plain, he disseverеth *Sarmatia* it self from any part of *Armenia*, by the Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, which he leaveth on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the West bound of *Scythia*.

Ad meridiem flexo Bosphoro pars septentrionalis ponte Euxini usque in ostium Coraris fluvii: unde relictis à parte dextra Colchis, Iberis, Albanisq; in litus Hyrcani maris provenit. Spoc. hist. lib. 30.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian* or *Scythian* Nation; neither doth his fellow Frier *John Plancarpio* (cited by *Vincentius* in his description of *Scythia*) make any mention of *Armenia*; neither doth *Haytonus*, an *Armenian* born of the bloud of those Kings (though afterwards a Monk) ever acknowledg himself for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* Races descended: though he writ that story at large, gathered by *Nicolaus Salcuni*, and (by the commandement of Pope *Clement* the fifth) in the year 1307. published.

Neither doth *Matthias a Michon* (a Canon of *Cracovia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* born, and that travailed a great part of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, find *Armenia* any way within the compass of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man (whose Travails are extant) hath observed so much of those Regions as he hath don: proving and disproving many things, heretofore subject to dispute. And among others he burieth that antient and received opinion, That out of the Mountains, *Riphæi*, and *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, spring the Rivers of *Tanais* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; proving by unanswerable experience, that there are no such Mountains *in rerum natura*; and (indeed) the Heads and Fountains of those famous Rivers are now by the Trade of *Muscovia* known to every Merchant, and that they arise out of Lakes, low, wooddy, and marish grounds. The River of *Tanais* or *Don*, ariseth to the South of the City *Tulla*, some twenty *English* miles, out of a Lake called *Iwanowesero*, in the great Wood *Okenitzkilies* or *Jepiphanolies*. *Volga*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riseth out of a Lake called *Fronow*, in the great Wood *Vodkonzki*: from which Lake the two other famous Rivers flow of *Borysthenes* (now *Neyper*) and *Dsuina* or *Dividna*.

Sig. Herbestem.

And this learned *Polonian* doth in this sort bound the *Europæan Sarmatia*. *In Sarmatia of Europe are the Regions of Russians, Lithuanians, Muscovians*, and those adjoyning, bounded on the West by the River of *Vissa*, the Name perchance mis-printed *Vissa* for *Vistula*, a River which parts *Germania* and *Sarmatia*: and for the East-border he nameth *Tanais*, or *Don*. *Sarmatia Asiatica* he cutteth from *Europe* by the same River of *Tanais*, and the *Caspian* Sea, to with-hold it from stretching farther East: this *Asian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolemy* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem*: *Scythia within the Mountain Imaus*. And the same *Matthias Michon* further affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which Frier *Annius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Asiatica* it self above three hundred and a few odd years before his own time: these be his words: *Constat eam esse gentem novam, & adventitiam à partibus Orientis (mutatis sedibus) paulo plus abhinc trecentis annis Asiæ Sarmatiam ingressam: It is manifest* (saith he, speaking of the *Scythian* Nation) *that this is a late planted Nation, come from the coasts of the East: from whence they entred into Asia, & gat new seats a little more then* 300. *years since*: For (indeed) before that time the *Goths* or *Pouloci* inhabited *Sarmatia Asiatica*. And this *Matthias* lived in the year 1511. and this his Discourse of *Sarmatia* was Printed at *Augusta* in the yeer 1506. as *Bucholzerus* in his *Chronologie* witnesseth. Now these *Scythians* (saith he) came from the East; for in the East it was, that the *Ark* of *Noah* rested, and the *Scythæ Sacræ* were those people which lived at the North foot of those Mountains, of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or begin to mix themselves with the great *Imaus*. And were there no other testimony then the general description of the Earth now extant, and the witness of *Ptolemy*, it is plain, that between all parts of *Armenia*, and *Scythia*, there are not only those three Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caspian* Sea: on the East shore of which Sea, but not on the West, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are (indeed) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariacæ*) between *Jaxartus* and *Jactus*; but what are these *Scythians* to any *Ariacæ*, or *Scythia Araxea*, which *Annius* placeth in *Armenia*, more then the *Scythians* of *Europe*?

Cranzius calleth this River Wistaus, Niger Dravamanza, Pom. Mela. Visala & Plin. Visullus.

§. VIII.

The fifth Argument; The Vine must grow naturally neer the place where the Arke rested.

TO this if we add the consideration of this part of the Text, *That* Noah *planted a Vineyard*, we shall find that the fruit of the Vine or Raysin did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this resting of the *Arke* was supposed: for if the Vine was a stranger in *Italy* and *France*, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a far colder Country. For *Tyrrhenus* first brought Vines into *France*, and *Saturnus* Gen. 9. 20.

Saturnus into *Latium*: yea at such times as *Brennus* and the *Gauls* invaded *Italy*, there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus*) the *Gaules* remained between the *Pyrenæi* and the *Alpes*, neer unto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, until they drunk Wine, which was first brought them out of *Italy*; and after they tasted thereof, they hasted to inhabite that Country, which brought forth such pleasant Fruit: so as it appeareth, that the Plant of the Vine was not natural in *France*, but from *Italy* brought thither; as by *Saturn* from else-where into *Italy*.

Servius Aeneid Eutropius.

Now it is manifest, that *Noah* travailed not far to seek out the Vine. For the Plantation thereof is remembred, before there was any counsel how to dispose of the World among his children: and the first thing he did, was, to till the ground, and to plant a Vine-yard, after the Sacrifice and Thanksgiving to God; and whersoever the *Arke* rested, there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appear, that he travailed far: for the Scriptures teach us, that he was a Husband-man, and not a wanderer.

‖. IX.

An answer to an objection out of the words of the Text: The Lord scattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth.

AND that all the children of *Noah* came together into *Shinaar*, it doth not appear, saving that it may be inferred out of these words (*from thence*) because it is written: *So that the Lord scattered them* [*from thence*] *upon all the Earth*; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Tower: for those were from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these words of *Sybilla* (as they be converted) it seemeth that all came not together into *Shinaar*; for they have this limitation: *Quidam eorum turrem ædificarunt altissimam, quasi per eam Cœlum essent ascensuri: Certain of them built a most high Tower, as if they meant thereby to have scaled the Heavens.*

‖. X.

An answer to the objection of the name of Ararat, *taken for* Armenia: *and the heighth of the Hills there.*

BUt before I conclude this part, it is necessary to see and consider what part of Scripture, and what reason may be found out, to make it true or probable, that the Ark of *Noah* was forsaken by the waters on the Mountains of *Armenia*. For the Text hath only these words: *The Ark rested on* (or upon) *the Mountains of Ararat*, or *Armenia*, saith the Marginal Note of the *Geneva*: the *Chaldean Paraphrast* calls it *Kardu*; of which, the highest hath the name of *Lubar*, saith *Epiphanius*. Now this *Ararat* (which the *Septuagint* do not convert at all, but keep the same word) is taken to be a Mountain of *Armenia*; because *Armenia* it self had antiently that name: so as first out of the name, and secondly out of the heighth (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, That the Ark first sate thereon.

Gen. 8. 14. Epiph. l. 1. contr. Hæres.

But these suppositions have no foundation: for neither is *Ararat* of *Armenia* alone, neither is any part, or any of those Mountains of equal stature to many other Mountains of the World; and yet it doth not follow, that the Ark found the highest Mountain of all other to rest on: for the Plains were also uncovered before *Noah* came out of the Ark. Now, if there were any agreement among Writers of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, we might give more credit to the conceit. For in the Books of the *Sybils* it is written, that the Mountains of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, upon which it was supposed that the Ark stayed after the Floud. And the better to particularize the place and seat of these Mountains, and to prove them in *Phrygia* and not *Armenia*; they are placed where the City of *Cælenes* was afterward built. Likewise in the same description she maketh mention of *Marsyas*, a River which runneth through part of *Phrygia* and afterward joyneth it self with the River *Mæander*, which is far from the *Gordiæan* Mountain in *Armenia*. We may also find a great mistaking in *Josephus* (though out of *Berosus*, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that *Josephus* sets *Ararat* between *Armenia* and *Parthia*, toward *Adiabene*, and affirmeth withall, that in the Province of *Cæron* (by others *Kairos* and *Arnos*, so called by reason that the waters have from thence no descent, nor issue out) the people vaunt that they had in those days reserved some pieces of *Noahs* Ark. But *Parthia* toucheth no where upon *Armenia*; for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a Province of *Assyria*: so that all *Media* and a part of *Assyria* is between *Parthia* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the discovery of the Mountains *Cordiæi* was first borrowed out of *Berosus* by *Josephus*; yet the Text which *Josephus* citeth out of *Berosus* differs far from the words of that

Berosus

Caucasus
COLCHIS
ALBANIA
Caucasus m.
TARTARIA
IBERIA
PONTVS EVXINVS
Moschici m.
Trapezus
MAR DE BACHV
MARE CASPIVM
ET HYRCANVM
Ariaca
Ioctus f.
Bithynia
Galatia
Cappadocia
Paryardes
Oxus
Cappadocia
ARMENIA
Troas
PHRIGIA
NATOLIA
Lydia
Gordæi mountains
Tauris or Ecbatana
HIRCANIA
Taurus
Armenia minor
ARARAT
TAVRVS
MARGIANA
Nysca
Lycia
Pamphilia
Cilicia
Mazada
ASSYRIA
PARTHIA
CYPRVS
MESOPO
TAMIA
Euphrates
Tigris
The passage of NIMROD
THE MEDITERRAN SEA
Libanus
ARABIA DESERTA
IVDEA
BABILON
SVSIANA
Alexandria
ARABIA PETRÆA
CHALDEA
PERSIA peopled by ELAM
CARMANIA DESERTA
Suas
ÆGYPT
ARABIA
The gulf of Persia
CARMANIA
Alexand
NILVS
Suathen
FÆLEX
The red Sea
Aden
ABYSSINS
ÆTHIOPIA
INDIC
PELA

Samarchand
SOGDIANA
TARTARIÆ
PARS
SIVE SCYTHIA IN
TRA IMAVM
IMAVS
SCYTHIA
EXTRA
IMAVM
Nagratot
BACTRIA
The Arch
Heniochi
ARARAT
Delaroer
TAVRVS
CAVCASI
PAROPANISVS
Alex
Bucep
ARACAN
The passage of Ophir & Havilah
into India.
INDIA EXTRA
GANGEM
Alexandria
INDIA INTRA
GANGEM
GANGES
BENGALA
GEDROSIA
CAMBAIA
NARSINGA
PEGV
Goa
BISINAGAR
GVLF OF BENGALA
OR
ZEILAN SINVS GANGETICVS
Calecut
MALACA
SVMATRA

Beroſus, which wandereth up and down in theſe days, ſet out by *Annius*. For *Beroſus*, cited by *Joſephus*, hath theſe words: *Fertur & navigii hujus pars in Armenia apud montem Cordiæorum ſupereſſe, & quoſdam Bitumen inde abraſum ſecum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci hujus homines uti ſolent:* (which is) *It is reported alſo that a part of this ſhip is yet remaining in Armenia upon the Cordiæan Mountains; and that divers do ſcrape from it the Bitumen or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they uſe it in ſtead of an amulet.* But *Annius* his Edition of the Fragment of *Beroſus* uſeth theſe words: *Nam elevata ab aquis in Gordiæ montis vertice quievit, cujus adhuc dicitur aliqua pars eſſe, & homines ex illa Bitumen tollere quo maximè utuntur ad expiationem: For the whole Arke being lifted up by the waters, reſted on the top of the Gordiæan Mountaines, of which it is reported that ſome parts remain, and that men do carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith:* ſo as in theſe two Texts (beſides the difference of words) the name is diverſly written. The antient *Beroſus* writes *Cordiæi* with a (*C*); and the Fragment *Gordiæi* with a (*G*): the one that the *Bitumen* is uſed for apreſervative againſt Poyſon or Inchantment; the other, in Sacrifice. And if it be ſaid that they agree in the general, yet it is reported by neither from any certain knowledg, nor from any approved Author: for one of them, uſeth the word (*fertur*) the other (*dicitur*); the one, *that ſo it is reported*, the other, *that ſo it is ſaid*; and both but by hear-ſay, and therefore of no authority nor credit. For common bruit is ſo infamous an Hiſtorian, as wiſe men neither report after it, nor give credit to any thing they receive from it.

Furthermore, theſe Mountains which *Ptolemy* cals *Gordiæi*, are not thoſe Mountaines which himſelf giveth to *Armenia*, but he calleth the Mountains of *Armenia*, *Moſchici*. Theſe be his own words: *Montes Armeniæ nominantur ii, qui Moſchici appellantur, qui protenduntur uſque ad ſuperjacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & Mons qui Paryardes dicitur: The Mountains of Armenia are they which are called Moſchici, ſtretched along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: alſo the Hill which is called Paryardes:* which Mountains *Pliny* calleth *Pariedri*, and both which ly to the North of *Gordiæi* or *Baris*, in 43. and 44. and a half; and the *Gordiæan* Mountains in 39. and a halfe: from the Northermoſt of which did the *Georgians* take their names, who were firſt *Gordians*, and then *Georgians*, who amidſt all the ſtrength of the greateſt Infidels of *Perſia* and *Turkie*, do ſtill remain *Chriſtians*. Concerning the other ſuppoſitions, that the Mountains of *Gordiæi*, otherwiſe *Baris*, *Kardu* or *Lubar* (which *Ptolemy* calleth *Torgodiaion*) are the higheſt of the World, the ſame is abſolutely falſe.

Ptol. Aſiæ tab.

Plin. l. 6. c. 9.

||. XI.

Of Caucaſus, and divers far higher hills than the Armenian.

FOr the beſt *Coſmographers*, with other, that have ſeen the Mountains of *Armenia* find them far inferiour, and under-ſet to divers other Mountains even in that part of the World, and elſe where: as the Mountain *Athos* between *Macedon* and *Thrace*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Olympus*, now called *Lacas*, (ſaith *Caſtaldus*) is far ſurmounting any Mountain that ever hath been ſeen in *Armenia:* for it caſteth ſhade three hundred furlongs, which is ſeven and thirty miles and upwards: of which *Plutarch*; *Athos adumbrat latera Lemniæ bovis: Athos ſhadoweth the Cow of Lemnos.* Alſo the Mount of *Olympus* in *Theſſalie*, is ſaid to be of that height, as neither the Winds, Clouds, or Rain overtop it. Again, the Mountain of *Antandrus* in *Myſia*, not far from *Ida*, whence the River *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is alſo of a far more admiration than any in *Armenia*, and may be ſeen from *Conſtantinople*. There are alſo in *Mauritania* neer the Sea, the famous Mountains of *Atlas*, of which *Herodotus*: *Extat in hac mari Mons cui nomen Atlas, ita ſublimis eſſe dicitur, ut ad illius verticem oculi mortalium pervenire non poſſint: Upon this Coaſt there is a Mountain called Atlas, whoſe heighth is ſaid to be ſuch, as the eye of no mortal man can diſcern the top thereof.* And if we may believe *Ariſtotle*, then are all theſe inferiour to *Caucaſus*, which he maketh the moſt notorious both for breadth and height: *Caucaſus Mons omnium maximus, qui æſtivum ad ortum ſunt, acumine atq; latitudine, cujus juga à Sole radiantur uſq; ad conticinium ab ortu: & iterum ab occaſu: Caucaſus* (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) *is the greateſt Mountain both for breadth and height of all thoſe in the North-eaſt, whoſe tops are lightned by the Sun-beams* (*uſq; ad conticinium*) which is, ſaith *Macrobius*, *between the firſt crowing after mid-night and the break of day:* Others affirm, that the top of this Mountain holds the Sun-beams when it is dark in the Valley; but I cannot believe either, for the higheſt Mountain of the World known, is that of *Tenerife* in the *Canaria:* which although it hath nothing to the Weſtward of it for 1000. Leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enjoy the Sun's company at

Plut. Muſ. Coſm.

Ariſt. Met. cor. l. 1. c. 13.

any such late hours. Besides these Mountains which *Aristotle* calleth *Caucasi*, are those which separate *Colchis* from *Iberia*; though (indeed) *Caucasus* doth divide both *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* from *Sarmatia*: for he acknowledgeth that the River of *Phasis* riseth in the same Mountain, which himself calleth *Caucasus*, and that *Phasis* springeth from those Hills which sunder *Colchis* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Euxinus*: which River (it is manifest) yieldeth it self to the Sea, two degrees to the North of *Trapezus* (now *Trabesunda*) howsoever *Mercator* bring it from *Paryardes*.

‖. XII.

Of divers incongruities if in this Story we should take Ararat *for* Armenia.

SO as it doth first appear, that there is no certainty what Mountain *Ararat* was: for the Books of the *Sybils* set it in *Phrygia*, and *Berosus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Berosus* authority, those men have great want of proofs that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Baris* was the highest Hill, and therefore most likely that the Arke grounded thereon, the assertion and supposition have equal credit: for there are many Hills which exceed all those of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the Ark should sit on the highest.

Thirdly, it cannot be proved that there is any such Hill in *Armenia*, or *in rerum natura*, as *Baris*: for *Baris* (saith *Hierom*) signifieth high Towers; and so may all high Hills be called indifferently: and therefore we may better give the name of *Baris* to the Hills of *Caucasus* (out of which *Indus* riseth) then to any Hills of *Armenia*. For those of *Caucasus* in the East, are undoubtedly the highest of *Asia*.

Fourthly, the Authors themselves do not agree in what Region the Mountains *Gordiæi* stand: for *Ptolemy* distinguisheth the Mountains of *Armenia* from the *Gordiæan*, and calleth those of *Armenia*, *Moschici* and *Paryardes*, as aforesaid. Now *Paryardes* is seated near the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the West-side riseth *Euphrates*, and out of the East-side, *Araxis*: and the Mountains *Moschici* are those Hills which disjoyn *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Country of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*.

‖. XIII.

Of the contrary situation of Armenia, *to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no marvail that the same Ledg of Hills running from* Armenia *to* India, *should keep the same name all along: and even in* India *be called* Ararat.

LAstly, we must blow up this Mountain *Ararat* it self, or else we must dig it down, and carry it out of *Armenia*, or find it elsewhere, and in a warmer Country, and (withal) set it East from *Shinaar*; or else we shall wound the Truth it self with the weapons of our own vain imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to every eye, we must understand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moses*) is not any one Hill, so called, no more then any one Hill among those Mountains which divide *Italy* from *France*, is called the *Alps*: or any one among those which part *France* from *Spain* is the *Pyrenian*: But as these, being continuations of many Hills, keep one name in divers Countries, so all that long Ledg of Mountains, which *Pliny* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolemy* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, until they encounter and cross the Mountains of the great *Imaus*, are of one general name, and are called the Mountains of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, because from thence or thereabout they seem to arise. So all these Mountains of *Hyrcania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Caspii*, *Moschici*, *Amazonici*, *Heniochi*, *Scythici*, (thus diversly called by *Pliny* and others) *Ptolemy* calls by one name *Caucasus*, lying between the Seas *Caspium* and *Euxinus*: as all those Mountains which cut asunder *America*, even from the new Kingdom of *Granado*, to the streight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as these Mountains of *Ararat* run East and West, so do those marvailous Mountains of *Imaus* stretch themselves North and South; and being of like extent well-neer, are called by the name of *Imaus*, even as *Pliny* called these former Hills *Taurus*, and *Moses* the Hills of *Ararat*. The reason of several names given by *Ptolemie*, was, thereby the better to distinguish the great Regions and Kingdoms, which these great Mountains bound and dissever; as *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Media*, *Susiana*, *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Paropanisus*: having all these Kingdoms, either on the North or South side of them. For all the Mountains of *Asia* (both the less and the greater) have three general names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucasus*: and they receive other titles, as they sever and divide particular Places and Regions. For these Mountains which sunder *Cilicia* from the rest of *Asia* the less, on the North-side, are called *Taurus*; and those Moun-

Pliny in his discription of Lycia. l. 5. c. 27.

Mountains which part it from *Comagena* (a Province of *Syria*) are called *Amanus*: the Mountains called *Taurus*, running East and West, as *Imaus* doth North and South. Through *Taurus*, the River of *Euphrates* forceth her passage, leaving the name of *Amanus* to the Mountains on her West-bank, and on her East-side the Mountains are sometimes known by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolemie*'s three Tables of *Asia*) and sometimes *Niphates* (as in the fourth) retaining that uncertain appellation so long as they bound *Armenia* from *Mesopotamia*: and after the River of *Tygris* cutteth them asunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, untill they separate *Assyria* and *Media*; but then they call themselves *Coatras*, though between the upper and nether *Media*, they do not appear, but altogether discontinue. For at *Mazada* in *Media* they are not found, but run through the Eastern *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themselves *Orontes*, and towards the East part *Coronus*; out of the Southern part whereof the River of *Bagradus* riseth, which divideth the ancient *Persian* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of *Coronus*, they give to the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themselves into the Mountains of *Sariphi*, out of which riseth the River *Margus*, afterward yielding her self to *Oxus* (now *Abia*:) and drawing now near their ways end, they first make themselves the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the Title of *Paropanisus*; and lastly, of *Caucasia*, even where the famous River of *Indus*, with his principal companions, *Hydaspis* and *Zarædrus*, spring forth and take beginning. And here do these Mountains build themselves exceeding high, to equal the strong Hills called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35, 36, and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140. of Longitude: of the which the West parts are now called *Delanguer*, and the rest *Nagracot*; and these Mountains in this place onely are properly called *Caucasi* (saith *Ptolemie*) that is, between *Paropanisus* and *Imaus*: and improperly, between the two Seas of *Caspium* and *Pontus*.

Ptol tab. Asia.

||. XIV.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South side of the Mountain Caucasi, *and toward the* East-Indies: *and of other excellencies of the soil.*

NOw, in this part of the World it is, where the Mountain and River *Janus*, and the Mountain *Nyseus*, (so called of *Bacchus Nyseus*, or *Noah*) are found: and on these highest Mountains of that part of the World did *Goropius Becanus* conceive that the *Ark* of *Noah* grounded after the Floud; of all his conjectures the most probable, and by best reason approved. In his *Indo-scythia* he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantastical opinions of this subject. And as the same *Becanus* also noteth, that as in this part of the World are found the best Vines: so it is as true, that in the same Line, and in 34, 35, and 36. degrees of Septentrional Latitude, are the most delicate Wines of the World, namely, in *Judæa*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewise in this Region of *Margiana*: and under these Mountains *Strabo* affirmeth, that the most excellent Vines of the World are found; the clusters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in Climate with that part of *Palestina*, where the searchers of the Land, by *Moses* direction, found bunches of equal bigness at *Escol*. *Numb.* 13. 24.

The fruitfulness of this place (to wit) on the South bottom of these Hills, *Curtius* witnesseth. For in *Margiana*, near the Mountains of *Meros*, did *Alexander* feast himself and his Army ten days together, finding the most delicate Wine of all other.

||. XV.

The Conclusion, with a brief repeating of divers chief points.

AND therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that those Mountains do also traverse *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it self sometime is known by the name of *Ararat*. But as *Pliny* giveth to this Ledge of high Hills, even from *Cilicia* to *Paraponisus* and *Caucasus*, the name of *Taurus*: and as the Hills of *France* and *Germany* are called the *Alps*: and all between *France* and *Spain* the *Pyrenes*: and in *America* the continuation of Hills for 3000 miles together, the *Andes*: so was *Ararat* the general name which *Moses* gave them; the diversity of appellations no otherwise growing, than by their dividing and bordering divers Regions, and divers Countreys. For in the like case do we call the Sea, which entreth by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterrane* and in-land Sea; and yet where it washeth the Coasts of *Carthage*, and over against it, it is called *Tyrrhenum*: between *Italy* and *Greece*, *Ionium*: from *Venice* to *Durazzo*, *Adriaticum*: between *Athens* and *Asia*, *Ægeum*: between *Sestus* and *Abydus*,

dus, Helleſpont: and afterward *Pontus, Propontis*, and *Boſphorus*. And as in theſe, ſo is the Ocean to the North-eaſt part of *Scotland* called *Deucaledonycum:* and on this ſide, the *Brittain* Sea: to the Eaſt, the *Germane* and *Baltick*, and then the *Frozen*.

For a final end of this Queſtion, we muſt appeal to that Judge which cannot erre, even to the Word of Truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plain ſence: ſeeing it can admit neither diſtinction, nor other conſtruction than the words bear literally, becauſe they are uſed to the very ſame plain purpoſe of a deſcription, and the making of a true and preciſe difference of places. Surely, where the ſence is plain (and being ſo underſtood, it bringeth with it no ſubſequent inconvenience or contrariety) we ought to be wary, how we fancie to our ſelves any new or ſtrange expoſition; And (withall) to reſolve our ſelves, that every word (as aforeſaid) hath his weight in Gods Book. And therefore we muſt reſpect and reverence the teſtimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in ſuch ſort as Saint *Auguſtine* hath taught us, touching the Goſpel of *Chriſt Jeſus* (which is) *Nequis aliter accipiat (quod narrantibus Diſcipulis Chriſti) in Evangelio legerit, quàm ſi ipſam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore geſtabat, conſpexerit; That no man otherwiſe take or underſtand that which he readeth in the Goſpel (the Diſciples of Chriſt having written it) than if he had ſeen the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his own body, ſetting it down.*

Gen. 11. 2. The words then of *Moſes*, which end this Diſpute, are theſe: *And as they went from the Eaſt, they found a Playn in the Land of* Shinaar, *and there they abode:* which proveth without controverſie, that *Nimrod*, and all with him, came from the Eaſt into *Shinaar*; and therefore the *Ark* of *Noah* reſted and took land to the Eaſt-ward thereof. For we muſt remember, that in all places whereſoever *Moſes* maketh a difference of Countreys, he always preciſely nameth toward what quarter of the World the ſame were ſeated: as where he teacheth the plantation of *Joctan*, he nameth *Sephar*, a Mountain in the Eaſt: where he remembreth *Cains* departure from
Gen. 10. 30. the preſence of God, he addeth; *And Cain dwelt in the Land of Nod, towards the Eaſt-ſide of Eden:* And when he deſcribeth the Tents and Habitations of *Abraham*, after he departed from *Sechem*, he uſeth theſe words;
Gen. 4. 16. *Afterwards removing thence unto a Mountain Eaſt-ward from Bethel, he pitched his Tents:*
Gen. 12. 8. *having Bethel on the Weſt-ſide, and Hai on the Eaſt:* and afterward in the ninth Verſe of the ſame Chapter, it is written; *And* Abraham *went forth journeying towards the South:* alſo when *Ezekiel* prophecieth of *Gog* and *Magog*, he ſheweth that theſe Nations of *Togorma* were of the North-quarters: and of the Queen of *Saba* it is written, that *ſhe came from the South to viſit* Solomon: And the *Magi*, (or *Wiſemen*) *came out of the Eaſt to offer preſents unto Chriſt.* And that all Regions, and theſe travels were preciſely ſet down upon the points of the Compaſs and Quarters of the World, it is moſt manifeſt: for *Eden* was due Eaſt from *Judæa*; *Saba* South from *Hieruſalem:* the way from *Bethel* to *Egypt* directly South; and the *Cœlocyrians*, the *Tubalines*, and *Magogians* inhabited the Regions directly North from *Paleſtina*, and ſo of the reſt. But *Armenia* anſwereth not to this deſcription of *Shinaar* by *Moſes*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that Valley of *Babylonia*, is not a journeying from the Eaſt, nor ſo near unto the Eaſt as the North: for *Armenia* is to the Weſt of the North it it ſelf; and we muſt not ſay of *Moſes* (whoſe hands the holy Ghoſt directed) that he erred *toto cœlo*, and that he knew not Eaſt from Weſt. For the body of *Armenia* ſtandeth in fourty three degrees Septentrional, and the North part thereof in fourty five; and thoſe *Gordiæan* Mountains, whereon it was ſuppoſed that the Ark reſted, ſtand in fourty one. But *Babylonia*, and the Valley of *Shinaar* are ſituated in thirty five; and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference between Eaſt and Weſt) the *Gordiæan* Mountains ſtand in 75. degrees, and the Valley of *Shinaar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lieth from *Shinaar* North-weſt, 95. degrees from the Eaſt; and if *Armenia* had been but North, yet it had differed from the Eaſt one whole quarter of the Compaſs. But *Gregory*, and *Hierome* warn us, *In Scripturis ne minima differentia omitti debet: nam ſinguli ſermones, ſyllabæ, apices, & puncta in divina Scriptura plena ſunt ſenſibus; In the Scriptures the leaſt difference may not be omitted: for every ſpeech, ſyllable, note, or accent, and point in divine Scriptures are repleniſhed with their meanings.* And therefore ſeeing *Moſes* teacheth us that the children of *Noah* came from the Eaſt, we may not believe Writers (of little authority) who alſo ſpeak by hear-ſay, and by report, *Ut fertur, & ut dicitur*, as *Beroſus* and *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all adventure. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinaar* lyeth Weſt from the place where the Ark of *Noah* reſted after the Floud; and therefore it firſt found ground in the Eaſt, from whence came the firſt knowledg of all things. The Eaſt parts were firſt civil, which

Ezek. 38. 6

Matth. 12. 42, Matt. 2. 1.

which had *Noah* himſelf for an inſtructor: and directly Eaſt from *Shinaar* in the ſame degree of 35. are the greateſt Grapes, and the beſt Wine. The great Armies alſo which overtopped in number thoſe Millions of *Semiramis*, prove, that thoſe parts were firſt Planted. And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reaſon ſufficient: for my ſelf I build on his words, who in plain terms hath told us, That the Sons of *Noah* came out of the Eaſt into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the Ark reſt on thoſe Eaſtern Mountains, called by one general name *Taurus*, and by *Moſes* the Mountains of *Ararat*, and not on thoſe Mountains of the North-weſt, as *Beroſus* firſt feigned, whom moſt part of the Writers have followed therein. It was, I ſay, in the plentiful warm Eaſt where *Noah* reſted, where he planted the Vine, where he tilled the ground and lived thereon. *Placuit vero* Noacho *agriculturæ ſtudium, in qua tractanda ipſe omnium peritiſſimus eſſe dicitur: ob eamque rem ſua ipſius lingua* Iſh-Adamath (*hoc eſt*) *telluris vir appellatur celebratuſque eſt, The ſtudy of Husbandry pleaſed* Noah (ſaith the excellent learned man *Arias Montanus*) *in the knowledg and order of which it is ſaid that* Noah *excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his own language, a man exerciſed in the earth.* Which alſo ſheweth, that he was no wanderer; and that he troubled not himſelf with the contentions beginning again in the World, and among men, but ſtayed in his deſtined places, and in that part of the World where he was firſt delivered out of the Priſon of the Ark, whereinto God had committed him, to preſerve him and mankind.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the firſt planting of Nations after the Floud; and of the Sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, *and* Japhet, *by whom the Earth was re-peopled.*

§. I.

Whether Shem *and* Ham *were elder then* Japhet.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 16. c. 3.

OF theſe Sons of *Noah*, Which was the eldeſt, there is a queſtion made. St. *Auguſtine* eſteemed *Shem* for the eldeſt, *Ham* for the ſecond, and *Japhet* for the youngeſt: and herein the opinions of Writers are divers. But this we find every where in the Scriptures, and eſpecially in *Moſes*, that there was never any reſpect given to the eldeſt in years, but in virtue; as by the examples of *Henoch*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *David*, is made manifeſt. In a few words, this is the ground of the controverſie; The *Latine* Tranſlation, and ſo the *Geneva*, hath converted this Scripture of *Geneſis* the 10. *v.* 21. in theſe words: *Unto* Shem *alſo the Father of all the Sons of* Heber, *and elder brother of* Japhet, *were children born.* But *Junius*, agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the ſame words in this manner: *To* Shem *alſo the Father of all the Sons of* Heber, *and brother of* Japhet *the eldeſt Son, were children born:* So the tranſpoſition of the word (*elder*) made this difference. For if the word (*elder*) had followed after *Japhet*, as it is in the vulgar Traſlation placed before it, then had it been as plain for *Japhet*, as it is by theſe Tranſlations for *Shem*. Now (the matter being otherwiſe indifferent) ſeeing Gods bleſſings are not tyed to firſt and laſt in bloud, but to the eldeſt in piety, yet the arguments are ſtronger for *Japhet* then for *Shem*. And where the Scriptures are plainly underſtood without any danger or inconvenience, it ſeemeth ſtrange why any man of judgment ſhould make valuation of conjectural arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah* in the five hundreth year of his life, begat the firſt of his three Sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*; and in the ſix hundreth year (to wit) the hundreth year following, came the general Floud; two years after which, *Shem* begat *Arphaxad*, which was in the year 602. of *Noah*'s life, and in the year of *Shem*'s life one hundred: ſo as *Shem* was but an hundred years old, two years after the Floud: and *Noah* begat his firſt born being 500. years old; and therefore were *Shem* the elder, he had then been an hundred years old at the Floud, and in the ſix hundreth year of *Noah*'s life, and not two years after. Which ſeeing the Scriptures before remembred hath denied him, and that it is alſo written: *Then* Noah *awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger ſon had done unto him (to wit)* Ham; of neceſſity the firſt place doth belong to *Japhet*. This *younger ſon*, ſo converted by the Vulgar and *Geneva*, *Juni-*

Gen. 11. 10.

Gen. 9. 24.

us

us turns it *filius minimus*, *His youngest son*; but St. *Chrysostom* takes it otherwise, and finds *Cham* to be the middle or second brother, and *Japhet* the youngest son of all: which *Cham* for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father (whose nakedness he derided) was dis-inherited, and lost the pre-eminency of his birth, as *Esau* and *Ruben* did.

In Gen. *Pererius* conceiveth that *Ham* was called the younger in respect of *Shem* the eldest, but avoweth withal, that the *Hebrew* hath not that precise difference of *younger* and *youngest*, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that *Shem* himself was always named in the first place; yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Japhet*, in the second Verse *Moses* leaveth to begin with the issue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Japhet* first. So the first place was given to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this weighty respect, that the *Hebrew* Nation, *Abraham*, the *Prophets*, *David*, and *Christ* our Saviour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the Vulgar *Pagninus*, and the *Geneva*, who agree in this conversion, Shem *Frater* Japhet *major*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Junius* and *Tremelius*, Shem *Fratris* Japhet *majoris*; or with *Pererius*, Shem *Frater* Japhet *ille magnus*: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Japhet*, let the Reader judg. But for ought that I have seen to the contrary, it appeareth to me that *Japhet* was the eldest. For where *Pererius* qualifieth the strength of the former argument, That *Shem*'s age at the time of the Floud did not agree with the eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures took no account of smaller numbers) I do not find in the Scriptures any such neglect at all: for it is written, that

Gen. 11. v. 10. Shem *was an hundred years old, and begat* Arphaxad *two years after the floud*; and again in the 12. Verse: *So* Shela *lived after he begat* Ebar, *four hundred and three years*, *&c.* so as the number of two years, of three years, of five years, and afterward of two years, were always precisely accounted.

§. II.

Of divers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the World; as that all Histories must yield to Moses: *that the World was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that known great Lords of the first Ages were of the issue of* Ham.

BUt let us go unto the Worlds plantation after the floud, which being rightly understood, we shall find that many Nations have supposed or feigned themselves those Ancestors and Fathers, which never saw or approched the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plain in the Scriptures how the sons and issues of *Noah* were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Author may receive allowance herein, the same must be with this caution, that they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so far as the story of Nations is therein handled, we must know, that both the truth and antiquity of the Books of God find no companions equal, either in age or authority. All record, memory, and testimony of antiquity whatsoever, which hath come to the knowledg of men, the same hath been borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all careful observers of time have noted: among which, thus writeth *Eusebius* in the *Proœme* of his Chronology: Moses *is found more antient than all those whom the Grecians make most antient, as* Homer, Hesiod, *and the Trojan War; and far before* Hercules, Musæus, Linus, Chiron, Orpheus, Castor, Pollux, Æsculapius, Bacchus, Mercurius, *and* Apollo, *and the rest of the Gods of the Nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of* Jupiter, *whom the Greeks have seated in the top and highest Turret of their Divinity.*

For of the three *Jupiters* remembred by *Cicero*, the antientest was the son of *Æther* whose three sons begotten on *Proserpina*, were born at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the first King: and in the end of *Cecrops* time did *Moses* bring the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*: *Eduxit* Moses *populum Dei ex Egypto novissimo tempore* Cecropis *Athenienſis Regis*; Moses *brought the children of Israel out of Egypt in the last days of* Cecrops *King of the Athenians*, saith S. *Augustine*: and yet was not *Cecrops* the Founder of that City it self, but *Theseus* long after him. But because the truth hereof is diversly proved, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut asunder the purpose in hand, by alledging many authorities in a needless question, but leave it to the proper place.

Cicero de Nat. Deorum. l. 3.

De civit. Dei l. 18. c. 11.

The Sons of *Japhet* were
- *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Javan*, *Tubal*, *Meshach*, and *Tirus*.
  - The Sons of *Gomer* were, *Askenaz*. *Riphath*, *Togorma*.
  - The Sons of *Javan* were, *Elisha*, *Tarshis*, *Kittim*, and *Dodonim*.

First,

Firſt, we are to conſider, that the World after the Floud was not planted by imagination, neither had the Children of *Noah* wings to fly from *Shinaar* to the uttermoſt border of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Aſia*, in haſte, but that theſe Children were directed by a wiſe Father, who knew thoſe parts of the World before the Floud, to which he diſpoſed his children after it, and ſent them not as diſcoverers, or at all-adventure, but aſſigned and allotted to every Son and their iſſues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous Authours, who have no other end than to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Auguſtus* in the fiction of *Æneas*) or elſe to glorifie their own nations; Let us build herein upon the Scriptures themſelves, and after them, upon Reaſon and Nature. Firſt therefore we muſt call to mind, and conſider, what manner of face the Earth every where had in the 130. year after the great Inundation, and by comparing thoſe fruitfulleſt Valleys with our own barren and cold ground, inform our ſelves thereby, what wonderful Deſarts, what impaſſable faſtneſs of woods, reeds, briers, and rotten graſs; what lakes and ſtanding pools, and what mariſhes, fens, & bogs, all the face of the Earth (excepting the Mountains) was peſtered withall. For, if in this our Climate (where the dead and deſtroying Winter depreſſeth all vegetative and growing Nature, for one half of the year in effect) yet in twenty or thirty years, theſe our grounds would all over-grow and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either with woods, or with other offenſive thickets and buſhments: much more did all ſorts of plants, reeds, and trees, proſper in the moſt fruitfull Valleys, and in the Climate of a long and warm Summer, and having withall, the ſtart of 130. years to raiſe themſelves without controlement.

This being conſidered, it will appear, that all theſe people which came into *Shinaar*, and over whom *Nimrod*, either by order or ſtrength, took the Dominion, did, after the confuſion of Languages, and at ſuch time as they grew to be a mighty People, diſperſe themſelves into the Regions adjoyning to the ſaid Valley of *Shinaar*, which contained the beſt part of *Meſopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated, ſome of them towards the South, others towards the Weſt and North. And although there were allotted to *Shem* many Regions, both Eaſt and Weſt from *Shinaar*, with the Dominion of *Palæſtina*, which the *Canaanites* firſt poſſeſt; yet could he not enjoy the Lot of his Inheritance on the ſudden, but by time and degrees. For we find that *Abraham*, the true ſucceſſour of *Shem*, dwelt in *Chaldæa*, at *Ur*; and from thence (called by God) he reſted at *Charran* in *Meſopotamia*: from whence after the death of *Thare* he travelled to *Sichem* in *Paleſtina*: and yet there had paſſed between *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themſelves) ſeven Deſcents, before *Abraham* moved out of *Chaldæa*; where, and in *Babylonia*, all thoſe people, by *Nimrod* commanded, inhabited for many years, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Aſſyria*, and founded *Nineveh*. Indeed, the great Maſters of Nations (as far as we can know) were in that Age in the iſſues of *Ham*; the bleſſing of God given by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Japhet* taking leſs effect, untill divers years were conſumed; and untill the time arrived, which by the wiſdom of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan*, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdoms of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* for many Deſcents together.

§. III.

Of the Iſles of the Gentiles *in* Japhets *Portion: of* Berosus *his too ſpeedy ſeating* Gomer *the Son of* Japhet *in* Italy; *and another of* Japhets *Sons*, Tubal *in* Spain: *and of the Antiquity of Longinque Navigation.*

TO begin therefore (where *Moſes* beginneth) with the Sons of *Japheth*, among whom the Iſles of the *Gentiles* were divided: which diviſion, as well to *Japhets* Sons, as to the reſt which came into *Shinaar*, was (if the diviſion were made at *Phalegs* birth) in the year of the World 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the years after the Floud one hundred and one; of which queſtion elſe-where.

The habitations proper to the Sons of *Japhet* were the Iſles of the *Gentiles*, which include all *Europe*, with all the Iſles adjoyning, and compaſſing it about: *Europe* being alſo taken for an Iſland, both in reſpect that the Sea *Helleſpont* and *Ægeum*, *Boſphorus*, and *Euxinus* cut it off from the great Continent of *Aſia*, as alſo becauſe *Europe* it ſelf is (in effect) ſurrounded with water, ſaving that it is faſtned to *Aſia* by the North; for it hath thoſe Seas before named to the Eaſt, the *Mediterrane* to the South and South-weſt, the Ocean to the Weſt, and *Brittiſh*, *Germane*, and *Baltick* Sea, with that of *Glaciale*, to the North, North-eaſt, and North-weſt. Beſides, it hath about it all the *Cyclades*, or Iſles lying between *Greece* and the leſſer *Aſia*; and the Iſles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Crete*, or *Candia*, *Sicilia*,

cilia, *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the Isles of *Brittanie*, and *Zeland*, with their young ones adjacent.

This partition and portion of *Japheth*, with the part which he held in *Asia*, and the North, which was also very great, answereth to
Gen. 9. 27. that blessing of God by *Noah*. *Dilatet Deus* Japheth; *Let God spread abroad* (or increase the Posterity of) *Japheth, and let him dwell in the Tents of* Shem. For though *Junius* here useth the word *alliciat*, and not *dilatet*: and the *Geneva*, *persuadeat*; yet the *Septuagint* have *dilatet*, or *amplificet*; and such was the blessing given to our Fathers, which God promised to *Abraham* and his seed for ever. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a blessing by God to the Posterity of *Japheth*: noting not onely an enlargement of Territories, but that thereby they should be made participant of Gods Church. But to come to *Japhets* Sons, of whom *Gomer* is the eldest. This *Gomer* (if we may believe *Berosus* and *Annius*, whose authority the greatest number of all our late Writers have followed) did in the tenth year of *Nimrods* Reign, depart from *Babylonia*, & planted *Italy*: which also *Functius* confirmeth in these words, *Anno decimo* Nimrodi, *&c. In the tenth year of*
Funct. Chronol. Nimrods *Reign*, Gomerus Gallus *planted a Colony in that Land afterward called* Italy: *and in the twelfth year of the same* Nimrods *Reign*, Tubal *seated himself in* Austuria *in* Spain (*now called* Biscay) *which was in the* 140. *and in the* 142. *years after the Floud, according to* Berosus. But this opinion is very ridiculous: For before the confusion of Tongues, the Children of *Noah* did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*. Let us therefore consider with reason, what time the building of such a City and Tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any ready means to perform such a work as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Functius* himself out of his Authour *Berosus* witnesseth) *ad altitudinem & magnitudinem Montium*; *To the height and magnitude of the Mountains*. Sure that both this City and Tower was almost builded, the Scriptures witness: *but the Lord*
Gen. 6. 11. *came down to see the City and Tower which the Sons of men had builded*. Let us then but allot a time sufficient for the making of Brick to such a Work, of the greatest heighth (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that ever was. For where the universal Floud covered the highest Mountains fifteen Cubits; *Let us build us a City and Tower* (saith *Nimrod*) *whose top may reach unto the Heaven*: meaning, that they would raise their work above fifteen Cubits higher than the highest Mountain, otherwise they could not assure themselves from the fear of a second Inundation: a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the work. They also began this building upon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the world: as by the great ruine which these waters forcibly over-bearing and overflowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest; approved also by the Prophet *Jeremie*, speaking of *Babylon* in these words: *Thou that dwellest upon many waters*. It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantial foundation for so high a raised building on a marish ground: and to which *Glycas* upon *Genesis* giveth fourty years. For it seemeth that the Tower was near finished when God overthrew it: it being afterward written; *So the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the Earth, and they left to build the City*. Out of which place it may be gathered (because the Tower is not then named) that they very near had performed the work of their supposed defence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the City adjoyning, wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted, that till such time as this confusion seized them (whereupon the Tower was thrown down) these Nations did not disperse themselves: for *from thence the Lord scattered them upon all the Earth*, (that was) when they perceived not one anothers speech. Now, to Gen. 11.
think that this work, in the newness of the World, (wanting all instruments and materials) could be performed in ten years; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the same year, could creep through 3000. miles of Desart, with Women, Children, and Cattel: Let those light believers, that neither tye themselves to the Scripture, nor to reason, approve it, for I do not. And if the Ark of *Noah* was 100. years in building, or but near such a time, (and then) when the World had stood 1556. years; it were more than foolishness, and madness it self, to think that such a work as this could be performed in ten; when the World (from the Floud to the arrival at *Babel*, and beginning of this building there) had but 131. years, and whereof they had spent some part in travelling from the East. Again, if all *Asia* set to their helping hands Pliny.
in the building of the Temple of *Diana*, and yet they consumed in that Work 400. years (or be it but half that time) and in such an Age as when the World flourished in all sorts of Artificers, and with abundant plenty of materials and carriages: This Work of the Tower of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants supposed) be erected in those

thoſe few years remembred. And for concluſion, let all men of judgment weigh with themſelves how impoſſible it was for a Nation or Family of men, with their Wives, and Children, and Cattel, to travel 3000. miles through Woods, Bogs, and Deſarts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we ſhall find it rather a work of 100. years than of 100. days. For in the Weſt *Indies*, of which the *Spaniards* have the experience, in thoſe places where they found neither path nor guide, they have not entred the Countrey ten miles in ten years. And if *Nimrods* people ſpent many years by the account before remembred in paſſing from the Eaſt *India*, or the higher part thereof, which ſtandeth in 115. degrees of Longitude, untill they came into *Shinaar*, which lieth in 79. degrees (the diſtance between thoſe places containing 36. degrees, which makes 720. leagues, which is 2160. miles) and did all the way keep the Mountains and hard ground; then the difference between *Babylon* and *Biſcay* is much more: for the body of *Biſcay* lyeth in ten degrees, and *Babylon*, or *Shinaar*, (as aforeſaid) in 79. ſo the length of way from *Shinaar* to *Auſturia*, or *Biſcay*, is 69. degrees, which make 1380. leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* took divers years to find *Shinaar*, which was but 2160. miles: or (ſuppoſing that the Ark reſted in *Armenia*) little above 400. miles: there is no cauſe to the contrary, but to allow as many years to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to travel 3000. miles, to Countries leſs known unto them by far, than the Land of *Shinaar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradiſe* was known to *Noah* before the Floud: and ſo was the Region of *Eden* by *Moſes* afterward remembred; but what he underſtood of moſt part of the world elſe, it is unknown. And therefore did *Annius* ill adviſe himſelf to plant *Gomer* in *Italy*, and *Tubal* in *Spain*, in the tenth and twelfth of *Nimrods* Reign: *Shall the Earth be brought forth in one day, or ſhall a Nation be born at once?* But it may be objected, that the Sons of *Japheth* might come by Sea, and ſo ſave this great travel through Deſarts by Land. But we never read of any Navigation in thoſe days, nor long after. Surely, he that knoweth what it is to imbarque ſo great a People, as we may juſtly ſuppoſe thoſe Conductors carried with them, will not eaſily believe that there were any Veſſels in thoſe days to tranſport Armies, and (withall) their Cattel, by whoſe milk they lived, and fed their children: For milk and fruit were the banquetting diſhes of our Fore-Fathers. And in the eldeſt times, even the Kings and Fathers of Nations valued themſelves by the Herds and numbers of their Cattel: who had Flocks of Sheep, and great Droves and Herds of their own, and their own Shepherds and Herdſmen. Now, if *Tubal* had paſt by Sea from any part of *Palæſtina*, *Syria*, or *Silicia*, he might have made good choice within the *Streights*, and not have overgone *Granado*, *Valentia*, and other Provinces in that Tract; paſt the *Streights* of *Gibralter*; diſdained all *Andaluſia* and *Portugal*, with all thoſe goodly Ports and Countreys; and have ſought out the Iron, Woody, and barren Countrey of the World (called *Biſcay*) by a long and dangerous Navigation. But before the journey of the *Argonautæ*, there were ſcarce any Veſſels that durſt croſs the Seas in that part of the World: and yet that which *Jaſon* had (if the tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poor one (God knows) and perchance, ſuch as they uſe this day in *Ireland*: which although it carried but four and fifty paſſengers, yet it was far greater than any of the former times: *Erat enim antea parvarum navicularum uſus: For in former times they uſed very ſmall veſſels.* I deny not but that the *Tyrians* gave themſelves of old to far-off Navigations, whence *Tibullus* aſcribed the invention of Ships to them:

Diod. Sicul. l. 4 c. 4. fol. 115.

Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros. — *Tibull. Eleg. 7. Strab. l. 16.*
Tyrus knew firſt how Ships might uſe the Wind.

And for thoſe Boats called *Longæ naves*, or Gallies, *Pliny* ſaith, that *Ægeſias* aſcribeth the device to *Paralus*: and *Philoſtephanus*, to *Jaſon*: *Cteſias*, to *Samyras*; and *Saphanus*, to *Semiramis*: *Archimachus*, to *Ægeon*: to which invention the *Erythræi* are ſaid to have added certain numbers of Oars: and then *Aminocles* the *Corinthian* to have increaſed them: the *Carthaginians* afterwards to have brought them to four Banks: the *Quinque Remi* firſt to have been uſed by *Neſichthon* the *Salaminian*, with which Veſſels, in thoſe parts of the World, the *Romans* ſerved themſelves in the *Punick* War. But theſe be, perhaps, but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as conſtantly caſt the deviſing of theſe Gallies on *Seſoſtris*, though *Semiramis* uſed them in the paſſage of her Army over *Indus* in *Abrahams* time. So it is ſaid, that *Danaus* was the firſt brought a Ship into *Greece*; and yet the *Samothracians* challenge the invention: and yet *Tertullian* (on the contrary) gives it to *Minerva*: others, to *Neptune*; *Thucydides*, to the *Corinthians*. And ſo ignorant were the people of thoſe Ages, as the *Egyptians* uſed to coaſt the ſhores of the Red-Sea upon raffs, deviſed by King *Erythrus*: and in the time of

Diod. Sicul. l. 1. Plin. l. 7. cap. 56.

Thucid.

Plin. l. 7. cap. 56. Euſeb. de præp. Evang. c. 1.

Tert. de Coron. mil.

Iſai. 66. v. 8.

the *Romans*, the *Britans* had a kind of Boat (with which they croſt the Seas) made of ſmall twigs, and covered over with leather: of which kind I have ſeen at the *Dingle* in *Ireland*, and elſe-where. *Naves ex corio circumſutæ in Oceano* Britannico (ſaith *Textor:*) of which *Lucan* the Poet:

Primum cana ſalix, madefacta vimine parvam
Texitur in puppim, cæſoque induta juvenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum ſupernatat amnem.
Sic Venetus ſtagnante Pado, fuſoque Britannus
Navigat Oceano.

The moiſtned Oſyer of the hoary Willow
Is woven firſt into a little Boat: (billow
Then cloath'd in Bullocks hide, upon the
Of a proud River, lightly doth it float
Under the Waterman:
So on the Lakes of over-ſwelling *Poe*
Sails the *Venetian:* and the *Britain* ſo
On th'out-ſpread Ocean.

And although it cannot be denied, when *Noah*, by Gods inſpiration, was inſtructed in ſo many particulars concerning the *Ark*, that then many things concerning Navigation were firſt revealed; yet it appears that there was much difference between the *Ark* of *Noah*, and ſuch Ships as were for any long Navigation. Yea, ancient Stories ſhew, that it was long after theſe times, ere any durſt preſume upon any long voyages to Sea, at leaſt with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Cattel; as alſo common reaſon can tell us, that even now, when this Art is come to her perfection, ſuch Voyages are very troubleſome and dangerous. So as it doth appear, that there was not in that Age of *Nimrod* any Ship, or uſe of Ships, fit for any long navigation. For, if *Gomer* and *Tubal* had paſſed themſelves and their people by Sea; the exerciſe of Navigation would not have been dead for ſo many hundred years after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all men elſe to their fancies, who have caſt Nations into Countreys far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the Relation of *Moſes* and the Prophets: to which Truth there is joyned both Nature, Reaſon, Policie, and Neceſſity: and to the reſt, neither probability, nor poſſibility.

§. IV.

Of Gog *and* Magog, Tubal, *and* Meſhech, *ſeated firſt about* Aſia *the Leſs; out of* Ezechiel, Chap. 38. 39.

NOw, although many learned and reverend men have formed (I know not whereby led) a Plantation of the World, which alſo hath been and is received; yet I hope I may be excuſed, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great Learned man of this latter Age, *Arias Montanus*, was alſo in ſome things much miſtaken: and for *Joſephus*. as he hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errours withall; ſo was he in the Plantation of the World very groſs and fabulous; whereby both *Euſebius*, *Hieroſolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that have taken his teſtimonies for currant, have been by him far miſs-led. But the better to conceive what Regions of the World *Gomer* the Son of *Japheth* poſſeſt, as alſo *Tubal*, it is needfull to begin with *Magog:* becauſe the Scriptures take moſt knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog:* which two names have troubled many Commentators, ſaith *Matth. Beroaldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that ever I read) I find moſt judicious in the examination of this Plantation. He takes authority from the Prophet *Ezechiel* chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapters directeth us, what Nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, and *Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians:* of which *Gog* was Prince, or chief Conductor, in their Attempts againſt *Iſrael*. For beſides the portions of *Europe*, and the North-eaſt parts of the greater *Aſia*, which *Japheths* Iſſues poſſeſt, all *Aſia* the Leſs was peopled by them. And that thoſe of the Iſſue of *Japheth* (whom *Ezechiel* ſpeaks of) were ſeated hereabout, it may beſt appear, if we conſider the circumſtances of the place, and the dependency upon the former Prophecie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter *Ezechiel* propheſieth of the uniting of the two Kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, after their delivery from Captivity. *Chap. 37. v. 19.*

By which Prophecie of *Ezechiel*, it appeareth, that God purpoſed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpoſe it is written; *And* David *my Servant ſhall be King over them, and they ſhall have one Sheepherd*, (that is) they ſhall be united as they were in *Davids* time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter, *Ezechiel* propheſieth againſt thoſe Nations, which ſhould ſeek to impeach this Union, and diſturb the people of *Iſrael*, whom God purpoſed to receive to grace, and promiſed to reſtore. And ſo in the ſame Chapter are thoſe Nations coupled together, which infeſted the *Iſraelites* after their return, and ſought to ſubject them: all which were the Subjects or Allies of *Gog*, Prince of the *Magogians*, or *Cæloſyrians*, next bordering

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ing *Palæstina*, or the holy Land, followed also by the rest of the Nations of *Asia* the less, which lay North from *Judæa*. The
c. 38. v. 2. words of *Ezechiel* are these: *Son of man, set thy face against* Gog, *and against the Land of* Magog, *the chief Princes of* Meshech (or *Mosoch*) *and* Tubal: and afterward; *Behold, I come against the chief Prince of* Meshech *and* Tubal: and in the sixth Verse; Gomer *and all his Bands, and the House of* Togorma *of the North quarters*. Herein *Ezechiel* having first delivered the purpose of his Prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were that should in vanity assayl *Israel*. He joyneth them together under their Prince *Gog*, and sheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of *Juda*, and how seated and joyned together. *Gog* signifieth in the *Hebrew* (saith Saint *Hierom*) *tectum* or *covering of a house*: and *Pintus* upon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that by *Gog* is meant *Antichrist*: for (saith
In Ezech. he) *Antichristus erit Diaboli tegumentum sub specie humana: That Antichrist shall be the covering of the Devil under humane form*. He addeth, that *Magog* is as much to say as *Gog*: the Letter (M) being an *Hebrew* Preposition, and importeth as much as *of*, or, *from*: so he taketh *Magog* for those people which follow *Antichrist*. So far *Pintus*; at least in this not amiss, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one person, but for a Nation: with which agreeth this observation of *Beroaldus*, *Magog* (saith he) in *Hebrew* is written *Ham-Magog*, which sheweth *Magog* to be a Region or Nation: for the Letter (*He*) which is used but for an *Emphasis* (which the *Hebrews* call *Heliajedia*) is never added to proper names of men, but often to place. So as *Gog* was Prince of that Nation (called either *Magog*, or, according to others, the people of *Gog*) also Prince of *Meshech* (or *Mosoch*) and of *Tubal*: as by the first Verse of the 29. Chapter is made manifest: *Behold, I come against thee* Gog *the chief Prince of* Meshech *and* Tubal. This must needs be meant by the Successors of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who did not (as other conquering Nations) seek to make the *Jews* their Tributaries only, but indeavoured by all means, and by all kind of violence, to extinguish the Religion it self (which the *Hebrews* profess'd) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worship and serve the mortal and rotten gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and
l. 2. de Fide. dead Images. S. *Ambrose* and *Isidore* take *Gog* for the Nation of the *Goths*: belike, because they invaded *Europe*, and sacked *Rome*, and many other places and cities thereabout. *Hermolaus Barbarus* out of *Pomp. Mela* derives the *Turks* from the *Scythians*, esteemed *Magogians* of *Gog*. Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a Man: others, of a Region: others, for a Nation inhabiting a Region, as *Junius*, who sayes that *Gog* is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the *Greeks* Stories call *Gyges*: who in former time having slain *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gave his own name to that Nation, thence after called *Gygades*: and thereof also the *Gygean* Lake; which Lake *Strabo* also findeth in *Lydia* (of
Strab. lib. 13. which *Gyges* was King) fortie Furlongs from *Sardis*. *Plinie* calleth it *Gygeum stagnum*. *Herodotus* and *Nicander* set it about the Rivers of *Hillus*, and *Mœnander*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* King of *Lydia*: who, after he had subdued the Country about the River *Rhodius* which runneth into the *Hellespont*, called the Promontory *Trapese* after his own name *Gyges*. These Opinions do also seem to strengthen that of *Junius*. For
Suid. Col. 107. *Magog*, saith he, is that part of *Asia* the less, which *Halyattes* obtained, and after him his Son *Cræsus*; who (as *Junius* further notes)
Jun. in Ezech. 38. having mastered all those Regions as farr South as *Libanus*, in that Border built the City *Giganta*, or *Gogkarta* (which in the *Syrian* signifieth the City of *Gog*) seated in *Cœlosyria*, whose People were the ancient Enemies of the *Jews*.

Now, that *Magog* is found in *Cœlosyria*, *Pliny* affirmeth, saying; Cœlosyria *habet* Bambycen, *quæ alio nomine* Hierapolis *vocatur*: *Syris verò*, Magog; Cœlosyria *hath in it* Bambyce, *which in another name is called* Hierapolis; *but of the* Syrians, *Magog*. He further telleth us, that the monstrous Idol *Atergatis*, called by the *Greeks Derceto*, was here worshipped. *Lucian* makes mention hereof, saying, That the City had anciently another name, which he yet expresseth not; forbearing, perhaps, the word *Magog*, as sounding nothing elegantly in the *Greek*. But if we may
Strab. l. 16. believe *Strabo*, then was *Edessa* in *Mesopotamia*, the same *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the same Idol was worshipped. *Ortelius* is doubtfull whether one of these Authors did not mistake the place of this *Bambyce*, or *Hierapolis*. It may well enough be, that the same name and Religion was common to them both. Certain it is, that both of them lay due North from *Palæstina*, and were both subject unto the Kings of the Race of *Seleucus*. Now, I do not condemn the Opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* following *Josephus*, but grant that, perhaps, *Magog* might also be the Father of the *Scythians*; notwithstanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made Prince of *Magog*, the Nations of *Cœlosyria*, and the North parts

adjoyning be meant by *Magog*: for by a latter Plantation from these parts they might be propagated into *Scythia*. Yet it is not to be denied, that the *Scythians* in old times coming out of the North-east, wasted the better part of *Asia* the less, and possest *Cœlosyria*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the *Syrians* call *Magog*. And that to this *Magog Ezechiel* had reference, it is very plain: for this City *Hierapolis* or *Magog* standeth due North from *Judæa*, according to the words of *Ezechiel*, that from the North-quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infested the *Israelites* were the *Ptolemies*, Kings of *Egypt*: so those of the North were the Kings of *Asia* and *Syria*, the Successors of *Seleucus*, the Successors of *Alexander Macedon*. *Gulielmus Tyrius* thinks that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rages*, mentioned in the Story of *Tobias*. *Pliny* takes it not onely to have been called *Bambyce*, as we have said, but also *Edessa*: not that by *Euphrates*; but another of the same name: now, the known name is *Aleppo*: for so *Bellonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*. This City had the Title of *Sacred*, as the *Sacred City*, (for so the word *Hierapolis* signifieth) yet was it a place of most detested Idolatry, and wherein was worshipped the Idol of the Mermaid *Atergates*, or *Atergitis*, according to *Pliny*, which the *Greeks* call *Derceto*.

Lib. 4. cap de bello sacro.

If then we confer the words of *Ezechiel* in the third Verse of the thirty eight Chapter, wherein he joyneth together *Gog*, *Meshech* and *Tubal*; and withal remember that *Hierapolis* was the City of *Magog*, which also is seated directly North from *Judæa*: with whom also *Ezechiel* coupleth *Gomer*, and all his bands of the North quarters; we may (as I conceive) safely conclude, that these Followers and Vassals of *Gog* (which were Northern Nations in respect of *Judæa*) were not the *Gomerians* of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spain*, but a people of the lesser *Asia*, and *Cœlosyria*: and therefore that the opinions of *Berosus*, *Josephus*, and whosoever else hath followed them therein, are to be rejected. But if *Josephus* refer himself to latter times, and think that some *Colonie* of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Asia* pass into *Spain* (to wit) from that piece of Land between *Colchis* (or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania*, (most part possessed by the *Georgians*) then is his judgment of better allowance. For without any repugnancy of opinions, it may be granted, that in process of time these people might from their first habitation, pass into the Countries neer the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in after-Ages into *Spain*.

Josephus makes mention of the *Iberi*, saying, that they were antiently called *Thobelos*, as of *Tubal*; from whence (saith *Justine*) *they passed into* Spain *to search out the mines of that Region*: having belike understood that it was a Southerly Country, and Mountainous. For it seemeth that the *Tubalines* called *Chalybes*, lived altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as *Apollonius* witnesseth in these following Verses, telling how the *Argonautes* did visit them:

Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,
Sed ferri venas scindit sub montibus altis:
Mercibus hæc mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta ministrant.

The *Calybes* plough not their barren soil,
But undermine high Hills for Iron Veins:
Changing the purchase of their endless toil
For Merchandize, which their poor lives sustains.

But it is more probable, that *Spain* was first peopled by the *Africans*, who had ever since an affection to return thither, and to re-people it anew. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who were easily drawn to pass over the *Streights* into that Countrey: and after by the *Moors* who held *Granado*, and the South parts, eight hundred years, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*. And either of these opinions are more probable, than that in the twelfth year of *Nimrods* Reign, *Tubal* past into *Spain*, and therein built Saint *Uval*: a poor Town and a poor device, God knows. Certain it is, that we must find *Moshoch* or *Meshech*, and *Tubal* Neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togarma* not farr off, or else we shall wrong *Ezechiel*: for he called *Gog* the Leader or Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togarma* their assistants. And that *Meshech* inhabited *Asia*, *Functius* (though he followed *Berosus*) confesseth, for these be his words: Mesacus, *qui à* Mose Mesech, *priscos Mesios ab Adula monte usque ad Ponticam regionem posuit: hæc regio postea* Cappadocia *dicta est, in qua urbs* Mazica, *&c. hæc est terra* Magog *principalis*; Mesacus, *whom* Moses *calleth* Mesech, *placed the ancient* Mesians *from the Mount* Adulas, *unto the Coasts of* Pontus. *This Region was afterward called* Cappadocia, *in which is the Town* Mazica, *&c. this is the principal Countrey of* Magog. And this doth *Annius* also avow, and yet forgets that *Gog* was Prince both of *Mesech* and *Tubal*: and therefore that the one was a Nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; *Spain* lying directly West, and not North from *Judæa*. Also *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chapter, where he prophecieth

phecieth of the deſtruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Meſech* and *Tubal* jointly. And for a final proof, that theſe Nations were of a Northern Neighbour Land (how far ſoever ſtretched) *Ezechiel* in the 38. Chapter makes them all Horſmen. *Thou, and much people with thee, all ſhall ride upon Horſes, even a great multitude, and a mighty.* Then, if any man believe that theſe troups came out of *Spain* over the *Pyrenes*, and firſt paſſed over a part of *France*, *Italy*, *Hungary*, and *Sarmatia*, and imbarqued again about the *Helleſpont*, or elſe compaſſed all *Pontus*, and *Euxinus*, to come into the leſſer *Aſia*, which is half the length or compaſs of the then known World; he may be called a ſtrong Believer; but he ſhall never be juſtified thereby. But on the contrary, it is known that *Seleucis* was a Province neighbouring *Palæſtina* or *Judæa*, and that *Hierapolis* (or *Magog*) joyned unto it: whoſe Princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Aſia* the leſs, (namely; the *Seleucida*) and held it, til *Scipio Aſiaticus* overthrew *Antiochus* the Great: after which yet they poſſeſt *Syria*, till the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Meſhech* be in *Cappadocia*, or under *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the ſame Dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be ſaid. Firſt, he ſeated himſelf with *Togarma*, not farr from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterward he proceeded further into *Aſia* the leſs; and in long tract of time his valiant Iſſue filled all *Germany*, reſted long in *France* and *Brittany*, and poſſeſſed the utmoſt borders of the Earth, accompliſhing (as *Melanthon* well notes) the ſignification of their Parents name, which is *Utmoſt bordering*. But when theſe borderers wanted further place, wherein they might exonerate their ſwelling multitudes that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they return upon the Nations occupying the Countreys, through which they had formerly paſſed, oppreſſing firſt their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy Reſtorer of our Antiquities, M. *William Cambden* hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old Language doth ſignifie *Robbers*; neceſſity inforcing them to ſpoil their Neighbours, to whom in their original, they were as near joyned, as afterwards in the ſeats which they poſſeſſed. For that the Warlike Nations of *Germany* were in elder Ages accuſtomed to be beaten by the *Gaules*, the authority of *Cæſar* affirming it, is proof ſufficient. But in times following, they purſued richer Conqueſts, and more eaſie, though further diſtant, by which (to omit their other enterpriſes not here to be ſpoken of) they were drawn at length into *Aſia* the leſs, and occupied thoſe parts, which had formerly been held by their Progenitours. I ſay not that they claimed thoſe Lands as theirs by Deſcent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their own Pedigree. Neither can any man therefore deny, that they were of old ſeated in *Aſia*, becauſe in late Ages they returned thither; unleſs he will think, that all thoſe Nations which from far parts have invaded and conquered the Land of *Shinaar*, may by that Argument be proved not to have iſſued from thence at the firſt.

Now, concerning *Samothes*, for his excellent wiſdom, ſirnamed *Dis*, whom *Annius* makes the Brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which Brother, *Moſes* never heard of, who ſpake his knowledge of *Japheths* Sons) they muſt find him in ſome old Poet: For *Functius*, a great *Beroſian*, confeſſeth: *Quis hic Samothes fuerit incertum eſt*; *Who this Samothes was, it is uncertain*; neither is there any proof that he was that ſame *Dis*, whom *Cæſar* ſaith the *Gaules* ſuppoſe to be their Anceſtor; yea, and *Vignier* confeſſeth with *Functius*: *Mays on ne ſcayt qui il eſtoit*; *No man knows who he was.*

In Chron.

Cæſar. Comment.

Vigni part. 1. Chron.

§. V.

Againſt the fabulous Beroſus *his Fiction, That the* Italian Janus *was* Noah.

But before I go on with *Noah* his Sons, I think it is neceſſary to diſprove the Fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himſelf; an invention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as he hath wreſted) by thoſe Authors of whom himſelf hath Commented: as the Fragment of *Beroſus*, *Fabius*, *Pictor*, *Cato*, *Lavinius* and others. For *Annius* ſeeks to perſwaded us, that *Noah* (ſurnamed *Janus*) was the ſame which founded *Genoa*, with other Cities in *Italy*, wherein he lived 92. years. This to diſprove, by *Moſes* ſilence, is a ſufficient argument to me, if there were nothing elſe to diſprove it. For, if he vouchſafed to remember the building of *Babel*, *Erec*, *Achad*, *Chalne* and *Nineve*, by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great mark to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92. years. But it were a needleſs labour for me to diſprove the authority of that *Beroſus*, on whom *Annius* groundeth, ſeeing ſo many learned men have ſo demonſtratively proved that Fragment to be counterfeit. Beſides that, *Tatianus* the *Aſſyrian*, in his Oration againſt the *Greeks*, avoweth, that the ancient and true *Beroſus* wrote onely three Books dedicated to *Antiochus* the Succeſſor of *Seleucus Nicanor*:

Ann. de Hetruſ. Pict. de ant. ſæculo. Cato de origen. Lavin. ibi. luſt. de Gall.

Joſeph. l. 1.

Nicanor: but *Annius* hath deviſed five Books, wherewith he honoureth *Beroſus*. And whereas *Beroſus* handled onely the eſtate of the *Chaldæans* and *Aſſyrians*, *Annius* hath filled this Fragment with the buſineſs of all the World. And if we may believe *Euſebius* better than *Annius*, then all the Kings of the *Latines* (before *Æneas*) conſumed but 150. years: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Æneas* arrival into *Italy*, there paſt 1126. (after the leaſt rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Codoman*) 1291. For *Janus* (who was the firſt of their Kings) lived at once with *Ruth*, who married *Booz* in the Worlds year (as ſome reckon) 2717. after the Floud 1064. and *Noah* died 350. years after the Floud: and ſo there paſt between *Janus* of *Italy*, and *Noah* ſurnamed *Janus* 704 years. For *Saturnus* ſucceeded *Janus*, *Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Fannus* after *Picus*, and *Latinus* followed *Fannus:* which *Latinus* lived at once with *Tautanes* the 27. King of *Aſſyria*; with *Pelaſgus* of *Peloponneſus*; with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampſon* Judge of *Iſrael*. Now, all theſe five Kings of the *Latines* having conſumed but one hundred and fifty years, and the laſt of them in the time of *Sampſon:* then reckoning upwards for one hundred and fifty years, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Janus* lived.

True it is, that the *Greeks* had their *Janus*; but this was not *Noah:* ſo had they *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*, the Son of *Deucalion*, from whom they draw the *Iones*, who were indeed the children of *Javan*, the fourth Son of *Japheth*. For the vulgar Tranſlation (where the *Hebrew* word is *Javan*) writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint*, *Hellas*; which is the ſame. So had they *Medus* the Son of *Medea*, whom they make the Parent of the *Medes*, though they were deſcended of a farr more ancient Father (to wit) *Madai* the third Son of *Japheth*.

Ezech. 27. 19, 23. and ſo the place of Eſai. 66. 19. (for Javan) Hellada: and (for the plural Javanim) one.

Laſtly, we ſee by a true experience, that the *Britiſh* Language hath remained among us above 2000. years, and the *Engliſh* Speech ever ſince the invaſion of the *Angles*, and the ſame continuance have all Nations obſerved among themſelves, though with ſome corruption and alteration. Therefore it is ſtrange, if either *Noah* (by them called *Janus*) had left in *Italy* his Grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spain*, that no plain reſemblance of the *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, or *Scythian*, (which no time could have quite extinguiſhed) ſhould have been found in the Languages of thoſe Countreys. For which reaſons we doubt not but theſe perſonal Plantations of *Janus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, &c. In *Italy*, *Spain*, or *France*, are meerly fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themſelves with the *Grecian Janus* which commanded them, and planted them, and who preceded the fall of *Troy* but 150. years (ſaith *Euſebius*) which was in the time of *Latinus*, the fifth King: which alſo Saint *Auguſtine* and *Juſtine* confirm: and this agreeth with reaſon, time, and poſſibility. And if this be not ſufficient to diſprove this vanity, I may out of themſelves add thus much: That whereas ſome of them make *Veſta* (others *Camaſena*) the wife of this *Janus*, who inſtituted the holy Fire of the *Veſtal Virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latines* and *Romans* taking from *Janus* all their Idolatrous and Heatheniſh Ceremonies) there is no man ſo impious, as to believe that *Noah* himſelf (who is ſaid by *Moſes* to *have walked with God*, to be a juſt man, and whom God of all mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or ſo wicked and ungrateful, to ſet up or deviſe any Heathen, Salvage, or Idolatrous adoration, or have inſtituted any Ceremony, contrary to that which he knew beſt pleaſing to God himſelf.

§. VI.

That Gomer *alſo and his Son* Togorma *of the Poſterity of* Japheth, *were firſt ſeated about* Aſia *the Leſs: and that from thence they ſpred Weſtward into* Europe, *and Northward into* Sarmatia.

TO turn now to the Sons of *Noah*, and the Worlds Plantation after the Floud: therein I obſerve, that as both reaſon and neceſſity taught them; ſo, when they multiplied in great numbers, and diſperſed themſelves into the next Countreys bordering to their firſt habitations, and from thence ſent forth *Colonies* elſewhere, it was in ſuch manner, as that they might repair to each other, and keep intelligence by River: becauſe the Land was yet Deſart, and overpreſt with Woods, Reeds, Boggs, and rotten Mariſhes. As when *Nimrod* ſeated in *Babylonia*, *Chuſh* took the South part of *Chaldæa* down the River of *Gehon*, by which he might paſs to and fro from *Babylon* to his own Plantation: thoſe alſo, which were of the Race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Ur*, or *Orchoa*, near the Lakes of *Chaldæa*, might by the ſame River get up to *Babylon*, and receive ſuccour from thence. All which Tract of Land upon *Gehon* Southward, *Moſes*, in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*, calleth the Land of *Chuſh:* becauſe the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Chuſhite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that Valley and ſtayed not in the Eaſt) were for a while oppreſt,

preſt, till God afterward by the ſeed of *Abraham* made them his own Nation and victorious. *Havilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and ſon of *Chuſh*, took both Banks of *Tygris*, eſpecially on the Eaſt ſide of the River: by which River his people might alſo paſs to and fro to *Babel*.

The Imperial ſeat of which Region of *Havilah* or *Suſian*, was antiently called *Chuſian* or *Chuſan*, afterward *Suſa*. *Chuſh* himſelf took the Banks of *Gehon*, and planted thoſe Countries Weſt-ward, and Southweſt-ward towards *Arabia* the Stony, and the Deſart, where *Ptolemy* placeth the City of *Chuſidia*, firſt *Chuſia*. *Ptol. Aſia Tab. 4.*

Seba, and *Sheba*, with the reſt that planted *Arabia fœlix*, had *Tygris*, to convey them into the *Perſian gulf*, which waſheth the banks of *Arabia fœlix* on the Eaſt ſide: ſo as thoſe ſons of *Cuſh* might take Land down the River as they pleaſed. Alſo the City of *Ninive* was by *Nimrod* founded on the ſaid River of *Tygris*, and from thence a *Colonie* paſs'd to *Charran*, ſtanding alſo upon a navigable branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Japheths* ſons ſettle themſelves together, and took their ſeats in *Aſia* the leſs: from whence they might indifferently ſtretch themſelves Northward, and Weſtward, into the next parts of *Europe*, called the Iſles of the *Gentiles*. And it ſeemeth very agreeable to reaſon, that both *Gomer*, *Magog*, and *Tubal*, ſate down firſt of all in that part of *Syria*, to the North of *Paleſtina* and *Phœnicia*: and from thence *Gomer*, or his children, paſs'd on into *Aſia* the leſs, as thoſe of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalines* ſpred themſelves into *Iberia*: and the *Magogians* more Northerly into *Sarmatian*. The firſt *Gomerians*, and firſt Planters in *Aſia* the leſs, held the Country of the *Cymmerians* (witneſs *Herodotus*) the ſame Region which was afterward by the *Gallo-Greeks* called *Galatia*, to whom Saint *Paul* wrote his Epiſtle ſo intituled. This Nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the invincible *Scythians* afterwards diſperſed, and forced from their firſt Plantations) gave names to divers places, as to the Mountains about *Albania* (called *Cymmerini*) and to the City of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: alſo *Boſphorus Cymmerius* took appellation from this Nation, in the out-let whereof was alſo a City of that name, called *Cymmerian*: which *Pliny* ſaith (miſtaking the place) had ſometime the name of *Cerberion*; but *Cerberion* was a Town in *Campania*, ſo called of the unhealthful waters ſavouring of Brimſtone, which *Auguſtus* cauſed to be cleanſed by letting in the water of the Lake *Lucrinus*. *Lib. 4.*

The children of *Tubal* ranged as far as *Iberia*, to whom the *Moſchici* were Neighbours, which others write *Meſhech*. The Prophet *Ezechiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the Prince of *Meſchech* and *Tubal*. For theſe *Meſchi* (which *Ptolemy* calleth *Moſchi*) inhabit *Syracena* a Province of *Armenia*, directly South from the Mountains *Moſchici*, in the Valley between the Mountains *Moſchici*, and the Mountains *Pariardes*: out of whoſe North part ſpringeth the River *Phaſis*; from the Eaſt part *Araxis*; and from the Weſt *Euphrates*: and of this *Meſchech* are deſcended alſo the *Moſcovians* (ſaith *Melanthon*); and it may be, that in proceſs of time ſome of them inhabited thoſe Regions alſo: For *Meſhech* (ſaith *Melanthon*) ſignifieth *extendens*, *enlarging* or *ſtretching forth*. *Togorma* alſo at firſt did inhabit amongſt his Parents and Kindred: The *Togormians* were alſo called *Giblei*, a people neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a *Tetrarchy* of *Phœnicia*, the ſame which *Pliny* calleth *Gaben*: from whence *Solomon* had his moſt excellent Maſons, which hewed ſtones for the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. Thence the *Togormians* ſtretched into the leſs *Armenia*, whoſe Kings were hence called *Tigranes*, and their Cities *Tigranokartæ*: of which Cities *Tigranes*, ſubdued by *Lucullus* the *Roman*, built one. *Hieroſolymitanus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbary*; forgetting the prophecy of *Ezechiel* againſt the *Tyrians*: *They of the houſe of Togorma, brought to thy Fairs, Horſes, and horſemen, and Mules*; which could not well be driven over the whole length of the Mediterran Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But *Joſephus* takes them for the parents of the *Phrygians*; which I do not deny, but they might be, in the enſuing ages: and ſo might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred years after the twelfth of *Nimrod's* reign. The *Jews* conceive that the *Turks* came of thoſe *Togormians*, becauſe their Emperor is called *Togor*. The *Chaldeans* make them the Fathers of the *Germanes*. But *Laonicus* affirms, that the *Turks* deſcended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Muſcovia*. But for theſe ſubderivations it were infinit to examine them. Only of the firſt and ſecond Plantation, and of the firſt Nations after the Floud, is the matter which I labour to diſcover; and therein to open the ignorance of ſome, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we muſt *Note*, that thoſe grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet, or (perchance) of leſs underſtanding, and had not therefore the leading of *Colonies* ſent out, their proper habitations could

1 King. 5. 18.

Jun. in Gen. 10. verſe 3.

Judg. 17. 14.

Note.

could be hardly known: only reason hath taught us, that they dwelt among the rest, and were covered with the fame of others, who took on them the Conduction and Dominion over the rest.

From *Madai* the third son of *Japheth*, were the *Medes*. The *Grecians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the son of *Medea*.

§. VII.

Of Javan *the fourth son of* Japheth: *and of* Mesech *of* Aram, *and* Meshech *of* Japheth.

OF *Javan* the fourth son of *Japheth* came the *Iones*, which were afterwards called the *Greeks*: and so the *Latine* and *Greek* Interpreters for *Javan* write *Greece*, as in *Esay*: *Et mittam ex iis qui salvati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Græciam: And I will send those that escape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece.* The *Geneva* here useth the word (*Tarshish*) for *Tarsus*, a City in *Cilicia*, though *Tarsis* in many places be taken for the Sea. The *Tigurine* and the *Geneva* use the names *Tubal* and *Javan*, and not *Italy* and *Greece*: keeping the same *Hebrew* words. Of the *Iones* were the *Athenians*, though themselves dream that they were *Aborigines*, or men without Ancestors, and growing (as it were) out of the soile it self: who abounding in people, sent Colonies into *Asia* the less, of whom came the *Iones* of those parts. Others derive the *Athenians* from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, the son of *Deucalion*; but the antiquity of *Javan* marrs the fashion of that supposition, who so many years preceded *Xuthus*, *Ion* or *Deucalion*. *Pausanias* tels us that *Xuthus* stole out of *Thessaly* with all his Fathers treasure, and his Brothers portions, and arriving at *Athens*, he was graciously received by *Erictheus*, who gave him his Daughter in marriage; of whom he received two sons, *Ion* and *Achæus*, the supposed Ancestors of the *Athenians*: (For *Attica* was called *Ionia*, saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Theseus*;) who, when he had joyned *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a Pillar in that *Isthmos* or *Strait*, which fastneth *Peloponnesus* to the other part of *Greece*: writing on that part which looketh towards the East, these words: *Hæc non sunt Peloponnesus, ast Ionia*; *These Countries are not Peloponnesus, but of Ionia*: and on the other side which looketh towards the South, and into *Peloponnesus*, this: *These parts are Peloponnesus, and not Ionia.*

Thucyd.

Strabo out of *Hecatæus* affirmeth that the *Iones* came out of *Asia* into *Greece*, which is contrary to the former opinion: That the *Iones* of *Greece* transporting certain companies into *Asia* the less, the name of *Iones* was thereby therein retained. And though *Strabo* knew no more thereof than he learned of the *Greeks* themselves, yet I find this conjecture of *Hæcateus* reasonable enough. For though it were to him unknown, yet sure I am that *Asia* the less had people before *Greece* had any: and that *Javan* did not flie from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but took *Asia* the less in his passage; and from thence past over the neerest way, leaving his own name to some maritimate Province on that side, as he did to that part of *Greece* so called. But yet *Strabo* himself believed, that *Ionia* took the name from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*; for so much he had learned from themselves: which was also the opinion of *Pausanias*. True it is, that the *Greeks* in after-times cast themselves into that part of *Asia* the Less, opposite unto them, which they held for divers years. And howsoever the *Greeks* vaunt themselves to be Fathers of Nations, and the most antient; yet all approved Historians (not their own) deride and disprove their pride and vanity therein. For this dispute of Antiquity (among prophane Writers) rested between the *Scythians* and the *Egyptians*, as *Justine* out of *Trogus*, in the War between *Vexorus* of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, witnesseth: which preceded far the reign of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was ever heard of. And it is also manifest, that in *Cecrops* time the *Greeks* were all Salvages, without Law or Religion, living like brute Beasts in all respects: and *Cecrops* (saith Saint *Augustine*) lived together with *Moses*.

Lib. 18. de Civ. Dei, c. 10.

The sixth son of *Japheth* was *Meshech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Mosech* (a part of those Nations commanded by *Gog* the chief Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*.) But this we must remember, that between *Mesech* the son of *Aram*, and *Meshech* (or *Mosech*) the son of *Japheth*, there is little difference in name, and both by divers Interpreters diversly written. *Montanus*, with the Vulgar, writeth *Mesech*, the son of *Aram*, *Mes*; the *Geneva*, *Mash*; *Junius*, *Mesch*. But it may be gathered out of the 120. *Psalm*, that either *Meshech* the son of *Japheth*, was the parent of those people, or gave the name to that Province wherein *David* hid himself: or else (which may rather seem) that it took name from *Mesch* the son of *Aram*. For *David* bewayling his exile (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious People) useth these words: *Wo is me that I remain in Mesech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar*: which *Junius* converteth thus; *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam*

tam diu: habito tanquam Scenitæ Kedareni: The *Septuagint* gives it this ſence: *Wo is me* Pſal. 120. v. 5. *becauſe my habitation* (or abode) *is prolonged, who dwell with the Inhabitants of Kedar:* with which this of the *Latine* agreeth; *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus eſt, habitavi cum habitantibus Kedar:* The *Chaldean* otherwiſe, and in theſe words: *O me miſerum, quia peregrinatus ſum Aſianis, habitavi cum taburnaculis Arabum; O wretch, that I am, for I have travailed among thoſe of Aſia: I have dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabians.* But howſoever or which ſoever converſion be taken for the beſt, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Province of *Arabia Petræa*; and the *Chaldean* putteth *Aſia* in ſtead of *Meſech*, but the *Hebrew* it ſelf hath *Meſech*. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, (as it is moſt likely, becauſe it anſwers to *Kedar*, the name of a Nation) ſeeing *Meſch* the ſon of *Aram*, 1 *Chron.* 17. is called *Meſhech*, it is indifferent whether this Nation took name from *Meſhech* or *Meſch* both bordering *Judæa*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for ſo *Ezechiel* makes *Meſech* and *Tubal*. But as for thoſe that take *Meſech* out of the word *Moſoch* (given by the *Septuagint*) to be the *Muſcovian:* ſure they preſume much upon the affinity of names, as aforeſaid. Sure I am that *David* never travelled ſo far North (for to him *Muſcovia* was utterly unknown) but about the border of *Kedar* (it may be) he was often in all the time of his perſecution: the ſame being a City on the Mountains of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Moſoch* the Father of the *Muſcovians:* and herein alſo *Melanchton* runs with the tide of common opinion, and ſets *Meſech* in *Muſcovia*, though with ſome better advice of judgment; as, firſt ſeated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence travailing Northward: expounding the places of the 120. *Pſalm*, (*Hei mihi quòd exulo in Meſech*) to ſignifie, *Gentis ejus feritatem inſignem eſſe; That the ferity of that Nation exceeded*: which fierceneſs or brutality of the *Muſcovians*, *David* never proved, or (perchance) never heard of. But the ſame ferity or cruelty which thoſe Northern *Muſcovians* had, may aſwell be aſcribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarens*. For this Country Gen. 25. 13. took name of *Kedar* the ſecond ſon of *Iſmael*, of whom a people of equal fierceneſs to any of the world were begotten, both in thoſe times and long after, even to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Iſmaelites*, and *Saracens*, may be accounted one people:) the ſame being foreſhewed by the ſpeech of the Angel to *Hagar*, Gen. 16. *v.* 12. *And he ſhall be a wilde man: his hand ſhall be againſt every man, and every mans hand againſt him.* Now *Arabia* the *Deſart* (ſaith *Pliny*) confronteth the *Arabians Cochlei* on the Eaſt, and the *Cedræi* Southward, both which joyn together upon the *Nabathæi*. So it appeareth (as before) that *Meſech*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma*, and *Magog*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Iſrael*, and that *Kedar* alſo did joyn to *Meſech:* all which were Regions of *Syria*, or of *Aſia* the Leſs, commanded by the ſucceſſors of *Seleucus*, enemies of the re-eſtabliſhment of *Iſrael* and *Juda*. But (as I have already ſaid) it might well be, that long after the firſt Plantation the iſſue of *Meſech* (or *Moſoch*) might paſs into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hyrcania*, and give names both to *Mazega* in the one, and to the Mountains *Moſchici* in the other, and from thence might ſend people more Northerly into *Muſcovia*, and ſo all opinions ſaved. But all ſalvage Nations over-grown and uncultivated, do (for the moſt part) ſhew a late Plantation, even as civility, letters, and magnificent building, witneſs antiquity.

Tyras, the ſeventh ſon of *Japheth*, which *Montanus* reckons among the ſons of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authors (worthy the examination) affirm. *Joſephus* was the firſt that determined hereof: and becauſe the Scriptures are altogether ſilent, what part of the World *Tyras* peopled, the conjectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of diſpute. It followeth now to ſpeak of the Sons of *Gomer*, which were three, *Mont. in Chr.*

Aſcanez, *Riphath*, and *Togorma*.

§. VIII.

Of Aſcanez *and* Riphath, *the two elder Sons of* Gomer.

Aſcanez was the Father of thoſe which the *Greeks* call *Regini*, (ſaith *Joſephus*) but he gives no reaſon why.

Euſebius makes *Aſcanez* the Father of the *Goths*. The *Jews* in their *Thargum* make him the root of the *Germane* Nation; but their expoſitions are commonly very idle. *Pliny* findeth *Aſcania* in *Phrygia*, neer the Rivers of *Hilas* and *Cios:* *Melanchton* being of the ſame opinion, that the *Tuiſcones* were deſcended of the *Aſcanez:* (for *Tuiſcones*, ſaith he, is as much to ſay, as of the *Aſcanez*, *præpoſito articulo die Aſcanes*) and that the word ſignifieth, *a Religious Keeper of fire:* it being an antient ſuperſtition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombs of Martyrs. Not far from *Phrygia* was the Lake *Aſcania*, known by that name in the *Romans* time. And among the Kings which came to *Melanch. in Cor. lib.* 1.

Hom. Iliad. 2. the ſuccour of *Troy*, was *Aſcanius* (*Deo ſimilis*, ſaith *Homer*) *like unto God:* becauſe he was beautifull and ſtrong: for in the ſame manner doth *Virgil* grace *Æneas*, *Os humeroſque Deo ſimilis*; *In face and body like one of the gods: Virgil* alſo remembreth ſuch a River, together with the Hills *Gargara:* as, *Illas ducit amor trans* Gargara, *tranſque ſonantem* Aſcanium; *Appetite leads them both over the mountains* Gargara, *and the roaring* Aſcanius. *Virg. Geor. l. 3.* But this *Pliny* maketh more plain in the deſcription of *Phrygia.* For he placeth the City of *Brillion* upon the River *Aſcanius*, which is adjoyning to *Myſia*, and is near the border of the *Trojan* Empire: and the Lake *Aſcanez* he directs us to find by the deſcription of *Pruſia*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lyeth farr within the Countries of *Bithynia:* and then from *Pruſia* to *Nicea* are accounted 25. miles, in which way this Lake lieth, even between *Pruſia* and *Nicea.* And ſo *Junius* (as I conceive him) takes them of *Aſcanez*, to be the Inhabitants of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, and thoſe North parts of *Aſia. Stephanus de Urbibus* makes it a City of *Troas*, built by *Aſcanius* the Son of *Æneas:* ſaying, that there was another of that name in *Myſia.* Of *Aſcania* a Lake of *Bithynia*, *Ptolemy* witneſſeth: and *Strabo* giveth *Aſcania* both a Lake, a River, and a Town in *Myſia*, near unto *Cio*; which alſo agreeth with *Pliny.* For *Pliny* findeth *Pruſia* (before ſpoken of) near *Cio*, and calleth the Iſlands before *Troy*, *Aſcanes.*

Now, whether theſe places took name of *Aſcanez* the Son of *Gomer*, or of *Aſcanius* the Son of *Æneas*, it might be queſtioned: ſure it is, that *Aſcanius* which brought ſuccour to the *Trojans*, could not take his name from *Æneas* Son, who was then either exceeding young, or rather unborn: and it ſeemeth that the Countreys whence thoſe ſuccours came, were not out of any part of *Phrygia*, or *Myſia*, but farther off, and from the North parts of all *Aſia* the leſs, which by *Hieremy* is called *Aſcanez*, by the figure *Synechdoche*, as *Junius* thinketh. Out of thoſe teſtimonies therefore which deceive not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet *Hieremy* we ſhall learn of what Nation the *Aſcanez* were, whoſe words are theſe: *Cap. 51. v. 27.* *Set up a Standard in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nations againſt her, call up the Kings of* Ararat, Minni, *and* Aſcanez, *againſt her*, &c. meaning, againſt the *Babylonians. Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as moſt Interpreters conſent, ſo called of the Mountains of *Ararat* which run through it: *Minni*, the leſſer *Armenia*; *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni.* For *Minni* was the ancient name (ſaith *Junius* and others before him:) and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, which contained all that Tract from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coaſts of *Phœnicia*, and *Palæſtina*; and therefore *Meſopotamia* being in elder times but a Province of *Syria*, the Scriptures difference it in the Story of *Jacob* and *Eſau*, and call it *Aram-Padan.* Then if theſe two Nations were of the *Armenians*, and *Aſcanez* joyned with them (who altogether united under *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the ſpoil of the *Babylonian* Empire) we ſhall erre much to call *Askenez Germany*, or *Almain:* for we hear of no ſwart *Ruttiers* at that ſiege. But the *Askenez* were of thoſe Nations which were either ſubject or allied to the *Medes:* of which if any of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the diſperſion of Nations was in after-times without acount. But for the opinion of *Euſebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Joſephus*, who calls them *Rhegini*; or of the *Jews*, who will have them to be *Almains*; when they confirm it either by Scriptures or Reaſon, I will think as they do.

Of *Riphath*, the ſecond Son of *Gomer*, there is mention in the firſt of *Chronicles. Beroaldus* and *Pererius* think that he wandered farr off from the reſt of his Brothers, and therefore no memory of his Plantation. But I ſee nothing to the contrary, but that he might ſeat himſelf with the reſt of his Family: for there wanted no room or ſoil in thoſe days for all the Sons and Grand-children of *Noah.* Therefore I take it to be well underſtood, that the *Riphei* were of *Riphath*, which the *Greeks* afterward s (according to *Joſephus*) called the *Paphlagones:* and *Riphei* (ſaith *Melanchthon*) ſignifieth Giants. Theſe people were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia:* the moſt of number and power among them, *Sarmatarũ gens maxima Heneti, The greateſt number of the* Sarmatians *were the* Heneti; who ſpake the ancient *Polac:* which being firſt called *Riphei* (for the love of ſome of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names, and became *Heneti* (a cuſtom exceeding common in thoſe times) and dwelt firſt in *Paphlagonia*, as *Homer* witneſſeth, and ſo doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks:* Now, when theſe *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) ſought new Regions, they came along the ſhores of *Euxinus*, and filled the North-part of *Europe*, containing *Ruſſia*, *Lituania*, and *Polonia.* From thence thy croſt thwart the Land, and peopled *Illyria*, deſirous (ſaith *Melanchthon*) of a warmer ſoil of Fruit and Wine. Theſe *Heneti*, or *Veneti*, whom *Melanchthon* taketh to be one people, filled all the Land between the *Baltick* and *Adriatick*

Melanch. in Carion.

Adriatick Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulf *Venedicus* is found in *Russia*. This Nation, after they were possest of *Lituania* and *Polonia*, disturbed the Plantation of the *Boii* and *Hermondurii*. Therefore it seemeth to me, that of *Riphath*, came the *Riphei*, afterward *Heneti*; and so thinketh *Arias Montanus*, first seated in *Paphlagonia*, but in course of time, Lords of *Sarmatia*, and those other parts before remembred, chiefly between the Rivers of *Vistula* and *Albis*. The name (saith *Melanchthon*) signifieth wandering, or wanderers, or *Nomades*: a people which lived by White-meats and Fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the first Ages.

Of the third Son of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I have spoken already; now therefore of *Javans* children, which were four:

Elisa, *Tharsis*, *Cethim*, *Dodonim*.

§. IX.

Of the four Sons of Javan: *and of the double signification of* Tharsis, *either for a proper Name, or for the Sea.*

OF *Elisa*, or *Elipha*, came the *Æoles*: and of this *Elisa*, all the *Greeks* were called *Hellenes*, saith *Montanus*. *Melanchthon* makes *Elisa* the Father of the *Æoles* in *Asia* side: others of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*; or of both. And seeing the *Greeks* were descended in general of *Javan*, it is probable that *Æoles* and the *Elei*, took name of *Elisa* his eldest Son. *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chap. speaking of *Tyre*, nameth the Isles of *Elisa*, *Hyacinthus & purpura de insulis* Elisæ *facta sunt operimentum tuum: Blue Silk and purple, brought from the Isles of* Elisa, *was their covering*. The *Chaldæans* for *Elisa*, write *Italia*: but the *Vulgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Geneva*, and *Junius*, keep the word *Elisa*: and so I think they might do with reason. For there was not found any such Purple-Die in *Italy* in those days, nor since, that I can read of: but those Isles of *Elisa*, were by a better conjecture the Isles of *Greece*; and the best Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it self: and before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the Coast of *Getulia*. *Vers.* 7.

Tharsis the second Son of *Javan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharsis* is the Metropolis. *Montanus*, for *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*, understands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (reserving the respect due to so learned a man) he was much mistaken in that conjecture. The *Chaldæan Paraphrast* puts *Carthage* for *Tharsis*, but it hath no authority nor warrant of reason therein. So likewise, where it is written, that the Ships of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharsis*, and brought thence Gold, Silver, Elephants teeth, &c. the *Chaldæan Paraphrast* translates *Tharsis* (*Africa*.) But *Solomons* Ships were prepared in the Red-Sea at *Esion-Gaber*, in the Bay of *Elana*, near unto *Madian*, where *Jethro* (*Moses* Father-in-law) inhabited; a Province of *Arabia Petrea*, *Idumæa*, or of the *Chusites*; and they sailed to the higher part of the *East-India*. For it had been a strange Navigation to have spent three years in the passage between *Judæa* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might have been sailed in six or ten days. And if so great riches might have been found within the bounds of the *Mediterrane* Sea, all the other neighbouring Princes would soon have entertained that Trade also. But this enterprise of *Solomon* is in this sort written of, in the first of *Kings*: *Also King* Solomon *made a Navie of Ships in* Esion-Gaber, *which is beside* Elath, *and the brink of the Red-Sea in the Land of* Edom: *and* Hyram *sent with the Navie his servants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the servants of* Solomon: *and they came to* Ophir, *and fet from thence* 420. *Talents of gold*, &c. But as the Nations about *Pontus* thought no Sea in the World like unto their own, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that onely (whereof it came, that *Pontus* was a word used for the Sea in general) so, because the *Israelites* and the *Phœnicians* knew no other Sea than that of the *Mediterrane* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharsis* had the greatest Ships, and were the first Navigators in those parts with such Vessels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word *Tharsis* used often for the Sea. And whereas it is said that the Ships of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharsis*, that phrase is not strange at all; for we use it ordinarily wheresoever we navigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are set out every year, or every three years to the Sea, and therefore *Tharsis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but used for the Sea it self. But in this place, *Tharsis* is truly taken for *Tharsis*, the chief City in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharsis* the second Son of *Javan*, or by his Successors in memory of their first Parent. To this City arrived *Alexander Macedon*, before he gave the first overthrow to *Darius*, and casting himself into the River to bathe and wash his body, he fell into an extreme Fever, and great danger of death: and in this City of *Tharsis* was S. *Paul* born. Now, this agreeth with the reason and nature of a Plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other Sons inhabiting *Asia* the less, and that

part of *Syria* adjoyning) *Javan*, who was to pass over the Sea into *Greece*, took the edge of the same Coast, and first planted the *Iones* on that shore: gave the Islands betwen *Asia* the less and *Greece* to *Elisa*, and left *Tharsis* upon the Sea-side in *Cilicia*; of whom that City took name.

The third Son of *Javan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romans* and *Italians*, saith *Beroaldus*, but I allow better of *Melanchons* opinion, who makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voice plural (saith he) and signifies *percussores*, though in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of *Isai.* 23. (according to *Melanchon*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*: *Hae calamitas ab* Esai *prædicta est, qui capite vicesimo tertio inquit, venturos esse everssores Tyri ex terra* Cittim; *This calamity* (saith Melanchon) *was foreshewed by* Esai *the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the destroyers of* Tyre *were come out of* Cittim. And although the children of *Israel* esteemed all men Islanders, which came to them by Sea, and separate from the Continent (and so also *Cittim* might be taken for *Italy*, saith *Beoraldus*) yet we must take the first performance of the former Prophecie which took effect by the destruction of the *Tyrians* by *Alexander*, who, after seven Moneths siege, entred that proud City, and cut in pieces seven thousand principal Citizens; strangled two thousand, and changed the freedom of thirteen thousand others into bondage and slavery. Now, that *Macedon* was taken for *Cethim*, it doth appear plainly in the first of the *Macchabees*, in these words: *After that* Alexander *the* Macedonian, *the Son of* Philip, *went forth of the Land of* Cethim, *and slew* Darius *King of the* Persians, *and* Medes. *Josephus* sets *Cethim* in the Isle of *Cyprus*, in which (saith he) there remaineth the City *Citium*, the Country of *Zeno* the Philosopher (witnes *Laertius*;) which City *Pintus* upon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that it stood in S. *Hieroms* time. So it may be that all the Islands in ancient times by the *Hebrews* were called the Islands of *Cethim*; and in that sence might *Cyprus* be so called also; and yet, because *Tharsis* was the very next Port to *Cyprus*, and directly over against it, it is also very probable, that *Cethim* dwelt by his brother *Tharsis*: and finding that Island too straight for his people, after they were increased, and that the rest of the Coasts, both in *Asia* and *Greece*, were inhabited by his Father and brothers, he sent *Colonies* over the *Ægean* Sea, and inhabited *Macedonia*.

Dodonim the fourth Son of *Javan*, and the youngest brother (by the most opinions) sate down at *Rhodes*, as near *Cethim*, *Tharsis*, and *Elisa*, as he could. For *Dodonim* and *Rhodanim* are used indifferently by many Translators: the *Hebrew* (*D*) and the *Hebrew* (*R*) are so alike, as the one may easily be taken for the other, as all *Hebricians* affirm. There is also found in *Epirus* the City of *Dodona*, in the Province of *Molossia*. And as *Cethim*, when he wanted soil in *Cyprus*: so *Dodonim* (seated in a farr less Island) did of necessity send his people farther off; and keeping alongst the Coast, and finding *Peloponnesus* in the possession of *Elisa*, he passed a little further on the Westward, and planted in *Epyrus*. And though the City of *Dodona* was not then built (or perchance not so ancient as *Dodonim* himself) yet his posterity might give it that name in the memory of their first Parent, as it happened all the World over. For names were given to Cities, Mountains, Rivers, and Provinces, after the names of *Noahs* children, and grand-children; not in all places by themselves, but by their successors many years after: every of their Families being desirous to retain among them, by those memories, out of what branch themselves were taken and grafted else-where. And because great Kingdoms were often by new Conquerers newly named, and the greatest Cities often fired and demolished, therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gave their own names, or the names of their Ancestors, to Mountains and Rivers, as to things (after their judgments) freest from any alteration.

Thus then did *Javan* settle himself and his children in the edge and frontier of *Asia* the less, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in *Greece*, and the Islands and neighbour Provinces thereof, as *Japheth* their Father had done in the body of the lesser *Asia*, together with *Javans* brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Tubal*, *Mesech*, and the rest, round about him. And in like sort did *Chush* (the Son of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, and the borders thereof towards the West and South-west: and the Sons of *Chush* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it self) travelled Southward in *Arabia fœlix*, and South-westward into *Arabia Petræa*: the rest of his children holding the Regions adjoyning to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the brother of *Chush* in like manner took the way of *Egypt*: and his brother *Canaan* the Region of *Palestina* adjoyning. The Sons of *Canaan* had their portions in *Canaan*, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the *Hebrews*, and to those of the Sons of *Shem*, which spread themselves towards

wards the West, and the borders of the *Mediterrane* Sea: of which I shall speak hereafter. But first of the Sons of *Cham* or *Ham*; which were four:

Chush, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*.

§. X.

That the seat of Chush *the eldest Son of* Ham, *was in* Arabia, *not in* Æthiopia: *and of strange Fables, and ill Translations of Scriptures, grounded on the mistaking of this point.*

¶. I.

Of Josephus *his Tale of an* Æthiopess, *Wife of* Moses, *grounded on the mistaking of the seat of* Chush.

THat *Ham* was the Father of the *Egyptians*, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. *Psalm*, vers. 51. *Then* Israel *came to* Egypt, *and* Jacob *was a stranger in the Land of* Ham: and in the 78. *Psalm*, *He slew all the first-born in* Egypt, *even the beginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles of* Ham. There is also found a great City in *Thebaidai*, called *Cheramis* (as it were the City of *Ham*) of which name *Herodotus* also discovers an Island in the same Region. But because *Chush* is the elder Son of *Ham*, it agreeth with order to speak first of him. Now, though I have already in the description of *Paradise* handled this question, and (I hope) proved that *Chush* could not be *Æthiopia*: yet seeing it cometh now to his turn to speak for himself, I will add some farther proof to the former. For, the manifestation hereof sets many things streight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and senceless interpretations. Surely, howsoever the *Septuagint* and *Josephus* have herein failed, that *Chush* could not be *Æthiopia*, but *Arabia* (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happy and the Desart: which Regions *Chush* and the *Chusites* presently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they first sate down altogether. And there is nothing which so well cleareth the Controversie, as the true interpretation of the place, *Num.* 12. vers. 1. where *Moses* his Wife is called a *Chusite*; together with some places which speak of *Nebuchodonozor*'s Conquests. For whereas *Josephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place *Numb.* 12. vers. 1. as also else-where, understand *Chush* for *Æthiopia*, we must give credit to *Moses* himself herein; and then it will appear that *Josephus* was grosly mistaken, or vainly led by his own invention. For *Josephus*, presuming that *Chush* was *Æthiopia*, and therefore that the Wife of *Moses* (which in Scripture, *Numb.* 12. vers. 1. is called a Woman of *Chush*) was a Woman of the Land of *Æthiopia*, feigneth that *Tharbis* the Daughter of the King of *Æthiopia*, fell in love with the person and fame of *Moses*, while he besieged *Saba* her Fathers City; and to the end, to obtain *Moses* for her Husband, she practised to betray both her Parents, Countrey, and Friends, with the City it self, and to deliver it into *Moses* hands: The Tale (if it be worth the reciting) lieth thus in *Josephus*. And after he hath described the strength of the *Æthiopian* City *Meroe*, which he saith at length *Chambyses* called so from the name of his Sister (the old name being *Saba*) he goeth on in these words: *Hic cum* Moses *residere exercitum otiosum ægrè ferret, hoste non audente manus conserere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat* Æthiopum *Regis filia nomine* Tharbis, *&c.* which Tale hath this sence in *English*: *When* Moses *was grieved that his Army lay idle, because the Enemy besieged durst not sally and come to handy-strokes, there happened this accident in the mean while: The* Æthiopian *King had a Daughter called* Tharbis, *who at some assaults given, beheld the person of* Moses, *and withall admired his valour. And knowing that* Moses *had not onely up-held and restored the falling estate of the* Egyptians, *but had also brought the conquering* Æthiopians *to the very brink of subversion: these things working in her thoughts, together with her own affection, which daily increased, she made means to send unto him by one of her trustiest servants, to offer her self unto him, and become his Wife; which* Moses *on this condition entertained, that she should first deliver the City into his possession; whereupon she condescending, and* Moses *having taken oath to perform this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.*

Herod. in Euterpe.

Antiq. l. 2. cap. 5.

¶. II.

A Dispute against the Tale of Josephus.

THis Tale (whereof *Moses* hath not a word) hath *Josephus* fashioned, and therein also utterly mistaken himself, in naming a City of *Arabia* for a City of *Æthiopia*, as he names *Æthiopia* it self to have been the Countrey of *Moses* his Wife, when (indeed) it was *Arabia*. For *Saba* is not in *Æthiopia*, but in *Arabia*, as both *Strabo* and all other Geographers, ancient and modern, teach us, saying, that the *Sabæans* are *Arabians*, and not *Æthiopians*; except *Josephus* can

can perſwade us, that the Queen of *Saba*, which came from the South to hear the Wiſdom of *Solomon*, were a *Negro*, or *Black-Moor*. And though *Damianus à Goes* ſpeak of certain Letters to the King of *Portugal* from *Preſter John*, of the *Abiſſines*: wherein that *Æthiopian* King would perſwade the *Portugals*, that he was deſcended of the Queen of *Saba*, and of *Solomon*; yet it doth no where appear in the Scriptures, that *Solomon* had any Son by that great Princeſs: which had it been true, it is likely that when *Siſhac* King of *Egypt* invaded *Roboam*, and ſackt *Hieruſalem*, his Brother (the Son of *Saba* and *Solomon*) who joyned upon *Egypt*, would both have impeached that enterprize, as alſo given aid and ſuccour to *Roboam* againſt *Jeroboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelve Tribes to his own obedience. Neither is it any thing againſt our Opinion of *Moſes* his Wife, to have been an *Arabian*, that the Scriptures teach us, that *Moſes* married the Daughter of *Jethro*, Prieſt of *Midian* or *Madian*: which ſtanding on the North-coaſt of the Red-Sea, over againſt the body of *Egypt*, and near *Eſion-Gaber*, where *Solomon* provided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red-Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Idumæa* joyneth to the Tribe of *Juda* by the North; to *Arabia Petræa*, by the Eaſt; to the Mediterrane, by the Weſt; and to the Red-Sea, by the South-eaſt. And if we mark the way which *Moſes* took when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Iſrael* thence, it will appear that he was no ſtranger in *Arabia*: in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it ſelf, he had formerly lived fourty years; where it ſeemeth, that beſides his carefull bringing up in *Egypt*, he was inſtructed by *Jethro* in the *Egyptians* learning. For *Joſephus* confeſſeth, and S. *Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the Wiſdom of the *Egyptians*. But on the other ſide, this Text makes much againſt *Joſephus*, where it is written in *Exodus* the ſecond, *Therefore* Moſes *fled from* Pharaoh, *and dwelt in the Land of* Madian *or* Midian, and not in *Æthiopia*. And in the third Chapter, it is as plain as words can expreſs, in what Region *Madian* was, where it is written, *When* Moſes *kept the Sheep of* Jethro *his Father-in-law, Prieſt of* Madian, *and drave the Flock to the Deſart, and came to the mountain of God in* Horeb. Now, that Mount *Horeb* is not in *Æthiopia*, every infant knoweth. And if we may believe *Moſes* himſelf, then was not the Wife of *Moſes* purchaſed in that manner which *Joſephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Countrey and friends) neither had ſhe the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was ſhe a *Negro*, but a *Madianiteſs*. And as God worketh the greateſt things by the ſimpleſt means: ſo it pleaſed him from a Shepherd to call *Moſes*, and after him *David*, and by them to deliver his People firſt and laſt. For *Moſes* ſitting by a Well (as diſconſolate, and a ſtranger) defended the Daughters of *Reguel* from the other Shepherds, and drew them Water to water their Sheep: upon which occaſion (by God ordained) he was entertained by *Jethro*, whoſe Daughter he married, and not for any betraying of Towns or Countreys.

Verſ. 15.

Exod. 2.

From hence alſo came *Jethro* to *Moſes* at *Rephidim*, not far from *Idumæa*, and finding the inſupportable government of ſuch a multitude, he adviſed him to diſtribute this weighty charge, and to make Governours and Judges of every Tribe and Family. And if *Jethro* had been an *Æthiopian*, it had been a farr progreſs for him to have paſſed through all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moſes*, and to have found *Moſes* in the border of *Idumæa*: the *Ægyptians* hating *Moſes*, and all that favoured him. But the paſſing of *Moſes* through *Arabia Petræa* (which joyneth to *Madian*) proveth that *Moſes* was well acquainted in thoſe parts, in which the ſecond time he wandered fourty years, and did by theſe late travels of his, ſeek to inſtruct the Children of *Iſrael* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plenty and reſt. For he found them nouriſhed up with the milk of Idolatry, and obſtinate in the Religion of the *Heathen*, and finding that thoſe ſtiff Plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perſwaſion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Deſarts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from thoſe he might receive fruit, agreeable to his own deſire, and Gods Commandments.

Exod. 3. 10.

Laſtly, this Opinion of *Joſephus* is condemned by *Auguſtinus Chryſamenſis*, where alſo he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who avowed that *Moſes* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sephora*: His own words have this beginning: *Mentitur etiam* Apollinaris *duas uxores habuiſſe* Moſen, *&c.* Apollinaris *alſo lyeth, in affirming that* Moſes *had two Wives: and who doth not perceive theſe things feigned by them? for it is manifeſt, that the Wife of* Moſes *was* Zephora, *Daughter to the Prieſt or Preſident of Madian: and that Madian cannot be taken for* Æthiopia *beyond* Egypt; *being the ſame that joyneth to* Arabia: So farr *Chryſamenſis.*

Sixt. Senenſ. Bibl.

§. III.

Chuſh *ill expounded for* Æthiopia, *Ezechiel* 29. 10.

NOw, as *Chuſh* is by the *Septuagint* converted *Æthiopia*, and the Wife of *Moſes* therefore called *Æthiopiſſa*: ſo in the conqueſt of *Nebuchodonoſor* is *Æthiopia* written for *Arabia*. For by the words of *Ezechiel*, it is manifeſt that *Nebuchodonoſor* was never in *Æthiopia*. *Behold* (ſaith *Ezechiel*, ſpeaking of the perſon of this great *Aſſyrian*) *I come upon thee and upon thy Rivers, and I will make the Land of* Egypt *utterly waſte and deſolate, from the Tower of* Seveneh, *even to the borders of the* Black-Moors: which laſt words ſhould have been thus converted: *From the Tower* Seveneh, *to the borders of the* Chuſites, or *Arabians*, between which two is ſituated all *Egypt*. For to ſay, from the borders of *Seveneh* to the *Æthiopians*, hath no ſence at all, *Seveneh* it ſelf being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and joyning to *Æthiopia*, or the Land of the *Black-Moors*. So as if *Nebuchodonoſors* conqueſt had been but between *Seveneh* and the border of *Æthiopia*, it were as much to ſay, and did expreſs no other victory than the conqueſt of all that Land and Countrey, lying between *Middleſex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countries joyn together; or all the North parts of *England* between *Barwick* and *Scotland*: for this hath the ſame ſence with the former, if any man ſought to expreſs by theſe two bounds, the Conqueſt of *England*: *Barwick* being the North border of *England*, as *Seveneh* or *Syena* is the South bound of *Egypt*, ſeated in *Thebaida*, which toucheth *Æthiopia*. But by the words of *Ezechiel* it appeareth, that *Nebuchodonoſor* never entred into any part of *Æthiopia*, although the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and all other (in effect) have written *Æthiopia* for *Chuſh*.

Ezech. 29. 10.

§. IV.

Another place of Ezechiel, *Chap.* 30. *Verſ.* 9. *in the like manner miſtaken.*

AND as the former, ſo is this place of *Ezechiel* miſtaken, by being in this ſort converted: *In die illa egredientur nuncii à facie mea in trieribus ad conterendam* Æthiopiæ *confidentiam*: Which place is thus turned in *Engliſh* by the *Geneveans*: *In that day ſhall their meſſengers go forth from me in ſhips to make the careleſs* Moors *afraid*. Now, the *Latine* for (ſhips) hath the *Greek* word *Trieres* for *Triremes*, which are Gallies of three banks, and not ſhips. But that in this place the Tranſlation ſhould have been (as in the former) amended by uſing the word *Chuſh*, or *Arabia*, for *Æthiopia*, or the *Black-Moors*, every man may ſee which meanly underſtandeth the *Geography* of the World, knowing, that to paſs out of *Egypt* into *Æthiopia*, there need no Gallies or Ships, no more than to paſs out of *Northampton* into *Leiceſterſhire*: *Æthiopia* being the conterminate Region with *Egypt*, and not divided ſo much as by a River. Therefore in this place of *Ezechiel* it was meant, that from *Egypt Nebuchodonoſor* ſhould ſend Gallies alongſt the Coaſt of the Red-Sea, by which an Army might be tranſported into *Arabia* the *Happy* and the *Stony* (ſparing the long wearíſom march over all *Egypt*, and the Deſart of *Pharan*) which Army might thereby ſurpriſe them unawares in their ſecurity and confidence. For when *Nebuchodonoſor* was at *Seveneh* within a mile of *Æthiopia*, he needed neither Gally nor Ship to paſs into it; being all one large and firm Land with *Egypt*, and no otherwiſe parted from it, than one In-land ſhire is parted from another: and if he had a fancy to have rowed up the River but for pleaſure, he could not have done it; for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling over high and ſteepy Mountains) called *Catadupæ Nili*, were at hand.

Laſtly, I have already obſerved, the Sons of every Father ſeated themſelves as near together as poſſibly they could; *Gomer* and his Sons in *Aſia* the leſs; *Javan* and his Sons in *Greece*, and the Iſlands adjoyning; *Shem* in *Perſia* and Eaſtward. So the ſons and grandchildren of *Chuſh* from the River of *Gehon* (their Fathers firſt ſeat) inhabited upon the ſame, or upon ſome other contiguate unto it, as *Nimrod* and *Havilah* on the one ſide, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the reſt) did on the other ſide. And to conclude, in a word, the *Hebrews* had never acquaintance or fellowſhip, any war, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the *Æthiopian Black-Moors*, as is already remembred in the Chapter of *Paradiſe*.

§. V.

A place, Eſay 18. *v.* 1. *in like manner corrupted, by taking* Chuſh *for* Æthiopia.

AND as in theſe places before remembred, ſo in divers others is the word *Æthiopia* put for *Arabia*, or *Chuſh*, which puts the Story (where it is ſo underſtood) quite out of ſquare; one Kingdom thereby being taken for another. For what ſence hath this part of Scripture, *Iſai.* 18. *Væ terræ Cymbalorum alarum*

rum quæ est trans flumina Æthiopiæ; or, according to the *Septuagint*, in these words: *Væ terræ navium alarum quæ est trans fluvios* Æthiopiæ; *Wo to the Land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the Rivers of* Æthiopia, *sending Embassadors by Sea, even the Vessels of Reeds upon the waters. Væ terræ umbrosæ oræ; Wo to the Land of the shady coast*, saith *Junius*, The former Translators understand it in this sence; That the waters are shadowed with the sails, which are significatively called the wings of the ships; the other, that the coast of the Sea was shadowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpose: That this Land here spoken of by the Prophet *Isaiah*, is *Egypt*, no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the *Egyptians* that sent this Message to the *Israelites*, which *Isaiah* repeateth, and by the former Translation, every man may see the transposition of Kingdoms: for hereby *Egypt* is transported unto the other side of *Æthiopia*, and *Æthiopia* set next unto *Judæa*; when it is the Land of *Chush* and *Arabia* indeed that lieth between *Judæa* and *Egypt*, and not *Æthiopia*, which is seated under the *Equinoctial* Line. And of this, *Beroaldus* asketh a material question (to wit) what Region that should be, of which the Prophet speaketh, and placeth it beyond the Rivers of *Æthiopia? Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit; For it cannot be said that he treateth of an unknown Region.* Now, if *Æthiopia* it self be under the *Equinoctial* line, with whom the *Jews* had never any acquaintance, why should any man dream that they had knowledg of Nations far beyond it again, and beyond the Rivers of *Æthiopia?* except we shall impiously think that the Prophet spake he knew not what, or used an impertinent discourse of those Nations, which were not discovered in 2000. years after, inhabiting as far South as the *Cape* of *Good Hope*, commonly known by the name of *Bona esperanza.*

§. VI.

That upon the like mistaking, both Terrhaca *in the Story of* Senacherib, *and* Zera *in the Story of* Asa, *are unadvisedly made* Æthiopians.

AND by this Translation is the Story of *Senacherib* utterly mistaken in the cause of his retrait. For *Senacherib* was first repulsed at *Pelusium*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Judæa:* when having certain knowledge that *Thirrhaca* (which all the Intepreters called King of *Æthiopia*) was on the way to set on him, he began to withdraw himself: and fearing to leave his Army in two parts, he sent threatning Messengers to *Ezechia* King of *Juda*, perswading him to submit himself: the Tenor whereof is set down in the second of *Kings* in these words: *Have any of the gods of the Nations delivered his Land out of the hands of the King of* Ashur? *Where is the god of* Hamah, *&c.* By which proud Embassage, if he had obtained entrance into *Jerusalem*, he then meant to have united that great Army before *Jerusalem*, commanded by *Rabshekeh*, with the other which lay before *Pelusium*, a great City upon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia.* For *Senacherib* had already mastered the most part of all those Cities in *Judæa* and *Benjamin*, with a third Army (which himself commanded) being then at the siege of *Lebna.* But upon the rumor of that *Arabian* Army led by the King *Thirrhakeh* (whom *Josephus* calls *Tharsices*) *Rabsakeh* hasted from the siege of *Hierusalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachis*, and set down before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleuthoropolis*, as some have supposed. But while he had ill success at *Pelusium*, and feared *Thirrhakeh*, God himself, whom he least feared, strook his Army before *Hierusalem* by the Angel of his power, so as 158000. were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Ezechias* is hereafter more largely written. And that this Army of *Thirrhakeh* was from *Arabia*, *Josephus* himself makes it plain. For he confesseth in the tenth Book, the first Chapter of the *Jews* Antiquities, that it was come to *Senacheribs* knowledge, that the Army which was afoot (both to relieve the *Egyptians* and the *Jews*) marched towards him by the way of the *Desart:* Now, the *Desart* which lay indifferent between *Hierusalem* and *Pelusium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sur*, which also toucheth on the three *Arabia*'s, to wit, the *Stony*, of which it is a part; the *Desart*, and the *Happy*; and by no other way indeed could the *Arabians* come on to succour either *Pelusium* or *Hierusalem.* But that there is any *Desart* between *Pelusium* and the South part of *Egypt*, hath never yet been heard of, or described by any *Cosmographer* or *Historian.* So then this description of the second of *Kings*, Vers. 9. hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word (*Chush*) is also translated *Æthiopia*; and in this sence have all the Interpreters (but *Junius*) expressed the beginning of the ninth Verse: *He heard also men say of* Thirrhakeh *King of* Æthiopia, *&c.* whereas it should have been thus converted with *Junius: Audiens autem de* Thirrakeh *Rege Chushi; He heard also of* Thirrhakeh *King of the* Chushites. For they were the *Chushites* and *Arabians*, whose

Joseph. l. 10. c. 1.

2 Kings 19.

Antiq. l. 10.

2 Kings 19.

Lib. 10. c. 1.

whoſe Houſes and Cities were next the fire, and upon whom the very ſmoak of *Juda* flaming was blown, being their neareſt Neighbours: and ſo were not the *Æthiopian Black-Moors* under the *Equinoctial*, whom neither War nor Peace (which diſcovereth all Regions) ever found out, ſaith *Pliny*. For this King was no more King of *Æthiopia* than *Zerah* was, who invaded *Aſa* King of *Juda*, with an Army of a Million, and three thouſand Chariots. Indeed, how ſuch an Army, and thoſe Chariots ſhould paſs through all *Egypt* (the Kings of *Egypt* being mighty Kings) let all men that know how theſe Regions are ſeated, and how far diſtant, judge. For Princes do not eaſily permit Armies of a Million to run through them; neither was there ever ſuch ſtrength of *Black-Moors* heard of in that part of the World, or elſewhere. Neither are theſe *Æthiopians* ſuch Travellers or Conquerors; and yet is this King *Zerah* alſo called King of *Æthiopia*. But the word *Chuſh* being firſt ſo converted for *Æthiopia*, the reſt of the Interpreters (not looking into the ſeats of Kingdoms, or the poſſibilities of attempts, or invaſions) followed one another in the former miſtakings.

Plin. l. 5. c. 91.

2 Chron. cap. 14.

§. VII.

A farther Expoſition of the place, Eſai. 18. 1.

COncerning theſe words in that eighteenth Chapter of *Eſay*, *Navium alarum*, *Winged Ships* (ſo the *Septuagint* turn it) or *Cymbalo alarum* (according to the *Latine*) *ſails whiſtling in the winds*, or *terræ umbroſæ oræ* (after *Junius*) *the Land of a ſhadowed coaſt*, or *the Land ſhadowing with wings*, as our *Engliſh Geneva* hath it. The two firſt interpretations of the *Septuagint* and S. *Hierom*, have one ſence in effect. For the ſails are commonly called the wings of a Ship; and we uſe to ſay ordinarily when our Ships ſails ſlowly, that ſhe wanteth wings (that is) when her ſails are either worn, or too narrow: and we alſo uſe the ſame phraſe of the wind whiſtling in the ſails. And it may be that the *Egyptians* imployed ſo many of thoſe ſmall ſhips, as their ſails were ſaid to give a ſhadow over the Red-Sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (upon *Iſaiah*) affirmeth, that the word (*Sabal*) doth ſignifie both to ſhadow, and to gingle (which is) to make a kind of Cymbaline ſound: ſo as the meaning of this place (ſaith *Pintus*) is this: *Wo to thee, O* Egypt, *which doſt promiſe to others ſafeguard, under the ſhadow of thy wings:* which (indeed) ſeemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of *Iſaiah:* and this phraſe is often elſe-where uſed, as in the 16. *Pſalm: Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me*; *Defend me under the ſhadow of thy wings.* The Boats of Reed ſpoken of are of two kinds; either of baſket-Willow covered with hides (as anciently in *Brittain*) or a Tree made hollow in the bottome, and built up on both ſides with Canes. Of the one ſort I have ſeen in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

§. XI.

Of the Plantation and Antiquities of Egypt.

||. I.

That Mizraim *the chief Planter of* Egypt: *and the reſt of the Sons of* Ham, *were ſeated in order one by another.*

THe ſecond Son of *Ham* was *Mizraim*; who (according to the place of a ſecond brother) was ſent ſomewhat farther off to inhabit. For *Chuſh* firſt poſſeſt *Chaldæa* on the Weſt ſide of *Gehon* chiefly: and from thence, as he increaſed in people, ſo he entred *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red-Sea, and to the South-eaſt ſide of *Judæa*. *Mizraim* his brother (with *Phut*) paſt over into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Egypt*; and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thruſt farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* took the Sea-coaſt, and held the ſide of *Palæſtina*: and theſe four brothers poſſeſt all that Tract of Land, from *Gehon* in *Chaldæa*, as far to the Weſt as the *Mediterrane* Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deſerta*, and *Petræa*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*; with the two *Egypts*, whereof the neather is bounded by *Memphis* on the South, and by the *Mediterrane* Sea on the North: and *Thebaida* (called the upper *Egypt*) ſtretcheth it ſelf toward the South as far as *Syene*, the border of the *Æthiopians*, or *Black-Moors*. All the reſt of the coaſt of *Africa* Weſtward, *Phut* peopled; which brothers had not any other Nation or Family that dwelt between them. And in the ſame manner did all their Sons again, and all the Sons of the reſt of *Noahs* children, ſort themſelves.

||. II.

Of the time about which the name of Egypt *began to be known: and of the* Egyptians *Lunary years, which made their Antiquites ſeem more fabulous.*

THis flouriſhing Kingdom poſſeſt by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name,

and became *Egypt*, at such time as *Ægyptus* (otherwise *Rameſſes*, as some think) the son of *Belus*, chased thence his elder brother *Danaus*, shifting him into that part of *Greece*, now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argives* were made *Danai*, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877. years after the Floud, in the time of *Josua*, as Saint *Augustine* conjectureth out of *Eusebius*. But in *Homers Odysses* it appeareth that the *Egyptians* were so called at the time of the *Trojane* Warr. And before this, *Egypt* was known by divers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Osiriana*, &c. And *Manethon* (whom *Josephus* citeth in his first Book against *Appion*) numbreth all the Kings of *Egypt* after *Moses* departure, who consumed 393. years. By which other men conjecture, that the *Egyptians* took on them that name, 330. years after *Josua*, and about 1000. years after the Floud. But where *Josephus* in the same Book taketh *Israel* to be those *Hycsos*, which he also calleth *Pastores*, or Shepherds, which are said to have reigned in *Egypt* 511. years: whom also he calleth his Ancestors (meaning the Ancestors of the *Jews*) in this I am sure he was grosly deceived, or that he vainly boasted: for the *Israelites* had no such Dominion as *Manethon* faineth, nor abode in *Egypt* so long a time by many years.

Of the *Egyptian* Antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirm (saith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330. Kings before *Amasis*, who was contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had Memory and Story of 13000. years; and that the Stars had four times changed their course, and the Sun twice set in the East. These Riddles are also rife among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, who dare affirm, that they are more ancient than *Jupiter* and the *Moon*; whereof *Ovid:*

Ante Jovem *genitum terras habuisse feruntur Arcades: &* Luna *gens prior illa fuit.*

The *Arcadians* the Earth inhabited
Ere yet the *Moon* did shine, or *Jove* was bred.

But for those 13000. years, it may well be true; seeing it is certain that the *Egyptians* reckon their years by Moneths, which makes after that account not above 1000. or 1100. years, whether we take their Moneths or Lunary years to have been of the first kind of 27. days and eight hours; or otherwise 29. days and twelve hours; or after any other of those five diversities of their Lunary years.

§. III.

Of certain vain assertions of the Antiquity of the Egyptians.

GErardus *Mercator*, in his *Chronologie*, reasoneth for the *Egyptians* Antiquity in this manner: That the sixteenth *Dynasty* (where *Eusebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptians* times) had beginning with the general Floud: and that therefore the first of the other fifteen reached the Creation, or soon after it. To which conjecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this answer; That therein *Mercator* was first deceiv'd, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynasty* was at once with the general Floud: which *Eusebius* maketh 292. years after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the shepherds *Dynastia* (being in number 17.) in the time of their first King, *Saltis*, to have been in the year of the World 1846. which *Eusebius* findeth in the Worlds Age 2140. For the 16. *Dynastia* was begun but in the 292. year after the Floud, as they account, and continued 190. years. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh every *Dynastia* to endure 115. years, *Eusebius* reckoneth many of them at less than 100. years: for the 28. had but six years, the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. years.

Now, *Annius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all these 15. *Dynasties* lasted but 162. years: and that the first of the 15. began but in the 131. year after the Floud: so as where *Mercator* maketh all the 15. to precede the Floud, and the 16. to have been then in being at the time of the Floud, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrariety of falshood cannot be hidden, though disguised. For *Annius* had forgotten his former Opinion and Assertion, that it was in the 131. year that *Nimrod*, with the Sons of *Noah*, came into the Valley of *Shinaar*: so he forgets the time which was consumed in the building of *Babel*: and that before the confusion of Speech there was no dispersion, nor far-off plantation at all. And though he hastily conveyed *Gomer* into *Italy*, and *Tubal* into *Spain*, in the tenth year of *Nimrods* reign (which was ten years after his arrival into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more unadvised. For he makes *Egypt* possest, and a Goverment established in the very first year of the arrival of *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*, before all partition, or any expedition farr off, or near, in question: for, *from thence* (that is, from *Babel*) *did the Lord scatter them upon all the earth.*

§. IV.

§. IV.

Against Pererius: *that it is not unlikely, but that* Egypt *was peopled within* 200. *years after the Creation; at least, that both it, and the most parts of the World were peopled before the Floud.*

BUt whereas *Pererius* seeketh to overthrow this Antiquity of the *Egyptians* touching their *Dynasties* (which *Eusebius* doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I do not find any great strength in this Opinion of *Pererius* (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impossible that *Egypt* should be peopled within 100. or 200. years after *Adam*, in the first Age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the general Floud, I do verily believe the contrary: and that not only of *Egypt*, but the better part of all the World was then peopled: *Pererius* his words are these: *Quòmodo enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos* Adami *proles adeò multiplicari potuit, ut ad* Ægyptum *usque habitandum & complendum propagata sit*, &c. *For how could the children of* Adam *be so multiplied in the first two hundred, or in the first hundred years of the World, and so propagated as to inhabit and fill* Egypt? for allowing this (saith *Pererius*) we must also confess, that there were then both the *Assyrians* and other Nations.

Now, seeing that the Scriptures are silent herein, and that it is no point of our saving-belief, it is lawfull for every man to be guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I do not gainsay any mans opinion out of any crossing or cavelling humours: for I think it the part of every *Christian*, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibility of union, than out of froward subtilty, and prejudicate resolvedness, to maintain factions needless, and dangerous contentions.

First therefore, for this Opinion, that *Egypt* was not planted so soon after *Adam*, no, not at all before the Floud, I say, that there is no reason why we should give a less increase to the Sons of *Adam*, than to the Sons of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the Floud double, and (after a few years) treble, is an infallible proof of their strength and ability, to beget many Children: and at that time, they observed no degrees of kindred, nor consanguinity. And that there was a speedy increase of people, and in great numbers, it may in some sort appear by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearfull that the death of *Abel* would have been revenged on him) withdrew himself from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, and there, by the help of his own issues, built a City (called *Enoch*) after the name of his first-born. Now, if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinaar* with so many multitudes as sufficed to build the City and Tower of *Babel*: and that to this increase there was given but 130. years by *Berosus*, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly understood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*, *Selah*, *Heber*, and *Phalegh*) but one hundred and one year: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the Infancie of the first Age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, even within 130. years the same (if not a greater) number might be increased; and so within 70. years after (that is, by such time as the World had stood 200. years) as well *Assyria*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* might be possest before the Floud, as they were within the same or less time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumstance or true Story of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Empire, that all those people, which we increased in the first 100. or 130. years after the Floud, came into *Shinaar* and *Babylonia*: For, that ever *Noah* himself came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authority to prove it, so all probable conjecture and reason it self denies it. Again, those multitudes and powerfull numbers which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, considered with her own Army of three millions (and she left not all her Kingdoms empty) do well prove, that if the World had such plenty of people in so few years after the Floud, it might also be as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their own account, *Ninus* governed *Babylonia* and *Assyria* but 292. years after the Floud of *Noah*. And these Troops of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all those Eastern Kingdoms, from *Media* to the *Mediterrane* Sea; when there had now past from the Floud to the time of this her invasion somewhat less or more than 360. years: for much more time the true *Chronologie* cannot allow; though I confess, that in respect of the strange greatness of *Semiramis* Army, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be given. And if but one half be true of that which is said, That her Army consisted of 1300000. Foot-men, and 500000. Horse-men, it must needs be, that long before *Semiramis* Reign, the greatest part of *Asia* (whence her huge Army was gathered) was full of people: yea, *Arabia* it self (much part whereof is barren)

must long before this time of *Semiramis*, have been plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* having a determination to make himself Master of all Nations, entred (notwitstanding) in league with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or sought his assistance. And if *Arabia* were then so well repleniſhed, I see no cause but *Egypt* might also be peopled. Now, if we may believe *Trogus Pompeius* (Epitomiz'd by *Justine*) *Egypt* was a most flouriſhing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was born. For these be his own words, speaking of *Ninus*: *Fuêre quidem temporibus antiquioribus* Vexoris *Rex Ægypti, &c. But there were in times more ancient* Vexoris *King of* Egypt, *and* Tanais *King of the* Scythians: of which the one invaded *Pontus*, the other *Egypt*. And how full of people all that part of the World was, the Conquests of *Ninus* witness, who subdued with no small force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterward the *Bactrians*; yea, all that whole body of *Asia* on this side *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Ctesias* numbreth the Armies wherewith *Ninus* invaded *Zoroaster*, at 1700000. Foot-men, and 200000. Horſ-men: and the Stories generally shew, that though *Zoroasters* Army was far short of this, yet it was greater than any that those parts of the World ever since beheld. But to what end should I seek for foraign Authority? for no man doubteth, but that *Egypt* was possest by *Mizraim*, the Son of *Ham*; and that it was an establiſhed Kingdom, filled with many Cities in *Abrahams* time, the Scriptures tell us. And sure, to prepare and cultive a desolate and overgrown ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Laws, and Policies, cannot be esteemed a labour of a few days: and therefore it must be inhabited in a less time than 200. years after the Floud; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the Floud. For if so many millions of men were found within 300. years after the general Floud; so as not onely *Babylon*, and *Assyria*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Palestina*, yea, the far-off *Lybia* on the one side, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what small corners could then all those Nations be compreſt, which 1656. years brought forth before the Floud? even necessity, which cannot be resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the known World; especially, where death forbare the Father, and made no place for the Son, till he had beheld living Nations of his own body.

§. V.

Of some other Reasons against the Opinion of Pererius.

FOr what a strange increase did the long lives of the first Age make, when they continued 800. or 900. years? Surely we have reason to doubt, that the World could not contain them, rather than they were not spread over the World. For let us now reckon the date of our lives in the Age of the World: wherein if one exceed 50. years, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet we find no want of people; nay, we know the multitude such, as if by Wars, or Pestilence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the Earth, with all the industry of man, could not give them food. What strange heaps then of Souls had the first Ages, who enjoyed 800. or 900. years, as aforesaid? These numbers, I say, cannot be counted nor conceived. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all those which have been born in *Brittain* since three or four hundred years before the *Norman Conquest* (saving such as by accident, or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to these there were added as many as by *Polygamy* might have been increased. For (to omit, that the Giants and mighty Ones of the first Age observed no Law of Matrimony) it is to be thought, that those Lovers of the World and of Pleasure, when they knew the long and liberal time which nature had given them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger which they could fly from, or eschew. For what humane argument hath better perswasion to make men careless of life, and fearless of death, than the little time which keeps them asunder, and that short time also accompanied with so many pains and diseases, which this envious old Age of the World mingleth together, and soweth with the seeds of Mankind?

Now, if that *Berosus* or *Annius* may be alledged for sufficient Authours, whom *Pererius* himself in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Josephus* confirmed, that the City of *Enoch* was seated near *Libanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cains* time, I see no cause why *Palæstina* (wich is also a Province of *Syria*) and *Egypt* (which neighboureth it) could be left desolate both all the life-time of *Cain*, and all those times between his death and the Floud, which were by estimation 700. or 800. years. And sure, though this fragment of *Berosus* with *Annius* his Comment

Comment be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or loſt) yet all things in *Beroſus* are not to be rejected. Therefore S. *Hierome*, for ſuch Authours gives a good rule: *Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria*; *Let us chooſe what is good in them, and reject the reſt.* And certainly, in the very beginning of the firſt Book, *Beroſus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moſes*, touching the general Floud: and in that firſt Part *Beroſus* affirmeth, that thoſe mighty men and Giants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded over all Nations, and ſubjected the univerſal Word: and though that phraſe (*Of all the World*) be often uſed in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the ſecond of the *Acts*, *That there were dwelling at* Hieruſalem Jews, *men that feared God of every Nation under Heaven*: yet by the words which follow in *Beroſus*, it is plain, that his words and ſence were the ſame: for he addeth, from the Suns riſing to the Suns ſetting; which cannot be taken for any ſmall part thereof. Again, we may ſafely conjecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his Sons at adventure, or left them as Diſcoverers, but directed them to thoſe Regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the Earth was more paſſable and eaſie to travel over before the Floud, than after it. For *Pererius* himſelf confeſſeth, that *Attica* (by reaſon of mud and ſlime which the water left upon the Earth) was uninhabited 200. years after *Ogyges* Floud; whereby we may gather, that there was no great pleaſure in paſſing into farr Countreys, after the general Deluge, when the Earth lay (as it were) incopſed for 100. or 130. years together. And therefore was the face thereof in all conjecture more beautifull, and leſs cumberſome to walk over, in the firſt Age, than after the general overflowing.

§. VI.

Of the words of Moſes, Gen. 10. Verſ. *ult. whereupon* Pererius *grounded his Opinion.*

LAſtly, whereas *Pererius* draws this Argument out of the laſt Verſe of the tenth of *Geneſis*; *And out of theſe were the Nations divided after the Floud: Quo ſignificatur talem diviſionem non fuiſſe ante diluvium*; *By which it appeareth* (ſaith *Pererius*) *that there was no ſuch diviſion before the Floud*; which he alſo ſeeketh to confirm out of the eleventh of *Geneſis*, becauſe the diviſion of Tongues was the cauſe of the diſperſion of the people. This conſequence, *quo ſignificatur*, &c. ſeemeth to me very weak: The Text it ſelf rather teacheth the contrary: *For out of theſe* (ſaith *Moſes*) *were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Floud*; inferring, that before the Floud the Nations were divided out of others, though after the Floud out of theſe onely. But whatſoever ſence may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawn to the times before the Floud, or to any plantation or diviſion in that Age: for if there were none elſe among whom the Earth could be divided after the Floud, but *Noahs* Sons, wherein doth that neceſſary diviſion controul the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alledged that the confuſion of ſpeech was the cauſe of this diſperſion; it is true, that it was ſo for that preſent; but if *Babel* had never been built, nor any confuſion of Languages at all, yet increaſe of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and general plantation: as *Beroſus* ſays well, that when man-kind were exceedingly multiplied, *Ad comparandas novas ſedes neceſſitas compellebat*, *They were driven by neceſſity to ſeek new Habitations*, For we find (as it is before ſaid) that within 300. years after the Floud, there were gathered together into two Armies ſuch multitudes, as the Valley about *Babylon* could not have ſuſtained thoſe numbers, with their increaſe, for any long time; all *Aſia*, the Greater and the Leſſer; all *Scythia*, *Arabia*, *Paleſtina*, and *Egypt*, with *Greece*, and the Iſlands thereof; *Mauritania*, and *Lybia*, being alſo at that time fully peopled. And if we believe *Beroſus*, then not onely thoſe parts of the World, but (within 140. years after the Floud) *Spain*, *Italy*, and *France* were alſo planted: much more then may we think, that within 1656. years before the Floud, in the time of the chief ſtrength of mankind, they were repleniſhed with people. And certainly, ſeeing all the World was overflown, there were people in all the World which offended. *Lib. 3.*

§. VII.

A Concluſion, reſolving of that which is moſt likely, touching the Egyptian *Antiquities: with ſomewhat of* Phut (*another Son of* Ham) *which peopled* Lybia.

THerefore, for the Antiquity of the *Egptians*, as I do not agree with *Mercator*, nor judge with the *Vulgar*, which give too much credit to the *Egyptians* Antiquities: ſo I do not think the report of their Antiquites ſo fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other men conceive it. But I rather incline to this, that

Egypt

Egypt being peopled before the Floud, and 200. or 300. years more or less after *Adam*, there might remain unto the Sons of *Mizraim* some Monuments in Pillars or Altars (of Stone or Metal) of their former Kings or Governours: which the *Egyptians* having added to the List and Roll of their Kings after the Floud, in succeding time (out of the vanity of glory, or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inserted. And that the memory of antiquity was in such sort preserved, *Berosus* affirmeth it of the *Chaldæans*, and so doth *Epigenes*. For they both write, that the use of Letters, and the Art of Astronomy was known to the *Babylonians* 3634. years before *Alexanders* Conquest: and this report *Annius* findeth to agree, and reach to the time of *Enoch*, who was born 1034. years before the Floud, and wrote of the Worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire; as also of *Christ* his coming in judgment, as Saint *Jude* hath witnessed. But leaving these Antiquities to other mens judgments, and every man to his own reason, I will conclude this Plantation of *Egypt*. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it took the name of *Egypt* from *Egyptus*, the Son of *Belus*, as aforesaid. Being divided into two Regions, that part from *Memphis*, or *Nicopolis*, to the *Mediterrane* Sea, was called the Inferiour *Egypt*; surnamed also *Delta*: becaus the several branches of *Nilus* breaking asunder from one body of the River, gave it the form of the *Greek* Letter *Delta* which is the form of a Triangle. That branch, which ran toward the North-east, and embraced the Sea, next unto the Desarts of *Sur* and *Pharan*, had on it the City of *Pelusium*, where *Senacherib* was repulsed: The other branch, which yielded it self to the Salt-water towards the North-east, is beautified by that famous City of *Alexandria*: The upper part of *Egypt* is bounded between *Memphis* and *Syene* near *Æthiopia*, and had the name of *Thebaida*, of the ancient City of *Thebes*; which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100. Gates: and therefore called *Civitas centum portarum*; and by the *Greeks*, *Diospolis*; in the Scriptures *No-hamon*, which signifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding belief. *Josephus* calls *Egypt*, *Mersin* of *Mizraim*: and *Herodotus* affirms that it had once the name of *Thebais*.

Joseph. l. 1. Ante c. 7. Hero. Euterpe.

Phut, the third Son of *Ham*, took the next portion of Land to his Brother *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Lybia*: whose people were anciently called *Phutei* (saith *Josephus*) and *Pliny* mentioneth the River *Phut* in *Mauritania*: which River from the Mountain *Atlas* (known to the Inhabitants by the name of *Dyris*) he maketh to be distant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of *Ezechiel*, that *Phut*, *Chusb*, and *Lud* were *contermini*, and associates with the *Egyptians*.

l. 5. c. 1.

§. XII.

Of the eleven Sons of Canaan, *the fourth Son of* Ham.

¶. I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan: *with the names of his eleven Sons.*

CAnaan (the fourth Son of *Ham*) possest all that Region, called by the *Romans Palæstina*; in the Scriptures *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*; in the latter times known by the name of the *Holy Land* and *Jurie*: the limits whereof are precisely set down by *Moses*, *Genesis* the tenth, *Then the border of the* Canaanites *was from* Zidon *as thou goest to* Gerar *until* Azzah, *and as thou goest unto* Sodom *and* Gomorrah, *and* Adma, *and* Zeboim, *even unto* Lasha. Now, howsoever these words of the *Hebrew* Text (*as thou goest*) be converted, *Moses* meaning was, that *Gerar* was the South bound of *Canaan*, and *Zidon* the North; *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* the East, and the other Cities named, stood on the Frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* standeth in a right line from *Gaza* in the way of *Egypt*, the uttermost Territory of *Canaan* Southward: and this was properly the Land of *Canaan*.

Now, the Sons of *Canaan* which possest this Countrey, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleven.

1. *Zidon.*
2. *Heth*, or *Chethus.*
3. *Jebusi*, or *Jebusæus.*
4. *Emori*, or *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus.*
5. *Girgeshi*, or *Girgiseus.*
6. *Hevi*, or *Chiveus.*
7. *Arki*, or *Harkeus.*
8. *Seni*, or *Sinæus.*
9. *Arvadi*, or *Arvadæus.*
10. *Zemari*, or *Samareus*, or *Tzemareus.*
11. *Hamathi*, or *Hamatheus*, or *Chamatheus.*

Of which the most renowned were the *Hethites*, *Gergesites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Jebusites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were descended of *Zemari*, or *Samareus*, or from some of his.

¶. II.

§. II.

Of the Portions of Zidon and Heth.

ZIdon the first-born of *Canaan*, built the famous City of *Zidon* in *Phœnicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of *Asser*: for *Asser*, *Zabulon*, and *Nepthali* had a great part of the ancient *Phœnicia* distributed among them; but the *Asserites* could never obtain *Zidon* it self.

The second Son of *Canaan* was *Heth*, or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*, or *Hittites*, one of those seven principal Nations (Commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the *Gergesites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, the *Hevites*, and the *Jebusites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Bersabe*, and towards *Hebron*, near the Torrent *Besor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moses* maketh the uttermost limit of *Canaan*, having the Desart of *Pharan* to the South: for about *Bersabe* (otherwise *Puteus juramenti*) four miles from *Gaza*, dwelt *Heth* and his Posterity, as far to the North-east as *Hebron*, and *Mamre*, and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite*, did *Abraham* buy the Field of *Sarahs* burial. Of which Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her self to *Isaac*, saying, *That she was weary of her life for the Daughters of* Heth. The Giants *Anakim* were of these *Hittites*, a strong and fierce Nation, whose entertainment by the Kings of *Israel* against them the *Syrians* greatly feared: as in the seventh of the *Kings*; *Israel hath hired against us the Kings of the* Hittites.

Gen. 10. 19

Gen. 23.

Gen. 27. 46.

King. 7. 6.

§. III.

Of the Jebusites and Amorites.

JEbusæus, the third Son of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Jebusites*, and whose principal seat was *Jebus* (afterward *Hierusalem*) were also a valiant and stubborn Nation, and held their City and the Countrey near it, till such time as *David* by Gods assistance recovered both: yet were not the *Jebusites* extinguished, but were Tributaries to *Solomon*.

Amoreus was the fourth Son of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* took name, who inhabited that Land to the East of *Jordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, having *Arnon* and the Mountains of *Galaad* on the East, and *Jordan* on the West: of whom *Og* (King of *Basan*) and *Sihon* (overthrown by *Moses*) were Princes.

The *Amorites* had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of *Canaan*: as behind *Libanus*, in the edge of *Coelosyria*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had also their being in the Mountains of *Juda*, and in *Idumæa*, near the *Metropolis* thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were sometimes called *Amorites*: as in *Genesis* the fifteenth: *For the wickedness of the* Amorites *is not yet full*. And that this was also a powerfull Nation, we find in the Prophet *Amos*: *Yet destroyed I the* Amorite, *before them, whose height was like the height of a Cedar, and he was strong as the Oak.*

Deut. 1. Numb. 13.

Amos 2.

§. IV.

Of the Gergesites, Hevites and Harkites.

THe fift Son of *Canaan* was *Gergesius*, or *Gergesion* (otherwise *Girgasi*) who inhabited on the East-side of the Lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolemy* sets the City *Gerasa*, which *Josephus* calls *Gesera*, in the Territory of *Decapolis*. Here it was that Christ dispossessed the possessed with devils; and the *Gergesites* desired him to depart their Coasts, because their Swine, filled with the evil Spirits, drowned themselves in the Sea of *Galilee*: *Gergesius* also built *Beritus* (sometime *Geris*) afterward *Fœlix Julia*, three miles from the River *Adonis* in *Phœnicia*: in which the *Romans* held a Garrison: and to which *Augustus* gave many large priviledges.

Heveus the sixth Son, and Father of the *Hevites*, inhabited under *Libanus* near *Emath*. These *Hevites*, howsoever the *Caphthorim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomie* the second is remembred) yet many of them remained all the Warr of *Josua*, and afterward to the time of *Solomon*. For God was not pleased utterly to root out these Nations, but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the *Israelites*, and at other times served (in their falling away from the true worship of God) to afflict them: for as it is written, *Judges* the third: *They remained to prove* Israel *by them, whether they would obey the Commandments of God.*

The seventh Son was *Araceus*, or *Harki*, who between the foot of *Libanus* and the *Mediterrane* Sea (over against *Tripolis*) built the City of *Archas*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

§. V.

Of Sini and Arvadi.

SIneus the eighth Son, *Hierosolymitanus* sets at *Caparorsa*, which *Ptolemy* finds in *Judæa*, not farr from *Jebus*; to the South thereof, saith *Junius*. But it is more probable;

bable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which Saint *Hierome* calls *Sim: Ptolemy*, *Simyra: Mela*, and *Pliny*, *Symirus: Brochard*, *Sycon* (called *Synochis*) near *Arca*. *Pererius* thinks that *Sineus* inhabited the Desarts of *Sinai*, or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of *Brochard*, who took view of all these places, affirming, that *Sineus* built *Sinochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is also another Nation of *Cini*, written with the letter *C*. (otherwise *Kenæi*) who descended of *Hobab* the Son of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who assisted the *Israelites* in their conduction through the wilderness of *Pharan*. But the *Cinæi* were admitted among the *Israelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Nephtalims*, beside their inhabitations with the *Amalekites*: against these *Cinæi*, *Balaam* prophesied, that they should be destroyed by the *Assyrians*.

Judg. 4. Jos. 19. 33

Gul. Tyr. Vii.

The ninth Son was *Aradeus*, or *Arvadeus*, who in the Isle of *Aradus*, built the City *Arados*: opposite against which Island, on the Main of *Phœnicia*, they founded another City of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this City came Saint *Peter* (saith *Clement*) and in this Isle preached the Gospel, and founded a Church in honour of our Lady: but we find no such work of his in the *Acts* of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous, and places of skilfull Sea-men: whom *Ezechiel* remembreth in his Prophecies against the *Tyrians*: *The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy Mariners.*

Cap. 27. v. 8.

||. VI.

Of Zemari.

OF *Samareus*, or *Zemari*, the tenth Son, there are divers Opinions. Some think that he inhabited in *Cœlosyria* at *Edessa*, and founded *Samaraim*, which in *Josua* is placed in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. There is also *Samarajim* (of the same Orthography) upon the Mountain of *Ephraim* (saith *Beroaldus*) mentioned in the second of *Chron.* c. 13. v. 4. which the *Latine* converteth amiss (saith he) by *Semeron*. The *Hierosolymitan Paraphrast.* makes *Samareus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the Parent of the *Emissani*, which *Pliny* calls the *Hemisseni*, in *Cœlosyria*; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembred. But that they founded *Samaria*, both the *Hebrew* Orthography, and this place in the first of *Kings* (speaking of *Omri*) disproveth: *And he bought the Mountain* Samaria, *or* Shemeron, *of one* Shemar, *for two Talents of Silver, and built in the Mountain; and called the name of the City which he built, after the name of* Shemar, *Lord of the Mountain*, Samaria. But of all these places I shall speak more at large in the Conquest of the *Holy Land*, by the children of *Israel*. Of whomsoever the *Samaritans* were descended, sure I am, that they were ever a perfidious Nation, and base: for as long as the state of the *Jews* stood up, they always called themselves *Jews*: when it suffered, or sank, they then utterly denied to be of that Nation or Family; for at such time as they were returned from their first captivity, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the *Assyrians*, and partly of the Naturals.

Beroald. in Chron. l. 4.

1 Kings 16. 28.

||. VII.

Of Hamathi.

THe last of *Canaans* Sons was *Hamatheus*, or (according to the *Hebrew*) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath* (saith *Beroaldus*:) of which (the aspiration taken away) the same is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamatheus* was present. *Josephus*, and Saint *Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*: not that *Antioch* which standeth on the River *Orontes*, on the frontier of *Comagena*, between the Mountain *Cassius*, and the Province of *Pieria*, and *Seleucis*, of which Saint *Peter* was Bishop, and in which Saint *Luke* and *Ignatius* were born; but *Antioch*, surnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* supposeth, which standeth between *Apamea* and *Emesa* in *Cassiotis*. Yet indeed, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* upon *Orontes*, and that which neighboureth *Emesa*, are farther off seated from *Canaan*, than ever any of those Nations straggled. And whereas S. *Hierom* setteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Nephtali*; it is manifest, that *Epiphania*, which standeth to the North of *Emesa*, hath all the Province of *Laodicea* between it and any part of the Land divided. And if *Libanon* it self were not shared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong unto them: for both the Provinces, *Laodicea*, and *Libanica*, are between *Epiphania* and any part of the *Holy Land*: and therefore *Emath* so taken, could not be a part of *Nephtali*, as in the thirteenth of *Josua* is directly proved. For *Josua* counting the Lands that remained unpossest, reckoneth all Mount *Libanon* towards the Sunrising, from *Baalgad* under Mount *Hermon*, until we come to *Hamath*. And this reason (among others) is used, that *Emath* was not in

in *Nephtalim*, or any way belonging to the children of *Israel*: becauſe *David* accepted
2 Sam. 8. 9. the preſents of *Tohu* King of *Emath*, and (therewithal) conditions of peace: which he would not have done, if that Territory had ever belonged to the children of *Iſrael*, but would have recovered it without compoſition, and by ſtrong hand, as he did the reſt. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight: For if the promiſe which God made, be conſidered, as it is written in
Cap. 11. v. 24. *Deuteronomy*, then might *Emath* be comprehended, though ſeated altogether without the bounds of the Land promiſed, according to the deſcription of *Moſes* and *Joſua*: for *Emath* is indeed ſituated on the other ſide of the Mountain of *Hermon*, which joyneth to *Libanus*; and is otherwiſe called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Joſua* 19. *v.* 35. and written in the *Latine* converſion *Emath*, therein (ſaith *Beroaldus*) was S. *Hierom* miſtaken *Emath* or *Iturea* is that over the Mountains, and the City in *Nephtalim* ſhould be written *Hamath*: and ſo the *Septuagint* (underſtanding the difference) write it *Ammath* and not *Emath*, the ſame which indeed belongeth to the *Nephtalims*, ſeated on the South ſide of *Libanus*, to the Eaſt of *Aſſedim*: which City S. *Hierom* writes *Emath*; *Joſephus*, *Hamah*; others, *Emathin*, or *Amatheos*, and the people *Amathein*; of which (as I take it) *Rabſakeh* vaunteth in the ſecond of
Cap. 18. & 19. *Kings*. *Where is the God of Hamath?*

§. XIII.

Of the Sons of Chuſh (*excepting* Nimrod, *of whom hereafter.*)

The Sons of *Chuſh* were, { *Sheba*, *Havila*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, *Sabteca*, *Nimrod*. } And the Sons of *Raama* were, { *Sheba*, and *Dedan*, }

‖. I.

That moſt of the Sons of Chuſh *were ſeated in* Arabia the Happy: *and of the* Sabæans *that robbed* Job: *and of the Queen that came to* Solomon.

SEba or Saba was the eldeſt ſon of *Chuſh*, the eldeſt Son of *Ham*; to make a difference between Him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the Son of his Brother *Raama* or *Regma* (or *Ragma* after *Montanus*) his name is written with a ſingle (*s*) *Samech*, and *Sheba* the Son of *Regma* with an (*ſ*) aſperat, which is the *Hebrew*, *Schin*. *Seba* the eldeſt Son of *Chuſh*, *Regma* his brother, and *Sheba* the Son of *Regma*, poſſeſs'd both the ſhores of *Arabia fœlix*. *Saba* took that part towards the Red-Sea, as neereſt his Father *Chuſh*, and the Land of the *Chuſites*: *Regma* and *Sheba* the Eaſt coaſt of the ſame *Arabia*, which looketh into the Gulfe of *Perſia*; of which *Pliny*: *Sabæi, Arabum populi, propter thura clariſſimi, ad utraque maria porrectis gentibus habitant*; *The Sabæans, people of Arabia, famous for their Frankincenſe, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas* (to wit) *the Perſian, and the Arabian or Red-Sea*. This Country was afterwards called *Arabia, à populi mixtione*, ſaith *Poſtellus*. To this agreeth *Ptolemy*; who ſetteth the City of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or *Red-Sea*, and the City *Rheguma* towards the *Perſian*; with whom alſo we may leave *Sabta*: for ſo much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolemy*, becauſe he remembreth a Nation (called *Stabæi*) near the *Perſian* Sea; and *Majjabathæ* which deſcended of them. But *Montanus* hath ſent *Regma*, or (as he calls him) *Rhama*, into *Carmania*, for which I ſee no reaſon. *Joſephus*, who only attended his own fancies, hath baniſhed *Saba* or *Seba* to the border of *Ethiopia*. But *Beroaldus* thinks it ſtrange, that the *Sabæi*, which ſtole away *Job*'s Cattel, ſhould run through all *Egypt*, and all *Arabia Petræa*, and find out *Job* in *Traconitis*, between *Paleſtina* and *Cœloſyria*, 1200. miles off. Now, as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, ſo do I think, that neither the *Sabæi* on the *Red-Sea*, nor thoſe towards the *Perſian* Sea, could by any means execute the ſtealth upon *Job*, which ſoever *Beroaldus* ſhall take for neareſt. But theſe were the *Sabæi* of *Arabia the Deſart*, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth, out of his own experience, that the City *Saba* is ſeated: the ſame which *Ptolemy* calls *Save*, now *Semiſcaſac*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia the Deſart*, came thoſe *Magi* or *Wiſe-men*, which worſhipped *Chriſt*, ſaith *Melchior*, whoſe words are theſe: *The Magi came neither out of Meſopotamia* (as *Chryſoſtom*, *Hierom*, and *Ambroſe* ſuppoſed) *nor out of Arabia the Happy, as many wiſe-men do believe, but out of Saba in Arabia the Deſart: which City, when my ſelf was there, was (as I judged it) called Semiſcaſac*. And to approve this Opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that theſe *Sabæi* were neighbours to *Job*, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well thoſe on the *Perſian* Sea, as thoſe on the *Red Sea*) are ſo diſ-joyned with large Deſarts, as there is no poſſibility for ſtrangers to paſs them, eſpecially with any numbers of Cattel, both in reſpect of the Mountains, of

the ſands, and of the extreme want of water in thoſe parts: *Ubi nec homines, nec beſtiæ videntur, nec aves, imò nec arbores, nec gramen aliquod, ſed non niſi monteſ ſaxoſi, altiſſimi, aſperrimi*; *Where there are found neither men, nor beaſts, nor birds, no, not ſo much as trees, or any paſture or graſs, but onely ſharp, and high, ſtony, and craggie mountains.* *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* conceive, that the Queen of *Saba*, which came to viſit *Solomon*, was of the *Sabæi*, on the Eaſt ſide of *Arabia fœlix*; but the contrary ſeemes more probable, and that ſhe was Queen of *Saba* towards the Red Sea: for *Solomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, betwixt *Idumæa* and the Red Sea, as far down as *Midian*, or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaber*; and this Queen of *Saba*, which inhabited the Weſt part of *Arabia Fœlix*, being his neighbour, might, without any far travel, enter his Territories, free from all danger of ſurpriſe by any other Prince or Nation.

But, to avoid tediouſneſs, it is manifeſt that *Seba*, or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Regma*, with his Sons, *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the poſſeſſors of *Arabia* the *Happy*, and the Deſart; onely *Havilah* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the Eaſt ſide of *Chuſh*, who held *Arabia Petræa*. Now, for *Sabta*, there is found of his Name, the City of *Sbbatha*, or *Sabota* in the ſame *Arabia*: of which both *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; who withall nameth *Sabotale*, within the walls whereof there was ſometimes found ſixty Temples. *Ezechiel* joineth the Father and the Son together, *The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy Merchants.* And that they were the Eaſtern *Arabians*, their Merchandiſe witneſſeth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradiſe*. For *Joſephus* his fancies, that *Saba* was the Parent of the *Ethiopians* about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Ethiopians Aſtabari*, they be not worthy any farther Anſwer then hath already been given: eſpecially ſeeing theſe Cities, preſerving the memory of the names of *Saba*, and of *Sabta* in *Arabia*, were yet remaining in *Ptolemy*'s time, though in ſome letters changed. As alſo in the coaſts adjoining, the names of other of the brethren of the Family of *Chuſh*, with little alterations, are preſerved. In *Arabia* the Deſart, is found the City of *Sabæ*, or *Save* (now *Semiſcaſac*) with the City of *Rhegana* for *Rhegma*; and the Nation by *Ptolemy* himſelf called *Raabeni* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia* the *Happy*, is found the City of *Rhegama*, and *Rabana*; which alſo keepeth the ſound of *Rhegma*, the City of *Saptha*, or *Saptah*, not far from the Eaſt-coaſt of *Arabia*: as alſo the *Metropolis* and chief City in the body of the South part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*, and to the Weſt of *Sabatha* towards the Red Sea, the great City of *Saba*; and the Nation adjoining, *Sabæi*; and to the South thereof again toward the ſtreight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Sabe*. To all theſe his brothers and nephews which were ſeated on the Eaſt ſide of *Arabia*, *Havilah* by the paſſage of *Tygris* was a neighbour, to whom he might paſs by Boat, even unto *Rhegma* the City of *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, ſet neer the River of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Perſian* Sea, which ſtood in *Ptolemy*'s time.

Plin. l. 12. c. 14.
Ptol tab. 6. Aſiæ.
Ezech. 27. v. 22.

¶. II.

Joſephus *his Opinion of* Dedan, *one of the Iſſue of* Chuſh, *to have been ſeated in the Weſt* Æthiopia, *diſproved out of* Ezechiel *and* Hieremy.

AND whereas *Joſephus* (whom in this Saint *Hierom* followeth, as not curious herein) ſent *Dedan* the Son of *Raamah* into the Weſt *Æthiopia*, it is ſtrange that *Ezechiel* ſhould couple *Sheba*, and *Raamah*, and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15. Verſe, and *Sheba* and *Raamah* in 22. Verſe, to be the Merchants of *Tyre*, if *Dedan* had dwelt in Weſt *Æthiopia*, which is diſtant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the habitation of his father and brother) above four thouſand miles. Beſides which, the Merchandiſe that the *Dedanites* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked *Black-Moors*. For they of *Dedan* (ſaith *Ezechiel*) were thy Merchants in precious cloaths for thy Chariots; and theſe Weſtern *Æthiopians* never ſaw cloth, till the *Portugals*, ſeeking thoſe Coaſts, traded with them: the Merchandiſe of the Countrey being Hides, Elephants Teeth, ſome Gold and Amber, Civet-Cats, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all theſe they exchanged for Linnen, or Iron chiefly.

But in thoſe days, the Weſt part of *Africa*, within the body of the Land, was known onely by imagination: and, being under the burnt *Zone*, was held uninhabitable. And therefore, that the *Negroes* of the Weſt *Æthiopia*, which inhabite about *Serra Liona*, or *Niger*, could either paſs by Sea or Land to *Tyre*, in the bottom of the *Mediterrane* Sea, were a ſtrange, or rather a fooliſh fancy. Now, to put it out of diſpute, that *Dedan* alſo dwelt by the reſt of the children of *Chuſh*, which ſeats they held by that name in the time of *Hieremy* the Prophet; let us hear *Hieremy* his own words: *Fly, ye inhabitants of Dedan, for I have brought the deſtruction of* Eſau *upon him.* Hereby it appeareth, that *Dedan* was

was a Neighbour to the *Idumæans:* and *Idumæa* is a Province of *Arabia Petræa:* and *Dedan*, which dwelt on the North part of *Arabia Fœlix*, joined in that part to *Petræa*, the ſeat of his Grand-father *Chuſh*; which neighbourhood of *Dedan* and the *Idumæans*, is alſo confirmed by *Ezechiel: I will ſtretch out my hand upon* Edom, *and deſtroy Man and Beaſt out of it, and will make it deſolate from* Teman: *and they of* Dedan *ſhall fall by the ſword.*

Ezech. 15. v. 15.

§. XIII.

Of the iſſue of Mizraim: *and of the place of* Hieremie, *Chap. 9. Verſe 7.*

The termination *im* in the *Hebrew*, is commonly a ſign of the plural number, as *aim*, of the *dual.*

AFter *Chuſh*, it followeth to ſpeak of *Mizraim*'s Sons, whoſe names (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) were plural, to ſignifie the Nations which came of them. *Ludim*, the elder Son of *Mizraim*, was the Father of the *Lybians* in *Africa:* and the reſt of his Brothers diſperſed themſelves into all the Regions adjoining. Among the Sons of *Shem*, there is alſo *Lud*; but he is differenced from *Lud* the Son, of *Mizraim* by the ſingular number: the Son of *Shem* being written *Lud*; the Son of *Mizraim*, *Ludim:* and yet theſe Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithſtanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For, that *Ludim* the Son of *Mizraim* was the Parent of the *Lybians* in *Africa*, and that he was ſeated not far from *Mizraim* his Father, appeareth by the Prophet *Hieremie*, who joined them in this ſort together: *Come up ye Horſes, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the* Black-moores, *and the* Lybians *which bear the ſhield:* for thoſe Nations aſſiſted the *Egyptians*, being of one Parent deſcended. And in *Ezechiel*, *Phut* and *Lud* are joined together. *Æthiopia* (or *Chuſh*) ſaith *Ezechiel*, *c.* 30. *v.* 3. *and* Phut *and* Lud, *and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league, ſhall fall with them by the ſword:* which is as much to ſay, as the Sons of *Chuſh* (which were the *Chuſites*) the Sons of *Mizraim* (which were the *Egyptians*) and the *Lybians* (deſcended of his Son *Lud*) with other the Inhabitants of *Egypt* and *Africa*, ſhall fall together. *Hieroſolymitanus* finds alſo in *Africa* a Nation of the *Lidyans*. And I believe it: becauſe *Hieremie* joineth the *Libyans* and *Lydians* together in the place before remembred. But *Libya* in *Africa* is by the *Hebrews* called *Ludim* (ſaith *Arias Montanus*) though 2 *Chron.* 12. 3. they ſeem to be called *Lubim*, or *Lubæi*, a name ſomewhat neer the word *Lybies*, and by which it may ſeem that the truer writing is, not *Libyes*, but *Lybies*. Neither is it here to be omitted, that *Pintus* (upon the thirtieth of *Ezechiel*) underſtandeth that which is ſpoken in the third Verſe of *Lud*, not to be meant of the *Lybians* at all: for he will have this threatning to be meant againſt the people of *Lyda*, a City (ſaith he) between *Egypt* and *Palæſtina*, which opinion I could not miſlike, if the City of *Lyda* were ſo ſeated. But *Lyda* (which ſhould be written *Lydda*, with a double *d*, and is the ſame City which was afterward *Dioſpolis*, in which S. *Peter* cured *Æneas* of the Palſey) ſtandeth neer the Torrent *Gaas*, not farr from *Joppe* the Port of *Hieruſalem*. Yet it is not impoſſible but that this City might have *Lud* for the Founder: For there are many Cities of one name, founded in all the Regions of the World, and farr aſunder; as after the names of *Alexander*, *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus*, many Cities called *Alexandria*, *Seleucia* and *Antiochia:* ſo of divers others. S. *Hierome* maketh *Lehabim* to be the Father of *Libya*, who was the third Son of *Mizraim*: and ſo doth *Poſtellus*; and either Opinion may be true.

Chap. 46. v. 9.

The reſt of *Mizraim*'s Sons have no proper Countreys given them in the Scriptures, ſaving *Caſluhim* and *Caphtorim*, of whom came the *Philiſtims*, whom the Scriptures call *Peleſet.*

Theſe *Caſluhim* inhabited *Caſſiotis*, a Region lying in the enterance of *Egypt* from *Paleſtina*, in which the Lake *Sirbonis*, and the Mountain *Caſſius* are found, not far from whence *Pompey* was buried.

Caphtorim ſeated near *Caſluhim* in that Tract of *Egypt* called *Sethrotis*, not far from *Peluſium*. *Strabo* calls it *Sethrotis*; *Stephanus* and *Pliny*, *Sethroitis*, of the City *Sethron:* which *Ortelius* takes to be the ſame which *Ptolemy* calls *Hercules parva.* Of the *Caſluhim* and *Caphtorim* came the *Philiſtims*, which are called by the *Septuagint Allophyli* (which is) *Alienigenæ*, Strangers, or of a ſtrange kindred. Theſe *Philiſtims* inhabited the South part of the Holy Land towards *Egypt*, of whom *Palæſtina* took name. For the *Hebrews* (ſaith *Iſidore*) do not uſe the letter (*p*) but inſteed of it (*ph.*) Their principal Cities were *Gaza*, *Aſcalon*, *Azotus*, *Geth*, and *Accaron:* and the people of them called *Gaſæi*, *Aſcalonitæ*, *Azotii*, *Gethæi*, and *Accaronitæ: Iſidore* affirms, that *Aſcalon* was firſt called *Philiſtim*; and of that City the Countrey adjoining. But where *Iſidore* had it, I know not.

The firſt known King of the *Philiſtims*, was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abrahams* wife; with whom *Abraham* made a covenant and league. This *Abimelech* dwelt indeed at this time in *Gerar*; but it is written, that he was alſo King of the *Philiſtims*, in

Basil upon the 33. Psalm. *Hierom* upon the 29. of *Ezechiel.*

these words: *Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech King of the Philistims unto Gerar.* Now in regard that this or some antienter *Abimelech* governed the Common-wealth greatly to his glory, the rest of his successors called themselves by the same name. The *Philistims* commanded that Tract of Land upon the Mediterran Sea to the Northward, from the Castle of *Pilgrims* (otherwise *Cæsarea Palæstina*, or *Stratons* Tower) which was the South border of *Phœnicia*, to *Gaza*, or to the River of *Egypt*. The *Anakims* or strong Gyants were of these *Philistims:* and *Goliah* was of *Geth*, one of the five Cities above named. They had sometimes five Kings, saith *Lyranus*. They mastered the *Israelites* at several times above 150. years, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by *Sampson* and *Samuel*; but in the end, this yoke was taken off by *David*, and laid on themselves.

It is Objected, that because these Cities and the Countries adjoyning, were held by the Sons of *Mizraim*, therefore did the *Israelites* dispossess the Sons of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing those places.

To this saith *Pererius*, that although the *Palæstines* or *Philistims* held it in the time of *Josua*, yet at the time of the Promise it was possessed by the *Canaanites*; as in the second of *Deuteronomy*. The *Hevites* dwelt in the Villages unto *Gaza*. And what marvel, if (the *Canaanites* being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the *Philistims* were of *Caphtor*, and so of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, besides *Moses*, the Prophet *Jeremy* witnesseth: *The Lord will destroy the Philistims: the remnant of the issue of Caphtor:* and in like manner in the ninth of *Amos*, the *Philistims* are said to be the reliques of *Caphtorim: Have not I brought up* Israel *out of the Land of Egypt, and the* Philistims *from Caphtor, and* Aram *from Kir?* so I read this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, and *Palæstinos de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene*, this conversion *Beroaldus* condemneth; where *Caphtor* is taken for *Cappadocia*, and *Cyrene* for *Kir*. For *Cyrene* is a City directly West from *Egypt*, between *Ptolomais* or *Barce* and *Apollonia*; but *Kir* in *Asia* under the *Assyrians: Junius* hath it *Kir*, and not *Cyrene*; and so hath the *Geneva*. But *Pererius* calls *Caphtorim Cappadocia*, according to the Vulgar translation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean *Cappadocia* in *Palæstina*, and not that *Cappadocia* by the Sea *Pontus* in the North of *Asia the Less*. For whether they inhabited *Sethreites*, or *Cappadocia* of *Palæstina*, it is not certainly known. And sure in this manner he may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, aswell as he doth *Cyrene:* taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Africa* but for a place in *Media*. For it is written in the second of *Kings*, that *Teglatphalasser* King of the *Assyrians* carried away the inhabitants of *Damascus* into *Kir:* and so *Josephus* seems to understand this *Kir* of *Cyrene* in *Media*, calling this *Cyrene, Media superior:* for it was the manner and policy of the *Assyrians* to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the *Samaritans* or *Israelites*, and other Nations. And hereof it came that *Kir* was called *Syro-Media:* because the *Syrians* by the *Assyrians* were therein captived.

Hier. c. 47. 4.

Amos c. 9. v. 7.

Of which see in the second Book, Chap. 7. Sect. 3. ||. 5.

Cap. 16. v. 9.

§. XV.

Of the issue of Sem.

||. I.

Of Elam, Assur, Arphaxad, *and* Lud.

It remaineth lastly to speak of the Sons of *Sem*, who are these:

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*,
2. *Ashur*,
3. *Arphaxad*,
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

THe posterity of *Sem*, *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and Story of the *Hebrews:* (For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.)

Of these five Sons, the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the Children of him and *Aram*; the rest are barely spoken of by rehersal of their names, saving that it may be gathered, that *Assur* (who was supposed to found *Ninive*) was also said to be the Father of the *Assyrians*, whose issues, and the issues of *Cham*, instantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the *Assyrians*, sometimes the *Babylonians* obtained, according to the virtue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth us that all the East parts of the World were peopled by *Assur*, *Elam*, and *Lud* (saving *India*) which I believe *Noah* himself first inhabited: and to whom *Ophir* and *Havilah* the Sons of *Joctan* afterward repaired: *Hi filii* Sem *ab* Euphrate *fluvio partem* Asiæ *usque ad Oceanum* Indicum *tenuerunt*; *These Sons of* Sem (saith (St.

(St. *Hierom*) *held all thoſe Regions from* Euphrates *to the* Indian *Ocean.*

Joſ. Ant. l. 1. c. 7. Of *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembred, *Acts* 2. *v.* 9. and the Princes of *Perſia*; which name then began to be out of uſe and loſt, when the *Perſians* became Maſters of *Babylonia:* the Eaſt Monarchy being eſtabliſhed in them. Some prophane Writers diſtinguiſh *Elam* from *Perſia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Suſa* (which the Scriptures call *Suſan*) in *Elam* was the Kings ſeat of *Perſia* (witneſs *Daniel*) *And I ſaw* (ſaith he) *in a Viſion, and when I ſaw it, I was in the palace of* Suſan, *which is in the Province of* Elam. This City is embraced by the River *Euleus* (according to *Ptolemy*) in *Daniel*, *Ulai:* and ſeated in the border of *Suſiana.*

Cap. 8. v. 2. *Ptol. Aſiæ tab. 5.* *Dan. 8. 2.*

Aſſur (as moſt Hiſtorians believe) the ſecond Son of *Sem*, was Father of the *Aſſyrians*, who diſdaining the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Ninive*, of equal beauty and magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we ſhall in due place diſprove that opinion. Every mans hand hath been in this Story, and therefore I ſhall not need herein to ſpeak much: for the *Aſſyrians* ſo often invaded and ſpoiled the *Iſraelites*, deſtroyed their Cities, and led them Captives, as both in Divine and Humane letters there is large, and often mention of this Nation.

But howſoever *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this Empire, and honour this Nation with ample Dominion; yet was not the ſtate of the *Aſſyrians* of any ſuch power, after ſuch time as *Sardanapalus* loſt the Empire. For *Senacherib*, who was one of the powerfulleſt Princes among them, had yet the Mountain *Taurus* for the utmoſt of his Dominion towards the North-eaſt, and *Syria* bounded him towards the Weſt, notwithſtanding theſe vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Eſay* the 37. *Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have deſtroyed: as* Gozan, *and* Haran, *and* Reſeph, *and the children of* Eden *which were at* Telaſſar? *Where is the King of* Hamath, *and the King of* Arphad, *and the King of the City* Sepharuaim, Hena *and* Ivah? All theſe were indeed but petty Kings of Cities, and ſmall Countries, as *Haran* in *Meſopotamia: Reſeph* in *Palmyrena: Hamath* or *Emath* in *Ituræa*, under *Libanus:* the Iſle of *Eden: Sephar*, and others of this ſort. Yea, *Nebuchadonozor*, who was moſt powerful before the conqueſt of *Egypt*, had but *Chaldea*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Palæſtina*, and *Phœnicia*, parts thereof. But in this queſtion of *Aſſur*, I will ſpeak my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whoſe Plantation I have omitted among the reſt of the *Chuſites*, becauſe he eſtabliſhed the firſt Empire: from whom the moſt memorable ſtory of the World taketh beginning.

Verſ. 11.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldeans*, ſaith Saint *Hierom* and *Joſephus*; but it muſt be thoſe *Chaldeans* about *Ur:* For the Sons of *Cham* poſſeſt the reſt. It is true that he was the Father of the *Hebrews:* For *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela*, *Heber*, of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the fourth Son of *Shem*, gave name to the *Lydians* in *Aſia* the leſs, is the common opinion, taken from *Joſephus* and Saint *Hierom*; but I ſee not by what reaſon he was moved to ſtraggle thither from his friends.

||. II.

Of Aram, *and his Sons.*

ARam the firſt and laſt Son of *Shem* was the Parent of the *Syrians:* of which *Damaſcus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of *Joſephus*) which *Syrus* lived before *Moſes* was born; the ſame which others call the Son of *Apollo.* *Meſopotamia* alſo, being but a Province of *Syria*, had the name of *Aram Naharajim*, which is as much to ſay, as, *Syria duorum fluviorum*; *Syria compaſſed with two Rivers*, (to wit) *Tygris* and *Euphrates.* The Scriptures call it *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram:* and the *Greeks Meſopotamia* ſimply.

Eſay 7. 8. *Euſeb. p.* 10. *C.*

Ariſe and get thee to Padan Aram (ſaith *Iſaac* to *Jacob*) *to the houſe of Bethuel thy Mothers Father, and thence take thee a wife.* *Strabo* alſo remembreth it by the antient name of *Aram*, or *Aramea*, as theſe his own words converted witneſs: *Quos nos* Syros *vocamus*, *ipſi* Syri Aramenios & Arameos *vocant*; *Thoſe which we call Syrians* (ſaith he) *themſelves call* Aramenians *and* Arameans.

Gen. 28. 2. ſee *Gen.* 25. 20 alſo *Deut.* 23. 4. *Judg.* 3. *Paral.* 1. 19. *Pſal* 59. *Strab. l.* 1.

Againſt this opinion, that *Aram* the Son of *Sem* was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in general; (and not only of thoſe in *Syria Inter-Amnis*, which is *Meſopotamia*) ſome read, *Geneſ.* 22. 21. *Kemuel*, the Father of the *Syrians:* where others out of the original read *Kemuel*, the Son of *Aram.* Neither is it any inconvenience for us to underſtand the word (*Aram*) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of ſome one of note; the rather, becauſe in the Hiſtory of *Abraham* and *Iſaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuels* Poſterity could be famous) we find *Meſopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition, ſometimes with *Naharajim*, and ſometimes of *Padan*, to diſtinguiſh it from

from another *Aram*, which (as it seems) then also was called *Aram*. For whereas *Junius* thinks, in his Notes upon *Gen.* 25. 20. that *Padan-Aram* ought to be restrained to some part of *Mesopotamia* (to wit) to that part which *Ptolemy* calls *Ancobaritis* (so called from the River *Chaboras*, which, dividing it, runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiscuous use of *Padan Aram* and *Aram Naharajim* (which latter appellation questionless comprehends the whole *Mesopotamia*) may seem to refute this Opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it signifieth as much as the yoak of *Syria*, which name agreeth with this Region: because the two Rivers (as it were) yoaked together go along it. The Reliques of the name *Padan* appear in the name of two Cities, in *Ptolemy* called *Aphadana* (as *Junius* hath well noted) the one upon *Chaboras*, the other upon *Euphrates*.

The Sons of *Aram* were, *Uz*, or *Hus*. *Hul*. *Gether*, and *Mesch*, or *Mes*.

Hierom. in trad. Hebraic.

Uz, or *Hus*, inhabited about *Damascus*, and built that City, saith *Josephus* and Saint *Hierom*. But *Tostatus* mistaking this Opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who also followeth *Josephus*, affirmeth, that *Abraham*'s Steward, *Eliezer*, was the Founder thereof; though it were likely that *Hus*, the eldest Son of *Aram*, dwelt neer unto his Father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the same, adjoining to *Arabia* the Desart, and to *Batanea*, or *Traconitis*; whereof the Prophet *Hieremy*: *Rejoyce and be glad, O daughter of* Edom, *that dwellest in the Land of* Hus. *Hus* therefore is seated beyond *Jordan*, in the East Region of *Traconitis*, adjoining to *Basan*, having *Batanea Gaulonitis*, and the Mountain *Seir* to the East, *Edrai* to the South, *Damascus* North, and *Jordan* West: having in it many Cities and People, as may also be gathered out of *Hieremy*: *And all sorts of people, and all the Kings of the Land of Hus*. In this Region dwelt *Job*, descended of *Hus*, the Son of *Nahor*, the Brother of *Abraham* (saith S. *Hierom*) and married *Dina* the Daughter of *Jacob*, saith *Philo*.

Hierom. Lam. chap. 4. v. 21.

Chap. 25. v. 10.

Hul, the second Son of *Aram*, S. *Hierom* makes the Father of the *Armenians*; and *Gether*, the third son, Parent to the *Acarnanians*, or *Carians*: which Opinion (because I find not where to set him) I do not disprove, though I see no reason why *Gether* should leave the fellowship of his own Brethren, and dwell among strangers in *Asia* the less. *Junius* gives *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the Desart of *Palmyrena*, as far as *Euphrates*, where *Ptolemy* setteth the City of *Cholle*.

Gether (saith *Josephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Josephus* gave all *Noah*'s children feathers, to carry them far away in all hast. For mine own Opinion, I always keep the rule of Neighbourhood, and think with *Junius* (to wit) That *Gether* seated himself neer his Brothers in the Body of *Syria*, and in the Province of *Cassiotis*, and *Seleucis*, where *Ptolemy* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Pliny* called *Gindareni*.

Junius also giveth to *Mes*, or *Mesch* the North part of *Syria*, between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, neer the Mountain *Masius*. The certainty of those Plantations can no otherwise be known than by this probability, that *Aram* the Father (of whom that great Region took name) planted his Sons in the same Land about him: for he wanted no scope of Territory for himself and them; neither then when the World was newly planted, nor in many hundred years after: and therefore there is no reason to cast them in the Desart parts of the World, so far asunder. And as necessity and policy held them together for a while; so ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, set them asunder. For although these Sons of *Aram*, and the Sons of the rest of *Noah*'s children, kept themselves within the bounds of some one large Kingdom; yet therein every one also sought a Province apart, and to themselves; giving to the Cities, therein built, their own names, thereby to leave their memory to their Posterity: the use of letters being then rare, and known to few.

In this sort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* cast them into so many Provinces: every one emulating and disdaining the greatness of other, as they are thereby to this day subject to invasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as (*Nova Hispania* and *Peru* excepted, because those Countreys are unaccessible to strangers) an easie force wil cast them out of all the rest.

Mes, the fourth Son, is made the Parent of the *Mœonians*: of whom something hath been spoken already. *Arphaxad*, the third Son of *Shem*, begat *Shelah*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two Sons, *Phaleg* and *Joctan*: and in *Phaleg*'s time was the Earth divided. *Chap. 8. Sect. 7.*

§. III.

Of the division of the Earth in the time of Phaleg, *one of the Sons of* Heber, *of the issue of* Sem.

THe many People which at the division (at *Phaleg*'s birth) were then living, and the through Plantation of all the East part of the World (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were divided at either. The *Hebrews*, (saith *Pererius* out of *Sedar Holam*, one of their Chronicles) affirm that this partition hapned at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was born in the year after the Floud 101. and lived in all 239. years, which numbers added, make 340. And therefore was it so many years after the Floud, ere the children of *Noah* severed themselves. But to this Opinion of the *Hebrews*, and the doubt they make, how in so few years as 101. (the time of *Phaleg*'s birth) so many people could be increased, *Pererius* gives this Answer, That if 70. persons of the Family of *Jacob* increased to 600000. fighting men in 215. years (besides women, children and impotent persons) how much more is it likely, that so soon after the Floud the children of *Noah* might, in a shorter time, bring forth many multitudes, having received the blessing of God, *Increase and multiply, and fill the Earth*? What strength this Answer hath, let others judge: for the children of *Israel* were 70. and had 215. years time: and the Sons of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101. yeares of time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceive that *Phaleg* took that name after the division, in memory thereof: as *Josephus* and S. *Augustine*, who reason in this manner. If the division were at *Phaleg*'s death (which happened in the year, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abraham*, but was, by more likely, computation 12. years before his birth) then was the division 38. years after *Ninus*, who governed 52. years: in the 43. year of whose Reign *Abraham* was born. But when *Ninus* began to rule the *Assyrians*, 80. years before this division (as this division is placed by the *Hebrews*, *Hierom* and *Chrisostome*) then was the Earth so peopled in all the East and Northern parts, as greater numbers have not been found at any time since. For *Ninus*, associating to himself *Arieus* King of *Arabia*, a People who at that time (saith *Diodorus Siculus*) *plurimum opibus atque armis præstabant*, *Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men*, subdued many Cities in *Armenia*; received *Barzanis* into grace; then invaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the King thereof, with his Wife and seven Children; vanquished all those Regions between *Nilus* and *Tanais*, the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, the Kingdoms of *Syria*, and all the Nations of *Persia*, to the *Hyrcanian* Sea. For the number which followed *Ninus* (already remembred out of *Ctesias*) against *Zoroaster* and others: and *Zoroaster* on the other side who made resistance with 400000 prove it sufficiently, that if the division had not hapned before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no division at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their portions, as they sought to be masters of all, and greater Armies were there never gathered than by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this Opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

Joseph l. 1. Antiquit. Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 16. c. 11.

Per. in Gen lib. 15 c. 10.

But for that conceit, that if the division had been made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then sufficient numbers born to fill the Earth: It was never meant that the Earth could be filled every where at the very instant, but by times and degrees. And surely, whatsoever mens Opinions have been herein, yet it is certain, that the division of Tongues and of Men must go neer together with the ceasing of the work at *Babel*: and that the enterprise of *Babel* was left off instantly upon the confusion of Languages, where followed the execution of the division; and so neither at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was born in the year 101. after the Floud, which was the year that *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or ten years after he arrived, saith *Berosus*.

Now, if it be objected, That *Phaleg* (the Etymologie of whose name signifieth Division) must have lived without a name, except the name had been given him at the time of this confusion and partition: to this Objection, it may answered, That the change of names upon divers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures; for *Jacob* was called *Israel* after he had wrestled with the Angel; *Abraham* was first *Abram*; and *Edom*, *Esau*; and that *Phaleg* being a principal man in this division, had his first name upon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly, whereas the *Hebrews*, Saint *Hierom*, and *Chrysostom*, account *Heber* for a great Prophet, if that by giving his Son the name *Phaleg*, he foretold the division which followed: to this I say, I do not find that *Heber* deserved any such honour, if he had thereupon so called his Son: for division and dispersion followeth increase of people of necessity; and this Prophecy (if any such had been) might also have reference to the division, which afterwards

wards fell amongst the *Hebrews* themselves.

But if we give a reasonable time to the Building of the Tower and City of *Babel*, in which time many people (by reason and by demonstrative proof) might be increased: and that upon the fall thereof the confusion and division followed (whereupon *Phaleg* took name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

§. IV.

Of the sons of Joctan, *the other Son of* Heber.

The Sons of *Joctan* were,
1. *Elmodad.*
2. *Saleph*, or *Salep*, or *Sheleph.*
3. *Asamath*, or *Chatzar.*
4. *Jare*, or *Jaraah*, or *Jerath.*
5. *Hadoram.*
6. *Uzal*, or *Uxal.*
7. *Dicklach*, or *Dicla.*
8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal.*
9. *Abimael.*
10. *Sheba*, or *Seba.*
11. *Ophir*, or *Opir.*
12. *Havilah*, or *Chavila*, and
13. *Jobab.*

ALl those Sons of *Joctan* (according to Saint *Hierom*) dwelled in the East parts of the World, or *India*, even from the River *Cophe* or *Choas*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certain places of those thirteen Sons cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of *Moses* being general: Gen. 10. 30. *And their dwelling was from* Mesha *as thou goest unto* Separ *a Mount in the East.* Of all these thirteen Sons, there were only three memorable, (to wit) *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah.* Concerning whose names, to avoid confusion, it is to be observed, that among the Sons of *Chush*, two of them had also the names of *Sheba* and *Havilah.* *Abraham* had also a third *Saba*, or *Sheba*, his Grand-child by his wife *Ketura.* But *Seba* the Son of *Chush*, and *Sheba* the Son of *Rhegma* his Nephew we have left in *Arabia fœlix*; and *Havilah* the Son of *Chush* upon *Tygris.* *Saba* the Grand-child of *Abraham* was (as some have thought) the Father of the *Sabæans* in *Persia:* of which Nations *Dionysius de Orbis situ* maketh mention; *Primum* Sabæi; *post hos sunt* Pasiagardæ; *prope verò hos sunt* Tusci: *The first are* Sabæans; *after these be* Passægarde; *and near these the* Tasci. And whereas it is written: Gen. 25 6. *But unto the Sons of the Concubines which* Abraham *had*, Abraham *gave gifts, and sent them away from* Isaac *his Son* (*while he yet lived*) *Eastward to the East-Country:* Hereupon it is supposed, that this *Saba* the Son of *Abraham* wandered into *Persia:* for *Persia* was accounted the furthermost East-Country in respect of *Judæa*; which also *Ovid* setteth under the Sun-rising. Yet seeing the rest of *Abraham's* Sons seated themselves on the borders of *Judæa:* I rather choose to leave *Saba* the Son of *Abraham* in *Arabia the Desart*, where *Ptolemy* setteth a City of that name. *Metam. l. 1.*

But *Saba*, the Son of *Joctan*, the Son of *Heber* (as I conceive) inhabited *India* it self. For *Dionysius Afer* in his *Periegesis* (or description of the World) which he wrote in *Greek* Verse, among the Regions of *India* findeth a Nation called the *Sabæi.* Taxilis *hos inter medios habitatque* Sabæus; *In the middest of these dwell the* Sabæi, *and the* Taxili, saith *Dionysius.* τῶν δὲ μέσοι ναίουσι Σαβαῖοι τε καὶ ἐγγὺς Ταξίλοι ἀνδρες.

§. V.

Of Ophir *one of* Joctan's *Sons, and of* Peru, *and of that voyage of* Solomon.

OPhir also was an inhabitant of the East *India*, and (as St. *Hierom* understands it) in one of the Islands plentiful with Gold, which are now known by the name of *Moluccæ.* *Josephus* understands *Ophir* to be one of those great head-lands in *India*, which by a general name are called *Chersonesi*, or *Peninsulæ:* of which there are two very notorious; *Callecut* and *Malacon.* *Pererius* takes it rightly for an Island, as St. *Hierom* doth, but he sets it at the head-land of *Malacca.* But *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccas* farther East.

Arias Montanus, out of the second of *Chronicles*, the third Chapter and sixth Verse, gathers that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the South Sea; by others, *Mare pacificum.* The words, in the second of the *Chronicles*, are these: *And he over-layed the house with precious stones for beauty; and the gold was gold of Parvaim.* *Junius* takes this gold to be the gold of *Havilah*, remembred by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise: And the gold of that Land is good:* finding a Town in *Characene*, a Province of *Susiana*, called *Barbatia*; so called (as he thinks) by corruption for *Parvaim:* from whence those Kings subjected by *David*, brought this gold, with which they presented him; and which *David* preserved for the inriching of the Temple. Gen. 2. 11. & 12. *Plin. l. 6. c. 28.*

But this fancy of *Peru* hath deceived many men, before *Montanus*, and *Plessis*, who also took *Ophir* for *Peru.* And that this Question

ſtion may be a ſubject of no further diſpute; it is very true that there is no Region in the World of that name: ſure I am, that at leaſt, *America* hath none, no not any City, Village or Mountain ſo called. But when *Francis Piſarro* firſt diſcovered thoſe Lands to the South of *Panama*, arriving in that Region which *Atabaliba* commanded (a Prince of magnificence, riches, and dominion inferior to none) ſome of the *Spaniards*, utterly ignorant of that language, demanding by ſignes (as they could) the name of the Country, and pointing with their hand athwart a River, or Torrent, or Brook that ran by, the *Indians* anſwered *Peru*, which was either the name of that Brook, or of Water in general. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiving that the people had rightly underſtood them, ſet it down in the *Diurnal* of their enterpriſe, and ſo in the firſt deſcription made, and ſent over to *Charles* the Emperor, all that Weſt part of *America* to the South of *Panama*, had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued ever ſince, as divers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* aſſured me; which alſo *Acoſta* the *Jeſuite* in his natural and moral Hiſtory of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* alſo findeth, that a part of the *Indies* (called *Jucatan*) took that name of *Jochan*, who as he ſuppoſeth navigated from the utmoſt Eaſt of *India* to *America*: it is moſt true, that *Jucatan* is nothing elſe in the language of that Country, but [*What is that?*] or [*What ſay you?*] For when the *Spaniards* aſk'd the name of that place (no man conceiving their meaning) one of the Salvages anſwered *Jucatan* (which is) *What aſk you*, or *What ſay you?* The like happened touching *Paria*, a Mountainous Country on the South ſide of *Trinidado*, and *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men do) the names of thoſe new Regions which they diſcovered, pointed to the Hills afar off, one of the people anſwered, *Paria*, which is as much to ſay, as, *high Hills* or *Mountains*. For at *Paria* begins that marvellous ledg of Mountains, which from thence are continued to the Strait of *Magellan*, from eight degrees of North latitude to the 52. of South: and ſo hath that Country ever ſince retained the name of *Paria*.

The ſame happened among the *Engliſh*, which I ſent under Sir *Richard Greenevile* to inhabit *Virginia*. For when ſome of my people asked the name of that Country, one of the Salvages anſwered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to ſay, as, *You wear good cloaths*, or gay cloaths. The ſame happened to the *Spaniard* in aſking the name of the Iſland *Trinidado*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that ſelf place which the Sea encompaſſed, they anſwered, *Caeri*, which ſignifieth an Iſland. And in this manner have many places, newly diſcovered, been entituled, of which *Pern* is one. And therefore we muſt leave *Ophir* among the *Moluccas*, whereabout ſuch an Iſland is credibly affirmed to be.

Now, although there may be found Gold in *Arabia* it ſelf (towards *Perſia*) in *Havilah*, now *Suſiana*, and all alongſt that Eaſt *Indian* ſhore; yet the greateſt plenty is taken up at the *Philippines*, certain Iſlands planted by the *Spaniards*, from the Eaſt *India*. And by the length of the paſſage which *Solomons* Ships made from the Red-Sea (which was three years in going and coming) it ſeemeth they went to the uttermoſt Eaſt, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippines*. Indeed theſe that now go from *Portugal*, or from hence, finiſh that navigation in two years, and ſometimes leſs: and *Solomon's* Ships went not above a tenth part of this our courſe from hence. But we muſt conſider, that they evermore kept the coaſt, and crept by the ſhores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the uſe of the compaſs was known, it was impoſſible to navigate a-thwart the Ocean; and therefore *Solomon's* Ships could not find *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needfull for the *Spaniards* themſelves (had it not been for the plenty of Gold in the Eaſt *India* Iſlands, farr above the Mines of any one place of *America*) to ſail every year to the Weſt part of *America* thither, and there to have ſtrongly planted, and inhabited the richeſt of thoſe Iſlands: wherein they built a City called *Manilia*. *Solomon* therefore needed not to have gone farther off than *Ophir* in the Eaſt, to have ſped worſe: neither could he navigate from the Eaſt to the Weſt in thoſe days, whereas he had no coaſt to have guided him.

Toſtatus alſo gathereth a fantaſtical Opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Countrey, whoſe mountains of Gold are kept by *Griffins*: which mountains *Solinus* affirmed to be in *Scythia Aſiatica*, in theſe words: *Nam cum Auro & Gemmis affluant*, Griphes *tenent univerſa, alites ferociſſimæ*, Arimaſpi *cum his dimicant*, &c. *For whereas theſe Countreys abound in Gold and rich Stones, the* Griffins *defend the one and the other: a kind of Fowl, the fierceſt of all other; with which* Griffins *a Nation of people, called* Arimaſpi, *make Warr*. Theſe *Arimaſpi* are ſaid to have been men with one eye onely, like unto the *Cyclops* of *Sicilia*: of which *Cyclops*, *Herodotus*, and *Ariſteus* make mention: and ſo doth *Lucan* in his third Book: and *Valerius*

Flaccus lib. 6. Diodorus Siculus lib. 16.

Flaccus: and *D. Siculus*, in the Story of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine own Opinion) I believe none of them. And for these *Arimaspi*, I take it that this name signifying *one-eyed*, was first given them, by reason that they used to wear a vizzard of defence, with one sight in the middle to serve both eyes; and not that they had by nature any such defect. But *Solinus* borroweth these things out of *Pliny*, who speaks of such a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called *Gisolitron*, or the Cave of the North-east wind. For the rest, as all Fables were commonly grounded upon some true Stories, or other things done: so might these tales of the *Griffins* receive this moral: That if those men, which fight against so many dangerous passages for Gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect senses, and were not deprived of half their eye-sight (at least of the eye of right reason and understanding) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate; and not suject themselves to famine, corrupt air, violent heat and cold, and to all sorts of miserable diseases. And though this Fable be feigned in this place, yet, if such a tale were told of some other places of the World, where wilde Beasts or Serpents defend mountains of Gold, it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the World, especially in *America*, many high and impassable mountains, which are very rich, and full of Gold, inhabited onely with *Tygers*, *Lions*, and other ravenous and cruel Beasts: unto which, if any man ascend (except his strength be very great) he shall be sure to find the same warr which the *Arimaspi* make against the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any sense of the Gold, or seek to defend that metal, but being disquieted, or made afraid of themselves or their young ones, they grow inraged and adventurous. In like sort it may be said, that the *Alegartos* (which the *Egyptians* call the *Crocodyles*) defend those Pearls which lie in the Lakes of the In-land: for many times the poor *Indians* are eaten up by them, when they dive for the Pearl. And though the *Alegartos* know not the Pearl, yet they find savour in the flesh and bloud of the *Indians*, whom they devour.

||. VI.

Of Havilah *the Son of* Joctan, *who also passed into the East-Indies: and of* Mesha *and* Sepher *named in the bordering of the families of* Joctan: *with a Conclusion of this Discourse touching the plantation of the World.*

OF *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*, there is nothing else to be said, but that the general Opinion is, that he also inhabited in the *East-India*, in the Continent, from which *Ophir* past into the Islands adjoining. And whereas *Ganges* is said to water *Havilah*, it is meant by *Havilah* in the *East-India*, which took name of *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*: but *Havilah* which *Pison* compasseth, was so called of *Havilah*, the Son of *Chus*, as is formerly proved by this place of Scripture: *Saul smote the* Amalekites *from* Havilah, *as thou comest to* Shur, *which is before* Egypt. But, that *Saul* ever made warr in the *East-India*, no man hath suspected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteen Sons of *Joctan*, these three, *Saba*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*; though at the first seated by their Brethren about the Hill *Masius*, or *Mesh*, *Gen.* 10.30. (to wit) between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*; yet, at length, either themselves, or their issues removed into the *East-India*, leaving the other Families of *Joctan*, to fill the Countreys of their first plantations, which the Scripture defines to have been from *Mesh* unto *Sephar*. And although S. *Hierome* take *Mesh* to be a Region of the *East-India*, and *Sephar* a Mountain of the same (which Mountain, *Montanus* would have to be the *Andes* in *America*) those fancies are farr beyond my understanding. For, the word (*East*) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Judæa*, is never farther extended than unto *Persia*. But *Mesch* is that part of the Mountain of *Masius* in the North of *Mesopotamia*, out of which the River *Chaboras* springeth, which runneth by *Charran*: and in the same Region we also find for *Sephar* (remembred by *Moses*) *Sipphara* by *Ptolemy*, standing to the East of the Mountain *Masius*; from whence, *Joctan* having many Sons, some of them might pass into *India*, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in process of time.

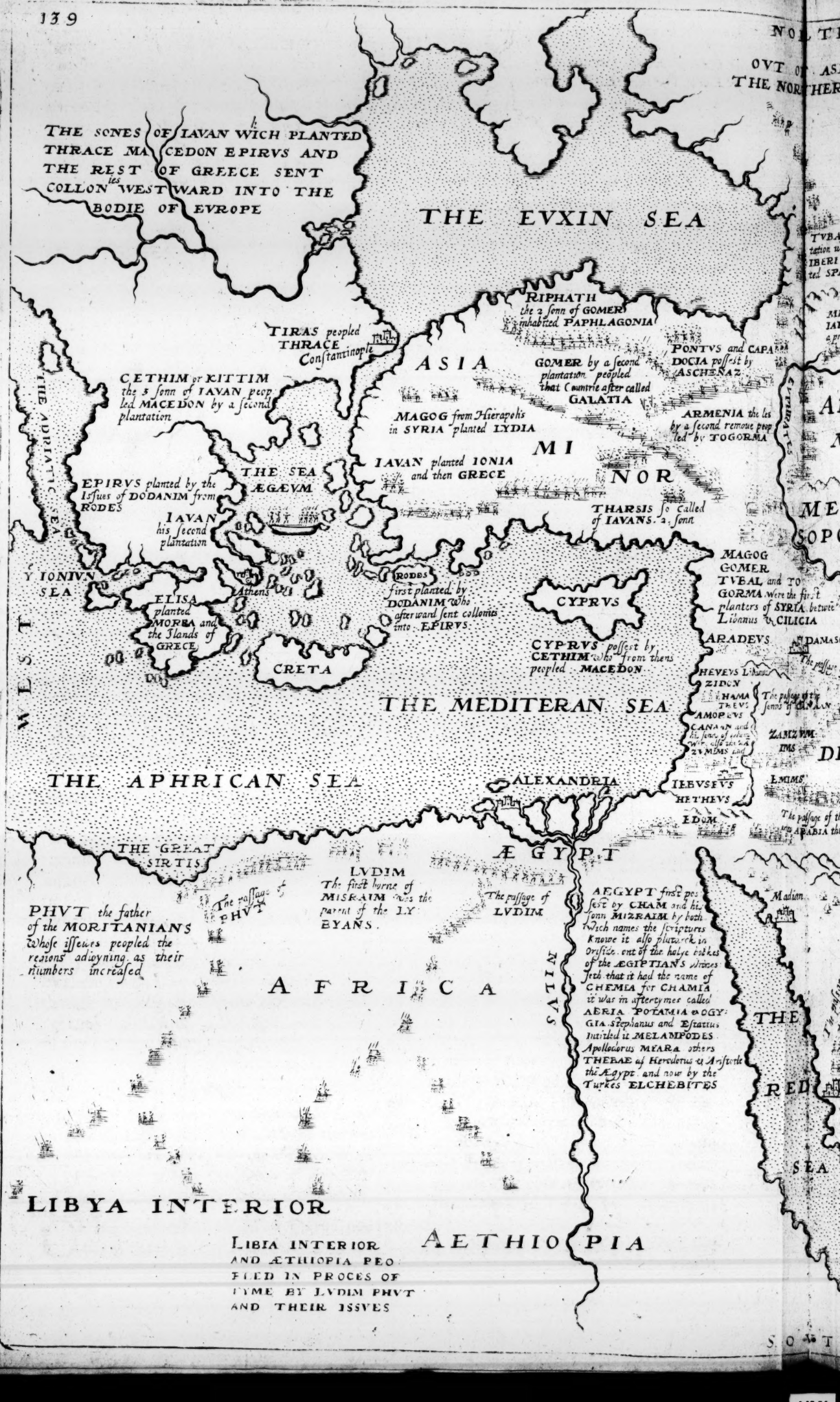
1 Sam. 15. v. 7.

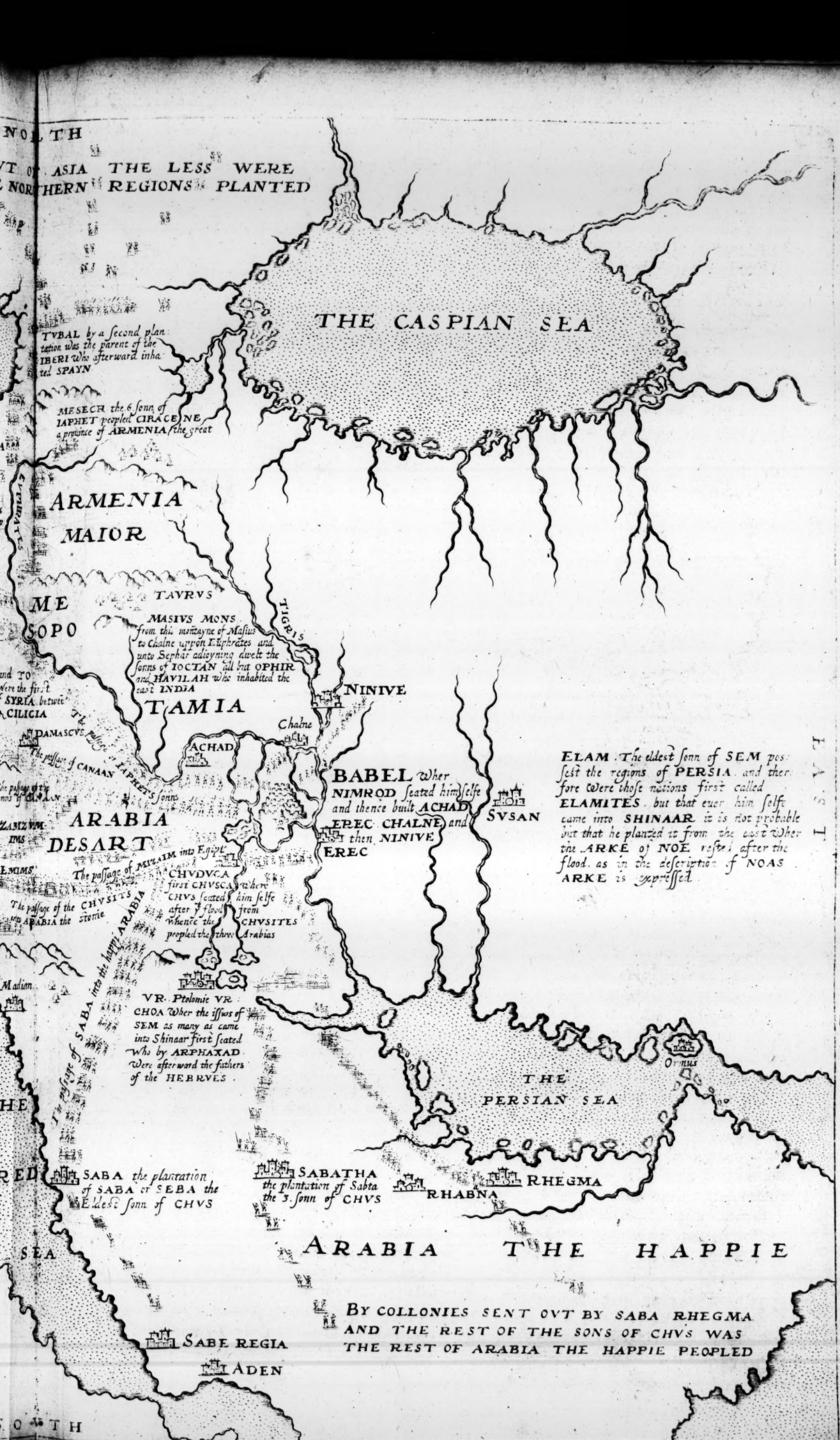
The other fashion of Planting I understand not, being grounded but upon mens imaginations, contrary to reason and possibility. And that this Mountain in the East was no farther off than in those Regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the same phrase is used: as in *Numbers* 23. Balac *the King of* Moab *hath brought me from* Aram, *out of the Mountain of the East*; which was from the East part of *Mesopotamia*. For *Balac* brought *Balaam* out of *Mesopotamia* (witness this place of *Deuteronomy*:) *Because they hired* Balaam *the Son of* Beor, *of* Pethor *in* Aram Naharajim, *to curse thee*: for *Aram Naharajim* was *Syria fluviorum*, which is *Mesopotamia*, as aforesaid.

Vers. 7.

Cap. 23. *vers.* 4.

This plantation of the World after the Floud


THE SONES OF IAVAN WICH PLANTED THRACE MACEDON EPIRVS AND THE REST OF GREECE SENT COLLONIES WESTWARD INTO THE BODIE OF EVROPE
THE EVXIN SEA
RIPHATH the 2 sonn of GOMER inhabited PAPHLAGONIA
TIRAS peopled THRACE Constantinople
ASIA
PONTVS and CAPADOCIA possest by ASCHENAZ
GOMER by a second plantation peopled that Countrie after called GALATIA
CETHIM or KITTIM the 3 sonn of IAVAN peopled MACEDON by a second plantation
MAGOG from Hierapolis in SYRIA planted LYDIA
ARMENIA the les by a second remove peopled by TOGORMA
IAVAN planted IONIA and then GRECE
THE SEA ÆGÆVM
EPIRVS planted by the Issues of DODANIM from RODES
IAVAN his second plantation
THARSIS so called of IAVANS 2. sonn
MAGOG GOMER TVBAL and TOGORMA were the first planters of SYRIA betwixt Libanus & CILICIA
Y IONIVN SEA
Athens
RODES first planted by DODANIM who afterward sent collonies into EPIRVS
ELISA planted MOREA and the Ilands of GRECE
CRETA
CYPRVS
CYPRVS possest by CETHIM who from thens peopled MACEDON
ARADEVS
HEVEVS
ZIDON
HAMATHEVS
AMOREVS
CANAAN and his sonn
ZAMZVMMIMS
IEBVSEVS
HETHEVS
EDOM
THE MEDITERAN SEA
THE APHRICAN SEA
ALEXANDRIA
THE GREAT SIRTIS
ÆGYPT
LVDIM The first burne of MISRAIM was the parent of the LYBYANS.
The passage of PHVT
The passage of LVDIM
PHVT the father of the MORITANIANS whose issewes peopled the regions adioyning as their numbers increased
AEGYPT first possest by CHAM and his sonn MIZRAIM by both which names the scriptures knowe it also plutarck in Orisid. out of the holye bookes of the ÆGIPTIANS writes Seth that it had the name of CHEMIA for CHAMIA it was in aftertymes called AERIA POTAMIA OGYGIA Stephanus and Estatius Intitled it MELAMPODES Apollodorus MYARA others THEBAE as Herodotus & Aristotle the Ægypt and now by the Turkes ELCHEBITES
NILVS
AFRICA
LIBYA INTERIOR
AETHIOPIA
LIBIA INTERIOR AND ÆTHIOPIA PEOPLED IN PROCES OF TYME BY LVDIM PHVT AND THEIR ISSVES


NORTH
ASIA THE LESS WERE
NORTHERN REGIONS PLANTED
THE CASPIAN SEA
TVBAL by a second plantation was the parent of the IBERI Who afterward inhabited SPAYN
MESECH the 6 sonn of IAPHET peopled CIRACENE a province of ARMENIA the great
ARMENIA MAIOR
EUPHRATES
TAVRVS
TIGRIS
MASIVS MONS from this mountayne of Masius to Chalne upon Euphrates and unto Sephar adioyning dwelt the sonns of IOCTAN all but OPHIR and HAVILAH who inhabited the east INDIA
NINIVE
Chalne
ACHAD
BABEL Wher NIMROD seated himselfe and thence built ACHAD EREC CHALNE and then NINIVE
EREC
SVSAN
ELAM The eldest sonn of SEM possest the regions of PERSIA and therefore were those nations first called ELAMITES but that euer him selfe came into SHINAAR it is not probable but that he planted it from the east Wher the ARKE of NOE resting after the flood as in the description of NOAS ARKE is expressed
DAMASCVS
The passage of CANAAN
The passage of IAPHET'S sonns
ARABIA DESART
The passage of MIZAIM into Egipt
CHVDVCA first CHVSCA where CHVS seated him selfe after the flood from whence the CHVSITES peopled the three Arabias
The passage of the CHVSITS into ARABIA the stonie
The passage of SABA into the happie ARABIA
VR Ptolomie VR CHOA Wher the issues of SEM as many as came into Shinaar first seated Who by ARPHAXAD Were afterward the fathers of the HEBRVES
THE PERSIAN SEA
Ormus
SABA the plantation of SABA or SEBA the Eldest sonn of CHVS
SABATHA the plantation of Sabta the 3. sonn of CHVS
RHABNA
RHEGMA
ARABIA THE HAPPIE
BY COLLONIES SENT OVT BY SABA RHEGMA AND THE REST OF THE SONS OF CHVS WAS THE REST OF ARABIA THE HAPPIE PEOPLED
SABE REGIA
ADEN
SOUTH

Floud doth best agree (as to me it seems) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And these be the reports of reason and probable conjecture; the guides which I have followed herein, and which I have chosen to go after; making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their own fancies, be they ancient or modern. Neither have I any end herein, private or publick, other than the discovery of truth. For as the partiality of man to himself hath disguised all things: so the factious and hireling Historians of all Ages (especially of these later Times) have, by their many Volumes of untrue reports, left *Honour* without a Monument, and *Virtue* without Memory: and (in stead thereof) have erected *Statues* and *Trophies* to those, whom the darkest forgetfulness ought to have buried, and covered over for evermore. And although the length and dissolving nature of time hath worn out or changed the names and memory of the Worlds first Planters after the Floud (I mean the greatest number, and most part of them) yet all the footsteps of Antiquity (as appears by that which hath been spoken) are not quite worn out, nor over-grown: for *Babylon* hath to this day the sound of *Babel*; *Phœnicia* hath *Zidon*, to which City the eldest Son of *Canaan* gave name; so hath *Cilicia*, *Tharsis*; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hibernian*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumæans*, *Libyans*, *Moors*, and other Nations, have preserved from the death of forgetfulness some signs of their first Founders and true Parents.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Beginning and Establishment of Government.

§. I.

Of the proceeding from the first Government under the eldest of the Families to be Regal, and from Regal absolute, to Regal tempered with Laws.

IT followeth now, to intreat how the World began to receive Rule and Government, which (while it had scarcity of people) under-went no other Dominon than Paternity and Eldership. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldest of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (*Elder*) was always used, both for the Magistrate, and for those of Age and Gravity: the same bearing one signification almost in all Languages. For, in the Eleventh of *Numbers*, God commanded *Moses* to gather together 70. of the Elders of the people, and Governours over them: the *Hebrew* bearing the same sence which the *Latine* word *Senes*, or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Susanna*, *Then the Assembly believed them as those that were the Elders and Judges of the people.* And so in the words of those false Judges and Witnesses to *Daniel*, *Shew it unto us, seeing God hath given thee the Office of an Elder.* *Demosthenes* useth the same word for the Magistrate among the *Grecians*. *Cicero* in *Cato* giveth two other reasons for this appellation: *Apud* Lacedæmonios *qui amplissimum Magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam appellantur, Senes*; *Among the* Lacedæmonians, *the chief Magistrates, as they were, so they are called, Eldermen:* And again, *Ratio & prudentia nisi essent in senibus, non summum Concilium Majores nostri appellâssent Senatum*; *If reason and advisement were not in old men, our Ancestours had never called the highest Councel by the name of Senate.*

But, though these reasons may well be given, yet we doubt not, but in this name of (*Elders*) for Governours, or Counsellours of State, there is a sign that the first Governours were the Fathers of Families; and under them the eldest Sons. And from thence did the *French*, *Italian*, and *Spaniard*, take the word (*Signor*) and out of it (*Seignourie*) for Lordship and Dominion: signifying (according to *Loyseau*) puissance in propriety, or proper power. The kinds of this *Seignourie*, *Seneca* makes two: The one, *Potestas aut imperium, Power or command:* the other, *Proprietas aut dominum*; *Propriety or mastership:* The correlative of the one is the Subject; of the other, the Slave. *Ad Cæsarem* (saith he) *potestas omnium pertinet*; *ad singulos proprietas*; *Cæsar hath power over all, and every man propriety in his own:* And again, *Cæsar omnia imperio possidet, singuli dominio*; *Cæsar holdeth all in his power, and*

every man poſſeſſeth his own. But as men and vice began abundantly to increaſe: ſo obedience (the fruit of natural reverence, which but from excellent ſeed ſeldome ripeneth) being exceedingly over-ſhadowed with pride, and ill examples, utterly withered and fell away. And the ſoft weapons of Paternal perſwaſions (after man-kind began to neglect and forget the Original and firſt giver of life) became in all over-weak, either to reſiſt the firſt inclination of evil, or after (when it became habitual) to conſtrain it. So that now, when the hearts of men were onely guided and ſteered by their own fancies, and toſt to and fro on the tempeſtuous Seas of the World, while Wiſdom was ſevered from power, and ſtrength from charity: Neceſſity (which bindeth every nature but the immortal) made both the wiſe and fooliſh underſtand at once, that the eſtate of reaſonable men would become far more miſerable than that of beaſts, and that a general floud of confuſion would a ſecond time over-flow them, did they not, by a general obedience to Order and Dominion, prevent it. For the mighty, who truſted in their own ſtrengths, found others again (by interchange of times) more mighty than themſelves: the feeble fell under the forcible; and the equal from equal received equal harms. Inſomuch, that the licentious diſorder (which ſeemed to promiſe a liberty upon the firſt acquaintance) proved, upon a better trial, no leſs perillous than unindurable bondage.

Neceſſitas eſt firmum judicium, & immutabilis providentiæ poteſtas.

Theſe Arguments, by Neceſſity propounded, and by Reaſon maintained and confirmed, perſwaded all Nations which the Heavens cover, to ſubject themſelves to a Maſter, and to Magiſtracy in ſome degree. Under which Government, as the change (which brought with it leſs evil, than the former miſchiefs) was generally pleaſing: ſo time (making all men wiſe that obſerve it) found ſome imperfection and corroſive in this cure. And therefore the ſame Neceſſity which invented, and the ſame Reaſon which approved, Sovereign power, bethought it ſelf of certain equal rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundleſs) might alſo diſcern her own limits. For before the invention of Laws, private affections in ſupream Rulers made their own fancies both their Treaſurers and Hangmen; meaſuring by this Yard, and weighing in this Ballance, both good and evil.

For as wiſedom in Elderſhip preceded the rule of Kings; ſo the will of Kings forewent the inventions of Laws. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant; The people were not governed by any other laws than the wills of Princes.* Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to be good, neither did thoſe men's Virtues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor thoſe men's Vices deforme them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt; Love ſees one while too much, another while ſtark nothing.* Hence it came to paſſe, that after a few years (for direction and reſtraint of Royal power) Laws were eſtabliſhed: and that Government which had this mixture of equality (holding in an even Ballance ſupreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regal: the other (which had it not) was known for Tyrannical: the one, God eſtabliſhed in favour of his people; the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this Regal authority, Princes as they were choſen for their virtues only, ſo did they meaſure their powers by a great deal of moderation. And therefore (ſaith *Fabius Pictor*) *Principes, quia juſti erant, & religionibus dediti, jure habiti Dii & dicti; Princes becauſe they were juſt and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods.* *De aureo ſæculo, part 1.*

And though (ſpeaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be aſcribed to Reaſon and Neceſſity; yet it was God himſelf that firſt kindled this light in the minds of men, whereby they ſaw that they could not live and be preſerved without a Ruler and Conductor: God himſelf by his eternal providence having ordained Kings; and the Law of Nature, Leaders, and Rulers over others. For the very Bees have their Prince; the Deer their Leaders; and Cranes (by order impoſed) watch for their own ſafety. *The moſt High beareth rule over the Kingdoms of Men; and appointeth over it whomſoever he pleaſeth. By me* (ſaith *Wiſedom*, ſpoken by the Son of God) *Kings reign; By me Princes rule. And it is God* (ſaith *Daniel*) *that ſetteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings.* And that this power is given from God, *Chriſt* himſelf witneſſeth, ſpeaking to *Pilate*; *Thou couldeſt have no power at all againſt me, except it were given thee from above.* *Dan. 5.21.* *Prov. 8. 15.* *Dan. 2.21.* *John 19. 11.*

It was therefore by a threefold Juſtice that the World hath been governed from the beginning (to wit) by a Juſtice natural; by which the Parents and Elders of Families governed their Children, and Nephewes, and Families; in which government the Obedience was called natural Piety: Againe, by a Juſtice divine, drawn from the Laws and Ordinances of God; and the Obedience hereunto was called Conſcience: And laſtly, by a Juſtice civil, begotten by both

both the former; and the Obedience to this we call Duty. That by these three, those of the eldest times were commanded, and that the rule in general was Paternal, it is most evident: for *Adam*, being Lord over his own Children, instructed them in the service of God his Creator; as we read, *Cain* and *Abel* brought Oblations before God, as they had been taught by their Parent, the Father of Mankind.

§. II.

Of the three commendable sorts of Government, with their opposites: and of the degrees of humane society.

WHat other Policy was exercised, or State founded, after such time as mankinde was greatly multiplied before the Floud, it cannot be certainly known, though it seem by probable conjecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first Age: it being possible that many Princes of the *Egyptians* (remembred among their antiquities) were before the general Floud; and very likely, that the cruel Oppressions in that Age proceeded from some Tyranny in Government, or from some rougher form of Rule, than the Paternal.

Berosus l. 1. *Berosus* ascribeth the rule of the World in those days to the Gyants of *Libanus*, who mastered (saith he) all Nations from the Sun-rising to the Sun-set. But in the second Age of the World, and after such times as the rule of Eldership failed, three several sorts of Government were in several times established among men, according to the divers natures of Places and People.

The first, the most ancient, most general, and most approved, was the Government of one, ruling by just Laws, called *Monarchy*: to which *Tyranny* is opposed, being also a sole and absolute Rule, exercised according to the will of the Commander, without respect or observation of the Laws of God, or Men. For a lawful Prince or Magistrate (saith *Aristotle*) is the Keeper of Right and Equity: and of this condition ought every Magistrate to be, according to the rule of Deut. 16. 18. Gods word: *Judges and Officers shalt thou make thee in thy Cities: And these shall judg the people with righteous judgment.*

The second Government, is of divers principal Persons established by Order, and ruling by Laws, called *Aristocracy*, or *Optimatum potestas*; to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular faction and usurpation of a few great-ones) is opposed: as the *Decem viri*, or *Trium viri*, and the like.

The third is a State popular, (or Government of the people) called *Democratia*, to which is opposed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent unjust ruling of the confused multitude, seditiously swaying the State, contrary to their own Laws and Ordinances. These three kinds of Government are briefly expresst by *Tholosanus*; *unius, paucorum, & multorum*; *Of one, of few, of many.*

Now as touching the beginning and order of Policy since the second increase of mankind, the same grew in this sort: First of all, every Father, or eldest of the Family, gave Laws to his own issues, and to the people from him and them increased. These, as they were multiplied into many households (man by nature loving society) joyned their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the *Latins* call *Vicus*; of the *Greek* οἶκος, which signifies a *House*; or of the word (*Via*) because it hath divers waies and paths leading to it. And as the first House grew into a Village, so the Village into that which is called *Pagus* (being a society of divers Villages) so called of the *Greeks* πηγὴ which signifieth a *Fountain*: because many people (having their habitations not far asunder) drank of one Spring or Stream of Water. To this word the *English* Hundreds, or (as some think) Shires, answereth not unfitly.

But as men and impiety began to gather strength, and as emulation and pride, between the Race of the one and the other, daily increased: so both to defend themselves from out-rage, and to preserve such goods as they had gathered, they began to joyn and set together divers of their Villages, invironing them first with Banks and Ditches, and afterwards with Walls: which, being so compassed, were then called *Oppida*; either *ab opponendo se hostibus, Because walls were opposed against Enemies*; or *ab opibus, because thither they gathered their riches for safety and defence*: as also they were called *Urbes, ab orbe*; because when they were to build a City, they made a Circle with a Plough (saith *Varro*) therewith measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortifie. And although *Urbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was antiently in this, that *Urbs* signified no other than the very walls and buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein: so called of *Civis*, and that, *ab eo quòd multitudo coivit, of comming together.* But all inhabitants within these walls are not properly Citizens, but only such as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the City,

City, may by turns become Officers and Magistrates thereof: the rest go under the name of Subjects, though Citizens by the same general name of Subjects are also known. For every Citizen is a Subject, but not every Subject a Citizen: perhaps also some Citizen (as the chief Magistrate, if he be to be tearmed one of the Citizens) is no Subject; but of this we need not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken *à Magistro, from a Master*, and the word (Master) from the Adverb *Magis* (as also *Magisteria, Precepts of Art*) or else from the *Greek* word (*Megistos*) and so the *Greeks* call them *Megistanes*, whom the *Latines* call *Magnates*, or *Magistratus*.

The Office and Duty of every Magistrate, *Arist.* 5. *Aristotle* hath written in few words. *A Magistrate or Prince* (saith he) *is the keeper of right and equity*; but the same is best taught by Saint *Paul*, who expresseth both the cause efficient, and final, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordained, together *Rom* 13. 4. with their Duties and Office. *A Magistrate is the Minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou do evil, fear: for he beareth not the sword for nought. For he is the Minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth evil.* He also *Ver.* 1, 2. teacheth in the same place; *That every soule ought to be subject to the higher powers, because they are by God ordained*, and that *whosoever resisteth that power, resisteth God*, the giver and fountain thereof: and shall not only be therefore subject to the judgment and con- *Ibid. v.* 5. demnation of Man, but of God: *For ye must be subject* (saith he) *not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake.*

The examples are not to be numbred of Gods punishments, upon those that have resisted Authority, by God ordained and established. Neither ought any Subject therefore to resist the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with injustice or cruelty: for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand: and the Commandement of obedience is without distinction. The *Prophets* and *Christ* himself subjected themselves to the power of Magistracy. *Christ* commanded that all due to *Cæsar* should be given unto him: and he payed Tribute for himself and *Peter*. *Hierem.* 29. 7. *Hieremy* commanded the *Israelites* (even those *Gen.* 20. 17. & 27. 10. that were Captives under Heathen Kings) to pray for them and for the peace of *Babylon*. So *Abraham* prayed for *Abimelech*; and *Jacob* blessed the King of *Egypt*: And *it is acceptable in the sight of our Saviour* (saith *Paul*) *that ye make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authority*: and if for such Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much did Saint *Chrysostom*, in his Homily to the people, prefer *Monarchical* Government, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) than that they should be wanting: *Præstat Regem tyrannum habere, quàm nullum; Better a tyrannous King, than no King:* to which also *Tacitus* subscribeth: *Præstat* (saith *Tacitus* in the first of his History) *sub malo principe esse, quàm nullo; It is better to have a bad Prince than none at all.* And be they good Kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no liberty more safe, than to serve them: *Neque enim libertas tutior ulla est* (saith *Claudian*) *quàm Domino servire bono; No liberty* (saith he) *more safe for us than to be servants to the virtuous.* And certainly, howsoever it may be disputed, yet it is safer to live under one Tyrant, than under 100000. Tyrants: under a wise man that is cruel, than under the foolish and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as *Agesilaus* answered a Citizen of *Sparta*, that desired an alteration of Government, That kind of rule which a man would disdain in his own house, were very unfit to govern great Regions by.

Lastly, as many Fathers erect many Cotages for their many Children: and as (for the reason before remembred) many Housholds joyned themselves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: so when these Cities and Citizens joyned together, and established Laws by consent, associating themselves under one Governour, and Government; they, so joyned, were called a Common-Wealth: the same being sometimes governed by Kings; sometimes by Magistrates; sometimes by the People themselves.

§. III.

Of the good Government of the first Kings.

NOw this first Age after the Floud, and after such time as the people were increased, and Families became strong, and they dispersed into several parts of the world, was by antient Historians called Golden: Ambition and Covetousness being as then but green, and newly grown up, the seeds and effects whereof were as yet but potential, and in the blowth and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then sought for no larger Territory than themselves could compass and manure: they erected no other magnificent Buildings, than sufficient to defend them from cold and tempest:

tempest: they cared for no other delicacy of fare, or curiosity of dyet, than to maintain life: nor for any other apparel, than to cover them from the Cold, the Rain and the Sun.

And sure if we understand by that Age (which was called Golden) the antient simplicity of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truly be cast upon those elder times: but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may be attributed more to any one time than to another (I mean to one limited time and none else) it may be doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages: and all times have brought forth of both sorts. And as the infancy of Empiry (when Princes played their Prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience) might be called the Golden Age; so may the beginning of all Princes times be truly called Golden. For be it that men affect honour, it is then best purchased; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deservings have commonly the least impediments: and if ever Liberality overflow her banks and bounds, the same is then best warranted both by policy and example. But Age and Time, do not only harden and shrink the openest and most *Jovial* hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes torn estates before their eyes, and (withal) perswadeth them to compassionate themselves. And although there be no Kings under the Sun whose means are answerable unto other mens desires: yet such as value all things by their own respects, do no sooner find their appetites unanswered, but they complain of alteration, and account the times injurious and Iron. And as this falleth out in the Reign of every King, so doth it in the life of every man, if his daies be many: for our younger years are our Golden Age; which being eaten up by time, we praise those seasons which our youth accompanied: and (indeed) the grievous alterations in our selves, and the pains and diseases which never part from us but at the grave, make the times seem so differing and displeasing: especially the quality of man's nature being also such, as it adoreth and extolleth the passages of the former, and condemneth the present state how just soever: *Fit humanæ malignitatis vitio, ut semper vetera in laude, præsentia in fastidio sint*; *It comes to pass* (saith *Tacitus*) *by the vice of our maligenity, that we alwaies extol the time past, and hold the present fastidious:* For it is one of the errors of wayward Age: *Quod sint laudatores temporis acti*; *That they are praisers of fore-passed times*, forgetting this advice of *Solomon: Say not then, Why is it that the former daies were better then these? For thou doest not inquire wisely of this thing:* to which purpose *Seneca*; *Majores nostri questi sunt, & nos queri-mur, posteri querentur, eversos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum & in omne nefas labi: Our ancestors have complained, we do complain, our Children will complain, that good manners are gone, that wickedness doth reign, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all evil.* These are usually the Discourses of Age and Misfortune. But hereof what can we add to this of *Arnobius*? *Nova res quandoque vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus*; *quibus cæpit nova fuit & repentina. Whatsoever is new, in time shall be made old: and the antientest things when they took beginning were also new and sodain.* Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentment of present times have made Golden, this we may set down for certain, That as it was the virtue of the first Kings, which (after God) gave them Crowns: so the love of their people thereby purchased, held the same Crowns on their heads. And as God gave the obedience of Subjects to Princes: so (relatively) he gave the care and justice of Kings to the Subjects; having respect, not only to the Kings themselves, but even to the meanest of his Creatures: *Nunquam particulari bono servit omne bonum; The infinite goodness of God doth not attend any one only:* for he that made the small and great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings have of all theirs, which makes them beloved of all theirs; and by a general love it is, that Princes hold a general obedience: For, *Potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum: All humane power is rooted in the will or dispositions of men.*

Tacit. in Dial. de Orat.

Arnob. lib. 2.

Eccles. 7.

Wisd. 6. 7.

§. IV.

Of the beginning of Nobility: and of the vain vaunt thereof without virtue.

AND with this Supreme Rule and Kingly authority, began also other degrees and differences among Subjects. For Princes made election of others by the same Rule, by which themselves were chosen; unto whom they gave place, trust, and power. From which imployments and Offices sprung those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, which have continued from Age to Age, to these daies. But this Nobility, or difference from the vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the Succession of Bloud, but to Succession of Virtue, as hereafter may be proved. Though at length it was sufficient for

Verus Nobilis non nascitur sed fit.

for those whose Parents were advanced, to be known for the Sons of such Fathers: and so there needed then no endeavour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, upon whom glory or worldly Nobility necessarily descended. Yet hereof had Nobility denomination in the beginning, That such as excelled others in virtue, were so called: *Hinc dictus Nobilis, quasi virtute præ aliis notabilis.* But after such time as the deserved Honour of the Father was given in reward to his Posterity, Saint *Jerom* judged of the Succession in this manner: *Nihil aliud video in Nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod Nobiles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent; I see no other thing to be affected in Nobility, than that Noblemen are by a kind of necessity bound, not to degenerate from the virtue of their Ancestors.* For if Nobility be *Virtus & antiquæ divitiæ*; *Virtue, and antient riches*, then to exceed in all those things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glory, and the like, do no otherwise define Nobility, than the word (*animal*) alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour (according to *L. Vives*) be a witness of virtue and well-doing: and Nobility (after *Plutarch*) the continuance of Virtue in a Race or Linage: then are those in whom Virtue is extinguished, but like unto Painted and Printed Papers, which ignorant men worship in stead of *Christ*, our *Lady*, and other *Saints*: men in whom there remain but the dregs and Vices of antient Virtue: Flowers, and Herbs, which by change of soile and want of manuring are turned to Weeds. For what is found praise-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountains, if in all the rest of their course they run foule, filthy, and defiled? *Ex terra fertili producitur aliquando Cicuta venenosa, ex terra sterili pretiosum Aurum*; *Out of fruitful ground ariseth sometimes poysoning Henbane, and out of barren soyle precious Gold.* For as all things consist of matter and form, so doth *Charron* (in his Chapter of Nobility) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobility: the form (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be Virtue, and Quality, profitable to the Common-weal. For he is truly and entirely Noble, who maketh a singular profession of publike Virtue, serving his Prince and Country, and being descended of Parents and Ancestors that have done the like. And although that Nobility, which the same Author calleth personal (the same which our selves acquire by our Virtue and well deservings) cannot be ballanced with that which is both natural by Descent, and also Personal; yet if Virtue be wanting to the natural, then is the personal and acquired Nobility, by many degrees, to be preferred: For (saith *Charron*) this Honour (to wit) by Descent, may light upon such a one, as in his own nature is a true Villain. There is also a third Nobility, which he calleth Nobility in Parchment, bought with Silver or Favour: and these be indeed but Honours of affection, which Kings, with the change of their Fancies, wish they knew well how to wipe off again. But surely, if we had as much sense of our degenerating in worthiness, as we have of vanity in deriving our selves of such and such Parents, we should rather know such Nobility (without Virtue) to be shame and dishonour, than Nobleness and glory to vaunt thereof. *What calamity is wanting* (saith *Bernard*) *to him that is born in sin, of a Potshare body and barren mind?* For (according to the same Father) *Dele fucum fugacis honoris hujus, & malè coronatæ nitorem gloriæ, &c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glory, that then thou mayest consider thy self nakedly: for thou camest naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Camest thou thence with thy Mytre, or glistering with Jewels, or garnished with Silks, or adorned with Feathers, or stuffed with Gold? If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration, as certain morning clouds, which do or will soon pass over, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poor, and wretched, and miserable man, and blushing, because he is naked, and weeping, because he is born, and repining, because he is born to labour, and not to honour.*

Bern. l. 2. de Consider. ad Eugen. Pap.

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference between it and dust: *which if thou dost not believe* (saith St. *Chrysostom*) *look into the Sepulchres and Monuments of thy Ancestors, and they shall easily perswade thee by their own example, that thou art dust and dirt: so that if man seem more noble and beautiful than dust, this proceedeth not from the diversity of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creatour.*

Chrys. hom. 2. l. de incomposita Dei natura con. 5.

Pint. in Ezech.

For true Nobility standeth in the Trade
Of virtuous life; not in the fleshly Line:
For bloud is brute, but Gentry is Divine.

Phaet.

And howsoever the custom of the World have made it good, that Honours be cast by birth upon unworthy Issues: yet *Solomon* (as wise as any King) reprehendeth the same in his fellow-Princes: *There is an evil* (saith he) *that I have seen under the Sun, as an errour that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth: Folly is set in great excellency.*

Eccles. 10.

CHAP.

Chap. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus: *and of memorable things about thoſe times.*

§. I.

That Nimrod *was the firſt after the Floud that reigned like a Sovereign Lord: and that his beginning ſeemeth to have been of juſt authority.*

THe firſt of all that reigned as Sovereign Lord, after the Floud, was *Nimrod*, the Son of *Chuſh*, diſtinguiſhed by *Moſes* from the reſt (according to S. *Auguſtine*) in one of theſe two reſpects: either for his eminency, and becauſe he was the firſt of fame, and took on him to command others: or elſe, in that he was begotten by *Chuſh*, after is other children were alſo become Fathers; and of a later time than ſome of his Grand-children and Nephews. Howſoever, ſeeing *Moſes* in expreſs words, calleth *Nimrod* the Son of *Chuſh*, other mens conjectures to the contrary, ought to have no reſpect.

This Empiry of *Nimrod*, both the Fathers, and many later Writers call tyrannical: the ſame beginning in *Babel* (which is) confuſion. But it ſeemeth to me, that *Melanchthon* conceived not amiſs hereof: the ſame expoſition being alſo made by the Authour of that Work, called *Onomaſticum Theologicum*, who affirms that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator*, *A bitter, or ſevere Governour*, becauſe his form of Rule ſeemed, at firſt, farr more terrible than Paternal authority. And therefore is he in this reſpect alſo called *A mighty Hunter:* becauſe he took and deſtroyed both beaſts and thieves. But S. *Auguſtine* underſtands it otherwiſe, and converts the word (*ante*) by (*contra*) affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mighty Hunter againſt God: *Sic ergo intelligendus eſt Gigas ille, Venator contra Dominum; So is that Giant to be underſtood, a Hunter againſt the Lord.*

But howſoever this word (*A mighty Hunter*) be underſtood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all thoſe which went with him from the Eaſt into *Shinaar:* ſo, this charge was rather given him, than by him uſurped. For it no where is found, that *Noah* himſelf, or any of the Sons of his own body, came with this troop into *Babylon:* no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the years of his life excepted) in the ſucceeding Story of the *Hebrews*; nor that *Sem* was in this diſobedient troop, or among the builders of *Babel.*

The ſame is alſo confirmed by divers Hiſtorians, that *Nimrod*, *Suphne*, and *Joctan*, were the Captains and Leaders of all thoſe which came from the Eaſt. And though *Sem* came not himſelf ſo farr as *Shinaar* (his lot being caſt on the Eaſt parts) yet from his Son's Nephew *Heber*, the name and Nation of the *Hebrews* (according to the generall opinion) took beginning, who inhabited the Southermoſt parts of *Chaldæa*, about the City of *Ur*; from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan.*

And becauſe thoſe of the Race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldæa*, were no partners in the unbelieving work of the Tower: therefore (as many of the Fathers conjecture) did they retain the firſt and moſt ancient language, which the Fathers of the firſt Age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his Iſſues: *In familia* Heber *remanſit hæc lingua*; *In the family of* Heber *this language remained* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine* out of *Epiphanius*) and this Language *Abraham* uſed; yea, it was anciently, and before the Floud, the general ſpeech: and therefore firſt called (ſaith *Cœleſtinus*) *lingua humana: the humane tongue.*

We know that *Goropius Becanus* following *Theodoret*, *Rabbi Moſes*, *Ægyptius*, *Vergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howſoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability reſolve, that none of the godly ſeed of *Sem* were the chief Leaders of this preſumptuous multitude. And ſeeing it is not likely, but that ſome one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by juſt authority, than violence of uſurpation.

§. II.

That Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus *were three distinct Persons.*

BEnzo, and out of him *Nauclerus*, with others, make many *Nimrods*; *Eusebius* confounds him with *Belus*, and so doth Saint *Hierom* upon *Ose*; and these words of Saint *Augustine* seem to make him of the same Opinion: *Ibi autem* Ninus *regnabat post mortem patris sui* Beli, *qui primus illic regnaverat* 65. *annos*; *There did* Ninus *reign after the death of his father* Belus, *who governed in* Babylon *sixty five years.* But it could not be unknown to Saint *Augustine*, that *Nimrod* was the Establisher of that Empire: *Moses* being plain and direct therein. *For the beginning of* Nimrods *Kingdom* (saith he) *was* Babel, Erec, Accad, *and* Chalne, *in the Land of* Shinaar; wherefore *Nimrod* was the first King of *Babel.* And certainly, it best agreeth with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) supposed: for in *Ninus* his time, the World was marvellously repleniſhed. And if S. *Augustine* had undoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would have given him the name which the Scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of prophane Authours. And for those words of S. *Augustine* (*qui primus illic regnaverat*; *Who was the first that reigned there*) supposed to be meant by *Belus*: those words do not disprove that *Nimrod* was the Founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Julius Cæsar* overthrew the liberty of the *Romane* Common-wealth, making himself perpetual *Dictator*; yet *Augustus* was the first established Emperour, and the first that reigned absolutely by soveraign Authority over the *Romans*, as an Emperour.

The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and Paternity, laying the foundation of soveraign rule, as *Cæsar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, who peaceably, and with general allowance, exercised such a power. *Pererius* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them, both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. years after the Floud (as they account) that *Belus* reigned; but such agreement of times proves it not. For, so *Edward* the third, and his Grand-child, *Richard* the second, were Kings both in one year: the one died; the other in the same year was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is farr more probable than that of *Mercator*; who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For, it is plain, that the beginning of *Nimrod*'s Kingdom was *Babel*, and the Towns adjoining: but the first, and most famous work of *Ninus*, was the City of *Ninive*.

Now, whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth, that *Ninus* overcame and suppreſt the *Babylonians*, the same rather proveth the contrary, than that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one Person. For *Ninus* established the seat of his Empire at *Ninive* in *Assyria*, whence the *Babilonians* might (perchance) in disdain thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recovered again by strong hand; which was easie: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis* time.

—*Dicitur altam*
Coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis *Urbem.*

Semiramis with walls of Brick, the City did incloſe.

Further, where it is alledged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod mighty*; so *Justine* hath the same of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercator*'s Arguments; it may be answered, that such an addition might have been given to many other Kings as well. For, if we may believe *Justine*; then were *Vexoris* King of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, mighty Kings before *Ninus* was born. And if we may compare the words of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the undertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference between them.

For, whereas *Mercator* conceiveth, that it was too early, for any that lived about the time of the confusion of Languages, to have invaded and mastered those Cities so farr removed from *Babel*, namely, *Erech*, *Accad*, and and *Chalne*: which work he therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greatest undertaking; and consequently would have *Nimrod* to have been long after the time, in which we suppose he flouriſhed; and both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one Person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make some answer. First, I do not find that supposition true, That ever *Nimrod* invaded any of these Cities; but that he founded them, and built them from the ground, being the first after the Floud, that conducted the children of *Noah* into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hand.

Besides, whereas these Cities, in many mens opinions, are found to stand farr away from *Babylon*, I find no reason to bring me to that belief. The City of *Accad*, which the *Septuagint* calls *Archard*; and *Epiphanius*, *Arphal*; *Junius* takes it to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*: for

for the Region thereabout, the Cosmographers (saith he) call *Accabene* for *Accadene*. Others understand *Nisibis* and *Ninive*, to be one City: so do *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charran*, but all mistaken. For *Nisibis*, *Accad*, and *Charran*, are distinct places. Though I cannot deny *Accedene* to be a Region of *Mesopotamia*, the same which *Arias Montanus*, out of S. *Hierom*, calls *Achad*: and so do the *Hebrews* also call *Nisibis*, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the City of *Erec*, which the *Septuagint* call *Orech*; S. *Augustine*, *Oreg*; and *Pagninus*, *Erec*; this place *Junius* understands for *Aracca* in *Susiana*: but there is also a City in *Camagena*, called *Arace*; and indeed, likelihood of name is no certain proof, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third City (called *Chalne*) some take it for *Calinisis*: of which *Am. Mercellinus*. S. *Hierom* takes it for *Seleucia*; *Hierosolymitanus*, for *Ctesiphon*: others do think it to be the *Agrani* upon *Euphrates*, destroyed and razed by the *Persians*. But let *Moses* be the Moderator and Judge of this Dispute, who teacheth us directly, that these Cities are not seated in so diverse and distant Regions; for these be his words: *And the beginning of his Kingdom* (speaking of *Nimrod*) *was Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chalne in the Land of Shinaar*: so as in the Valley of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldæa* (being all one) we must find them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) think, with *Viterbiensis*, that these four made but one *Babylon*, than that they were Cities farr removed, and in several Provinces, did not the Prophet *Amos* precisely distinguish *Chalne* from *Babylon*. *Go you* (saith *Amos*) *to Chalne, and from thence go you to Hamath, and then to Gath of the Philistims*. The *Geneva* Translation, favouring the former Opinion, to set these Cities out of *Shinaar*, hath a marginal note expressing that *Shinaar* was here named, not that all these cities were therein seated, but to distinguish *Babylon* of *Chaldæ*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*: but I find little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrod's* Empire, there was no such *Babylon*, nor any City at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great City of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not farr from the place where stood *Memphis* the ancient City, but not so ancient as *Babylon* upon *Euphrates*. Now, that *Chalne* is situate in the valley of *Shinaar*, it hath been formerly proved in the Chapter of *Paradise*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote situation of these three Cities from *Babylon*, we may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were distinct and successive Kings.

Lib. 23.

Cap. 6. v. 2.

§. III.

That Nimrod, *not* Assur, *built* Ninive; *and that it is probable, out of* Esay 23. 13. *that* Assur *built* Ur *of the* Chaldees.

NOw, as of *Nimrod*; so are the Opinions of Writers different touching *Assur*, and touching the beginning of that great State of *Babylon* and *Assyria*: a controversie wearisomly disputed without any direct proof, conclusion, or certainty. But to me (of whom, where the Scriptures are silent, the voice of reason hath the best hearing) the Interpretation of *Junius* is most agreeable; who, besides all necessary consequence, doth not dis-join the sence of the Scriptures therein, nor confuse the understanding thereof. For in this sort he converteth the *Hebrew* Text: *Erat enim principium Regni ejus* Babel, & Erec, & Accad, & Chalne, *in terra* Shinaaris: *è terra hac processit in* Assyriam, *ubi ædificavit* Niniven (which is) *For the beginning of his Kingdom was* Babel, *and* Erech, *and* Accad, *and* Chalne, *in the Land of* Shinaar: *and he went forth of this Land into* Assyria, *and built* Ninive. So as *Junius* takes *Assur* in this place, not for any Person, but for the Region of *Assyria*; the Land being so called in *Moses* time, and before it. For certainly, the other construction (where the word *Assur* is taken for *Assur* the Son of *Shem*) doth not answer the order which *Moses* observeth through all the Books of *Genesis*, but is quite contrary unto it. For, in the beginning of the tenth Chapter, he setteth down the Sons of *Noah*, in these words: *Now these are the generations of the Sons of* Noah, Shem, Ham, *and* Japheth, *unto whom Sons were born after the Flood*: then it followeth immediately; *The Sons of* Japheth *were* Gomer, *&c.* so as *Japheth* is last named among *Noah's* Sons, be he eldest or youngest, because he was first to be spoken of: with whom (having last named him) he proceeds and sets down his Issue, and then the Issue of his Sons: first, the Issue of *Gomer*, *Japheth's* eldest Son; and then speaks of *Javan* and his Sons: for of the rest of that Family he is silent. Anon after, he numbereth the Sons of *Ham*, of which *Chush* was the eldest: and then the Sons of *Chush* and *Mizraim*; and afterwards of *Canaan*; leaving *Shem* for the last, because he would not dis-join the Story of the *Hebrews*. But after he beginneth with *Shem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shela*, and *Heber*,

unto *Abraham*, and ſo to *Jacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to have brought in one of the Son of *Shem*, in the middle of the Generations of *Ham*, had been againſt order; neither would *Moſes* have paſt over ſo ſleightly the erection of the *Aſſyrian* Empire in one of the Sons of *Shem*, if he had had any ſuch meaning: it being the Story of *Shem*'s Sons which he moſt attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the reſt of the Sons of *Chuſh*, becauſe he founded the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* Empire: and in the eleventh Chapter, he returns to ſpeak of the building of *Babel* in particular, having formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with thoſe other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, ſo alſo in the eleventh he maketh no report of *Shem*, till ſuch time as he had finiſhed ſo much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the Iſſue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Iſrael*. And of *Junius* opinion touching *Aſſur*, was *Calvin*: to which I conceive *P. Comeſtor*, *in hiſtoria Scholaſtica*, gave an entrance, who, after he had delivered this place in ſome other ſence, he uſeth theſe words: *Vel intelligendum non eſt de* Aſſur, *filio* Sem, *&c. ſed* Aſſur (*id eſt, Regnum* Aſſyriorum) *inde egreſſum eſt, quod tempore* Sarug *proavi* Abrahami *factum eſt*; (which is) *Or elſe it is not to be underſtood of* Aſſur *the Son of* Sem, *&c. but* Aſſur (*that is, the Kingdom of the* Aſſyrians) *came from thence* (*videlicet, from* Babylon) *or was made out of it: which happened in the time of* Sarug *the great Grand-father of* Abraham. After which he reconcileth the difference in this ſort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the firſt Erector of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, or the firſt Founder thereof, it is true, *Quantum ad initium*; *Reſpecting the beginning*; but others conceive that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is alſo true, *Quantum ad Regni ampliationem*; *Regarding the inlargement of the Empire*. To this I may add the opinion of *Epiphanius*, confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Aſſur* to be the Son of *Nimrod*: and ſo doth *Methodius*, and *Viterbienſis*, Saint *Hierom*, and *Cyrillus*, and now laſtly, *Torniellus*: who (ſaith he) took upon him that name of *Aſſur* after he had beaten the *Aſſyrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africanus*, after his Conqueſt in *Africa*: and that *Aſſur* was a common name to the Kings of *Aſſyria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Pſal.* 81. *Eſay* 10. *Oſe.* 5. &c. But to help the matter, he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the Son of *Irari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Archbiſhop of *Mentz* in the year of *Chriſt* 854. an ancient and Learned Writer, underſtands this place with *Comeſtor*, or *Comeſtor* with him, agreeing in ſubſtance with that Tranſlation of *Junius*: to which words of *Moſes* he giveth this ſence: *De hac terra* Aſſyriorum *pullulavit imperium, qui ex nomine* Nini, Beli *filii*, Ninum *condiderunt, urbem magnam*, &c. *Out of this Land grew the Empire of the* Aſſyrians, *who built* Ninus *the great City, ſo named of* Ninus *the Son of* Belus. On the contrary, *Calvin* objecteth this place of *Eſay*: *Behold the Land of the* Chaldæans, *this was no People*, Aſſur *founded it by the inhabitants of the Wilderneſs*; than which there is no one place in the Scriptures, that hath a greater diverſity in the Tranſlation and Underſtanding; inſomuch as *Michael de Palatio* upon *Eſay* (though in all elſe very diligent) paſſeth it over. But *Calvin* ſeemeth hereby to inferr, that becauſe *Aſſur* founded the State of the *Chaldæans*, therefore alſo *Aſſur*, rather than *Nimrod*, eſtabliſhed the *Aſſyrian* Empire, and built *Nineve*: contrary to the former tranſlation of *Junius*, and to his own Opinion. Now, out of the *Vulgar* (called *Hierom's* Tranſlation) it may be gathered, that *Aſſur* both founded and ruined this Eſtate or City of the *Chaldæans*, by *Eſay* remembred: unto which City, People, or State, he plainly telleth the *Tyrians*, that they cannot truſt or hope for relief thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this City of *Chaldæa*, and that Eſtate, an example unto thoſe *Phœnicians*, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: which City of *Chaldæa*, being of ſtrength, and carefully defended, was (notwithſtanding) by the *Aſſyrians* utterly waſted and deſtroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and fore-telleth them, that their own City of *Tyre* (invincible, as themſelves thought) ſhould alſo ſoon after be overturned by the ſame *Aſſyrians*: as (indeed) it was by *Nebuchodonoſor*. And theſe be the words after *Hierom*: *Ecce terra* Chaldæorum, *talis populus non fuit*, Aſſur *fundavit eam, in captivitatem traduxerunt robuſtos ejus, ſuffoderunt domos ejus, poſuerunt eam in ruinam* (which is) *Behold the Land of the* Chaldæans, *ſuch a People there were not* (or, *this was no People*, after the *Geneva*) Aſſur (*or the* Aſſyrians) *founded it, they carried away their ſtrong men captive, they undermined their Houſes, and ruined their City*. The *Septuagint* expreſs it but in a part of another Verſe, in theſe words: *Et in terra* Chaldæorum, *& hæc deſolata eſt ab* Aſſyriis, *quoniam murus ejus corruit*, making the ſence perfect by the preced ing verſe, which altogether may be thus underſtood: *If thou go over to* Chittim (which is *Macedon*, or *Greece*) *yet*

Torniel. Annal. ſacr. in Gen. 10.

23. 13.

yet thou ſhalt not reſt (ſpeaking to the *Tyrians*) *neither in the Land of the* Chaldæans, *for this is made deſolate by the* Aſſyrians, *becauſe their walls fell together to the ground. Pagninus* and *Vatablus* convert it thus: *Ecce terra* Chaſdiim, *iſte populus non erat illic olim; nam* Aſſur *fundavit eam navibus, erexerunt arces illius; contriverunt ædes ejus, poſuit eam in ruinam:* which may be thus Engliſhed: *Behold the Land of the* Chaldæans, *this People was not once therein inhabiting: for* Aſſur *built it a harbour for Ships, they erected the Towers thereof; and again brake down the houſes thereof, and ruinated it. Junius*, in the place of Ships, ſets the word (*pro Barbaris*) that is, *for the Barbarians:* and the *Geneva*, *by the Barbarians.* But this is undoubted, that the Prophet *Eſay* (as may be gathered by all the ſence of the Chapter) did therein aſſure the *Tyrians* of their future deſtruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terrour) he maketh choice to note the calamities of thoſe places, Cities, and Regions, by whoſe trade the ſtate and greatneſs of the *Tyrians* was maintained; as by the *Cilicians* from *Tharſis*, from the *Macedonians*, and other *Grecians*, under the name of *Cittim*; alſo by the *Egyptians*, *the Chaldæans*, and the reſt. For *Tyre* was then the Mart Town of the World moſt renowned. And (as it appears in our Diſcourſe of *Paradiſe*) not the leaſt part of her chief merchandize came in by the City *Ur*, or *Urchoa* in *Chaldæa*, where the body or chief ſtream of *Euphrates* (even that ſtream which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otris*, which now falleth into *Tygris*) had his paſſage into the *Perſian* Gulf: though now it be ſtopped up. For, as we have heretofore noted, the *Arabians* (that deſcended from *Sheba* and *Raamah*) dwelling on the Eaſt banks of the *Perſian* Gulf, trading with the *Tyrians* (as thoſe of *Eden*, *Charran*, and *Chalne* did) tranſported their merchandize by the mouth of *Tygris*, that is, from *Teredon*; and of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Ur*, or *Urchoa:* and and then by *Babylon*, and thence by River and over Land, they conveyed it into *Syria*, and ſo to *Tyre*; as they do this day to *Aleppo.* So then *Ur* of the *Chaldees* was a Port Town, and one of thoſe Cities which had Intelligence, trade, and exchange with the *Tyrians:* for it ſtood by the great Lakes of *Chaldæa*, through w^ch^, that part of *Euphrates* ran, which paſſage is now ſtopt up. *Ejus curſum vetuſtas abolevit* (ſaith *Niger.*) And *Pliny: Locus ubi* Euphratis *oſtium fuit, flumen ſalſum; Time hath worn away the channel of* Euphrates: *the place where the mouth thereof was, is a Bay of ſalt water.* Theſe things being thus, certainly (not without good probability) we may expound the City of the *Chaldees*, whoſe calamities *Eſay* here noteth for terrour of the *Tyrians*, to be the City anciently called *Ur*; and by *Hecatæus*, *Camerina*; by *Ptolemy*, *Urchoa*; and by the *Greeks*, *Chaldæopolis*, *the City of Chaldæa:* which the Sons of *Shem*, until *Abrahams* time, inhabited. And whereas, in all the Tranſlations, it is ſaid, that *Aſſur* both founded it and ruined it: it may be underſtood, that *Aſſur* the Founder was the Son of *Shem*; and *Aſſur* the deſtroyers were the *Aſſyrians*, by whom thoſe that inhabited *Ur* of *Chaldæa*, were at length oppreſſed and brought to ruine: which thing God fore-ſeeing, commanded *Abraham* thence to *Carran*, and ſo into *Canaan.* And if the *Hebrew* word by *Vatablus* and *Pagninus* converted (*by Ships*) do bear that ſence, the ſame may be the better approved, becauſe it was a Port Town: and the River ſo far up as this City of *Ur* was in ancient time navigable, as both by *Pliny* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word (*for the* Barbarians) or (*by the* Barbarians) be alſo in the *Hebrew* Text, it is no leſs manifeſt, that the moſt barbarous *Arabians* of the Deſart were and are the confronting, and next People of all other unto it. For *Chaldæa* is now called *Arachaldar*, which ſignifieth Deſart Lands, becauſe it joineth to that part of *Arabia* ſo called: and *Cicero* (calling thoſe *Arabians* by the name of *Ituræans*) addeth, that they are, of all other People, the moſt Salvage; calling them, *Homines omnium maximè barbaros.*

So as this place of *Eſay*, which breedeth ſome doubt in *Calvin*, proveth in nothing the contrary Opinion, nor in any part weakneth the former Tranſlation of *Junius*, nor the Interpretation of *Comeſtor* and *Rabanus.* For though other men have not conceived (for any thing that I have read) that *Aſſur* is in this place diverſly taken (as for the Son of *Shem*, when he is ſpoken of as a Builder of *Ur*; and when as a Deſtroyer thereof, then for the *Aſſyrian* Nation) yet certainly the evidence of the truth, and agreement of circumſtances ſeem to enforce it. And ſo this Founding of the City of the *Chaldees* by *Aſſur* (into which the moſt of the Poſterity of *Shem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were ſeparate for the Idolatry of the *Chuſites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themſelves) hath nothing in it to prove the ſame *Aſſur* built *Nineve*, or that the ſame *Aſſur* was all one with *Ninus*; except we will make *Aſſur*, who was the Son of *Shem*, both an Idolater, and the Son of *Belus.* For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the firſt notorious ſacrificer to Idols; and the firſt that ſet up a Statue or Image to be honoured as God. Now, if *Aſſur* muſt be of that

Race,

Race, and not of the Family of *Shem*, as he must be, if he founded *Ninive*, then all those which seek to give him the honour thereof, do him by a thousand parts more injury, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Besides, if this supposed *Assur*, whom they make the Founder of *Ninive* (and so the Son of *Belus*) were any other, and not the same with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainly, he was very unworthy, and obscure, and not like to be the Founder of such an Empire, and such a City, if no man have vouchsafed to leave to Posterity his expulsion thence, and how he lost that Empire again, or quitted it to *Ninus*: whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) farr differing from truth. It will therefore be found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the Story of that Age written by prophane Authours, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the first works and beginnings of his Empire, according to *Moses*; and that these works being finished within the Valley of *Shinaar*, he looked farther abroad, and set in hand the work of *Ninus*, lying neer unto the same stream that *Babel* and *Chalne* did: which work his Grand-child *Ninus* afterward amplified and finished, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus* his wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to pass, that as *Semiramis* was counted the Foundress of the City which she onely finished: so also *Ninus* of *Ninive*: *Quam quidam* Babylonem *potuit instaurare*; *She might repair or renew* Babylon, saith S. *Augustine*. For so did *Nebuchodonosor* vaunt himself to be the Founder of *Babylon* also, because he built up again some part of the wall, over-born by the fury of the River: which work of his stood till *Alexander*'s time, whereupon he vaunted thus: *Is not this great Babel which I have built?*

Dan. 4. 27.

§. IV.

Of the Acts of Nimrod *and* Belus, *as farr as now they are known.*

BUt to return to the Story, it is plain in *Moses*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transfugium*, and *Julius Africanus* surnamed *Saturne*) was the establisher of the the *Babylonian Monarchy*, of whom there is no other thing written, than that his Empire in the beginning consisted of those four Cities before remembred; *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*; and that from hence he propagated his Empire into *Assyria*, and in *Assyria* built four more Cities (to wit) *Ninive*, *Rehoboth*, *Celah*, and *Resen*. And seeing that he spent much time in building *Babel* it self, and those adjoining; and that his travels were many ere he came into *Shinaar*: that work of *Babel* (such as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of *Ninive*, and the other Cities of *Assyria* which he builded (considered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficulty than any thing performed by his Successours in many years after: to whose undertakings time had given so great an increase of People; and the examples and patterns of his beginning, so great advancement and encouragement: in whose time (saith *Glycas*) all these Nations were called *Meropes*, *à sermonis linguarum terræque divisione*; *By reason that the earth and the speech were then divided.*

Belus, or *Bel*, or *Jupiter Belus*, succeeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 114. years; of whose acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in disburdening the low Lands of *Babylon*, and dryiug and making firm ground of all those great Fens and overflown Marishes which adjoined unto it. For any of his Warrs or Conquests there is no report, other than of his begun enterprise against *Sabatius* King of *Armenia*, and those parts of *Scythia*, which *Berosus* calls *Scythia Saga*, whose Son and Successour *Barzanes* became subject and Tributary to *Ninus*, that followed the Warr to effect, which was by his Father *Belus* begun.

§. V.

That we are not to marvel how so many Kingdoms could be erected about these times: and of Vexoris *of* Egypt, *and* Tanais *of* Scythia.

THat so many Kingdoms were erected in all those Eastern parts of the World so soon after *Nimrod* (as by the Story of *Ninus* is made manifest) the causes were threefold (namely) Opportunity, Example, and Necessity. For Opportunity, being a Princess liberal and powerfull, bestoweth on her first Entertainers many times more benefits, than either Fortune can, or Wisdom ought; by whose presence alone the understanding minds of men receive all those helps and supplies, which they either want or wish for: so as every Leader of a troop (after the division of Tongues, and dispersion of People) finding these fair offers made unto them, held the power which they possest, and

and governed by discretion all those People, whom they conducted to their destined places. For, it cannot be conceived, that when the Earth was first divided, mankind straggled abroad like Beasts in a Desart; but that by agreement they disposed themselves; and undertook to inhabite all the known parts of the World, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had Kings, and were Peopled in *Ninus* his time, would not have been possest in many hundreds of years after, as then they were; neither did those that were sent, and travelled farr off (order being the true Parent of prosperous success) undertake so difficult enterprises without a Conductor or Commander. Secondly, the example of *Nimrod*, with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humour that aspired. Thirdly, Necessity resolved all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a Commander and Magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, and of honest dispositions, enjoy the harvest of their own Travels; nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible violence; nor those which sought after any proportion of greatness, either possess the same in quiet, or rule and order their own Ministers and Attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the undertakings and Conquests of *Ninus* (the Son of *Belus*) made it apparent; for he found every where Kings and Monarchies, what way soever his Ambition led him in the Warrs.

But *Nimrod* (his Grand-father) had no companion King, to us known, when he first took on him Soveraignty and sole commandment of all those the Children of *Noah*, which came from the East into *Babylonia:* though in his life-time others also raised themselves to the same estate; of which hereafter. *Belus* (his Son and Successour) found *Sabatius* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, sufficiently powerfull to resist his attempts; which *Sabatius* I take to be the same, which *Justine* calls *Tanais*; and should conjecture, that *Mizraim* had been his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently suspect some errour (as *Justine* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumstances seems to me, righty accounted by the Judicious and Learned *Reineccius*, all one with the great *Sesostris*, that lived certain Ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the second King of *Babylon*, reigned 65. years, according to the common account.

See more of this, *l.* 2. of this first Part, *cap.* 2. *Sect.* 6.

§. VI.

Of the name of Belus, *and other names affines unto it.*

WHence this second King and Successor of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bell*, or *Belus*, question hath been made; for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) given by *Ninus*, than assumed by *Belus* himself.

Cyrillus against *Julian* calls the Father of *Ninus*, *Arbelus*, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himself to be called a god: which were it so, then might the name of *Belus* be thence derived. But *Bel*, as many Writers have observed, signifieth the Sun in the *Chaldæan* Tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* give that name to their Father, that he might be honoured as the Sun, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a god. And as this Title was assumed in after-times by divers others of the *Chaldæan* Princes and *Babylonian Satrapæ:* so was it used (in imitation) by the chief of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as some Historians have conceived.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertain (as in affinity) those voices of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Beelphagor*, *Belsebub*, and *Beelsephon*. Those that that are learned in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldæan*, convert the word *Baal* by the *Latine*, *Princeps militiæ*, *Chief in the Warr*; though *Daniel* was so called (saith *Suidas*) *Ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum*; *In honor of his expounding secrets*. Saint *Hierom* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to have the same signification: and saith, that the Idol of *Babylon* was so called, which *Ninus* in memory of his Father set up to be worshipped: to which, that he might add the more honour and reverence, he made it a Sanctuary and refuge for all offenders. Hence (saith *Lyranus*) came Idolatry, and the first use of Images into the World. *Isidore* doth interpret *Bel* by *Vetus*, old, or ancient; adding, that as among the *Assyrians* it is taken for *Saturn*, and the *Sun:* so, in the *Punick* or *Carthaginian* Language, it signifieth God: *Glycas* makes it an *Assyrian* name properly; and *Josephus* a *Tyrian*. He also affirmeth, that the Idol which the *Moabites* worshipped (by them erected on the Mountain *Phegor*, or *Peor*, and called *Baal*) is the same which the *Latines* call *Priapus*, the god of Gardens; which also was the Opinion of Saint *Hierom*. But, that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to say, as God, appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the Idol of *Accaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel* soundeth (God) and *Sebub* (Flies

Hier. in *Ose. c.* 2.

Lyr. in *Sapien. Salam. c.* 14. *Isid. l.* 8. *c.* 11.

Hieron. in *Ose. c.* 4. & 9.

(Flies or Hornets) by which name (notwithstanding) the *Jews* expreſs the Prince of Devils. But the Prophet *Oſe* teacheth us the propher ſignification of this word from the voice of God himſelf; *And at that day (ſaith the Lord) thou ſhalt call me* Iſhi, *and ſhalt call me no more* Baalim: *for I will take away the name of* Baalim *out of their mouths.* For, although the name of *Baal*, or *Bahal*, be juſtly to be uſed towards God; yet in reſpect that the ſame was given to Idols, God hath hated it, and forbad it. And the uſing of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldæans* for the Sun, was not, becauſe it properly ſignifieth the Sun, but becauſe the Sun there was worſhipped as God: as alſo the Fire was; *tanquam Solis particula.* As for the words compounded (before remembred) as *Belphegor*, and *Belſephon*; *Belſephon* is expounded out of *Facius*; *Dominus ſpeculæ, vel cuſtodiæ: The Lord of the Watch-tower, or of the Guard:* the other word noteth the Idol, and the place wherein it was worſhipped. It is written *Belpeor*, or *Baalpeor:* and *Peor* (they ſay) is as much as *Denudavit*; and therefore the word joined, expreſſeth a naked Image. Some there are that call this *Belus*, the Son of *Saturn:* for it was uſed among the Ancients, to name the Father *Saturn*, the Son *Jupiter*, and the Grand-child *Hercules.* *Saturni dicuntur familiarum Nobilium, Regumque qui urbes condiderunt ſeniſſimi; primogeniti eorum* Joves *&* Junones; Hercules *vero nepotes eorum fortiſſimi. The ancienteſt of Noble Families and Kings which founded Cities, are called* Saturns; *their firſt-born*, Jupiters *and* Junoes; *their valiant Nephews*, Hercules. But this *Belus* (ſaith *L. Vives*) was famous by reaſon of his Warlike Son, *Ninus*, who cauſed his Father to be worſhipped as a God by the name of *Jupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Egyptians* (tranſported by Dreams of their Antiquities) make one of theirs. For *Neptune* (ſay they) upon *Lybia* the Daughter of *Epaphus*, begat this *Jupiter Belus*, who was Father to *Ægyptus.* They add, that this *Belus*, carrying a Colony to the River of *Euphrates*, there built a City, in which he ordained Prieſts after the *Egyptian* manner. But, were there any *Belus* the Son of *Epaphus* and *Iſis*, or of *Neptune* and *Lybia*, or (with *Euſebius*) of *Teglonus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Iſis* (*Cecrops* then reigning in *Athens*) the ſame was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom we ſpeak, but rather ſome other *Belus*, of whom the *Egyptians* ſo much vaunted.

Auctor. de æquit. l. 1.

Diod. l 3.

§. VII.

Of the worſhipping of Images, begun from Belus *in* Babel.

AS for the *Babylonians Belus*, he was the moſt ancient *Belus*, and the Inventor of *Aſtronomy*, if *Pliny* ſay true: from whence the *Egyptians* might borrow both the name and doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his *Statue* or Image was honoured as a God, the ſame Author affirmeth, that it did remain in his time.

Of the Sepulchre of *Belus*, *Strabo* writeth thus: *Over the River*, ſaith he, *there are Gardens, where they ſay the ruines of* Belus *his Tomb, which* Xerxes *brake up, are yet remaining. It was a ſquare Pyramis made of Brick, a furlong high, and on every ſide it had a furlong in breadth.* It appears by *Cyril* againſt *Julian*, that he obtained divine worſhip yet living: for ſo he writes of him (calling him *Arbelus.*) *Arbelus, vir ſuperbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à ſubditis Deitatis nomen accepiſſe: Perſeverârunt igitur* Aſſyrii, *& finitimæ illis gentes ſacrificantes ei.* Arbelus, *a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the firſt of all men that was ever honoured by their ſubjects with title of Deity*; (or with the name of God) *the Aſſyrians therefore, and the bordering Nations have perſevered, ſacrificing to him.* Even *Arius* alſo, whom *Suidas* calls *Thuras*, who ſucceeded next after *Ninus*, was made an Idol-God among them, if we credit *Suidas.*

Strab. lib. 13. c 3.

L. 1. cont. Julian.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninias*) *Thuras* reigned (ſaith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the Planet *Mars*; a man of ſharp and fierce diſpoſition, who bidding battel to *Caucaſus*, of the ſtock of *Japheth*, ſlew him. The *Aſſyrians* worſhipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus far *Suidas.* Neither is it unlikely but that any among Idolatrous Nations were Deified in their life-times, or ſoon after: though I deny not, but that the moſt of their Images and *Statuæ* were firſt erected without divine worſhip, onely in memory of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiveth; and ſo afterward the Devil crept into thoſe wooden and brazen carcaſſes, when Poſterity had loſt the memory of their firſt invention. Hereof *Iſidore* ſpeaketh in this manner: *Quos autem* Pagani *Deos aſſerunt, homines fuerunt, & pro uniuſcujuſque vitæ meritis vel magnificentia, coli apud ſuos poſt mortem cœperunt: ſed (Dæmonibus perſuadentibus) quos illi pro ſua memoria honoraverunt, minores Deos exiſtimârunt: ad iſta vero magis excolenda acceſſerunt Poetarum figmenta;*

They

They were men (saith he) *whom the* Pagans *affirmed to be gods: and every one for his merits or magnificence, began after his death to be honoured of his own: But, at length (the Devils perswading) they accounted them lesser gods, whose memories they honoured: and the Fictions of the Poets made the Opinions (concerning the honour of the dead) much more superstitious.*

And, that the worshipping of Images was brought in by the *Pagans*, and *Heathen* Nations, it is not *Isidore* alone that witnesseth; but *Gregory: Gentilitas* (saith he) *inventrix. & caput est Imaginum; Gentilism is the inventress and ground of Images:* and *Ambrose*; *Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei*; *The* Gentiles *adore wood, as it were the Image of God. Eusebius* also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshipping of images, a custom borrowed of the *Heathen.* The like saith S. *Augustine* against *Adimantus. Et verentur* (saith *Lactantius*) *ne Religio vana sit, si nihil videant quod adorent*; *They fear their Religion would be vain, should they not see what they worship.*

Greg. Neocaesar. *Ambr. in Psal. 108.* *Euseb. l. 7. cap. 18.* *Aug. c. 13.* *Lact. lib. 2. cap. 2.*

And (out of doubt) the Scholemen shift this fearfull custom very strangely. For, seeing the very workmanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wise *Christian* satisfy it self with the distinction of *Doulia*, and *Hyperdoulia*, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those Images after they are made? And it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned men should strain their wits to defend the use of those things, which the Scriptures have not only no where warranted, but expresly in many places forbidden, and cursed the practicers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Devil was so strongly and subtilly rooted, as neither expres the Commandment of God himself, *Thou shalt not make any graven Image*, nor all the threatning of *Moses* and the Prophets after him, could remove, weed it, or by fear, or by any perswasions lead the hearts of men from it. For, where shall we find words of greater weight, or plainer instruction than these? *Take therefore good heed to your selves (for ye saw no Image in the day that the Lord spake unto you in* Horeb, *out of the midst of the fire) that ye corrupt not your selves, and make you a graven Image, or representation of any Figure, whether it be the likeness of Male or Female.*

And, besides the expres Commandment, *Thou shalt make thee no graven Image*, and the prohibition of many Scriptures; so it is written in the Book of *Wisdom*, That, *the invention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredom: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue for ever.*

And whereas the Scholemen affirm, that the Prophets spake against the Worshipping of the *Heathen* Idols, it is manifest, that *Moses* spake of Images of the living God, and not of *Baal*, and the rest of that nature, *For you saw no Image* (saith *Moses*) *that day that the Lord spake unto you in* Horeb. Surely it was excellently said of *Basil*; *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumscribas eum mente tua: Do not imagine any form to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy mind too.* Now, if the great *Basil* thought it a presumption unlawfull to represent a pattern of the infinite God to our own thoughts and minds, how farr do those men presume, that put him under the greasie Pencil of a Painter, or the rusty Axe or other Instrument of a Carpenter or Carver?

For as this dishonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God, began in *Babel:* so did the Devil transport and spread this invention into all the Regions adjoining, and into *Egypt* and *Greece.*

The *Romans*, for a while, resisted the erection of these Idols and Images, refusing to set them in their Temples for 170. years; observing the Law of *Numa*, who thought it impiety to resemble things most beautifull, by things most base. But, *Tarquinius Priscus* afterwards prevailing, and following the vanity of the *Grecians* (a Nation of all others under the Sun most deluded by Satan) set up the Images of their gods; which (as S. *Augustine* witnesseth) that learned *Varro* both bewailed, and utterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth; *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis supplicant, genu posito illa adorant*; *& cum haec suspiciant, fabros, qui illa fecere, contemnunt*; *The Images of the gods are worshipped, those they pray unto, with bended knees those they adore; and while they so greatly admire them, they contemn the Handicraftsmen that made them:* which also *Sedulius* the *Poet* in this sort scoffed at:

Aug. de Civit. l. 4. c. 31.

Heu miseri qui vana colunt, qui corde siniſtro
Religiosa sibi sculpunt simulachra, suumque
Factorem fugiunt, & quae fecere, verentur!
Quis furor est? quae tanta animos dementia ludit?
Vt volucrem, turpemque bovem, torvumque Draconem,
Semi-hominemque-canem supplex homo pronus adoret.

Ah wretched they that worship vanities,
And consecrate dumb Idols in their heart,
Who their own Maker (God on high) despise,
And fear the work of their own hands & art!

What fury? what great madneſs doth beguile
Mens minds? that man ſhould ugly ſhapes adore
Of Birds, or Bulls, or Dragons, or the vile
Half-dog-half-man on knees for aid implore.

And though this device was barbarous, and firſt, and many years practiſed by Heathen Nations onely, till the *Jews* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to ſcorn the ignorant ſtupidity of his Nation: but *Juſtin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sybils* inveighed againſt Images: and *Hoſpinian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the ſouls of men to erect and adore thoſe bables. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witneſs, that the *Perſians* did not erect or ſet up any *Statue* of their Gods. *Lycurgus* never taught it the *Lacedæmonians*, but thought it impiety to repreſent immortal natures by mortal Figures. *Euſebius* alſo witneſſeth, in his Sixth Book, *de præparatione Evangelica*, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the *Brackmans* in *India*, that Images ſhould be worſhipped. The ſame do *Tacitus* and *Crinitus* report of the antient *Germans*. Many other Authours might be remembred, that witneſs the diſdain which the Heathen themſelves had of this childiſh Idolatry: of which *Hoſpinian* hath written at large in his Tract, *de origine imaginum*. And it was truly ſaid, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta ſunt, All ill examples have ſprung from good beginnings*. The Heathen, at firſt, made theſe *Statuæ* and Images, but in memory of ſuch remarkable men, as had deſerved beſt of their Countries and common-wealths: *Effigies hominum* (ſaith *Pliny*) *non ſolebant exprimi, niſi aliqua illuſtri cauſa perpetuitatem merentium: Men are not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for ſome notable cauſe to be perpetually remembred*. And though of the more antient *Papiſts*, ſome have borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appears in *Lactantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulachra* are *pro elementis literarum, ut per ea diſcerent homines Deum inviſibilem cognoſcere: Images* ſay they, (and ſo before them the Heathen ſaid) *are inſtead of Letters, whereby men might learn to know the inviſible God*: in which underſtanding, perhaps, they no otherwiſe eſteemed them than pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal*, or *Bel*, ſet up in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian*, became afterward the moſt reverenced Idol of the world, by which ſo many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himſelf) were miſled and caſt away: ſo thoſe very ſtocks and ſtones, and painted canvaſes (called the pictures of *Chriſt*, our *Lady*, and others) were by thouſands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but eſteemed to have life, motion, and underſtanding. *On theſe ſtocks we call* (ſaith the Book of *Wiſdom*) *when we paſs through the raging waves, on theſe ſtocks more rotten than the Ship that carries us.*

This Heathen invention of Images became ſo fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to diſtinguiſh them into degrees and orders; as *Dii conſentes, ſeu majorum gentium, ſelecti, Patritii, inſigniores, dii medii: Counſelling gods, or gods of the mightieſt Nobility, ſelect gods, Patrian, gods of mark, and Common gods* (which the *Romans* called *Medioxum*) *dii infimi*, and terreſtrial *Heroes*, and multitudes of other gods, of which S. *Auguſtine* hath made large mention, in his Book, *de Civitate Dei*. But (ſaith *Lactantius*) among all thoſe miſerable ſouls, and rotten bodies, worſhipped by men more like to their Idols, did *Epimenides Cretenſis* (by what good Angel moved I know not) erect in the *Athenian* Fields, Altars to the unknown God, which ſtood with the ſame title and dedication, even to the times of S. *Paul*: who made them firſt know to whom theſe Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might diſcern the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth every man, and the obſcure and ſtinking miſt wherein the Devil had ſo many years led and miſ-led them. And it ſufficed not that the multitude of theſe gods was ſo great in general, or that every Nation had ſome one which took particular and ſingular care of them, as *Jupiter* in *Crete*, *Iſis* in *Egypt*, in *Athens*, *Minerva*, in *Samos*, *Juno*, in *Paphos*, *Venus*, and ſo of all other parts; but every City, and almoſt every Family, had a god apart. For, as it is written in the ſecond of *Kings*, the men of *Babel* made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Aſhima*, and the *Avites* made *Nibhaz* and *Tartak*, and the *Sepharvaims* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All which, how plainly hath the Prophet *Eſay* derided? *Men cut down Trees, rind them, burn a part of them, make ready their meat, and warm themſelves by the fire thereof, and of the reſidue he maketh a god; an Idol, and prayeth unto it: but God hath ſhut their eyes from ſight, and their heart from underſtanding*. It is therefore ſafeſt for a *Chriſtian*, to believe the Commandments of God, ſo direct againſt Idolatry, to believe the Prophets, and to believe S. *Paul*, who ſpeaketh thus plainly and feelingly, *My beloved, flie from Idolatry; I ſpeak as unto them which have underſtanding, judge ye what I ſay.*

Lib. 14.

Cap. 17. *v.* 18. 31.

Cap. 44.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Of the Warrs of Ninus: *and laſtly, of his Warr againſt* Zoroaſter.

UNto this *Belus* ſucceeded *Ninus*, the firſt that commanded the exerciſe of Idolatry, the firſt that injuriouſly invaded his Neighbour Princes, and the firſt that, without ſhame or fear, committed Adultery in publick. But, as of *Belus* there is no certain memory (as touching particulars) ſo of this *Ninus* (whoſe Story is gathered out of profane Authors) I find nothing ſo warrantable, but that the ſame may be diſputed, and in the greateſt part doubted. For, although that piece of *Beroſus*, ſet out and commented upon by *Annius*, hath many good things in it, and giveth great light (as *Chrytæus* noteth) to the underſtanding of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halicarnaſſeus*, and others: yet, *Lodovicus Vives*, *B. Rhenanus*, and others after them, have laid open the imperfection and defects of the Fragment; proving directly, that it cannot be the ſame *Beroſus* which lived in *Alexander*'s time, cited by *Athenæus* and *Joſephus*: and whoſe *Statue* the *Athenians* erected, ſaith *Pliny*. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many have gathered the ſucceſſion of the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* Princes, even from *Nimrod*, to the eighteenth King *Aſcatades*, and to the times of *Joſua*. For of *Metaſthenes* an Hiſtorian, of the Race of the *Perſian* Prieſts, there are found but certain Papers; or ſome few lines of the *Chaldæan* and *Aſſyrian* Monarchies: but he afterwards, in the collection of the *Perſian* Kings, is not without his errours.

Athen. lib. 14. Joſeph. cont. Appian. l. 1. & 7.

Cteſias, or *Cnidus* (a City joining to *Halicarnaſſeus*) who lived together with *Cyrus* the younger, and with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, gathered his Hiſtory out of the *Perſian* Records, and reacheth as farr upwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and, though in the Story of *Cyrus* the younger, *Xenophon* approveth him in ſome things, and *Athenæus*, *Pauſanias*, and *Tertullian* cite him; yet ſo baſe and apparent are his flatteries of the Times and Princes with whom he lived, and ſo incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and eſpecially of *Semiramis*; as whatſoever his reports were, times have conſumed his Works, ſaving ſome very few excerptions lately publiſhed.

And therefore in things uncertain, ſeeing a long diſcourſe cannot be pleaſing to men of judgment, I will paſs over the acts of this third *Aſſyrian*, in as few words as I can expreſs them. S. *Auguſtine* affirms, that *Ninus* maſtered all *Aſia*, *India* excepted. Others ſay that he wan it all, ſave *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia*, the companion of his Conqueſts, with whom he entred into a ſtreight league of amity, becauſe he commanded many people, and was his kinſman, and a *Chuſite*, and the neereſt Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His firſt enterprize was upon *Syria*, which he might eaſily ſubdue, both becauſe he invaded it on the ſudden, and becauſe it lay next him: and alſo becauſe the *Arabians* and their King *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) aſſiſted him in the Conqueſt thereof.

The King of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aid him in his Warr againſt *Zoroaſter*: for from *Armenia*, he bent himſelf that way toward the Eaſt; but, that ever he commanded the leſſer *Aſia*, I do not believe, for none of his Succeſſors had any poſſeſſion therein.

His third Warr was againſt *Pharnus*, King of the *Medes*, whom it is ſaid that he overthrew, and cruelly murthered with his ſeven Children, though others affirm, that they all died in one battel againſt him. Whether he invaded *Zoroaſter* before the building or amplifying of *Ninive*, or after, it is uncertain. It is ſaid, that he made two Expeditions into *Bactria*: and, that finding little or ill ſucceſs in the firſt, he returned, and ſet the work of *Ninive* forward: and then a ſecond time entred *Bactria* with 1700000 Foot, and 200000 Horſe, and 100000 ſix hundred Chariots: being encountred by *Zoroaſter* with four hundred thouſand. But *Ninus* prevailing, and *Zoroaſter* being ſlain, he entred farther into the Countrey, and beſieged the chief City thereof, called *Bactra*, or *Bactrion* (ſaith *Stephanus*) which by a paſſage found, and an aſſault given by *Semiramis* (the Wife of *Menon*) he entred and poſſeſt. Upon this occaſion *Ninus* both admiring her judgment and valour, together with her perſon aud external beauty, fancied her ſo ſtrongly, as (neglecting all Princely reſpects) he took her from her Huſband, whoſe eyes he threatned to thruſt out, if he refuſed to conſent. He therefore yielding to the paſſion of love in *Ninus*, and to the paſſion of ſorrow in himſelf, by the ſtrong perſwaſions of ſhame and hiſhonour, caſt himſelf headlong into the Water, and died.

Aug. de Civit. Dei.

Steph. de Urb.

CHAP. XI.

Of Zoroaster, *supposed to have been the chief Author of Magick Arts: and of the divers kinds of Magick.*

§. I.

That Zoroaster *was not* Cham, *nor the first inventer of Astrologie, or of Magick: and that there were divers great Magicians of this name.*

ZOroaster, King of the *Bactrians*, *Vincentius* supposeth to be *Cham* the Son of *Noah*: a fancy of little probability. For *Cham* was the Paternal Ancestour of *Ninus*, the Father of *Chus*, the Grand-father of *Nimrod*, whose Son was *Belus*, the Father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincentius* had heard of that Book which was called *Scripturæ Cham*, devised by some wicked Knave, and so entituled; of which *Sixtus Senensis* hath made the due mention.

Cassian in Collat. Col. cap. 21. It is reported by *Cassianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gave the invention of *Magick* to *Cham* the Son of *Noah*: so did *Comestor* in his Scholastical History; which Art (saith he) with the seven Liberal Sciences he writ in fourteen Pillars: seven of which were made of Brass, to resist the defacing by the Waters of the Floud; and seven of Brick, against the injury of fire. There was also another devised Discourse, which went under the title of *Prophetia Cham*. *Cassianus* out of *Serenus* hath somewhat like this of *Comestor*. These be *Cassianus* words: Cham (*filius* Noah) *qui superstitionibus istis & sacrilegis fuit artibus infectus, sciens nullum se posse super his memorialem librū in Arcam prorsus inferre, in qua erat cum patre justo*, &c. Cham *the* (*the Son of* Noah) *who was infected with these superstitions and sacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any Book or memorial of that nature into the Ark, wherein he was to remain with his godly Father, caused the Precepts and Rules thereof to be graven in Metal, and hard Stone.*

Saint *Augustine* noteth that *Zoroaster* was said to have laught at his birth, when all other children weep; which presaged the great knowledge which afterward he attained unto; being taken for the Inventer of natural *Magick* and other Arts; for the Corrupter, saith *Pliny* and *Justine*. But I do not think that *Zoroaster* invented the doctrine of the *Horoscopes*, or *Nativities*: or first found out the nature of Herbs, Stones, and Minerals, or their Sympathetical, or Antipathetical workings; of which, I know not what King of *Chaldæa* is also made the Inventer. I rather think that these knowledges were far more ancient, and left by *Noah* to his Sons. For *Abraham*, who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaster* (as *Josephus* reporteth) was no less learned herein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then living: differing from the wisdom of after-times in this, that he knew, and acknowledged, the true cause, and giver of life and virtue to Nature, and all natural things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, dispersed, and universal power) admired the Instruments, and did attribute proper strength to the things themselves (from which the effects were sensible) which belonged to that wisdom, *Which being one, and remaining in it self, can do all things, and reneweth all.* *Wisd. c. 7.*

Now, whether this *Zoroaster* (overthrown by *Ninus*) were the same which was so excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For *Zoroaster* the *Magician*, *Ctesias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Pliny* finds of a later time. And if *Zoroaster* were taken away by a Spirit (being in the midst of his Disciples) as some Authours report, then *Zoroaster*, slain by *Ninus*, was not the *Magician*: which is also the opinion of *Scaliger*.

Again, *Josephus*, and *Cedrenus* affirm, that *Seth* first found out the Planets, or wandring Stars, and other motions of the Heavens: for if this Art had been invented by *Zoroaster*, he could not have attained to any such excellency therein, in his own life-time; but being a man (as it seemeth) of singular judgment, he might add somewhat to this kind of knowledge, and leave it by writing to Posterity. *Scalig. in Euseb. Joseph. l. 1. Antiq. c. 4.*

But of this *Zoroaster*, there is much dispute: and no less jangling about the word and Art of *Magick*. *Arnobius* remembreth four, to whom the name of *Zoroaster*, or *Zorcastres* was given: which by *Hermodorus* and *Dinon* seemeth to be but a *cognomen*, or name of art, and

and was as much to say, as *Astrorum cultor*. The first, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactrian*, which may be the same that *Ninus* overthrew: the second, a *Chaldæan*, and the *Astronomer* of *Ninus*: the third was *Zoroaster Pamphylius*, who lived in the time of *Cyrus*, and his familiar: the fourth, *Zoroaster Armenius*, the Nephew of *Hostianes*, which followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*: between whom and *Cyrus*, there past threescore and eighteen years. *Suidas* remembreth a fifth, called *Persomedus sapiens*: and *Plato* speaketh of *Zoroaster* the Son of *Oromasdes*; which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now, of what Nation the first and chief *Zoroaster* was, it is doubted. *Pliny* and *Laertius* make him a *Persian*. *Gemistheus*, or *Pletho*, *Ficinus* and *Stenchius*, make him a *Chaldæan*. But by those Books of one *Zoroaster*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainly, that the Author of them was a *Chaldæan* by Nation, though the word (*Chaldæan*) was as often given to the learned Priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishment of Nations. *Porphyrius* makes the *Chaldæi* and *Magi* divers; *Picus*, the same. But that this *Zoroaster* was a *Chaldæan* both by Nation and Profession, it appeareth by his Books, which (saith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldæan* Tongue; and the Comment in the same Language. Now, that the *Magi* and they were not differing, it may be judged by the name of those Books of *Zoroaster*, which in an Epistle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he saith, to be intituled, *Patris* Ezre Zoroastris & Melchior *magorum oracula*.

§. II.

Of the name of Magia; *and that it was anciently far divers from Conjuring and Witchcraft.*

Pic. Mir. fol. 81. NOw, for Magick it self; which Art (saith *Mirandula*) *Pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendunt*; *Few understand, and many reprehend*; *Et sicut Canes ignotos semper allatrant*; *As Dogs bark at those they know not*: so they condemn and hate the things they understand not: I think it not amiss (leaving *Ninus* for a while) to speak somewhat thereof.

It is true, that many men abhorr the very name and word (*Magos*) because of *Simon Magus*, who being indeed, not *Magus*, but *goes* (that is) familiar with evil Spirits, usurped that Title. For Magick, Conjuring, and Witchery, are farr differing Arts, whereof *Pliny* being ignorant, scoffeth thereat. For *Nero* (saith *Pliny*) who had the most excellent Magicians of the East, sent him by *Tyridates* King of *Armenia*, who held that Kingdom by his grace, found the Art, after long study and labour, altogether ridiculous.

Plin. l. 30. Hist. Nat. Porphyr. & Apul.

Magus is a *Persian* word primitively, whereby is expresst such a one as is altogether conversant in things Divine. And (as *Plato* affirmeth) the Art of Magick is the Art of worshipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his Epistles expounding the word (μάγος) saith, that the *Persians* called their gods μάγους: whence he addeth, that *Magus* is either ὁ θεραπεύων θεὸς, or θεραπευτὴς θεῶν (that is) that *Magus* is a name sometimes of him that is a God by nature; sometimes of him that is in the service of God: in which latter sence it is taken, *Mat.* 2. *v.* 1. And this is the first and highest kind: which *Piccolominie* calleth divine Magick: and these did the *Latines* newly entitle *Sapientes*, or *Wisemen*: *For, the fear and worship of God is the beginning of knowledge*. These Wisemen the *Greeks* call Philosophers: the *Indians*, *Branchmans*; which name they somewhat neerly retain to this day, calling their Priests *Bramines*; among the *Egyptians* they were tearmed Priests; with the *Hebrews* they were called *Cabalists*, *Prophets*, *Scribes*, and *Pharisees*: amongst the *Babylonians* they were differenced by the name of *Chaldæans*: and among the *Persians*, Magicians: of whom *Arnobius* (speaking of *Hostanes*, one of the ancient Magicians) useth these words: *Et verum Deum merita majestate prosequitur, & Angelos ministros Dei, sed veri ejus veneration novit assistere. Idem dæmonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos*; *Sostenes* (for so *M. Felix* called him, not *Hostanes*) *ascribeth the due Majesty to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are ministers and messengers which attend the Worship of the true God. He also hath delivered that there are Devils earthly, and wandering, and enemies to man-kind.*

Plato in Alcib.

Piccol. de Desiu. Prov. 1. 7, John Hug. Linschot.

In Octavio Minutii Felicis cum Arnobio p. 360.

His Majesty also, in his first Book of *Demonologie*, *ch.* 3. acknowledgeth, that in the *Persian* Tongue the word (*Magus*) imports as much a contemplator of divine and heavenly science; but unjustly so called, because the *Chaldæans* were ignorant of the true Divinity. And it is also right which *His Majesty* avoweth, that under the name of *Magick*, all other unlawfull Arts are comprehended, and yet doth *His Majesty* distinguish it from Necromancy, Witchcraft, and the rest: of all which he hath written largely, and most learnedly. For the Magick which *His Majesty* condemneth, is of that kind whereof the Devil is a party. *Daniel* in his second Chap. nameth four kinds of those *Wisemen*: *Arioli*, *Magi*, *Malefici*, and *Chaldæi*. *Arioli* the old *Latine* Translation calleth *Sophistas*: *Vatablus* and *Pagninus*, *Genethliacos*, or *Physicos*, or *Philosophers*,

Dæmonol. l. 2. c. 1.

Philosophers, or (according to the note of *Vatablus*) *Naturalists: Nempe sunt Magi apud Babaros, quod Philosophi apud Græcos (scilicet) divinarum humanarumque rerum scientiam profitentes*; *For the Magi are the same with the* Barbarians, *as the Philosophers are with the* Grecians (that is) *men that profess the knowledge of things both divine and humane.* The *Greek* and the *English* call them *Inchanters*; Junius, *Magicians*; Castalion, *Conjecturers*: in the *Syrian*, they are all four by one name called *Sapientes Babylonis*; *The Wisemen of Babel.*

The second sort *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *English*, call Astrologers; *Hierom* and the *Septuagint*, Magicians.

The third kind are *Malefici* or *Venefici*; in *Hierom*, *Pagnin*, and the *Septuagint*, Witches, or Poisoners: in *Junius*, *Præstigiatores*, or Sorcerers, as in *English*.

That Witches are also rightly so called *Venefici*, or *Poisoners*; and that indeed there is a kind of *Malefici*, which, without any Art of Magick or Necromancie, use the help of the Devil to do mischief, *His Majesty* confirmeth in the first Chapter of his second Book: speaking also in the fifth Chapter of their practice, to mix the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Devil prepared; and at other times to make Pictures of Wax, or Clay, or otherwise (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect those things which the Devil by other means bringeth to pass.

The fourth, all Translators call *Chaldæans:* who took upon them to foretell all things to come, as well natural as humane, and their events: and this they vaunted to perform by the influences of the Stars, by them observed, and understood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are, the corruptions, which have made odious the very name of *Magick*, having chiefly sought (as is the manner of all Impostures) to counterfeit the highest and most noble part of it, yet so as they have also crept into the inferiour degrees.

A second kind of *Magick*, was that part of *Astrologie*, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kinds of Agriculture and Husbandry: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the Starrs into those lower Elements.

Philo Judæus goeth farther, affirming, that by this part of *Magick*, or *Astrologie*, together with the motions of the Starrs, and other heavenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he lived in *Chaldæa*: *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognovit Creatorem* (saith *Jo. Damascen*) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature.* *Josephus* reporteth of *Abraham*, that *he instructed the* Egyptians *in Arithmetick and Astronomie, who before* Abraham's *coming unto them knew none of these Sciences.*

De vit. sanct. Glyc. Annal fol. 180.

And so doth *Archangelus de Burgo*, in defence of *Mirandula* against *Garsias*: Alexander & Eupolemon *dicunt, quòd* Abraham *sanctitate & sapientiâ omnium præstantissimus*, Chaldæos *primùm, deinde* Phœnices, *demum* Ægyptios *Sacerdotes Astrologiam & divina docuerit*; Alexander (saith he, *meaning* Alexander Polyhistor) *and* Eupolemon *affirm, that* Abraham, *the holiest and wisest of men, did first teach the* Chaldæans, *then the* Phenicians; *lastly, the* Egyptian *Priests, Astrologie, and divine Knowledge.*

The third kind of *Magick* containeth the whole Philosophy of Nature; not the brabblings of the *Aristotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmost virtues, and draweth them out of Nature's hidden bosome to humane use: *Virtutes in centro centri latentes*; *Virtues hidden in the center of the center*, according to the *Chymists*. Of this sort were *Albertus*, *Arnoldus de villa nova*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others: and before these, in elder-times, and who better understood the power of Nature, and how to apply things that work to things that suffer, were *Zoroaster* before spoken of: *Apollonius Tyanæus*, remembred by S. *Hierom* to *Paulinus*; in some mens Opinion, *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans*: among the *Indians*, *Thespian*: among the *Egyptians*, *Hermes*: among the *Babylonians*, *Budda*: the *Thracians* had *Zamolxis*: the *Hyperboreans* (as is supposed) *Abbaris*: and the *Italians*, *Petrus Aponensis*. The *Magick* which these men profest, is thus defined: *Magia est connexio à viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruenter respondentibus, ut inde opera prodeant, non sine eorum sine admiratione qui causam ignorant: Magick is the connexion of natural agents and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a wise man, to the bringing forth of such effects as are wonderfull to those that know not their causes.* In all these three kinds, which other men divide into four, it seemeth that *Zoroaster* was exceedingly learned; especially in the first and highest. For in his Oracles he confesseth God to be the Creator of the Universal: he believeth of the * *Trinity*, which he could not investigate by any natural knowledge: he speaketh of Angels, and of *Paradise*: approveth the immortality of the Soul: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, and Love, discoursing of the Abstinence and Charity of the *Magi*: which Oracles of his, *Psellus*, *Ficinus*, *Patritius*, and others, have gathered and translated.

See upon his Comment, *in Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 2.*

* *Totò in mundo lucet Trias, cujus Monas est princeps Cuncta namque perfecit pater, & menti tradidit secundæ. Psel. & Ficin. de præp. Evang. l. 1. cap. 7.*

Of

Of this *Zoroaster*, *Euseb.* in the *Theologie* of the *Phœnicians*, using *Zoroaster*'s own words: *Hæc ad verbum scribit* (saith *Eusebius*) *Deus primus incorruptibilium, sempiternus, ingenitus, expers partium, sibi-ipsi simillimus, bonorum omnium auriga, munera non expectans, optimus, prudentissimus, pater juris, sine doctrina justitiam perdoctus, naturâ perfectus, sapiens, sacræ naturæ unicus inventor*, &c. *Thus writeth* Zoroaster, *word for word. God, the first incorruptible, everlasting, unbegotten, without parts, most like himself, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the father of right, having learned justice without teaching, perfect, wise by nature, the onely inventer thereof.*

Sixtus Senensis, speaking of the wisdom of the *Chaldæans*, doth distinguish those wise men into five orders (to wit) *Chascedim*, or *Chaldæans*: *Asaphim*, or *Magicians*: *Chartumim* (which he translates *Ariolie*, or *Sophists*) *Mechasphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, *Wiches*, or *Poisoners*; and *Gazarim*, *Augures*, or *Aruspices*, or *Diviners*. Lib. 2. fol. 26.

Chascedim were those which had the name of *Chaldæans*, which were *Astronomers*: *Hi cœlorum motus diligentissimè spectârunt*; *These did most diligently contemplate the motions of the heavens*: whom *Philo*, in the life of *Abraham* describeth.

Asaphim were in the old *Latine* translation called *Philosophers*: of the *Septuagint*, and of *Hierom*, *Magicians*: *Qui de omnium tam divinarum quam humanarum rerum causis Philosophati sunt*; *Who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well divine as humane*: of whom *Origen* makes *Balaam* (the Son of *Beor*) to be the first: but *Laertius* ascribeth the invention of this Art to *Zoroastres* the *Persian*. Laert. l. 1.

Chartumim, or *Inchanters*, the Disciples (saith S. *Augustine*, *Pliny*, and *Justine*) of another *Zoroastres*: who corrupted the admirable wisdom of the *Magi*, which he received from his Ancesters.

Mechasphim, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are those which we have spoken already out of *His Majesties* Book of *Dæmonologia*.

Gazarim, or *Aruspices* (after S. *Hieram*) which divine from the intrails of Beasts slain for sacrifices: or by *Gazarim*, others understand *Augures*, who divine by the flying, singing, or feeding of Birds.

By this distinction, we may perceive the difference between those wise men which the Kings of *Babylon* entertained; and that the name and profession of the *Magi* among the antient *Persians* was most honest. For as *Peucer* truly observeth, *Præerant religioni Persicæ, ut in populo Dei Levitæ, studiisque veræ Philosophiæ diditi erant: nec quisquam Rex Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea Magorum disciplinam scientiamque percepisset*; *The Magi* (saith he) *were the chief Ministers of the* Persian *Religion, as the Levites among Gods people, and they were given to the studies of true Philosophy: neither could any be King of the* Persians, *who had not first been exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the Magi.* Peucer de Divinitat. in c. de mag. fol. 135, 136.

Sixtus Senensis, in the defence of *Origen* against *Polychronius* and *Theophilus*, hath two kinds of *Magick*, his own words are these: *Et ne quem moveant præmissa* Polychronii & Theophili *testimonia, sciendum est duplicem esse Magiam*; *alteram ubique ab* Origine *damnatam, quæ per fœdera cum dæmonibus inita, aut verè, aut apparenter, operatur*; *alteram ab* Origine *laudatam, quæ ad practicen naturalis Philosophiæ pertinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad invicem agentium ac patientium*; *That the testimonies of* Theophilus *and* Polychronius (*saith he*) *may not move any man, it is to be understood that Magick is of two sorts, the one every where condemned by* Origen; *which worketh* (*whether truly or seemingly*) *by covenants made with devils*; *the other commended by* Origen, *which appertaineth to the practick part of natural Philosophy, teaching to work admirable things by the mutual application of natural virtues, agent and suffering reciprocally.* Bibl. l. 6. fol. 424.

This Partition *Hierom* doth embrace in the first of his Commentaries upon *Daniel*, where considering of the difference which *Daniel* makes between these four kinds of wise Men formerly remembred, he useth this distinction: *Quos nos hariolos*; *cæteri* [illegible] (*id est*) *incantatores interpetati sunt, videntur mihi esse qui verbis rem peragunt*; *Magi, qui de singulis philosophantur*; *Malefici, qui sanguine utuntur, & victimis, & sæpe contigunt corpora mortuorum: porro in* Chaldæis *Genethliacos significari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quòd sint Philosophi* Chaldæorum: *& ad artis hujus scientiam, Reges quoq; & Principes ejusdem gentis omnia faciunt*; *unde & in nativitate domini Salvatoris, ipsi primum ortum ejus intellexerunt, & venientes sanctam* Bethlehem, *adoraverunt puerum, stella desuper ostendente*; *They, whom we call Sorcerers, and others interpret Inchanters, seem to me, such as perform things by words*; *Magicians, such as handle every thing philosophically*; *Witches, that use bloud and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead: further, among the* Chaldæans, *I take them to be signified by the name of Conjecturers upon nativities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common custom takes Magicians for Witches, who are otherwise reputed in their own Nation: for*

they

they are the Philosophers of the Chaldæans: *yea, King and princes of that Nation do all that they do, according to the knowledge of this Art: whence, at the nativity of the Lord our Saviour, they first of all understood his birth, and coming unto holy* Bethlehem, *did worship the Child: the Starr from above shewing him unto them.* By this therefore it appeareth, that there is great difference between the doctrine of a *Magician*, and the abuse of the word. For though some Writers affirm, that *Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fœdere facto utitur diaboli opera ad rem quamcunque; That he is called a Magician now-a-days, who having entred league with the Devil, useth his help to any matter:* yet (as our Saviour said of *Divorce*) it was not so from the beginning. For the Art of *Magick* is of the wisdom of Nature; other Arts which undergo that title, were invented by the falshood, subtilty, and envie of the Devil. In the latter, there is no other doctrine, than the use of certain ceremonies, *Per malam fidem*; *By an evil faith:* in the former, no other ill, than the investigation of those virtues and hidden properties which God hath given to his creatures, and how fitly to apply things that work, to things that suffer. And though by the *Jews* those excellent *Magicians, Philosophers*, and *Divines*, which came to worship our Saviour *Christ*, were tearmed *Mechaschephim*, or *Mecasphim*; yet had they no other reason than common custom therein. *Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit; Common custom* (saith S. *Hierom*) *understandeth Witches, under the name of Magicians: And antiquity* (saith *Peter Martyr*) by the word (*Magi*) *understood good and wise men. Quid igitur expavescis Magi nomen formidolose, nomen Evangelio gratiosum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, sed sapientem sonat, & Sacerdotem? O thou fearfull one* (saith *Ficinus*) *why doubtest thou to use the name of* Magus, *a name gratious in the Gospel, which doth not signifie a Witch, or a Conjurer, but a wise man, and a Priest?* For what brought this slander to that Study and Profession, but onely idle Ignorance, the Parent of causless admiration? *Causa fuit mirificentia quorundam operum, quæ (re vera) opera naturalia sunt: veruntamen quia procuratione dæmonorum, naturas ipsas vel conjungentium, vel commiscentium, vel aliter ad operandum expedientium facta sunt, opera dæmonũ credebantur ab ignorantibus hæc. De operibus hujusmodi est Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi impropriè vocant. The marvellousness of some works, which (indeed) are natural, hath been the cause of this slander: but because these works have been done by procurement of devils, joining the natures together, or mingling them, or howsoever fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the works of the devils by the ignorant. Among these works is natural Magick, which men call very improperly, Necromancy.*

Hierom. in Daniel. *Pet. Mart. Loc.* *Mar Ficin. parprim. fol. 573.* *Gul. Parisien. de Lege, cap. 14.*

Mirandula in his Apologie goeth further: *For by understanding* (saith he) *the uttermost activity of natural agents we are assisted to know the Divinity of Christ:* for otherwise (to use his own words) *Ignoratis terminis potentiæ, & virtutis rerum naturalium, stat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quæ fecit Christus, posse fieri per media naturalia; The terms or limits of natural power and virtue not understood, we must needs doubt, whether those very works which Christ did, may not be done by natural means:* after which he goeth on in this sort: *Ideo non hæreticè, non superstitiosè dixi, sed verissimè & Catholicè per talem Magiam adjuvari nos in cognoscenda divinitate Christi: Therefore I said not heretically, not superstitiously, but most truly and Catholickly, that by such Magick we are furthered in knowing the Divinity of Christ.* And seeing the *Jews* and others, the enemies of *Christian Religion*, do impudently and impiously object, that those Miracles which *Christ* wrought, were not above nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula*, a man for his years, fuller of knowledge than any that this latter Age hath brought forth, might with good reason avow, that the uttermost of Nature's works being known, the works which *Christ* did, and which (as himself witnesseth) no man could do, do manifestly testifie of themselves, that they were performed by that hand which held Nature herein but as a Pencil, and by a power infinitely Supreme and Divine; and thereby those that were faithless, were either converted, or put to silence. *Fol. 80.*

§. III.

That the good knowledge in the antient Magick is not to be condemned: though the Devil here, as in other kinds, hath sought to obtrude evil things, under the name and colour of good things.

SEeing therefore it is confessed by all of understanding, that a *Magician* (according to the *Persian* word) is no other than, *Divinorum Cultor, & Interpres: A studious Observer and Expounder of Divine things:* and the Art of it self (I mean the Art of Natural *Magick*) no other, *Quàm naturalis Philosophiæ absoluta consummatio; than the absolute perfection of natural Philosophy:* Certainly then, it proceeds from ignorance, and no way sorteth with

with wiſe and learned men, *promiſcuè*, and without difference and diſtinction, to confound lawfull and praiſe-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to uſe S. *Pauls* words) *with thoſe beggerly rudiments*, which the Devil hath ſhuffled, and by them bewitcheth and befooleth graceleſs men. For, if we condemn natural *Magick*, or the wiſdom of Nature, becauſe the Devil (who knows more than any man) doth alſo teach Witches and Poiſoners the harmfull parts of Herbs, Drugs, Minerals, and Excrements: then may we, by the ſame rule, condemn the *Phyſician*, and the Art of Healing. For the Devil alſo in the Oracles of *Amphiaraus*, *Amphilochus*, *Trophonius*, and the like, taught men in Dreams, what Herbs and Drugs were proper for ſuch and ſuch Diſeaſes. Now, no man of judgment is ignorant, that the Devil from the beginning hath ſought to thruſt himſelf into the ſame employment among the Miniſters and Servants of God, changing himſelf for that purpoſe into an Angel of Light. He hath led men to Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion; he hath thruſt in his Prophets among thoſe of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of *Aſtrologie*, by giving a divine power to the Stars, teaching men to eſteem them as gods, and not as inſtruments. And (as *Bunting* obſerveth) it is true, that judicial *Aſtrologie* is corrupted with many ſuperſtitions: but the abuſe of the thing takes not away the Art, conſidering that heavenly bodies (as even general experience ſheweth) have, and exerciſe their operation upon the inferiour. For the Sun and the Starr of *Mars* do drie; the Moon doth moiſten, and govern the Tides of the Sea. Again, the Planets, as they have ſeveral and proper names, ſo have they ſeveral and proper virtues: the Stars do alſo differ in beauty, and in magnitude; and to all the Stars hath God given alſo their proper names, which (had they not influences and virtues different) needed not: *He counteth the number of the Stars, and calleth them by their names.* But, into the good and profitable knowledge of the celeſtial influences, the Devil ceaſeth not to ſhuffle in his Superſtitions: and ſo to the knowledge of the ſecret virtues of Nature hath he faſtened his doctrine of *Characters*, Numbers, and Incantations; and taught men to believe in the ſtrength of Words and Letters (which, without Faith in God, are but Ink or common breath) thereby either to equal his own with the All-powerfull Word of God, or to diminiſh the glory of God's creating Word, by whom are all things.

Bunt. in Chro.

Pſal. 147.

Moreover, he was never ignorant, that both the wiſe and the ſimple obſerve when the Sea-birds forſake the ſhores, and flie into the Land, that commonly ſome great ſtorm followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow, betoken fair weather; that the crying of Crows, and bating of Ducks, foreſhew Rain: for they feel the air moiſtned in their quils. And it is written in *Hieremy* the Prophet, *Even the Stork in the air knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow.* Hereupon, this enemy of Man-kind, working upon theſe as upon the reſt of Gods creatures, long time abuſed the *Heathen*, by teaching them to obſerve the flying of Fowls, and thereby to judge of good or ill ſucceſs in the Warr: and (withall) to look into their entrails for the ſame, as if God had written the ſecrets of unſearchable providence in the Livers and Bowels of Birds and Beaſts. Again, becauſe it pleaſed God ſometimes by Dreams, not only to warn and teach his Prophets and Apoſtles, but *Heathen* Princes alſo; as *Abimelech* to reſtore *Sara* to *Abraham*; becauſe he admoniſhed *Joſeph*, and by a Dream informed *Jacob*, *Laban*, *Pharao*, *Solomon*, *Paul*, *Ananias*, the *Magi* of the Eaſt, and others. For as it is remembred in *Job*: *In Dreams and Viſions of the night, when ſleep falleth upon men*, &c. *then God openeth the ears, that he might cauſe man to return from his enterpriſe*; therefore, I ſay, doth the Devil alſo practiſe his Divinations by dreams, or (after *Pariſienſis*) *divinitatis imitationes*, *his mock-divinity.* This in the end grew ſo common, as *Ariſtides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his own Dreams: *Mithridates* of thoſe of his *Concubines.* Yea, the *Romans*, finding the inconvenience hereof, becauſe all Dreams (without diſtinction of caſes) were drawn to Divination, forbad the ſame by a Law, as by the words of prohibition (*aut narrandis ſomniis occultam aliquam artem divinandi*) it may appear. Likewiſe by the Law of God, in *Deuteronomy*, *Chap.* 13. ſeducing Dreamers were ordered to be ſlain. Yet it is to be contemned, not that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedy in his Dream for two grievous diſeaſes that oppreſt him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolemie's* poiſoned wound; nor that which Saint *Auguſtine* reporteth of a *Millanoiſe*, whoſe Son (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his Father in a Dream, where the Acquittance lay to diſcharge it: not that of *Aſtyages* of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reaſon of all which, for as much as the cauſe is not in our ſelves, this place denieth diſpute.

Gen. 12. v. 17.

Job 33. 15.

G. Pariſien. de leg. 24. cap.

Codex. de maleſic. & Mathemat. leg. & ſi accepta.

Aug. de cura pro mortuis agenda.

§. IV.

That Daniel's *misliking* Nebuchodonosor's *condemning of the Magicians, doth not justifie all their practices.*

BUt it may be objected, that if such Divinations as the *Heathens* commonly used, were to be condemned in them, who took on them very many and strange Revelations; how came it to pass, that *Daniel* both condemned the hasty sentence of *Nebuchodonosor* against the *Magicians* of *Chaldæa*, and in a sort forbad it? especially considering that such kind of people God himself commanded to be slain. To this, divers answers may be given. *Deut. 13. and 18. Levit. 20.* First, it seemeth that *Daniel* had respect to those *Chaldæans*, because they acknowledged that the Dream of the King, which himself had forgotten, could not be known to any man by any Art, either Natural or Diabolical: *For there is none other* (said the *Chaldæans*) *that can declare it before the King, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh:* and herein they confessed the power of the Ever-living God.

Secondly, it may be conjectured (and that upon good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any evil or unlawfull Arts, but were meerly *Magicians* and *Naturalists:* and therefore when the King commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perswaded the contrary, and called it a hasty judgment, which proceeded with fury without examination. And that some of those mens studies and professions were lawfull, it may be gathered by *Daniel*'s instruction: for himself had been taught by them, and was called chief of the Inchanters: of which some were tearmed *Soothsayers*, others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldæans*, others *Magi*, or *Wise-men:* and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* misliked and forbad the execution of that judgment, because it was unjust. For howsoever those men might deserve punishment for the practice of unlawfull Arts (though not unlawfull according to the law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltless. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the King's thought, which the Devil himself could not know. So then, in *Daniel*'s dislike, and hindring of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the *Magicians*, there is no absolute justifying of their practice and profession.

§. V.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemn the right use of them.

NOtwithstanding this mixture every where, of good with evil, of falshood with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity: The good, The truth, The purity in every kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worshipping of God by Sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbare to offer Sacrifice to the God of all power, because the Devil, in the Image of *Baal*, *Astaroth*, *Chemoth*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and the like, was so adored.

Neither did the abuse of *Astrologie* terrifie *Abraham* (if we may believe the most ancient and religious Historians) from observing the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it dehort wise and learned men in these days from attributing those virtues, influences, and inclinations to the Starrs and other lights of Heaven, which God hath given to those his glorious creatures. *Euseb. ex Artapan. & Polybi.*

The Sympathetical, and Anipathetical working of Herbs, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other utmost virtues, sometimes taught by the Devil, and applied by his Ministers to harmfull and uncharitable ends, can never terrifie the honest and learned *Physician* or *Magician* from the using of them to the help and comfort of Man-kind: neither can the illusions, whereby the Devil betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the observations of Dreams; so farr as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make use of them.

Lastly, the prohibition to mark flying of Fowls (as signs of good or evil success) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crows against Rain, or to any observation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be given. For, if we confound Arts with the abuse of them, we shall not onely condemn all honest Trades and enterchange amongst men (for there are that deceive in all Professions) but we shall in a short time bury in forgetfulness all excellent knowledg and all learning, or obscure and cover it over with a most scornfull and beggarly ignorance: and (as *Pliny* teacheth) we should shew our selves, *Ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaque lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce: Unthankfull towards those, who with pains and care have discovered unto us light in this light.* *Deut. 18. 10.*

Indeed, not only these natural knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the *Mathematicks* also, and Professors thereof: though those that are excellently learned

learned, judge of it in this sort: *In speculo Mathematico verum illud, quod in omni scibili quæritur, elucet; non modò remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate; In the Glass of the Mathematicks, that Truth doth shine, which is sought in every kind of knowledg; not in an obscuring, but in a neer and manifest representation.*

Cusa. com. Theol. c. 9.

§. VI.

Of the divers kinds of unlawfull Magick.

IT is true, that there are many Arts, if we may so call them, which are covered with the name *Magick:* and esteemed abusively to be as branches of that Tree, on whose root they never grew. The first of these hath the name of *Necromancy*, or *Goetia:* and of this again there are divers kinds. The one is an Invocation at the Graves of the dead, to whom the Devil himself gives answer in stead of those that seem to appear. For certain it is, that the immortal souls of men do not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they give motion and understanding to the living: death being nothing else but a separation of the body and soul: and therefore the soul is not to be found in the Graves.

A second practice of those men, who pay Tribute, or are in league with Satan, is that of conjuring, or raising up Devils, of whom they hope to learn what they list. These men are so distract, as they believe, that by terrible words they make the Devil to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle which cannot keep out a Mouse) they therein (as they suppose) insconce themselves against that great Monster. Doubtless, they forget that the Devil is not terrified from doing ill, and all that is contrary to God and goodness, no, not by the fearfull Word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to sit in Gods seat, that he made no scruple to tempt our Saviour *Christ*, whom himself called the Son of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an unworthy wretch, will yet resolve himself, that he can draw the Devil out of Hell, and terrifie with a Phrase: whereas in very truth, the obedience which the Devils seem to use, is but thereby to possess themselves of the bodies and souls of those which raise them up; as *His Majesty* in his Book aforenamed hath excellently taught: *That the Divels obedience is onely, secundum quid, scilicet ex pacto; respectivè*, that is, *upon bargain.*

I cannot tell what they can do upon those simple and ignorant Devils, which inhabit *Iamblicus* imagination; but sure I am, the rest are apt enough to come uncalled: and always attending the cogitations of their servants and vassals, do no way need any such inforcement.

Or, it may be that these Conjurers dealt altogether with *Cardans* mortal Devils, following the opinion of *Rabbi Avornathan* and of *Porphirius*, who taught that these kind of Divels lived not above a thousand years: which *Plutarch* in his Treatise *de Oraculorum defectu* confirmeth, making example of the great God *Pan.* For, were it true, that the Divels were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they alway fear those words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the Familiar of *Simon Magus*, when he had lifted him up in the air, cast him headlong out of his claws, when he was sure he should perish with the fall. If this, perhaps, were done by S. *Peter's* Prayers (of which S. *Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the same pranks at other times, upon his own accord, the Devil played with *Theodotus*; who transported (as *Simon Magus* was supposed to have been) had the same mortall fall that he had. The like success had *Budas*, a principal Pillar of the *Manichæan* Heresie, as *Socrates* in his Ecclesiastical History witnesseth: and for a manifest proof hereof, we see it every day, that the Devil leaves all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallows, for whom at other times he maketh himself a *Pegasus*, to convey them in haste to places far distant, or at least makes them so think: *For those that received not the truth* (saith S. *Paul*) *God shall send them strong illusions:* Of these their supposed transportations (yet agreeing with their confessions) *His Majesty* in the 2d Book, & the 4th Chap. of the *Demonologie*, hath confirmed by unanswerable reasons, that they are meerly illusive. Another sort there are, who take on them to include *Spirits* in Glasses & Crystals; of whom *Cusanus: Fatui sunt Incantatores, qui in ungue & vitro volunt spiritum includere, quia Spiritus non clauditur corpore: They are fooliſh Inchanters, which will shut up their spirits within their nails, or in Glass: for a spirit cannot be inclosed by a body.*

Euseb. hist. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 16.

Lib. 1. c. 21.

2 Thess. 2.

Exercit. lib. 2.

There is also another art besides the aforementioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *White Magick*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Invocation they draw out of Heaven and communicate withall. But the administring Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due unto their Creator; so, seeing they are most free Spirits, there is no man so absurd to think (except the Devil have corrupted his understanding) that they can be constrained or commanded out of Heaven

Sunt in mundo genus quoddam potestatum valde divisum, indiscretum, & inconsideratum; & quod neque verum à falso, neque possibile discernit ab impossibili, L. Vivet. in cap. 11. lib. 10. Aug. de Civit. Dei, Cusa. exerc. l. 2.

by threats. Wherefore let the Professours thereof cover themselves how they please by a professed purity of life, by the ministery of Infants, by fasting and abstinence in general; yet all those that tamper with immaterial substances, and abstract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or Inforcement, or men of evil faith, and in the power of *Satan*. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be constrained; and the rest are Devils, which willingly obey.

Other sorts there are of wicked Divinations; as by fire, called *Pyromantia*: by water, called *Hydromantia*: by the air, called *Mataeotechnia*, and the like.

The last, and (indeed) the worst of all other, is *Fascination* or *Witchcraft*: the Practicers whereof are no less envious and cruel, revengeful and bloudy, than the Devil himself. And these accursed creatures, having sold their souls to the Devil, work two ways; either by the Devil immediately, or by the Art of poisoning. The difference between *Necromancers* and *Witches*, *His Majesty* hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a sort) command; the other obey the Devil.

There is another kind of petty *Witchery* (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of Beasts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accused, because an Eagle lighted on his shoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the same exceeded the Art of Falconry, yet was it no more to be admired then *Mahomet*'s Dove, which he had used to feed with Wheat out of his ear: which Dove, when it was hungry, lighted on *Mahomet*'s shoulder, and thrust his Bill therein to find his breakfast: *Mahomet* perswading the rude and simple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghost that gave him advice. And certainly, if *Banks* had lived in elder times, he would have shamed all the *Inchanters* of the World: for whosoever was most famous among them, could never master or instruct any Beast as he did his Horse.

Ælian. l. 6 Nat. Hist.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by Inchantments (which the *Marsians*, a people of *Italy*, practised: *Colubros disrumpit Marsia cantu: inchanting* Marsia *makes the Snakes to burst.*) That it hath been used, it appears, *Psal.* 58. 6. though I doubt not, but that many Impostures may be in this kind, and even by natural causes it may be done. For, there are many fumes that will either draw them out, or destroy them; as womens hair burnt, and the like. So many things may be laid in the entrance of their holes that will allure them; and therein I find no other *Magick* or Inchantments than to draw out a Mouse with a piece of tosted Cheese.

Lucil. in Satyr.

§. VII.

Of divers ways by which the Devil seemeth to work his wonders.

BUt to the end that we may not dote with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of gods: that we do not give to the Devil any other dominion than he hath (not speak of his ability, when he is the Minister of Gods vengeance; as when *Egypt*, according to *David*, was destroyed by evil Angels) he otherwise worketh but three ways. The first is, by moving the cogitation and affections of men: The second, by the exquisite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And, that they cannot work what they would, *G. Parisiensis* giveth three causes: the first, a natural impotency: the second, their own reason dissuading them from daring overmuch, or indeed (and that which is the onely certain cause) the great mercy of the Creator, *Tenens eos ligatas* (saith the same Author) *velut immanissimas belluas*. S. *Augustine* was of opinion, that the Frogs which *Pharaoh*'s Sorcerers produced, were not natural, but that the Devil (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appear to be such. For, as *Varius* observeth, those Frogs of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as those of *Moses* were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof, saith Saint *Augustine*: *Nec sanè Dæmones naturas creant, sed quæ à Deo creatæ sunt commutant, ut videantur esse quod non sunt: The Devils create not any creatures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seem to be that which they be not:* of which in the 83. Question he giveth the reason. *Dæmon quibusdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentiæ, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis solet* (that is) *The Devil fills with certain clouds all passages of the understanding, by which the beam of the mind is wont to open the light of reason.*

Sinl. parif. de univerſo p. 2. cap. 70.

Maxima vis eſt phantaſiæ ad errores.

And, as *Tertullian* in his Book *de Anima* rightly conceiveth, if the Devil can possess himself of the eyes of our minds, and blind them, it is not hard for him to dazel those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the Devil entreth in, beginning with the fantasie, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the soul; for the fantasie is most apt to be abused by vain apprehensions.

Aquinas, on the contrary, held, that those Frogs were not imaginary, but such indeed as they seemed: not made *Magicæ artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the Art, but (according to *Thomas*) *Per aptam & idoneam*

neam agentium & patientium applicationem: By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients. And this I take to be more probable. For *Moses* could not be deceived by that sleight of false semblance; and S. *Augustine* in another case like unto this (to wit) of the turning of *Diomedes* his companions into Birds, *per activa cum passivis*, inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not perswaded that S. *Augustine* doth believe that of *Diomedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas, G. Parisiensis*, a man very learned also, confirmeth. For, speaking of natural *Magick*, he useth these words: *De hujusmodi autem operibus, & subita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumq; animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verùm adhibitis adjutoriis, ipsa seminanaturæ confortant, & accuunt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus naturæ videatur (quæ tardius talia efficere consuevit) sed potentia Dæmonum*, &c. to which he addeth: *Qui autem in his docti sunt, talia non mirantur, sed solem Creatorem in his glorificant: In such works* (saith he) *the sudden generation of Frogs and Lice, and Worms, and some other creatures is: in all which, Nature alone worketh; but by means strengthening the seeds of Nature, and quickning them; in such wise, that they so hasten the work of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant, not to be the work of Nature, which usually worketh more leisurely, but they think it done by the powers of Devils. But they who are learned in these Arts, marvel not at such working, but glorifie the Creator.* Now, by these two ways the Devils do most frequently work (to wit) by knowing the uttermost of nature, and by illusion: for there is no incomprehensible or unsearchable power, but of God onely.

For, shall we say, he causeth sometimes thunders, lightnings, & tempests; and can infect the air, as well as move it or compress it; who knows not that these things are also natural? Or, may it be objected that he foretelleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion. It is true, that he sometimes doth it; but how? In elder Ages he stole his knowledge out of the Predictions of the Prophets: and foretold the death of *Saul*, at such time as he was in his own possession and power to dispose of. And he that hath lived from the infancy of the world to this day, and observed the success of every counsel: he that by reason of his swift motions can inform himself of all places, and preparations: he that is of counsel with all those that study and practise subversion and destruction: he that is Prince of the air, and can thence better judge, than those that inhabite the earth: if he should not sometimes, yea, if he should not very oftentimes ghess rightly of things to come (where God pleaseth not to give impediment) it were very strange. For we see, that wise and learned men do oftentimes by comparing like causes, conceive rightly of like effects before they happen: and yet, where the Devil doubteth, and would willingly keep his credit, he evermore answereth by Riddles: as

Diabolus magnum habet rerum usum; quæ res multum habet momenti in quovis negotio. Aug. de Anima, cap. 26, 27, &c.

Crœsus *Halym penetrans magnam subvertit opum vim:*
If *Crœsus* over Halys go,
Great Kingdoms he shall overthrow.

Which answer may be taken either way: either for the overthrow of his own Kingdom, or of his Enemies. And thus farr we grant the Devil may proceed in Predictions, which otherwise belong to God only, as it is in *Esay: Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods; shew us at all times, and certainly what is to come. Solius enim divinæ intelligentiæ est, occulta nosse & revelare; It is onely proper to Gods understanding and wisdom to know and reveal hidden things.*

Guil. Parisiensis de legib. c. 24.

§. VIII.

That none was ever raised from the dead by the power of the Devil: and that it was not the true Samuel *which appeared to* Saul.

TO conclude, It may be objected, that the Devil hath raised from the dead: and that others by his power have done the like, as in the example given of *Samuel*, raised by the Witch of *Endor*; which, were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed, that some of the Devil's acts exceeded all the powers of Nature, false semblance, and other illusions. *Justin Martyr* was sometime of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeed; and so was *Ambrose, Lyra*, and *Burgensis*; from which Authorities those men borrow strength which so believe. But *Martyr* changed his opinion; and so did S. *Augustine*, who at first seemed to be indifferent: For, in his Questions upon the Old and New Testament, he accounteth it detestable to think it was *Samuel* which appeared: and these be his words elsewhere to the same effect: *In requie sunt animæ piorum à corpore separatæ, impiorum autem pœnas luunt, donec istarum ad vitam æternam, illarum verò ad æternam mortem quæ secunda dicitur, corpora reviviscant; The souls of the godly separated from their bodies, are at rest, but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies of the just rise to eternal life, and of the wicked to an eternal and second death.*

Eph 2. 2. & 6. 12.

Just. Mart. in colloq. cum Tryphone in resp. ad Ortho. quæst. 55. *Ambr. in Luc. l.* 1. *c.* 1. *Lyra in Reg.* 1. *Aug. ad Simp. l.* 2. *q.* 3. *De Civit. Dei. l.* 13. *cap.* 8.

And

And (besides S. *Augustine*) *Justin Martyr*, *Helarius*, *Tertullian*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostom*, and others, believed firmly, and taught it: that the souls of men, being once separate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all: *Credere debemus* (saith *Cyril*) *quum à corporibus sanctorum animæ abierint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris bonitati divinæ commendari*; *We must believe, when the souls of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the divine Goodness, as into the hands of a most dear Father.* If then they be in Heaven, the power of the Devil cannot stretch so high: if in Hell, *Ab inferno nulla est redemptio*; *From Hell there is no redemption.* For, there are but two habitations after death: *Unum* (saith *Augustine*) *in igne æterno*; *alterum in regno æterno*; *The one in eternal fire*; *the other in Gods eternal Kingdom.* And though it be written in *Jure Pontificio*, that many there are who believe, that the dead have again appeared to the living; yet the *Gloss* upon the same Text finds it ridiculous: *Credunt, & male, quia sunt Phantasmata* (saith the Gloss) *They believe, and they believe amiss, because they be but Phantasmes*, or *apparitions.* For, whereas any such voice hath been heard, saying, I am the Soul of such a one: *Hæc oratio à fraude atque deceptione diabolica est*; *That speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Devil*, saith *Chrysostom.* Likewise of the same, saith *Tertullian*: *Absit ut animam cujuslibet sancti, nedum Prophetæ, à dæmonio credamus extractam*; *God forbid that we should think that the Soul of any holy man, much less of a Prophet, should be drawn up again by a Devil.*

It is true, that the Scriptures call that apparition, *Samuel*; so do they the wooden Images, *Cherubims*: and false brazen gods are gods, and the like. And whereas these of the contrary opinion build upon that place of the 26. of *Ecclesiasticus* (a Book not numbred among the *Canonical* Scriptures, as S. *Augustine* himself in this Treatise, if it be his, *De cura pro mortuis agenda*, confesseth) yet *Syracides*, following the literal sence and phrase of the Scriptures, proveth nothing at all: For, though the Devil would willingly perswade, that the souls (yea, even of just men) were in his power; yet so farr is it from the promises of the Scriptures, and from Gods just and mereifull nature, and so contrary to all divine reason, as S. *Augustine* (or whosoever wrote that Book before cited) might rightly tearm it a detestable opinion so to think. For, if God had so absolutely forsaken *Saul*, that he refused to answer him, either by *Dreams*, by *Urim*, or by his *Prophets*: it were sottish to conceive, that he would permit the Devil, or a wicked Witch, to raise a Prophet from the dead in *Saul*'s respect; it being also contrary to his divine Law, to ask counsel of the dead: as in *Deut.* 18. and elsewhere. Therefore it was the Devil, and not the Soul of a dead body, that gave answer and advice.

But because *Helias* and *Helizeus* had raised some from the dead by the power of God; those Devils which Saint *Augustine* calleth *Ludificatores animantium sibi subjectorum*; *Mockers of their own vassals*, casting before their eyes a semblance of humane bodies, and framing sounds to their ears, like the voices of men, do also perswade their graceless and accursed attendants, that themselves both possess, and have power over, the souls of men. *Eludit Diabolus aciem tum spectantium, tum etiam cogitantium*, saith L. Vives; *The Devil begnileth the sense both of the beholders, and of those that so imagine.* These then are the bounds of the Devil's power, whom, if we will not fear, we must fear to sin. For, when he is not the instrument of God's vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himself his voluntary vassal: *Potest ad malum invitare, non potest trahere*, saith S. *Augustine*; *He can allure, but he cannot enforce to evil.* Such as think otherwise, may go into the number remembred by *Lucretius*:

Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atque omnia cæcis
In tenebris metuunt: sic nos in luce timemus.

We fear by light, as children in the dark.

Aug. de ver. Apost. 18. *Just. Mart. ad Orthod.* q. 75. *Hilar. Psal.* in fine. *Tertul. de anima* in fin. *Athanas.* q. 13. *Chrysost.* hom. 9. in Evang. Matth.

1615. Episcopi.

1 *King.* 17. 22. 2 *King.* 4. 34.

Nullus enim magus aut dæmon mortuum vere unquam excitavit. Wier. de fascin.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of Ninus, *and of his Wife* Semiramis, *and of other her Acts.*

§. I.

Of the magnificent building of Ninive *by* Ninus: *and of* Babylon *by* Semiramis.

BUt to come back to *Ninus*, the amplifier and finisher of *Ninive:* whether he performed it before or after the overthrow of *Zoroaster*, it is uncertain. As for the City it self, it is agreed by all profane Writers, and by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it had in compass 440. *stadia*, or furlongs; the walls whereof were an hundred foot upright, and had such a breadth, as three Chariots might pass on the Rampire in front: these walls were garnished with 1500. Towers, which gave exceeding beauty to the rest, and strength, no less admirable for the nature of those times.

Justin. l. 2. Diod. l. 2. Sabel. l. 11. c. 1.

But this City (built in the Plains of *Assyria*, and on the banks of *Tygris*, and in the region of *Eden*) was founded long before *Ninus* time; and (as antient Historians report, and more lately, *Nauclerus*) had the name of *Campsor*, at such time as *Ninus* amplified the same, and gave it a wall, and called it after his own name.

Herod. l. 1. Justin. l. 1. Diod. l. 2. and. 3.

For these works of *Babylon* and *Ninive* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldæa*, and in *Assyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. *Ninus* finished *Ninive*, *Semiramis Babylon:* wherein she sought to exceed her husband by far. Indeed, in the first Age, when Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to invade others, nor feared to be invaded: labouring to build Towns and Villages, for the use of themselves and their people, without either Walls or Towers; and how they might discharge the earth of Woods, Briars, Bushments, and Waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* living in that Age, when Ambition was strong in youth: and purposing to follow the Conquest which her husband had undertaken, gave that beauty and strength to *Babylon* which it had.

§. II.

Of the end of Ninus; *and the beginning of* Semiramis *Reign.*

THis she did after the death of her husband *Ninus*; who, after he had mastered *Bactria*, and subjected unto his Empire all those Regions between it and the *Mediterranean Sea* and *Hellespont* (*Asia* the less excepted), and finished the work of *Ninive*; he left the world in the year thereof 2019. after he had reigned 25. years. *Plutarch* reporteth, that *Semiramis* desired her husband *Ninus*, that he would grant unto her the absolute soveraign power for one day. *Diod. Siculus*, out of *Athenæus*, and others, speaks of five days. In which time (moved either with desire of Rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her husband *Menon*, who perished for her) she caused *Ninus* her husband to be slain. But this seemeth rather a scandal cast on her by the *Greeks*, than that it had any truth.

Howsoever *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* took on her, after his death, the sole Rule of the *Assyrian* Empire: of which *Ninus* was said to be the first *Monarch*, because he changed his seat from *Babylon* in *Chaldæa*, to *Ninive* in *Assyria*. *Justine* reports, that *Semiramis* (the better to invest her self, and in her beginning without murmure or offence to take on her so great a charge) presented her self to the people in person of her Son *Ninias*, or *Zameis*, who bare her external form and proportion without any sensible difference.

Ælian. lib. 7. ex Dione.

This report I take also to be feigned, for which many arguments might be made. But as she ruled long, so she performed all those memorable Acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and subscribed that Letter which she sent to the King of *India* (her last challenge and undertaken conquest) by her own name. And were it true that her Son *Ninias* had such a stature at his fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very

very personable) could be taken for him; yet it is very unlikely that she could have held the Empire from him 42. years after by any such subtilty (for so long she reigned after the death of her husband:) but it may be true, that *Ninias*, or *Zameis* (being wholly given to his pleasures, as it is written of him) was well pleased with his mothers prosperous government and undertakings.

§. III.

Of Semiramis *Parentage and Education, and Metamorphosis of her Mother.*

SOme Writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to have been of base Parentage, calling her after the name of her Country, a *Syrian*. *Berosus* calls her after the name of her City wherein she was born, *Semiramis Ascalonitis*, of *Ascalon*, the antient City and *Metropolis* of the *Philistims*. Others report her to be the Daughter of *Derceta*, a *Curtizan* of *Ascalon*, exceeding beautifull. Others say, that this *Derceta* or *Dercetis*, the mother of *Semiramis*, was sometimes a Recluse, and had profest a holy and a religious life; to whom there was a Temple dedicated, seated on the bank of a Lake adjoining to *Ascalon*; and afterward falling in love with a goodly young man, she was by him made with child, which (for fear of extreme punishment) she conveyed away, and caused the same to be hidden among the high Reeds which grew on the banks of the Lake: in which (while the child was left to the mercy of wilde Beasts) the same was fed by certain Birds, which used to feed upon, or neer those Waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the Harlot that fostered *Romulus*. For some one or other adjoining to this Lake, had the charge and fosteridge of this child, who being perchance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to cover her dishonour and breach of Vow; notwithstanding which, she was cast from the top of her Temple into the Lake adjoining, and (as the Poets have feigned) changed by *Venus* into a Fish, all but her face, which still held the same beauty and humane shape. It is thought, that from this *Derceta*, the invention of that Idol of the *Philistims* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a Mans face, and a Fishes body; into whose Temple when the *Ark* of God was brought, the Idol fell twice to the ground: and at the second fall there remained only the trunk of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For so S. *Hierom* hath converted that place. *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius*, write it by *Dagon* onely, which signifieth a Fish, and so it onely appeared: the head thereof by the second fall being sundred from the body.

For my self, I rather think, that this *Dagon* of the *Philistims*, was an Idol representing *Triton*, one of those imaginary Sea-gods under *Neptune*. For this City being maritimate (as all those of the *Philistims* were, and so were the best of *Phœnicia*) used all their devotions to *Neptune*, and the rest of the petty gods which attended him.

§. IV.

Of her Expedition into India, *and death after discomfiture: with a note of the improbability of her vices.*

BUt for her Pedigree, I leave it to *Assyrian Heralds*; and for her vicious life, I ascribe the report thereof to the envious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacy & ease do more often accompany licentiousness in men and women, than labour and hazzard do. And if the one half be true which is reported of this Lady, then there never lived any Prince or Princess more worthy of Fame than *Semiramis* was, both for the works she did at *Babylon*, and elsewhere, and for the Warrs she made with glorious success: all but her last enterprise of *India*, from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus* report, that she never returned: and that of all her most powerfull Army, there survived but onely twenty persons; the rest, being either drowned in the River of *Indus*, dead of the Famine, or slain by the Sword of *Staurobates*. But, as the multitude which went out are more than reason hath numbred; so were those that returned, less than could have escaped of such an Army, as consisted of four Millions and upwards. For these numbers, which she levied by her Lievtenant *Dercetæus* (saith *Suidas*) did consist of Foot-men three Millions; of Horse-men one Million; of Chariots, armed with hooks on each side, one hundred thousand; of those which fought upon Camels as many; of Camels for burthen, two hundred thousand; of raw Hides for all uses, three hundred thousand; of Gallies with brazen heads, three thousand, by which she might transport over *Indus* at once, three hundred thousand souldiers: which Gallies were furnished with *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. The incredible and impossible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nourish (had every Man and Beast but fed on grass) are taken from the Authe-

Suid. f. 8: 45. lit. S.

rity

rity of *Cteſias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports: ſo *Diodorus* himſelf hath nothing of certainty, but from *Xerxes* Expedition into *Greece* and afterwards; whoſe Army (though the ſame was farr inferiour to that of *Semiramis*) yet it had weight enough to over-load the belief of any reaſonable man. For all Authours conſent, that *Xerxes* tranſported into *Greece*, an army of 1700000. and gathered together (therein to paſs the *Helleſpont*) three thouſand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the ſeveral Provinces whence thoſe Gallies were taken, hath collected the number.

But of what multitude ſoever the Army of *Semiramis* conſiſted, the ſame being broken, and overthrown by *Staurobates*, upon the banks of *Indus*, *Canticum cantavit extremum*; *She ſang her laſt ſong*; and (as Antiquity hath feigned) was changed by the gods into a Dove (the Bird of *Venus*) whence it came, that the *Babylonians* gave a Dove in their Enſigns.

§. V.

Of the Temple of Belus *built by* Semiramis; *and of the* Pyramides *of* Egypt.

AMong all her other memorable and more than magnificent works (beſides the wall of the City of *Babylon*) was the Temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this City, invironed with a wall carried fourſquare of great heighth and beauty, having on each ſquare, certain brazen Gates curiouſly engraven. In the *Core* of the ſquare, ſhe raiſed a Tower of a furlong high, which is half a quarter of a mile; and upon it again (taking a *Baſis* of a leſs circuit) ſhe ſet a ſecond Tower; and ſo eight in all, one above another, upon the top whereof the *Chaldæan* Prieſts made the Obſervation of the Starrs; becauſe this Tower over-topped the ordinary clouds.

By beholding the ruines of this Tower, have many Travellers been deceived; who ſuppoſe that they have ſeen a part of *Nimrod's* Tower, when it was but the foundation of this Temple of *Bel* (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod.*) There were burnt in this Temple, one hundred thouſand talents of Frankincenſe every year (ſaith *Herodotus.*) This Temple did *Nebuchodonoſor* adorn with the ſpoils of *Hieruſalem*, and of the Temple of *Solomon:* all which veſſels and ornaments *Cyrus* re-delivered. This Temple *Xerxes* evened with the ſoil; which *Alexander* is ſaid to have repaired, by the perſwaſions of the *Chaldæans.* I deny not that it might have been in his deſire ſo to do; but he enjoyed but a few years after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not perform any ſuch work. The *Egyptians* (ſaith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and level ground, and given to the ſame ſuperſtition of the Stars that the *Chaldæans* were, erected in imitation, and for the ſame ſervice and uſe, the *Pyramides* by *Memphis*, which were *conſpicuæ undique navigantibus*, ſaith *Pliny.* Of theſe *Pyramides*, *Bellonius*, a carefull obſerver of Rarities (who being in *Egypt*, mounted by ſteps to the top of the higheſt) maketh this report: *Le meilleur archer qui ſeroit a ſa ſommite, & tirant une fleche in l' air, a peine pouroit l' envoyer hors de ſa baſe q' elle ne ſe tombaſt ſur les degrez; The beſt Archer ſtanding on the top of one of theſe Pyramides, and ſhooting an arrow from thence into the air, as farr as he can, with great difficulty ſhall be able ſo to force the ſame, but that it will fall upon ſome of the degrees or ſteps.*

Procl. in Timæo lib. 1.

Bellon. l. 2.

Finis Libri primi.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

Intreating of the TIMES, from the Birth of *Abraham*, to the Destruction of *Solomon's* Temple.

THE SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Time of the Birth of Abraham: *and the use of this Question, for the ordering of the Story of the* Assyrian *Empire.*

§. I.

Of some of the Successours of Semiramis: *with a brief transition to the Question, about the time of the Birth of* Abraham.

AFter the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias*, or *Zameis*, succeeded her in the Empire, on whom *Berosus Annianus* bestows the conquest of *Bactria*, and the overthrow of *Zoroaster*; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Justine*, *Orosius*, and all other approved Writers. For *Ninias* being esteemed no man of Warr at all, but altogether feminine, and subjected to ease and delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now, because there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other than that out of jealousie he every year changed his Provincial Governours, and built Colleges for the *Chaldæan* Priests, his Astronomers: nor by *Arius* his successour, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thuras*; but that he reduced again the *Bactrians* and *Caspians*, revolted (as it seemeth) in *Ninias* his time: nor of *Aralius*, the successour of *Arius*; but that he added sumptuosity, invented Jewels of Gold and Stone, and some Engines for the Warr: I will, for this present, pass them over, and a while follow *Abraham*, whose ways are warrantable (till we meet these *Assyrians* again in this Story) by whom, and by whose issues, we shall best give date to the Kings of *Babylon*: *Abraham* living at once with *Ninus*, *Ninias*, *Semiramis*, *Arius*, *Aralius*, and *Xerxes*, or *Balanius*. For, otherwise, if we seek to prove things certain by the uncertain, and judge of those times, which the Scriptures set us down without errour, by the reigns of the *Assyrian* Princes; we shall but patch up the Story at adventure, and leave it in the same confusion, in which, to this day, it hath remained. For, where the Scriptures do not help us, *Mirum non est in rebus antiquis, Historiam non constare*; *No marvel if then in things very antient, History want assurance.* Plutarch. in Thes.

The better therefore to find out, in what Age of the World, and how long, these *Assyrian* Kings reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of *Abraham's*

braham's Birth, and in what year the ſame happened after the Floud. Now, ſince all agree that the three and fourtieth year of *Ninus*, was the birth-year of *Abraham*; by proving directly out of the Scriptures, in what year after the Floud, the birth of *Abraham* happened, we ſhall thereby ſet all the reſt in ſquare and order. But of this time there is much jangling between thoſe *Chronologers*, which follow the *Hebrew* account, and others: the moſt part making 292. or 293. years; others 352. years between *Abraham*'s Birth and the Floud: a matter often diſputed, but never concluded.

Archilothus de temporibus (as we find him in *Annius*) makes but 250. years from the Floud to *Ninus*: then ſeeing that *Abraham* was born in the three and fourtieth year of *Ninus*, according to *Euſebius* and Saint *Auguſtine*, it followeth, by the addition of thoſe two numbers, that the year of *Abraham*'s Birth, was in the year after the Floud 293. or, as the moſt part of all *Chronologers* gather, the year 292.

Now, ſince I do here enter into that never reſolved Queſtion, and Labyrinth of times, it behoveth me to give Reaſon for my own Opinion: and with ſo much the greater care and circumſpection, becauſe I walk aſide, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather chooſe to endure the wounds of thoſe darts, which Envie caſteth at Novelty, than to go on ſafely and ſleepily in the eaſie ways of ancient miſtakings: ſeeing to [illegible] learned in many errours, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diverſity.

§. II.

A Propoſal of Reaſons or Arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham *was born in the year* 292. *after the Floud, and not in year* 352.

THoſe who ſeek to prove this account of 292. years, between the general Floud and *Abraham*'s Birth, ground themſelves; firſt, on theſe words of the Scripture: *So* Terah *lived* 70. *years, and begat* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: Secondly, upon the Opinion of *Joſephus*, Saint *Auguſtine*, *Beda*, *Iſidore*, and many of the ancient *Hebrews* before them: Authorities (while they are ſlightly looked over) ſeeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture laſt remembred, the later *Chronologers* gather theſe arguments. Firſt, out of the words as they lie; That *Terah, at* 70. *years begot* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: and that *Abraham* being the firſt named, *Abraham* being the worthieſt, *Abraham* being the Son of the Promiſe, ought in this reſpect to be counted the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, and ſo neceſſarily born in the ſeventieth year of his life. Secondly, it was of *Abraham* that *Moſes* had reſpect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heir of the Bleſſing; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran:* for the ſcope of this Chapter, was to ſet down the Genealogie of *Chriſt*, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor* and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldeſt Son, then there can be no certainty of his age, and ſo are all future times made doubtfull. For it cannot then be proved, that *Abraham* was born more aſſuredly in the 130. year of *Terah* his age, than in the 131, 132, &c. *Moſes* having no where ſet down preciſely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very year, in which his father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. years: ſeeing *Abraham* himſelf thought it a wonder to be made a father at 100. years.

§. III.

The Anſwer to the Objections propoſed, ſhewing that Abraham *made but one journey out of* Meſopotamia *into* Canaan; *and it, after his fathers death.*

TO anſwer all which Objections, it is very eaſie, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned Divines long ſince, and to which I will adde ſomewhat of mine own, according to the ſmall talent which God hath given me. Now, for as much as the ſtate of the Queſtion cannot well be ſcanned, unleſs the time of *Abraham*'s journy into *Canaan* be firſt conſidered of; before I deſcend unto the particular examination of theſe Arguments, I will make bold with order and method ſo far, as to ſearch into a ſtrange tradition concerning his travels, that ſerveth as a ground for this Opinion, and a bulwark againſt all that can be ſaid to the contrary.

But it is conceived, that *Abraham* made two journeys into *Canaan*: the later after his fathers death, the former preſently upon his calling; which he performed without delay, not ſtaying for his fathers death at *Haran*: a conjecture drawn from a place in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, where it is written,

Heb. 11. 8. *By faith Abraham (when he was called) obeyed God, to go out into a place which he should afterward receive for inheritance: and he went out, not knowing whither he went.* This Supposition (if it be granted) serves very well to uphold the opinion that can ill stand without it. Let us therefore see whether we may give credit to the Supposition it self.

Surely, that *Abraham* first departed *Charran*, or *Haran*, after the death of *Terah* his Father, the same is proved, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of Saint Acts 7. 4. *Stephen: And after his father was dead, God brought him into this land, where ye now dwell*, that was, out of *Haran* into *Canaan*. Against which place, so direct and plain, what force hath any mans fancy or supposition, perswading, that *Abraham* made two journeys into *Canaan*; one before *Terahs* death, and another after: no such thing being found in Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability or reason to induce it? For, if any man out of this place before alleged can pick any argument, proving, or affording any strong presumption, that *Abraham* past into *Canaan*, and Heb. 11. 8. then returned unto *Haran*, from whence he departed a second time: then I think it reason, that he be believed in the rest. But, that he performed the Commandment of God after his Fathers death, leaving *Ur* & *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themselves are true. *For after his Father was dead* (saith Martyr *Stephen*) *God brought him into this Land.* And as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double journey into *Canaan*, then must it be inferred, that *Moses* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembred the other: and whence had *Stephen*, saith *Beza*, the knowledge of *Abrahams* coming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moses*? For, if *Stephen* had spoken any thing of those times, differing from *Moses*, he had offered the *Jews*, his adversaries, too great an occasion both of scandalizing himself, and the Gospel of *Christ*. Indeed, we shall find small reason to make us think, that *Abraham* passed and re-passed those ways, more often than he was enforced so to do, if we consider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisom journey, than the strength of his faith in Gods promises: In which, if any thing would have brought him to despair, he had more cause than ever man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of strong and stubborn Nations: a Nation of valiant and resolved Idolaters. He was besieged with famine at his first arrival, and driven to flie into *Egypt* for relief. His wife was old, and he had no Son to inherit the Promise, And when God had given him *Isaac*, he commanded him to offer him up to himself for sacrifice; all which discomforts he patiently and constantly underwent.

Secondly, let us consider the ways themselves, which *Abraham* had to pass over; the length whereof was 300. *English* miles; and through Countreys of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himself over the great River of *Euphrates*, to travel through the dangerous & barren Desarts of *Palmyrena*, and to climb over the great and high mountains of *Libanus*, *Hermon*, or *Gilead*: and whether these were easie walks for *Abraham* to march twice over, containing, as aforesaid, 300. miles in length, let every reasonable man judge. For, if he travelled it twice; then was his journey in all, 1800. miles from *Ur* to *Haran*; and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to disprove this fancy; the manner of *Abrahams* departing from *Haran* hath more proof (that he had not *animum revertendi*, *not any thought of looking backward*) than any mans bare conjecture, be he of what antiquity or authority soever. For thus it is written of him, *Then* Abraham *took* Gen. 12. 7. Sara *his wife, and* Lot *his brothers Son, and all their substance that they possest, and the souls that they had gotten in* Haran: *and they departed to go to the land of* Canaan, *and to the land of* Canaan *they came*. Now, if *Abraham* brought all with him that was dear unto him; his wife and kinsmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walk it back again for his pleasure, in so warm, dangerous, and barren a Countrey as that was: or, if he could have been thereto moved, it is more like that he would have then returned, when he was yet unsettled, and prest with extreme famine at his first arrival. For had his father been then alive, he might have hoped from him to receive more assured comfort and relief, than among the *Egyptians*, to whom he was a meer stranger, both in Religion and Nation.

What the cause might be of *Abraham's* return to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures have sent him back thither, about the time of his fathers death: so they, perhaps, if they were urged, could say little else, than that without such a second voyage, their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plain, if it be not over-troublesome. They say, that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his father's death, or some time after, being then, by their account, 135. years old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite undone the business, which, as we read, was within four

four or five years after that time, his greateſt,
Gen. 24. or (as may ſeem) his onely care? Did not he bind with a very ſolemn oath, his principal ſervant, in whom he repoſed moſt confidence, to travel into thoſe parts, and ſeek out a Wife for *Iſaac* his Son? and doth it not appear by all circumſtances, that neither he nor his ſervant were ſo well acquainted in *Meſopotamia*, that they could particularly deſign any one woman, as a fit match for *Iſaac*? Surely, if *Abraham* had been there in perſon ſo lately, as within four or five years before, he would not have forgotten a matter of ſuch importance; but would have truſted his own judgment, in chooſing a woman, fit for her piety, virtue, and other deſirable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his onely Son, who was then five and thirty years old; before which age, moſt of the Patriarchs after the Floud had begotten children; rather than have left all at random to the conſideration of a ſervant, that neither knew any, nor was known of any, in that Countrey. But, let it be ſuppoſed (if it may be believed) that either *Abraham* forgot his buſineſs when he was there, or that ſomewhat happened, which no man can deviſe;
Gen. 24. 35, 36, &c What might be the reaſon, that *Abraham's* man, in doing his Maſters errand, was fain to lay open the whole Story of his Maſters proſperity, telling it as news, that *Sarah* had born to him a Son in her old age? If *Abraham* himſelf, a more certain Author, had ſo lately been among them, would not all this have been an idle tale? It were needleſs to ſtand long upon a thing ſo evident. Whether it were lawfull for *Abraham* to have returned back to *Haran*, would, perhaps, be a queſtion hardly anſwerable; conſidering how averſe he was from permitting his ſon to be carried thither, even though a Wife of his own kinred could
Gen. 24. 6. & 8. not have been obtained without his perſonal preſence. *Jacob* indeed was ſent thither by
Gen. 28. his Parents, to take a Wife of his own linage; not without Gods eſpecial approbation, by whoſe bleſſing he proſpered in that journey; yet he lived there as a ſervant; ſuffered many injuries; and finally, was driven to convey himſelf from thence by flight. For although it be not a ſentence written, yet out of all written Examples it may be obſerved, that God alloweth not in his ſervants any deſire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken, and tranſplanted them. That brief ſaying, *Remember* Lot's *Wife*, contains much matter. Let us conſider *Meſopotamia*, from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Egypt*, out of which the whole Nation of the *Iſraelites* were delivered: we ſhall find, that no bleſſing iſſued from either of them, to the Poſterity of the *Hebrews*. When *Hezechias* was viſited with an honourable Embaſſie from *Babel*, it ſeems 2 *King.* 20. that he conceived great pleaſure in his mind, and thought it a piece of his proſperity; but the Prophecy which thereupon he heard by *Eſay*, made him to know, that the counſel of God was not agreeable to ſuch thoughts; which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the Waters of *Babylon* *Pſal.* 137. they ſat down and wept. Concerning *Egypt* 1 *King.* 14. 25. *and* we read, that *Seſac* and *Neco*, Kings of *Egypt*, 2 *King.* 23. brought calamity upon *Iſrael*: alſo that their *v.* 29. confidence in the *Egyptian* ſuccours, was the cauſe of their deſtruction. Where they were forbidden to return into *Egypt*, I do not remember, nor can readily find; but it is found *Deut.* 17. in *Deuteronomy*, that God had ſaid, *They* *v.* 16. *ſhould no more return that way*; which is given, as the reaſon, why their King might not cauſe the people to return to *Egypt*, for the multiplying of his Horſes. Whether the Lord had laid any ſuch injunction upon *Abraham* of not returning to *Meſopotamia*, I cannot ſay; many things do argue it probably: That he never returned, all circumſtances do (to my underſtanding) both ſtrongly and neceſſarily conclude.

But, becauſe this double paſſage of *Abraham* is but an imagination; and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perſwade thoſe of judgment or underſtanding: I take it ſufficient, that S. *Stephen* hath directly taught us, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his father being dead. And for the reſt, when they ſhew any one Scripture to prove it, I will believe as they do. For all the travels of *Abraham* are preciſely ſet down in the Scriptures: as firſt from *Ur*, or *Camerina* in *Chaldæa* to *Haran*, or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his fathers death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* he removed to a mountain between *Bethel* and *Haie*: thence into *Egypt*; from *Egypt* he returned thither again, where *Lot* and he parted, becauſe their flocks and heards of Cattel were more then could be fed in that part: from thence the ſecond time he removed to *Mamre*, neer *Hebron*: and thence, having purſued *Amraphel*, and reſcued *Lot*, he after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumæa* under *Abimelec*: and after, neer unto it at *Berſabe*, at which time he was ready to offer up his Son *Iſaac* on the mountain *Moriah*. But this fiction of his retreat to *Haran*, or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one Story, either divine or humane. Now, if it may be ſuppoſed, that *Abraham* had made any former journey into *Canaan*, as *Levita* his *Cabala* hath feined, it ſhould in reaſon be therewithall be believed, that he would in thoſe his

firſt

first travels have provided himself of some certain seat, or place of abiding: and not have come a second time with his Wife, kinsmen, family, goods, and Cattel, not knowing whereon to rest himself. But *Abraham*, when he came from *Charran*, passed through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, Gen. 12. 6. and the plain of *Moriah*; where, finding no place to inhabit, he departed thence to *Bethel*, and *Haie*: and so from Nation to Nation, to discover and find out some fit habitation: from whence again, as it is written in *Genesis* the eleventh, *He went forth, going and journeying towards the South*: and always unsettled. By reason of which wandering to and fro, some say, the *Egyptians* gave him and his the name of *Hebræi*.

Mont. in Cald. Further, to prove that he had not formerly beeen in the Countrey, we may note, that ere he came into *Bethel* and *Haie*, and at his first entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared unto him, saying, *Unto thy seed will I give this Land*, shewing it him, as unto a stranger therein, and as a Land to him unknown. For, *Abraham*, without any other provident care for himself, believed in the Word of the living God: neither sending before, nor comming first to discover it; but being arrived, he received a second Promise from God, that he would give those Countreys unto him and his seed to inhabite and inherite.

Lastly, what should move any man to think, that *Moses* would have omitted any such double journey of *Abraham*'s, seeing he setteth down all his passages elsewhere, long and short? as when he moved from *Sichem*, and seated between *Haie* and *Bethel*, the distance being but 20. miles: and when he moved thence to the Valley of *Mamre*, being but 24. miles; and when he left *Mamre*, and sat down at *Gerar*, being less than six miles; No, *Moses* past over all the times of the first Age with the greater brevity, to hasten him to the Story of *Abraham*: shutting up all between the Creation and the Floud in six Chapters; which Age lasted 1656. years: but he bestoweth on the Story of *Abraham*, fourteen Chapters, beginning with his Birth in the eleventh, and ending with his Death in the five & twentieth; and this time endured but 175. years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moses* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abraham*'s travels, or other actions: or that he would set down those small removes of five miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a journey in going and coming would have ministred some variety of matter, or accident, worthy the inserting and adding to *Abraham*'s Story.

§. IV.

The Answer to another of the Objections proposed, shewing, that it was not unlikely that Terah *should beget* Abraham *in his hundred and thirtieth year.*

NOw, touching the Objection, where it is said, that it was very unlikey that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his hundred and thirtieth year, seeing *Abraham* himself thought it a wonder to have a Son at an hundred; this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed mis-cast, and mistaken: *Abraham* having respect onely to *Sarah* his Wife, when he spake of their many years. For, when the Angel said unto *Abraham* in his Tent door at *Mamre*; *Loe*, Sarah *thy Wife shall have a Son*, it followeth in the next Verse, *Now*, Abraham *and* Sarah *were old, and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with* Sarah *after the manner of women: therefore* Sarah *laughed*, &c.

So then, in that it is said *it ceased to be with* Sarah *after the manner of women*, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his second wife *Keturah*, had many Sons after *Sarahs* death, as *Zimron*, *Jockshan*, *Medan*, *Ishbak*, and *Shuah*: and the eldest of these was born 37. years after *Isaac*; and the youngest 40. years after. What strangeness then, that *Terah*, being 130. years old, should beget *Abraham*, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed despair of *Abraham* at 100. years? For *Sarah* died in the year of the world 2145. and *Isaac* was born in the year 2109. and *Abraham* did not marry *Keturah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145. there remaineth 36. And therefore if *Abraham* begat 5. sons 36. years after this supposed wonder, and when *Abraham* was 137. years old; it is not strange, that his father *Terah* should beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Booz*, *Obed*, and *Jesse*, who lived so many years and Ages after *Abraham*, begat Sons at 100. years, or neer it, it cannot be marvelled at, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. and *Abraham* others at the same age, and seven years after.

Origen. hom. 11. in Gen. Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 16. c. 34. Cajet. & Perer. in Gen.

§. V.

The Answer to two more of the Objections: shewing that we may have certainty of Abrahams *age from the Scripture, though we make not* Abraham *the eldest Son; and that there was great cause, why in the Story of* Abraham *his two brethren should be respected.*

IT follows now, to speak something to the Objection, which brings *Abrahams* age altogether

together in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, and born when *Terah* was 70. years old. For *Abraham*'s age being made uncertain, all ſucceding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this Propoſition, That we cannot be certain of *Abraham* his age, unleſs we make him the eldeſt Son, is falſe. For it is plain in the Scriptures, that when *Terah* was 205. which was the year of his death; then was *Abraham* 75. And if you aſk, how I can judge of times, either preceding or ſucceeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I anſwer, That S. *Stephen* hath told us, that *Abraham*'s departure followed the death of his father *Terah*; and *Terah* died at 205. ſo as the 75. year of *Abraham* was the 205. year of *Terah*; which known, there can be no errour in the account of times ſucceeding. Now, to come to the Objection, where it is ſaid, That *Moſes* had no reſpect unto *Nahor* and *Haran*, becauſe they were out of the Church, but to *Abraham* onely, with whom God eſtabliſhed the Covenant, and of whom *Chriſt* deſcended according to the fleſh, *&c.* I anſwer, that *Moſes*, for many great and neceſſary cauſes had reſpect of *Nahor* and *Haran*. For the ſucceſſion of Gods Church is not witneſſed by *Abraham* alone, but by the iſſues of *Nahor* and *Haran*, were they Idolaters, or otherwiſe. For *Nahor* was the father of *Bethuel*, and *Bethuel* of *Rebecca*, the mother of *Iſrael*; and *Haran* was the Parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*; and *Sarah* was mother to *Iſaac*, and Grandmother to *Jacob*: *Milcah* alſo, the wife of *Nahor*, and mother of *Bethuel*, was *Jacobs* great Grandmother; and the age of *Sarah*, the Daughter of *Haran*, is eſpecially noted, in that it pleaſed God to give her a Son at 90. years, and when by nature ſhe could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themſelves, yet, becauſe both *Nahor* and *Abraham* married the Daughters of their brother *Haran*; and becauſe *Iſaac* married *Rebecca* the grand-child of *Nahor*; and *Jacob*, *Lea*, and *Rachel*, the Daughters of *Laban*, the grand-child alſo of *Nahor*; is was not ſuperfluous in *Moſes* to give light of thoſe mens times and ages. And though ſometime they worſhipped ſtrange gods, as it is, *Joſ.* 24. 2. yet I ſee no cauſe to think, that they ſtill continued Idolaters. For they believed and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leaving their natural Countrey and City of *Ur* in *Chaldæa*, as *Abraham* did, and removed thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldæa*; but *Lot*, his Son, followed *Abraham* into *Canaan*; and *Sarah*, the ſiſter of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nahor* alſo, who remained at *Charran*, gave his Sons daughters to *Iſaac*, & *Jacob*, his own kinſmen: he himſelf having alſo married in his own Family; not thinking it pleaſing unto God, to mix themſelves with ſtrangers and Idolaters. And that theſe men at length believed in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For, when *Laban* had ſeen the ſervant of *Abraham* ſtanding at the Well beſide *Charran*, he invited him to his Fathers houſe in this maner, *Come in, thou bleſſed of* Jehovah, *&c.* And when this ſervant of *Abraham*'s demanded an anſwer as touching *Rebecca*, then anſwered *Laban* and *Bethuel*, and ſaid, *This thing is proceeded of* Jehovah: meaning, that it was the will of the true God it ſhould be ſo; wherein he acknowledged Gods providence. Likewiſe in the following verſe, it is written; *Take, go, that ſhe may be thy Maſters Sons wife, even as* Jehovah *hath ſaid.* This their often uſing of the name of *Jehovah*, which is the proper name of the true God, is a ſign that they had the knowledge of him. *Gen.* 24. 31. *Gen.* 24. 50.

Now, although it be the opinion of *Chryſoſtom*, and ſome late Writers, as *Cajetan*, *Oleaſter*, *Muſculus*, *Calvin*, *Mercer*, and others, that *Laban* was an Idolater, becauſe he retained certain Idols, or houſhold-gods, which *Rachel* ſtole from him; yet, that he believed in the true God, it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of *Abraham* and of *Nahor*, and he called *Abrahams* ſervant, bleſſed of *Jehovah*, as aforeſaid. So as, for my ſelf, I dare not avow, that theſe men were out of the Church, who, ſure I am, were not out of the Faith.

§. VI.

That the naming of Abraham *firſt of the three brethren,* Gen. 11. *v.* 26. *doth not prove that he was the eldeſt; together with divers reaſons, proving that* Abraham *was not the eldeſt Son of* Terah.

TO the main Objection; which I anſwer laſt, becauſe it ſeemeth of moſt ſtrength, by which, thoſe that ſtrive to ſhorten the times, endeavour to prove that *Abraham* was the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, and born in the 70. year of *Terah*'s life; grounding themſelves firſt and chiefly on this place of the Scripture; *And* Terah *lived ſeventy years, and begat* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: To this I ſay, that although *Abraham* in this verſe be firſt named, yet the ſame is no proof at all that he was the eldeſt and firſt-born Son of *Terah*. For it is no neceſſary conſequent, that the firſt named in Scriptures was therefore *Gen.* 11. 26

eldeſt

eldest in bloud and birth; neither doth it appear, that it pleased God to make especial choice of the first Sons in nature and time: for *Seth* was not the first-born of *Adam*; nor *Isaac* of *Abraham*; nor *Jacob* of *Isaac*; nor *Juda* and *Joseph* of *Jacob*; nor *David* the eldest of *Jesse*; nor *Solomon* of *David*; as is formerly remembred.

But it is written of *Noah: Noah* was 500. *years old, and* Noah *begat* Shem, Ham, *and Japhet:* shewing, that at the 500. year of his age, he began to beget the first of those three Sons. For, according to S. *Augustine*, speaking generally, *Nec attendendus est in his ordo nativitatis, sed significatio futuræ dignitatis: in qua excelluit* Abraham: *The order of nativity is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignity; in which* Abraham *was preferred.* And therefore, as in the order of the Sons of *Noah*, so is it here; where it is said, *That* Terah *lived* 70. *years, and begat* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: For it was late ere *Terah* began to beget Sons, himself being begotten by his father *Nahor*, at 29. as other his Ancestors were at 30. The like also hapned to *Noah*; for whereas *Adam* begat *Seth* at 133. *Enosh Kenan* at 90. *Kenan Mahalaleel* at 70. *Mahalaleel Jared* at 60. *Noah* was yet 500. years old when he began to beget the first of his three Sons, as aforesaid. And Saint *Augustine*, in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the Opinion, that *Abraham* was the youngest of *Terah*'s Sons, than otherwise: though for his excellency he was worthily named first. His own words are these: *Fieri enim ut potuit posterior sit generatus* Abraham: *sed merito excellentiæ, qua in Scripturis valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus. It might be,* saith he, *that* Abraham *was begotten later; but was first named, in regard of his excellency, for which in Scripture he is much commended.* So as the naming first or last, proveth nothing who was first or last born; either in those issues of *Noah*, or in these of *Terah:* Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touching his election or spiritual blessing; for *Moses* nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest and first in Gods favour. *Pietas ergo, vel ipsa potius electio divina, quæ comitem secum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorẽ, primas partes dat* Semo *in liberis* Noa, & Abrahamo *in liberis* Thare: *Piety,* saith he, *or rather divine election, which doth evermore draw with it, or after it, Piety, and the fear of God, gave place and precedency to* Sem *among the children of* Noah, *and to* Abraham *among those of* Thare.

Aug quæst. super Gen. 25.

For the rest, it is manifest, that *Abraham* entred *Canaan* in the 75. year of his age. And it was in *Canaan* that *Hagar* bare him *Ishmael*, when *Abraham* had lived 86. years. It was at *Gerar* (the south border of *Canaan*) that *Sarah* bare *Isaac*, when *Abraham* had consumed 100 years. It was from the valley of *Mamre* in *Canaan* that *Abraham* rose out, when he rescued *Lot*, & overthrew *Amraphel*; and he had then but the age of 83. years: and it is as manifest, that he parted from *Haran* after his father *Terah* was dead. But, if *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 70. years old, then must *Abraham* have been 135. years when he first set his foot in *Canaan*, seeing *Terah* must be dead ere he parted, and so 70. added to 135. make 205. the true age of *Terah*; which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembred. For he entred at 75. he rescued *Lot* at 83. he had *Ismael* at 86. he had *Isaac* at 100. proved by the former places.

Gen. 12. 4.

Gen. 16. 16

Acts 7. 4.

Gen. 14.

Moreover, if *Abraham* were the eldest Son of *Terah*, and born in the 70. year of his age: then had *Terah* lived till *Isaac* had been 35. years old, and *Ishmael* 49. both which must then have been born in *Mesopotamia*, and therein fostered to that age: unless we should either deny credit to S. *Stephen*, who saith, that *Abraham* departed from *Mesopotamia* after his fathers death: or else believe the interpretation of *Daniel Angelocrator*, who in his *Cronologia antoptica*, saith it was about his fathers death; because the *Greek* word μετὰ may be translated by the *Latine sub*, as well as by *post:* which, though elswhere it may be, yet cannot be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say, that those things were done about *Terah*'s death, which were 60. years before. Wherefore, supposing *Abraham* to have been born in the 70. year of *Terah*; we must give those times and places of birth to *Abraham*'s children, which no Authority will warrant; For *Abraham* had no children in *Ur* of *Chaldæa*, nor in *Haran*, nor in ten years after his arrival into *Canaan*. For the year of *Terah*'s death, in which *Abraham* left *Haran*, was the year of the World, 2083. and the year of *Ishmael*'s birth was the Worlds year, 2094. which maketh ten years difference. And that *Isaac* was born in *Canaan*, and was to be offered upon the mountain *Moriah* therein, 39. miles from *Bersabe*, where *Abraham* then inhabited: and that three *Angels* first of all appear'd to *Abraham* in the vally of *Mamre*, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be, that any of *Abrahams* Sons were born in *Mesopotamia*; nor while *Terah* lived; nor in less than ten years after *Terah*'s death; and then consequently was not *Abraham* the eldest Son of *Terah*, nor born in the 70. year of *Terah*'s age.

Thirdly, whereas *Abraham* came into *Canaan* at 75. if *Terah* had begotten him at 70. then

Gen. 12.

then had *Terah* lived but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which muſt alſo have been the full age of *Terah*; but *Terah* lived 205. years, and therefore was not *Abraham* born in the 70. year of *Terah*.

Fourthly, the ages of *Lot* and *Sarah* make it manifeſt, that *Haran* was the elder, if not the eldeſt brother of *Abraham*; for *Sarah*, or *Iſcah*, wanted but ten years of *Abraham*'s age: *Iſaac* being born when *Abraham* was 100. and *Sarah* 90. years old.

It followeth then, that if *Abraham* had been the elder brother of *Haran*, *Haran muſt* have begotten *Sarah* at nine years old: for granting that *Haran* was born but one year after *Abraham*, and *Sarah* within ten years as old as *Abraham*, then of neceſſity muſt *Haran* beget her, when he had lived but nine years; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And, that *Iſcah* was *Sarah*, *Rab. Solomon* affirmeth; both names, ſaith he, bearing the ſame ſignification; and names of principality. Again, to what end was the word *Iſcah* of *Jiſhcah* inſerted in this place, if *Sarah* were not meant thereby? For, to ſpeak of any thing ſuperfluous, it is not uſed in Gods Book: and if *Iſcah* had not belonged to the Story, it had been but an idle name, to no purpoſe remembred.

Now, if it had been true (as thoſe of the contrary opinion affirm) that *Moſes* had no reſpect of *Nahor* and *Haran*, who were notwithſtanding the Parents of *Bethuel* and *Rebecca*, the mother of *Iſrael*, and of *Chriſt*: what regard then had *Moſes* of *Iſcah* in this place, were ſhe not *Sarah*, but otherwiſe an idle name, of whom there is nothing elſe firſt or laſt?

The age alſo of *Lot* diſproveth the elderſhip of *Abraham*; for *Lot* was called an old man, when *Abraham* was but 83. years old: And if *Lot* were of a greater age than *Abraham*, and *Haran* were father to *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*; *Abraham* marrying one of *Haran*'s Daughters, and *Nahor* the other, *Sarah* alſo being within ten years as old as *Abraham*; it may appear to every reaſonable man (not obſtinate and prejudicate) that *Haran* was the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*; who alſo died firſt, and before his father left *Ur* in *Chaldæa*. Alſo *Lyra* reaſoneth againſt this opinion of *Abraham*'s elderſhip, upon the ſame place of *Geneſis*; drawing arguments from the age of *Sarah*, who was but ten years younger than *Abraham* himſelf. *Lyra* his words are theſe: *Si igitur* Haran *fuit junior ipſa* Abraham, *ſequitur quòd non habebat decem annos quando genuit* Saram: *imò nec octo*, &c. and afterward, *& ideò melius videtur dicendum, quod* Abraham *fuit ultimò natus de tribus filiis* Thare, *tamen nominatur primò, propter ejus dignitatem: & ponendus erat caput ſtirpis & generationis ſequentis: & quia primò facta eſt ei repromiſſio expreſſa de* Chriſto, *ſicut ſupra dictum eſt de* Sem, &c. *If therefore* (ſaith Lyra) Haran *was younger than* Abraham *himſelf, it followeth, that he was not ten years old when he begat* Sarah: *And therefore it ſeemeth better to be ſaid, that* Abraham *was the laſt born of the three Sons of* Thare, *nevertheleſs, he is named firſt for his dignity, both becauſe he was to be ordained head of the ſtock and generation following, and becauſe the Promiſe of* Chriſt *was firſt made unto him, as before it is ſaid of* Sem.

§. VII.

A Concluſion of this Diſpute, noting the Authours on both ſides; with an Admonition, that they which ſhorten the times, make all antient Stories the more unprobable.

IT therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reaſon, that *Haran* was the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: and that *Abraham* was born in the 130. year of *Terah*'s life, and not in the 70. year. For *Abraham* departing *Charran* after *Terah* died, according to S. *Stephen*, and that journey by *Abraham* performed, when he was 75. years old; theſe two numbers added, make 205. years, the full age of *Terah*: ſeeing that when *Terah* died, then *Abraham* entred *Canaan*. For my ſelf, I have no other end herein, than to manifeſt the Worlds ſtory. I reverence the judgments of the Fathers: but I know they were miſtaken in particulars. Saint *Auguſtine* was doubtfull, and coud not determine this controverſie. For, whatſoever is borrowed out of his ſixteenth Book *de Civitate Dei*, cap. 15. the ſame may be anſwered out of himſelf in his five and twentieth Queſtion upon *Geneſis*. But S. *Auguſtine* herein followed *Joſephus* and *Iſidor*; and *Beda* followed S. *Auguſtine*. And it was out of a fooliſh pride and vanity, that the *Hebrews* and *Joſephus* ſought to make *Abraham* the firſt born: as if God had had reſpect to the eldeſt in nature. So did *Joſephus*, together with *Nicholas Damaſcenus* (thinking thereby to glorifie the *Jewiſh Nation*) make *Abraham* a King, entitling *Sarah* by the name of *Queen Sarah*; and ſaid, that *Abraham* was followed with 318. Captains, of which every one had an infinite multitude under him; *trecentos & octodecim præfectos habuit, quorum ſingulis infinita multitudo parebat.* And that *Pharaoh* invading him with a great Army, took from him his Wife *Sarah*: Such Fables argue

Act. 7. 4.

Gen. 12. 4.

that *Josephus* is not to be believed, but with discreet reservations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292. years from the Floud to *Abraham*, is upheld by many of the *Hebrews*. But how should we value the opinion of such *Chronologers*, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod*? Surely, if their judgment in such matters were worthy to be regarded, it would have apeared in setting down the succession of the *Persian* Kings under whom they lived, whose History was not so far remote in time, as these Antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good Writers. Yet grosly have they erred therein, and so familiar are their mistakings in all things of like nature, that we seldom find their opinion rehearsed without the confutation treading on the heels of it. They of the *Roman* Religion, are also generally on the same side; it being a thing usual among them, to maintain whatsoever they have been formerly known to hold and believe. Contrariwise, of the more antient, *Theodoret*, and some following him; of later times, *Beroaldus*, *Peucer*, *Calvin*, *Junius*, *Beza*, *Broughton*, Doct. *Gibbons*, and *Moore*, with divers of the *Protestants*, hold *Abraham* to have been born in the 130. year of his father *Terah*. From these (as in a case not concerning any point in Religion) divers of the same Religion, and those, nevertheless, good Authours, as *Bucholcerus*, *Chitræus*, *Functius* and others, are very averse herein, especially *Josephus Scaliger* with his *Sethus Calvisius*, proclaiming *Beroaldus* an arch-heretick in *Chronology*, and condemning this opinion of his as poisonous. Contrariwise, *Augustinus Torniellus*, a Priest of the Congregation of S. *Paul*, a judicious, diligent, and free Writer, whose *Annals* are newly set forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I have already delivered; not alleging *Beroaldus*, nor any *Protestant* Writer, as being, perhaps, unwilling to owe thanks to Hereticks. For my self, I do neither mislike the contrary opinion, because commonly those of the *Romish* Religion labour to uphold it; nor favour this later account of times, because many notable men of the *Protestant* Writers have approved it; but for the truth it self. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons, and testimonies of Scripture, I will add thus much more to the rest. First, it is apparent to all men of judgment, that the best approved Historians, divine, and prophane, labour to investigate the truth of times, thereby to approve the Stories, and fore-past actions of the World; and not the truth of Histories to approve the times by. Let us then make judgment to our selves, which of those two accounts give the best reputation to the Story of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds new plantation, and the continuance of Gods Church: either that of *Josephus*, and those which follow him; who makes but 292. years, or thereabouts, between the Floud and Birth of *Abraham*: or this other account, which make 352. years between the one and the other: the one making *Abraham* to be the first-born of *Thare*, in the 70. year of his life; the other a younger Son of *Thare*, and born when he had lived 130. years. And, if we look over all, and do not hastily satisfie our understanding with the first things offered, and thereby being satiated do slothfully and drowsily sit down; we shall find it more agreeable, rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to some Editions, make it above 1072. years between the Floud and *Abraham*'s Birth; than to take away any part of those 352. years given. For, if we advisedly consider the state and continuance of the World, such as it was in *Abraham*'s time, yea, before *Abraham* was born, we shall find, that it were very ill done of us, by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times overdeeply between *Abraham* and the Floud: because in cutting them too neer the quick, the reputation of the whole Story might, perchance, bleed thereby, were not the testimony of the Scriptures supreme, so as no objection can approach it: and that we did not follow withall this Precept of S. *Augustine*, That whersoever any one place in the Scriptures may be conceived disagreeing to the whole, the same is, by ignorance of interpretation, mis-understood. For, in *Abraham*'s time, all the then known parts of the World were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their Kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent Cities; and so had *Palæstina*, and all the bordering Countries, yea, all that part of the World besides, as far as *India*; and those not built with sticks, but of hewn stone, and defended with walls and rampires; which magnificence needed a Parent of more antiquity, than those other men have supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plainest, and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvels? giving also strength thereby to common cavillers, and to those mens apish brains, who onely bend their wits to find impossibilities, and monsters, in the Story of the World and Man-kind.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

A Computation of the times of the Assyrians, *and others, grounded upon the times noted in the Story of* Abraham.

An mundi 2008. dil. 352. natus Abraham, Euſ. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 16. c. 17.

IN this ſort therefore, for the reaſons before alleged, I conclude, that from the general Floud, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352. years were conſumed; and taking the *Aſſyrian* Hiſtory with us, the ſame number of years were ſpent from the Floud to the 43. year of *Ninus*: in which 43. year of *Ninus*, *Abraham* was born; which hapned in the year of the World, 2009.

Now, of this time of 352. years, we muſt give one part as well to the increaſe of thoſe people which came into *Shinaar*, as to thoſe that ſtayed in the Eaſt, to wit, 30. years to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*; of which, though the Scriptures are ſilent, yet, becauſe thoſe of the ſame time had that age when they begat their firſt Sons, we may the more ſafely give the like allowance to theſe. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg Regu* at 30. *Regu Serug* at 32. Now, after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Havilah*, *Sabta*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was born, as it appeareth, *Gen.* 10. which S. *Auguſtine* approveth. Giving then 30. years more to *Raama* ere he begat *Sheba*, and five years to the five elder brothers of *Nimrod*, it may be gathered, that 65. years were conſumed ere *Nimrod* himſelf was born; and that *Raama* had that age before any of his Sons were begotten, it may be gathered by example and compariſon: for *Peleg* the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raama* was, begat *Reu* in the ſame year of his life.

Aug. de Civit. Dei.

Gen. 11. 18

Let us then allow 60. years more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or elſe we ſhall hardly find people to build *Babel*; for ſure we are, that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: becauſe it diſpleaſed God. Theſe two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125. The reſt of the time of 131. (in which year they arrived in *Shinaar*, whereof there are ſix years remaining) we may give them for their travels from the Eaſt; becauſe they were peſtered with women, children and cattel: and, as ſome ancient Writers have conceived, and *Becanus* of later times, they kept always the mountain ſides, for fear of a ſecond floud. Now, if we take this number of 131. out of 352. there remains 221. of which number, *Beroſus* beſtoweth 65. on *Belus*, and 42. on *Ninus* before *Abraham* born: both which, S. *Auguſtine* approveth: which two numbers taken again out of 221. there remaineth 114. years of the 352. from the Floud to *Abraham*'s birth; which number of 114. neceſſity beſtoweth on *Nimrod*.

An à ſalute humani generis ab aquis ceſſiſſimo primo cœpit regnum Babylonium ſub noſtro Saturno patre Jovis Beli, qui imperavit annis 65. Beroſus.

And if it be objected, that this time given to *Nimrod* is over-long; ſure, if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the reſt of the ſame deſcent from *Noah*, it will rather appear over ſhort. For *Nimrod*, by this account, lived in all but 179. years, whereof he reigned 112. whereas *Sale*, who was the Son of *Arphaxad*, the Son of *Sem*, lived 403. years: and of the ſame age of the World was *Nimrod* the Son of *Chus*, the Son of *Cham*.

Now, after *Abraham* was born,
Ninus reigned 9. years, which added to 43. make 52.
Ninus dieth, and leaveth *Semiramis* his Succeſſour.

Semiramis governed the Empire of *Babylonia* and *Aſſyria* 42. years, and died in the 52. year complete of *Abraham*'s life. Of the World, 2017. Of the Floud, 961.

Ninias, or *Zameis* ſucceeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38. years; in the ſecond year of whoſe reign, *Abraham* left *Meſopotamia*. 2059 *mundi*. 403. *à dil.* 2083. 417. 2093. 437.

When *Abraham* was 85. years old, he reſcued his Nephew *Lot*, and overthrew by ſurpriſe *Amraphel*, King of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninias* reigned 38. years, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23. years after *Semiramis* died: which was the 75. year of his age; ſo that *Amraphel* may ſeem to have been this *Ninias*, the Son of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whoſe 23. years, as aforeſaid, being the 75. year of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might have received this overthrow in the 85. year of *Abraham*, and the 33. year of his own reign: after which he reigned five years, which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reaſons to the contrary, urging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not eaſily anſwered. Howbeit, for the times of the *Aſſyrian* Kings, that they are to be ordered as we have ſet down, according to the times noted by *Moſes* in the Story of *Abraham*, it is moſt certain; unleſs we will either derogate from the truth of *Moſes* his computation, which were impiety, or account the whole Hiſtory of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but a fiction; which were to condemn all antient Hiſtorians for Fablers.

§. IX.

That Amraphel, *one of the four Kings whom* Abraham *overthrew*, Gen. 14. *may probably be thought to have been* Ninias *the Son of* Ninus.

AND now, touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moſes* makes King of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, in the 85. year of *Abraham*'s life, that is,

in the 33. year of the reign of *Ninias Zameis* the King of the *Assyrians*, the Son of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirm what he was, and how he could be at this time King of *Babylonia: Ninias Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt, the answer which first offereth it self as most probable, is that which hath been already noted, that this *Ninias*, or *Zameis*, was no other than our *Amraphel*; who invaded *Traconitis*, or *Basan*, and overthew those five Kings of *Pentapolis*, or the Valley of *Siddim*. For the Scriptures tell us, that *Amraphel* was King of *Shinaar*, which is *Babylonia*; and the times before accounted make him to be the successor of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85. year of *Abraham*'s life, wherein he rescu'd *Lot*, slew *Chedorlaomer*, and overthrew the rest. True it is, that this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greatest *Monarch*; for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chief, though *Amraphel* be first named by *Moses* in the first Verse of the fourteenth Chapter of *Genesis*. For the Kings of the Valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or the five Cities, were the vassals of *Chedorlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel*; as it is written, Gen. 14. 4. *Twelve years were they subject to* Chedorlaomer, *but in the thirteenth year they rebelled, and in the fourteenth year came* Chedorlaomer, *and the Kings that were with him*; and therefore was *Chedorlaomer* the principal in this enterprise, who was then King of *Elam* which is *Persia*: Now, *Persia* being seated over *Tygris*, and to the East of *Amraphel*'s Countrey; and the other two Kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being seated to the West of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it self, seemeth at this time to have had no great scope or large Dominion. For, had *Amraphel* been so great a Prince as prophane Historians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis*, whom he succeeded, he should not have needed the assistance of three or four Kings for this Expedition. But though *Chedolaomer* were the first and greatest of those four Kings (as it is manifest that he was: For these little Kings of *Sodome*, *Gomora*, &c. were his vassals, and not *Amraphel*'s) yet this makes not the conjecture less probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninias*. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of *Assyria* had now (as we shall shew more plainly in that which followeth) received a down-right fall at the time of this Warr: though not long before it commanded all the Kingdoms between *India* and the *Phœnician* Sea; to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

§. X.

Of Arioch, *another of the four Kings, and that* Ellas, *whereof he is said to have been King, lies between* Cœlosyria *and* Arabia Petræa.

NOw, the two other Kings joined with *Amraphel* and *Chedorlaomer*, were *Arioch* and *Tidal*; the one King of *Ellassar*, the other of the Nations. For *Ellassar*, *Aquila*, and *Hierom*, write *Pontus*: so *Tostatus* thinketh that it should be *Hellespont*: which opinion *Pererius* favoureth. But this is onely to defend the *Latine* translation. For as *Pontus*, so is *Hellespont* farr distant, and out of the way to send any Armies into *Arabia Petræa*, or into *Idumæa*; which Countries these four Kings chiefly invaded: Besides that, it is certain, that the *Assyrians* (when they were greatest) had never any dominion in *Asia* the less. For at such time as the *Assyrians* feared the invasion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, they sent not into *Asia* the less as Commanders; but used all the art they had, to invite *Cræsus* to their assistance; perswading him, that nothing could be more dangerous for himself, and the other Kings of those parts, than the success of the *Medes* against the *Assyrians*. But examine the enterprise, what it was. *These* Gen. 14. *Kings* (saith the Text) *made warr with* Bera, *Kingdom of Sodom*, Birsha *King of Gomora*, Shinab *King of Admath*, *and* Shemebar *King of Zeboim*, *and the King of* Bela, *which is Zoar*. All which five Kings had not so much ground as *Middlesex*; being such a kind of *Reguli*, as *Josua* found in the Land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and small Teritories adjoining; of which *Canaan* had three and thirty, all slain or hanged by *Josua*. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are said also to have invaded, be imagined to have been at that time of any great power; and therefore to call in Kings from *Pontus*, or *Hellespont*, had manifested a great impotence and weakness in the Kings of *Babylon* and *Persia*. Xenophon.

And though it be alleged for an Example, that divers Kings farr off, came to assist *Pompey* against *Cæsar*; yet these same examples, without like occasions and circumstances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cause to fear the greatness of these petty Kings, or of the other Countries: But the eyes of the World were fixed on *Cæsar*; and his undertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no less doubtfull than fearfull: But the whole Countrey by these four Kings mastered in their passage, was afterward given to the half Tribe of *Manasse*,

Manasse, *Gad*, and *Reuben*; a narrow Valley of ground, lying between *Jordan* and the Mountains of *Seir*; inclosed by the River of *Arnon* on the South side, and by *Lybanus* on the North, consisting of two small Provinces of *Traconitis*, or *Basan*, and the Region of the *Moabites*; a conquest farr unvaluable, and little answering to the power of the *Assyrian* Empire, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, who subjected all the great Kings of that part of the World, without the assistance of any of the Kings of *Hellespont*, or any other part of *Asia* the less. But as the Vulgar, and *Aquila*, convert *Ellassar* by *Pontus*: So *Symmachus* makes *Arioch*, a King of the *Scythians*, a King indeed, as farr fetched to join with the *Assyrians* in this Warr, as the World had any at that time.

The *Septuagint* do not change the word of *Ellassar* at all, but as they keep the word *Ararat*, on the Mountains whereof the Ark did rest; so do they in this place retain the word *Ellassar*, being doubtfull to give it a wrong interpretation. And *Pererius* himself remembreth other opinions farr more probable than this of *Pontus*, or *Hellespont*: yet he dares not avow his liking of them, becaus the *Latine* Translation hath it otherwise. For *Stephanus de Urbibus*, a *Græcian Cosmographer*, findeth the City of *Ellas* in the border of *Cœlosyria*: and Saint *Hierom* calleth *Ellas* the City of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now, although the same be seated by *Stephanus* in *Cœlosyria*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was King; who formerly joined with *Ninus* in all his Conquests, being of the same Family, and descended from *Cham* and *Chus*: after whom the name of *Arius* was by the *Hebrew* written *Arioch*; and afterward again *Aretas*; as in the *Machabees*: the Kings of *Arabia* holding that name even to the time of S. *Paul*, who was sought to be betrayed by the *Lievetenant* of *Aretas*, commanding in *Damascus*. They were Princes, for the most part, confederate and depending upon the *Assyrian* Empire. It is true that we find in *Daniel*; that in the time of *Nebuchodonosor*, one *Arioch* was *General* of his Army, and the principal Commander under him, who was a King of Kings: which makes it plain, that *Arioch* here spoken of, the Son of that *Arioch*, *Confederate* of *Ninus*, was no King of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*, Regions farr removed from the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name also of *Arioch*, who commanded under *Nebuchodonosor*, is mentioned in *Judith*, by the name of *King of the* Elymeans; who are a Nation of *Persians*, bordering *Assyria*, according to *Stephanus*, though *Pliny* sets it between the Sea-coast and *Media*: and if any brother of the *Arabian* Kings, or other of that House (known by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Areta*, or *Aretas*) had the Government of that *Persian* Province, called *Elymais* (as it seemeth they had, by the places of *Daniel* and *Judith*) yet the same was in *Nebuchodonosor's* time. But this *Arioch* here spoken of, may with more reason be taken for the King of *Arabia*, the Son of *Arius*, the Confederate of *Ninus*, whose Sons held league, as their fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that side towards the West unto *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*; and in amity with them from the beginning, and of their own House and Bloud; which *Diod. Siculus* also confirmeth.

Mac. 3. c. 5. v. 2.

Cor. 2. 11.

Dan. 2.

Diod. Sicul. l. 2. c. 1.

§. XI.

Of Tidal, *another of the four Kings.*

THe fourth King by *Abraham* overthrown, was *Tidal*, King of the Nations. The *Hebrew* writes it *Gojim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mixt People; *Calvin* of Runnagates without habitation. *Pererius* out of *Strabo*, finds that *Galilæa* was inhabited by divers Nations, which were a mixt People: namely, of *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phœnicians*. *Nam tales sunt qui* Galilæam *habitant*; *Such are the Inhabitants of* Galile, saith *Strabo*; and therefore was *Tidal* called King of these Nations, as they suppose. And so it may be; but the authority of *Strabo* is nothing in this Question. For *Galilæa* was not Peopled at this time, as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For, when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Canaanite* was then in the Land, howsoever they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many petty Kingdoms adjoining to *Phœnicia* and *Palæstina*; as *Palmyrena*, *Butanea*, *Laodicene*, *Apamena*, *Chalcidice*, *Cassiotis*, *Chalibonitis*, and all these do also join themselves to *Mesopotamia* on the North, and to *Arabia* on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselves together under *Tidal*, I take to be the probablest conjecture.

Strab. l. 16. fol. 523.

Gen. 12. 6.

§. XII.

§. XII.

That Chedorlaomer, *the chief of the four kings, was not of* Assyria, *but of* Persia; *and that the* Assyrian *Empire at this time was much impaired.*

LAstly, whereas it is conceived that *Chederlaomer* was the *Assyrian* Emperor, and that *Amraphel* was but a *Satrape*, *Viceroy*, or *Provincial* Governour of *Babylonia*, and that the other Kings named, were such also, I cannot agree with *Pererius* in this. For *Moses* was too well acquainted with the names of *Assur* and *Shinaar*, to call the *Assyrian* a King of *Elam*: those Kings being in the Scriptures evermore called by the name of *Chaldæa*, *Shinaar*, *Babylonia*, or *Assyria*; but never by *Elam*: and *Chedorlaomer*, or *Kedarlaomer* was so called of *Kidor*, from *Cidarim*, which in the *Hebrew* signifieth *Regale*: for so *Q. Curtius* calleth the garment which the *Persian* Kings ware on their heads.

Neither do I believe, that the *Assyrian*, or *Babylonian* Empire stood in any greatness at the time of this invasion; and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach us, that those things which are set up hastily, or forced violently, do not long last. *Alexander* became Lord of all *Asia*, on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to over-look what it self had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetual. For his Empire died at once with himself: all whose chief Commanders became Kings after him. *Tamberlain* conquered *Asia* and *India*, with a storm-like, and terrible success: but to prevalent fury, God hath adjoined a short life; and whatsoever things Nature her self worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his Victories perished with him, if not before.

Ninus, being the first whom the madness of boundless dominion transported, invaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious over them: a man violent, insolent and cruel. *Semiramis* taking the opportunity, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious than her *Paramour*; enlarged the *Babylonian* Empire, and beautified many places therein, with buildings un-exampled. But her Son, having changed Nature and and Condition with his Mother, proved no less feminine than she was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continual smart, put the Patient in mind how to cure the one, and revenge the other: so those Kings adjoining (whose subjection and calamities incident, were but new, and therefore the more grievous) could not sleep, when the advantage was offered by such a successour. For, *In regno* Babylonico *hic parum resplendu-it*; *This king shined little* (saith *Nanclerus* of *Ninias*) *in the* Babylonian *Kingdom*. And likely it is, that the necks of mortal men, having been never before galled with the yeak of forein dominion, nor having ever had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of living in slavery; no long descent having as yet invested the *Assyrian* with a right; nor any other title being for him pretended, than a strong hand; the fooliſh and effeminate Son of a tyrannous and hated father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his vassals, with a powerless mastering, and a mind less industrious than his father and mother had used before him. And he that was so much given over to licentious idleness, as to suffer his mother to reign 42. years, and thereof the greatest part after he came to mans estate: witnessed thereby to the World, that he so much preferred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatness, as he neither endeavoured to gain what he could not govern, nor to keep what he could not without contentious peril enjoy.

These considerations being joined to the Story of *Amraphel*, delivered by *Moses*, by which we find that *Amraphel* King of *Shinaar* was rather an inferiour to the King of *Persia*, than either his superiour, or equal; make it seem probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken asunder, and restrained again to *Babylonia*.

For conclusion, I will add these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at such time as it pleased God to impose that great travel upon *Abraham*, from *Ur* in *Chaldæa* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan*, a passage of 700. miles, or little less, with women, children, and carriages; the Countries through which he wandred were then settled, and in peace. For it was the 23. year of *Ninias*, when *Abraham* obeying the voice of God, took this great journey in hand: in which time of 23. years after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour Princes had recovered their liberty and former estates. For *Semiramis* Army of four millions, with her self, utterly consumed in *India*, and all her armies and engins of war, at the same time lost, gave an occasion and opportunity even to the poorest souls and weakest hearted of the World, to repurchase their former liberty. *Strab. l. 15.*

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and antientest Historians, that *Arius* the Son of *Ninias*, or *Amraphel*, invaded the *Bactrians*, and *Caspians*, and again subjected them: which

which needed not, if they had not been revolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninus* death. And as *Arioch* recovered one part, so did *Baleus*, or *Balaneus*, otherwise *Xerxes*, reduce the rest revolted, to their former obedience. Of whom it is said, that he conquered from *Egypt* to *India*; and therefore was called *Xerxes*, *id est*, *Victor & triumphator*, *A conqueror and triumpher*; which undertakings had been no other than the effects of madness, had not those Countries freed themselves from the *Babylonian* subjection. Now, if we shall make any doubt thereof, that is, of the conquest of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which lived after *Ninus* and *Ninias*, we may as well think the rest of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but feined; but if we grant this conquest, then it is true, that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the *Assyrian* Empire was torn asunder, according to that which had been gathered out of *Moses*, as before remembred.

§. XIII.

That it is not unprobable that the four kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had elsewhere with their Colonies planted themselves; and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came; which if so, we need not say, that Amraphel *was* Ninias, *nor trouble our selves with many other difficulties.*

THe consent of all Writers, whose works have come to my perusal, agreeing as they do, that these four Kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinaar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and their fellows, were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are, or seem intituled; doth almost inforce us to think, that the history must so be understood, as I have delivered. But, if in this place, as often elsewhere in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be set for People of those Lands, or if (as *Hierom* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was King of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was said to be of the Nations, that is, of People, either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundry Regions; then may we otherwise conceive of this History: removing thereby some difficulties, which men, perhaps, have been unwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolve them. For, as it had been a strange conjecture, to think that *Arioch* was drawn to assist the *Persian* against the *Sodomite*, as far as from *Pontus*, where it is very unlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was known, and almost impossible, that the vale of *Siddim* should have been once named: so in true estimation, it is a thing of great improbability, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were King of *Persia* alone, should pass through so great a part of the World, as the countries of *Assyria*, *Chaldæa*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, and *Canaan*, to subdue those five Towns, whose very names how they should come to his ear, being disjoined by so many great Naions of different Languages, a wise man could hardly conjecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Persia*, together with the *Babylonian* himself, yea, the Kingdom of *Ellasar* and that of *Tidal*, so far off removed, were become his dependences; what reason can we find that might have induced him to hearken after *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*? and when he should have sought the establishment of his new gotten Empire, by rooting out the Posterity of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharnus* of *Media*, and *Zoroaster* of *Bactria*) then to employ the forces of *Amraphel*, and those other Kings, against five petty Towns, leaving *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and the great City *Damasco*, with many other places of much importance, and far neerer unto him, unsubdued? Now, as these doubts, which may be alleged against the first conquest of the vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: so are the objections to be made against his conquest of these five Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea, and more, as being grounded upon the Text it self. For first, what madness had it been in that small Province, to rebel against so powerfull a Monarch? Or if it were so, that they dwelling far from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he should come or send to reclaim them; was it not more than madness in them, when his terrible Army approached, still to entertain hope of evasion; yea, to make resistance (being themselves a dissolute, and therefore unwarlike people) against the power of all the Nations between *Euphrates*, yea, between themselves and the River *Indus*? Likewise, on the part of *Chedorlaomer*, we should find no great wisdom, if he, knowing the weakness of this People, had raised such a world of men against them: whom by any Lievtenant, with small forces, he might have subdued. For the perpetual inheritance of that little Countrey, was not sufficient to countervail one Months charges of so huge an Army. How small then must his valour have been, who with so mighty preparations effected no more than the wasting of that Valley, wherein he left the Cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the Countrey, although he had broken their Army in the field? Now, the Scriptures do not of this invasion (supposed so great) make any fearfull matter:

matter; but compoſe the two Armies as equally matcht, ſaying, they were four Kings againſt five; yea, if the place be literally
Gen. 14. 17 expounded, we ſhall find that *Abraham* ſlew all theſe Kings; of which great ſlaughter no Hiſtory makes mention: Neither will the reign of *Ninias*, who lived four or five years longer, permit that he ſhould have died ſo ſoon; neither would Hiſtories have forgotten the manner of his death, if he had ſo ſtrangely periſhed in *Syria*. Whereby it appears, that theſe four Kings were not the ſame that they are commonly thought; nor their forces ſo great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that theſe Kings were ſuch as many others, who in that age carried the ſame title; Lords and Commanders every one of his own company, which he carried forth as a Colony, ſeeking place where to ſettle himſelf and them, as was the uſual manner of thoſe times.

Neither is it improbable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troup of *Perſians*, *Amraphel* ſome people out of *Shinaar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of ſundry places, might conſort together, and make the weakeſt of the Countrey which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whoſoever will conſider the beginning of the firſt Book of *Thucydides*, with the manner of diſcoveries, conqueſts and plantations, in the infancy of *Greece*; or the manner of the *Saracens* invading *Africa* and *Spain*, with almoſt as many Kings as ſeveral Armies; or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new diſcoveries, paſſages, and conqueſts in the *Weſt-Indies*; may eaſily perceive, that it was neither unuſual for the leaders of Colonies to receive title from the people whom they conducted; nor to make aliances together, and break them again, diſturbing ſometimes one the other, ſometimes helping in purſuit of a conqueſt. That *Amraphel* and his aſſociates were ſuch manner of Commanders, it may ſeem the more likely, by the ſlothfull quality of *Ninias* then reigning in *Aſſyria*; whoſe unmanlike temper was ſuch, as might well give occaſion to ſuch undertaking ſpirits, as wanted the employments whereunto they were accuſtomed in the reign of *Semiramis*, rather to ſeek adventures abroad, than to remain at home unregarded, whilſt others, more unworthy than themſelves, were advanced. If the conſent of the whole ſtream of Writers upon this place, make this conjecture diſagreeable to the Text, to the authority whereof all humane reaſon muſt ſubſcribe, then we may hold our ſelves to the former conjecture, *Amraphel* was *Ninias*; and that the power of his Anceſtors being by his ſloth decayed, he might well be inferiour to the *Perſian Chedorlaomer*: or if this do not ſatisfie, we may ſay that *Amraphel* was an under-king, or *Satrapa* of *Shinaar*, under *Ninias*; who may be ſuppoſed to have had his Imperial ſeat in his fathers City, *Ninive*; and to have preferred it before *Shinaar* and *Babylon* the City of his mother, whom he hated as an uſurper of his right. But, if it were poſſible that in a caſe not concerning any mans Salvation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great pains, all might erre; then can I think that the opinion, that thoſe four Kings were Leaders of Colonies, ſent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not Kings of the Countries themſelves, is moſt conſonant, both to the condition of thoſe times, and to the Scripture. And hereto add, that *Chedorlaomer* ſeems rather called a *Perſian* King, than King of *Perſia*: And that *Arioch* (whoſe Kingdom undoubtedly was between *Syria* and *Arabia*) having been a man of action, or being a worthy mans Son, was very well pleaſed to give paſſage and aſſiſtance to theſe Captains or petty Kings. Theſe, and ſuch like things here to urge, were but with circumſtances to adorn a ſuppoſition, which either may ſtand without them, or if it muſt fall, is unworthy to have coſt beſtowed upon it; eſpecially conſidering, that it is not my intent to employ any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the Reader's pleaſure, to follow any of theſe opinions, or any other, if he find any that ſhall ſeem better than theſe. But of what countries or people ſoever theſe four were Kings, this Expedition is the onely publick action that we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to this Story, and of his Sons, and of his Nephews, *Eſau* and *Jacob*, as they are regiſtred by *Moſes*, becauſe it is not our purpoſe, either to ſtand upon things generally known to all *Chriſtians*, nor to repeat what hath been elſe-where already ſpoken, nor to prevent our ſelves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembred, we paſs them here in ſilence. And becauſe in the Story of *Abraham* and his Poſterity, there is much mention of *Egypt*: by which it appears, that even in the time of *Abraham*, it was a ſettled and flouriſhing Kingdom; it will not be amiſs in the next place to ſpeak ſomewhat of the Antiquities and firſt Kings thereof.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Egypt, *from the firſt Peopling of it after the Floud, to the time of the delivery of the* Iſraelites *from thence.*

§. I.

A Brief of the names and times of the firſt Kings of Egypt; *with a note of the cauſes of difficulty in reſolving of the truth in theſe points.*

SOon after the confuſion at *Babel* (as it ſeems) *Cham*, with many of his iſſue and followers (having doubtleſs known the fertility of *Egypt* before the Floud) came thither and took poſſeſſion of the Countrey; in which they built many Cities; and began the Kingdom one hundred ninety one years after the Deluge. The antient Governours of this Kingdom, till ſuch time as *Iſrael* departed *Egypt*, are ſhewn in the *Table* following.

An. Mundi.	*An. dil.*	
1847.	191.	*Cham.*
2008.	352.	*Oſiris.*
2269.	613.	*Typhon* } *Hercules.* }
2276.	620.	*Orus.*
2391.	735.	*Seſoſtris* the great.
2424.	768.	*Seſoſtris* the blind.
2438.	782.	*Buſiris*, or *Oſiris* the ſecond.
2476.	820.	*Acenchere*, or *Thermutis*, or *Meris.*
2488.	832.	*Rathoris*, or *Athoris.*
2497.	841.	*Chencres* drowned in the Red Sea.

The *Table*, and eſpecially the *Chronologie*, is to be confirmed by probabilities and conjectures, becauſe in ſuch obſcurity, manifeſt and reſtleſs truth cannot be found. For Saint *Auguſtine*, a man of exceeding great judgement, and incomparable diligence, who had ſought into all Antiquities, and had read the Books of *Varro*, which now are loſt, yet omitted the ſucceſſion of the *Egyptian* kings, which he would not have done, if they had not been more uncertain than the *Sicyonians*, whom he remembreth, than whom doubtleſs they were more glorious. One great occaſion of this obſcurity in the *Egyptian* Story, war the ambition of the Prieſts; who, to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many leaſings, and recounted unto ſtrangers the names of many Kings, that never reigned. What ground they had for theſe reports of ſuppoſed Kings, it ſhall appear anon. Sure it is, That the magnificent Works, and royal Buildings in *Egypt*, ſuch as are never found but in States that have greatly flouriſhed, witneſs that their Princes were of marvelous greatneſs, and that the reports of the Prieſts were not altogether falſe. A ſecond cauſe of our ignorance in the *Egyptian* Hiſtory, was the too much credulity of ſome good Authours, who believing the manifold and contrary reports of ſundry *Egyptians*, and publiſhing in their own names ſuch as pleaſed them beſt, have confirmed them, and, as it were, inforced them upon us by their Authority. A third and general cauſe of more than *Egyptian* darkneſs in all antient Hiſtories, is the Edition of many Authors, by *John Annius*, of whom (if to the cenſures of ſundry very learned, I may add mine) I think thus; that *Annius* having ſeen ſome fragments of thoſe Writers, and added unto them what he would, may be credited, as an avoucher of true Hiſtories, where approved Writers confirm him; but otherwiſe is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to paſs, that the account of Authours, either in the *Chronologie*, or *Genealogie* of the *Egyptian* Kings, runs three altogether different ways. The *Chriſtian* Writers, ſuch as are antient, for the moſt part, follow *Euſebius*: Many late Writers follow the Edition of *Annius* his Authours; The profane Hiſtories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and ſuch others.

§. II.

That by the account of the Egyptian *Dynaſties, and otherwiſe, it appears that* Cham's *reign in* Egypt *began in the year after the Floud*, 191.

TOreconcile theſe, or gather out of them the times of the antient Kings about whom is moſt controverſie, the beſt mean is

by help of the *Dynaſties*; of whoſe continuance, there is little or no diſagreement. The account of the *Dynaſties* (beſides the authority of approved Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the moſt part, if not altogether, with the Hiſtories of the *Aſſyrians*, *Trojans*, *Italians*, &c. and others. The beginning of the 16. *Dynaſtie*, is joined by general conſent, with 43. year of *Ninus*; in which *Abraham* was born. The twelve firſt *Dynaſties* laſted each of them ſeven years, under the twelve which were call'd the greater gods: ſo that all the years of their continuance were 84. The 13. *Dynaſtie* endured 14. years; the fourteenth, 26. the fifteenth, 37. Theſe three laſt, are ſaid to have been under the three younger gods. So the fifteen firſt *Dynaſties* laſted 161. years. As I do not therefore believe that the continuance of theſe *Dynaſties*, was ſuch as hath been mentioned, becauſe *Annius* in ſuch wiſe limits out their time: ſo I cannot reject the account upon this onely reaſon, that *Annius* hath it ſo; conſidering, that both hitherto, it hath paſſed as currant, and is greatly ſtrengthened by many good reaſons. For, whereas *Euſebius* placeth the beginning of the ſixteenth *Dynaſtie*, in the year of *Abraham*'s birth, as aforeſaid, the reckoning is eaſily caſt; by which the ſumm of 161. years, which, according to our account, were ſpent in the fifteen former, being ſubducted out of the ſumm of 352. years, which were between the Floud and *Abraham*'s birth, ſhew that the beginning of the firſt *Dynaſtie*, which was the beginning of *Chams* reign in *Egypt*, was in the year 191. As alſo by other probabilities the ſame may appear: For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of man-kind which came into *Shinaar*, arrived at *Babel*, *Anno à Diluvio* 131. In building the Tower were conſumed 40. years, as *Glycas* recordeth; whoſe report I have elſwhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in paſſing with his company, their Wives, Children, Cattel, and Subſtance through all *Syria* then deſolate, and full of Boggs, Foreſts, and Bryers (which the Deluge, and want of culture, in one hundred ſeventy one years had brought upon it) no reaſonable man will doubt. To this his paſſage therefore, and the ſeating of himſelf in *Egypt*, we allow twenty years; and theſe ſumms being added together, to wit, one hundred thirty one years after the Floud, before they arrive at *Babel*, fourty years for their ſtay there, and twenty for *Cham*'s paſſage into *Egypt*, and ſettling there, make up the ſumm of 191. years; at which time we find that *Cham* began his reign in *Egypt*, in the beginning of the firſt *Dynaſtie*. And to this ſumm of 191. years, if we add the 161. years of the 15. firſt *Dynaſties*, as they are numbred in common account, we ſhall fall right with the year of *Abraham*'s birth, which was *An. Dil.* 352. And hereto omitting many other reaſons, which might be brought to prove that theſe firſt *Dynaſties* muſt needs have been very ſhort, and not containing in the whole ſumm of their ſeveral times above 161. years; Let it ſuffice, that had they laſted longer, then either muſt *Egypt* have been peopled as ſoon as *Babel* after the Floud, or the *Dynaſties* (as *Mercator* thinks) muſt have been before the Floud. That the arival at *Babel*, was many years before the plantation of *Egypt* after the Floud, enough hath been ſaid to prove; and that the *Dynaſties* were not before the Floud, the number of the long-lived generations between *Adam* and the Floud, which was leſs than the number of the *Dynaſties*, may ſufficiently witneſs. Or, if we will think, that one life might (perhaps) be divided into many *Dynaſties*, then may this have been as well after the Floud, as before; conſidering that the Sons of *Noah* did not in every Countrie erect ſuch form of Policy, as had been uſed in the ſame ere the Deluge; but ſuch as the diſpoſition of the people, the authority and power of the Conductor, together with many other circumſtances, did induce or enforce them to.

§. III.

That theſe Dynaſties *were not divers Families of Kings, but rather Succeſſions of Regents, oft-times many under one King.*

THE ſhort continuance of the *Dynaſties*, doth ſhew that they were not ſeveral races of kings, as the vaunting *Egyptians* were wont to ſtile them. What they were, it cannot certainly be warranted. For in reſtitutions of decayed Antiquities, it is more eaſie to deny than to affirm. But this may be ſaid, partly upon good circumſtance, partly upon the ſureſt proof, That it was the manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, to put the Government of the Country into the hands of ſome truſty Counſellor, onely reſerving the Soveraignty to themſelves, as the old Kings of *France* were wont to the Maſters of the Palace, and as the *Turk* doth to the chief *Viſier*. This is confirmed, firſt, by the number of the *Dynaſties*, whereof many are under *Cham*, and more than one under *Oſiris*, or *Mizraim*; and muſt therefore have been ſucceſſions, not of Kings, but rather of Counſellours, and Regents. Secondly, by cuſtom of ſuch

Princes

Princes borderers to *Egypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures, of whom *Abimelech* the *Philistim*, in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Isaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol*, Captain of his Host; though in taking *Abraham*'s Wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his own pleasure. Likewise of *Abimelech*, the Son of *Gideon*, it was said: *Is not he the Son of* Jerubbaal? *and* Zebul *is his Officer?* Also *Ishbosheth*, the Son of *Saul*, feared *Abner* the Captain of the Host. Yea, *David* himself hating *Joab* for his cruelty, did not punish him in regard of his greatness, which was such, as was feared even of *Hadad* the *Edomite*, living then in *Egypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appears by the Scriptures: therefore likely, both by his own idleness and pleasure, to have laid the burthen of the Government upon others; and upon jealousie, the companion of unworthiness, to have changed his Lievtenants often. Above all other proofs is the advancement of *Joseph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* said to *Joseph*; *Onely in the Kings Throne will I be above thee: behold, I have set thee over all the Land of* Egypt. *William Archbishop of* Tyre, who flourished about the year of our Lord, one thousand one hundred eighty, affirms that the like, or very same, form of Government by *Viceroys*, was in his time practised in *Egypt*, having there been in use (as he believed) ever since the time of *Joseph*. He plainly shews, that the *Soldans* of *Egypt* were not Lords of the Countrey, however they have been so deem'd; but that they acknowledg'd and humbly performed the duty of subjects unto the *Caliphe*; who residing in a most magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not onely of civil Government, but the power of making Warr and Peace, with the whole Office and Authority royal, into the *Soldans* hands. He that shall read in *William* of *Tyre*, the state of the *Caliphe*, or *Meulene Edhadech*, with the form of his Court, shall plainly behold the Image of the antient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a Lievtenant, as great in authority as *Joseph* was, though far inferiour in Wisdom.

Will. Tyr. de bell. Sacro. l. 19. c. 17, 18, 19. & 20.

Lib. 19. c. 22.

To think that many names of such *Regents*, or Lievtenants, as *Joseph* was, have crept into the List of the *Egyptian* Kings, were no strange imagination. For *Joseph*'s brethren call him, *The man that is Lord of the Land, and the Lord of the Countrie*; besides, it is not unlikely, that the vain-glorious *Egyptian* Priests would as easily report him a King to posterity, as ignorant men & strangers deem him such, under whose hand all dispatches of importance, and royal managing of the State had passed, whilest that the King himself, intending his quiet, had given his Office to another. How strangers have mistaken in this kind, the example already cited of *Joseph's* brethren, doth sufficiently witness. The reports of Priests do appear in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*; each of whom, citing their relations, as good Authority, say; *Diodorus*, and *Sesostris* was the nineteenth King after *Menas*; *Herodotus*, that he was the 332. after *Menas*; which could not have been, if *Menas* had been *Adam*. Therefore we may well conclude, That the *Dynasties* were not so many Races of Kings, but successions of *Regents*, appointed by the Kings of so many sundry Linages or sorts of men. Now, by whatsoever means a *Dynastie*, or *Regencie* continued; whether in one Family, as being made an hereditary Office; or in one order of men, as held by faction: sure it is, that was the Kings gift and free choice, that gave the Office. But the Crown royal always passed by descent, and not by election; which (besides consent of Authours) the Scriptures also prove. For whereas *Joseph* bought all the Land of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the Crown had passed by election, then should *Pharaoh*'s children hereby, either have been inthralled amongst the rest of the people, to the next successor: or enjoying their fathers Land, though not his Estate, have been more mighty than the King: as Land-lords of all *Egypt*, and the King himself their Tenant. Likewise we find in *Exod.* 12. that *God smote the first-born of* Pharaoh, *that was to sit on his Throne*. And in *Esay*, it is said of *Pharaoh*, *I am the Son of the antient King*.

Gen. 42. 30. & 33.

Esa. 19.

§. IV.

Of Cham, *and his Son* Mizraim, *or* Osiris.

THat the succession of Kings began, and continued in such wise as the Table hath shewed from *Cham* to *Chencres*, now it followeth to shew. *Egypt* is called in the Scripture *the Land of* Ham. That this name is not given to it, because the Posterity of *Cham* did reign there, but for that himself did first plant it, we may gather by many circumstances. For I think it is no where found, that the Countries of *Chush*, *Put*, or *Canaan*, as well as *Egypt*, were called the Land of *Ham*. Further, it is found in *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Osiris* calleth himself the eldest Son of *Cham*, saying, *Mihi pater* Saturnus *deorum omnium junior*: also, *Sum* Saturni *filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoso ortum*; which must needs be understood of *Cham*; for this *Saturnus Ægyptius* was *Cham*:

Psa 78. 51 105. 23. 27. 106. 22.

Diod. Sic. l. 1.

as it is said, that on the Monument of *Ninus* was an Inscription, wherin *Cham* was called *Saturnus Ægyptius*. Likewise the Temple of *Hammon*, not farr from *Egypt*, doth testifie, that *Ham* resided in those parts: And S. *Hierom, in quæstionibus Hebraicis*, saith, that the *Egyptians* themselves did in his days, call their Countrey *Ham*; as in four several places in the *Psalms* this Countrey is called the Land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Osiride*, that in the sacrifices of the *Egyptians* this Countrey of *Egypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chamia*, *ut puto* (saith he) *à Chamo Noes filio*, to which also he addeth out of *Isidore*. *Ægyptum usque hodie Ægyptiorum lingua* Kam *vocari*; *that* Egypt *unto this day in the tongue of the* Egyptians *is called* Kam. For the beginning and continuance of *Cham's* reign, the same reasons may suffice to be alleged, which I have already given in proof of the time spent in the 15. first *Dynasties*: Neither is it strange, that the reign of *Cham* should last so long as 161. years; considering that *Sem* lived 600. *Arphachshad* and *Shelah* each above 400. But strange it had been, if one *Saltis* created by *Manetho*, had in those long-lived generations reigned there 19. years, and with *Baon*, *Apachnas*, *Apochis*, and others of the same brood, obscured the fame and glory of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and *Sesostris*. *Reineccius in Histor. Julia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwise called *Osiris*, according to *Diodorus*; who, saith he, was the Son of *Hammon*: *Krentzhemius* saith, that *Mizraim* and *Osiris*, are words of neer affinity and sound in the *Hebrew* tongue. Howsoever it be, we know that *Mizraim* the Son of *Cham*, was Lord of *Egypt*, and *Reineccius*, citing good authority in this case, affirmeth that *Egypt* is now called by the naturals in their own language, *Mezre*. Neither do I see cause of doubt whether *Osiris* were the same with *Mizraim*. It is more necessary, and hard to shew manifestly, how long *Mizraim*, or *Osiris*, reigned. For whereas the year of his death is no where precisely set down, we must be fain to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly said by *Annius* his *Berosus*, to have begun his reign at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynastie* of the *Thebæi* began, it appeareth, first, by the authority of *Eusebius*, who avoucheth as much; next, by *Diodorus*, who saith, that he inhabited *Thebes*; which habitation of *Osiris* there, that it might be cause of that *Dynastie*, I can well believe; assenting so farr to *Reineccius*, who thinks the *Dynasties* were named onely, according to the several seats of the Kings.

§. V.

Of the time when Osiris *reign ended; and that* Jacob *came into* Egypt *in the time of* Orus *the Son of* Osiris.

THe death of *Osiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirm. The onely conjecture that I know is made thus: *Lehabim* the Son of *Mizraim*, called *Hercules Lybius*, made war in *Italy*, to revenge his fathers death on the associates of *Typhon*, in the 41. year of *Baleus* King of *Assyria*; before which year he had made many great wars in *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Tygris*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Lybia*, & *Spain*; and having ended his *Egyptian* Wars, left the Kingdom to *Orus*. Thus farr *Berosus*, or Authours following *Berosus*. That *Orus*, last of all the gods (as they were stiled) held the Kingdom of *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* plainly saith; and *Plutarch* as much, to which all Histories agree. *Krentzhemius* hereupon inferrs, that six years may be allowed to the Wars, which *Hercules* made in so many countries, after the *Egyptian* Wars were ended: so should the death of *Osiris* have been the 34. of *Baleus*, when himself had reigned 297. years. I think that *Krentzhemius* was a greater Scholar than Souldier. For surely, in those days, when commerce was not such as now, but all Navigation made by coasting, a farr longer time would have been required, to the subduing of so many Countries. An allowance of more time, though it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent; which was (doubtless) to find the truth. If according to his account the death of *Osiris* had been the 34. of *Baleus*, then must *Israel* have come into *Egypt* but 7. years before the death of *Osiris*; and have lived there in the reign of *Typhon*: A thing not easily believed. For it was the same King who advanced *Joseph*, bad him send for his father, and gave him leave to go into *Canaan*, to the performance of his fathers Funeral; as may easily be gathered out of the Book of *Genesis*. Whereas therefore the reign of *Osiris* cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the 7. year of *Israel's* coming into *Egypt*, we must needs cut off 23. years from that number, which *Krentzhemius* conjectures his reign to have continued; namely, seven which he should have lived after *Jacob's* coming into *Egypt*; nine, in which *Joseph* had there flourished, ere his fathers coming; and other seven, in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Osiris*, yet before *Joseph's* advancement.

Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1. *Plut. l. de Isid. & Osirid.*

Neither will this disagree with the time of *Hercules Lybius* his Wars. For the War which *Hercules*

Hercules made in *Italy*, is ſaid to have indured ten years: After which proportion, we may well give not only ſix years, as *Krentzhemius* doth, but 23. more to ſo many Wars, in ſo many, and ſo farr diſtant countries, as are named before; yea, by this proportion, we may attribute unto *Orus* the 13. years, which paſſed between the time of *Joſeph*'s being ſold into *Egypt*, unto his advancement, conſidering that *Potiphar*, who bought him, and whoſe daughter he may ſeem to have married, continued all that while chief Steward unto *Pharaoh*; a thing not likely to have been, if ſo violent alterations had hapned the whileſt in *Egypt*, as the tyrannous uſurpation of *Typhon* muſt needs have brought in. If citing ſome fragment of a loſt old Authour, I ſhould confidently ſay, that *Potiphar*, for his faithfulneſs to *Orus* the Son of *Oſiris*, was by him, in the beginning of his reign, made his chief Steward; at which time, buying *Joſeph*, and finding him a juſt man, and one under whoſe hand all things did proſper, he rather committed his eſtate into *Joſeph*'s hands, than unto any of his *Egyptian* followers (many of whom he had found either falſ-hearted, or weak and unlucky in the troubleſom days of *Typhon*) I know not what could be objected againſt this. Perhaps, I might proceed further, and ſay, That when the ſaying of *Joſeph* pleaſed *Pharaoh*, and all his ſervants; then *Potiphar*, Prieſt of *On*, being chief Officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledg in *Joſeph*, the antient graces of God, and his injurious impriſonment: whereupon he gave him his Daughter to Wife; and being old, reſigned his Office of chief Steward unto him, who afterward, in regard of *Potiphar*, did favour the Prieſts, when he bought the Lands of all other *Egyptians*. This might appear to ſome a tale not unlike the Friarly book of *Aſenath*, *Potiphar*'s Daughter; but, unto ſuch as conſider that God works uſually by means; and that *Potiphar* was the Steward of that King, under whom *Jacob* died; it would ſeem a matter more probable, had it an Author of ſufficient credit to avouch it. Concerning the Wars of *Hercules*, in which, by this reckoning, he ſhould have ſpent 42. years after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italy*, it is a circumſtance which (the length of his *Italian* Wars conſidered, and his former enterpriſes and atchievments proportioned to them) doth not make againſt us, but for us: or, if it were againſt us, yet could it not ſo weaken our ſuppoſition, as theſe probabilities collected out of the indiſputable truth of Scripture do confirm it. Nevertheleſs, I freely grant, that all theſe proofs are no other, than ſuch as may be gathered out of Authours, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in ſuch obſcurity, otherwiſe than by likelihoods, anſwerable to the holy Text.

§. VI.

Of Typhon, Hercules, Ægyptus, Orus, *and the two* Seſoſtres, *ſucceſſively reigning after* Mizraim; *and of divers Errors about the former* Seſoſtres.

CONcerning the reign of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I find none that preciſely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrator* giveth three years to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is ſo peremptory without proof, as if his own word were ſufficient authority, in many points very queſtionable; alleging no witneſs, but as it were, ſaying, *Teſte me ipſo*; yet herein we may think him to ſpeak probably, for as much as the learned *Krentzhemius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very ſoon undertake his fathers revenge; and was not long in performing it: and that leaving *Egypt* to his brother, he followed other Warrs in the ſame quarrel, as hath been ſhewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzhemius* doth) out of *Beroſus*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon*; yet, ſeeing *Aventinus*, a follower of *Beroſus*, hath it ſo, I will alſo believe it. That in the reign of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, 7. years were ſpent, howſoever divided between them, I gather out of *Krentzhemius* onely, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* ſeven years after the death of *Oſiris*; forgetting to ſet down his reaſons, which in a matter ſo probable, I think he wanted not. Now, whereas he alloweth 90. years of the 18. *Dynaſtie* to *Oſiris*, *Typhon*, *Hercules*, and *Orus*; it ſeems that the reign of *Orus* laſted 115. years. From the death of *Orus*, to the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, there paſſed 122. years by our account; who (according to *Beroaldus* and others) think that *Abraham* was born in the 130. year of *Terah*, and thereupon reckon thus: From the end of the Floud to the birth of *Abraham* 352

From that time to the	vocation of *Abraham*	75
	departure out of *Egypt*	430
	Summa	857

which ſumm divers other ways may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of *Egypt*, there do remain (as is aforeſaid) onely 122. years from the death of *Orus*; we are now to conſider, how many of them are to be allowed uno *Seſoſtri*, or *Seſonchoſis*, who is placed next unto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholiaſtes Apollonii*; not without good probability. For this great King or Conquerour,

querour, is by many Hiſtories recorded to have over-run a great part of *Aſia*; to have built a fleet of Ships on the Red Sea: and ſo to have entred into *India:* likewiſe with another fleet on the middle Earth Seas, to have paſſed into *Europe*, and ſubdued many Nations. This is he (as *Reineccius* judgeth) whom *Juſtine*, erring in account of his time, calleth *Vexoris*; For *Juſtine* placeth *Vexoris* in Ages before *Ninus*; whereby it would follow that *Seſoſtris*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more antient then was *Oſiris* (otherwiſe *Mizraim*) a thing altogether unlikely. Certain it is, that after the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Egypt* into *Aſia*) till the father-in-law of *Solomon*, *Pharaoh Vaphres*, took *Gerar*, and gave it to his Daughter (as we may read more at large in the holy Hiſtory of the Bible) after which time, *Seſac* oppreſſed *Rehoboam*, and *Necho* ſought paſſage through the Land of *Iſrael*, when he made his Expedition againſt the *Chaldæans*. Of King *Vaphres*, and *Necho*, it is out of queſtion, that neither of them was the great King *Seſoſtris*. Of *Seſac*, it is doubted by ſome, for as much as he came into *Judæa* with a great Army. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt, leaveth it undecided; unleſs it be ſufficient proof of his own opinion, that he himſelf placeth *Seſoſtris* next to *Orus*, following the *Scoliaſtes Apollonii*. But further anſwer may be made, to ſhew that they were not one. For, as *Juſtine* witneſſeth, *Seſoſtris*, otherwiſe *Vexoris*, made War on people far removed, abſtaining from his neighbours. *Seſac* came up purpoſely againſt *Hieruſalem*. *Seſoſtris*, as *Diodorus* witneſſeth, had but 24000. Horſe, *Seſac* had 60000. *Seſoſtris* had 8020. Chariots, *Seſac* 1200. *Seſoſtris* made his Expedition for no private purpoſe, but to get a great name: *Seſac*, as moſt agree, had no other purpoſe than to ſuccour *Jeroboam*, and give him countenance in his new reign; whom he had favoured even againſt *Solomon:* therefore *Seſoſtris* muſt needs have reigned whileſt *Iſrael* abode in *Egypt*.

Whereas *Krentzhemius* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menas*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus*; becauſe thoſe Hiſtorians affirm that he reigned next after the gods; it moveth me nothing. For *Oſiris* did ſucceed thoſe fifteen gods; namely, the twelve greater, and three leſſer; himſelf alſo (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being called *Menas*. Which name, as alſo *Menæus*, and *Menis*, were titles of Dignity; though miſtaken by ſome, as proper names. *Krentzhemius* doth very probably gather, that *Menus* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus*, the *Hebrew* word *Meni* ſignifying an *Arithmetician*; which name *Ter-maximus* might well be attributed to *Oſiris*, who was a great Conqueror, Philoſopher, and Benefactor to mankind, by giving good Laws, and teaching profitable Arts. In proweſs and great undertakings, *Seſoſtris* was no whit inferiour to *Oſiris:* For he ſought victory not for gain, but honour onely; and being well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and ſubmitted themſeves to his will and royal diſpoſition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Egypt*. Soon upon his return, he was endangered by a great Treaſon, the houſe in which he was, being by his own brother purpoſely fired; which nevertheleſs, he is ſaid to have eſcap'd, and to have reigned in all 30. years; after wch time, he choſe rather to die than to live; becauſe he fell blind. Both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* affirm, that *Seſoſtris* left a Son, whoſe name was *Pheron*, or *Pherones*; who afterwards took the name of *Seſoſtris*, but was nothing like to his father in glory; for he ſhortly fell blind. The cauſe of his blindneſs, *Herodotus* attributes to his aſſaulting the River *Nilus* with a Javelin; which tale *Diodorus* having likewiſe heard, yet reports as a fable, ſaying, that perhaps he took the diſeaſe naturally from his father. How long this man reigned, it is no where expreſſed; yet, for as much as *Orus* the ſecond (otherwiſe *Buſiris*) who ſucceeded him, began 14. years after that this *Seſoſtris* had been King, it muſt needs be that this reigned 14. years at leaſt. That *Buſiris* began not untill theſe 14. years at leaſt were expired, the very account of time from the firſt *Buſiris*, to the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, plainly ſhews, being almoſt generally agreed upon, to have been 75. years. That none came between *Seſoſtris* the ſecond, and *Buſiris*, or *Orus* the ſecond, it ſtands onely upon probabilities, which are theſe: After *Seſoſtris* had reigned ſome while, he fell blind; after certain years, he recovered his ſight, as is ſaid, which may have been true, but is more like to have been a Fable; ſurely the manner of his recovery, as it is ſet down, is very fabulous; namely, that by looking upon a woman, or waſhing his eyes with her water, who had onely known her own huſband, he got his ſight again. As the time of his reign, before his blindneſs, and when he was well again (if ever he were) may have taken up a good part of 14. years: ſo his works, which were great, do much more ſtrongly argue, that his reign was not very ſhort. His works are largely ſet down by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*; a part of which may ſeem to have been the finiſhing of that

which

which his father had begun, about the channels and sluces of *Nilus*; whom, I think, he rather frighted (as his father had done) with Spades and Shovels, than with Darts and Javelins; and by his diligent over-sight of that work, was like enough to lose both his eye-sight and his peoples love; whom his father had very busily employed in excessive labour about it.

§. VII.

Of Busiris, *the first oppressor of the* Israelites; *and of his successour, Queen* Thermutis *that took up* Moses *out of the Water.*

And herein (if I may presume to conjecture) *Busiris*, who was afterwards King, is like to have dealt with him, as *Jeroboam* did with the Son of *Solomon*. For that *Busiris* himself was much addicted to magnificent works, it well appeared by the drudgery wherewith he wearied the children of *Israel* in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great *Sesostris*, as *Jeroboam* was by *Solomon*, in the oversight of those businesses, he had good opportunity to work his greatness with the King by industry; and afterward with the people, by incensing them against their new King, as *Jeroboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at anothers; unless he have either an equal spirit, or a surer foundation. If moreover he sought to derive all the pain and labour of publick works from the *Egyptians* to the *Israelites*: he surely did that to his own people which was very plausible; who (as appears in *Exodus*) were nothing slack in fulfilling the Kings cruelty. Now, that *Orus* the second, or *Busiris*, was the King that first oppressed *Israel*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (saith *Cedrenus*) lasted ten Moneths: it is a common opinion of many great and most learned Writers; who also think that hereupon grew the Fable of *Busiris* sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, *Exod.* 1. that the King who knew not *Joseph*, was a King of a new Family. That *Busiris* was of a new Family, *Reineccius* doth shew; who also thinks him an Author of the bloudy *Edict*. Nevertheless, true it is, that *Busiris*, according to all mens computation, began his reign five years after the birth of *Moses*; before whose birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more, that the persecution began; which *Bunting* thinks to have lasted 87. yesrs, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let us therefore consider, besides the blindness of *Sesostris* the second, how great the power of the *Regents* or *Vice-roys* in *Egypt* was; and how great confidence the King did put in them, seeing *Joseph* ruled with such full power, that he bought all *Egypt*, and all the *Egyptians* for bread; giving at the same time, the best of the Land to his own father and brethen for nothing; seeing also that when the *Egyptians* cried out upon *Pharaoh* for bread, *Pharaoh* said to all the *Egyptians*, *Go to* Joseph, *what he saith to you, do ye*. If to a stranger born, lately fetcht out of prison, a King well able to have governed himself, would give such trust, and soveraign authority; it is not unlikely that a blind Prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often prospers, not onely the good (such as *Joseph* was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therefore, perhaps, the King did (as many have done) resign his Kingdom to him, though his reign was not accounted to have begun till the death of *Sesostris*. But whether *Busiris* did usurp the Kingdom, or protection of the Land by violence; or whether the blind King resigned it, keeping the Title; or whether *Busiris* were onely *Regent* whilest the King lived, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) King himself; it might well be said that *Pharaoh's* Daughter took up *Moses*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*; seeing he both at that time was King in effect, and shotty after, King in deed and title both. It were not absurd for us to say, that the blind King *Sesostris* the second oppressed *Israel*: But, for as much as it may seem that the wicked Tyrant shewed his evil nature, even when he first arose; I think it more likely, that *Busiris* did it, using at first the power of a King, and shortly after the stile. Thus of the 122. years which passed between the beginning of *Sesostris* his reign, and the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, 47. being spent; the 75. which remain, are to be accounted to *Busiris*, or *Orus* the second, and his children. *Busiris* himself reigned 30. years, according to *Eusebius*; whom very many judicious Authours herein approve. After him his daughter, who took *Moses* out of the Water, is said, by all that I have read, to have reigned 12. years. Her name was *Thermutis Pharis*, or *Muthis*, according to *Cedrenus*: *Eusebius* calls her *Acencris*; and out of *Artabanus* his History, *Meris*: *Joseph* calls her both *Accenchre*, and *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius* in *Panario*, saith, that she was honoured afterward of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis* the Daughter of *Amenoph*, the Son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last title question might be made, and much spoken; for the Scriptures call her not

Pharaoh's

Pharaoh's Son's Daughter, but *Pharaoh*'s Daughter. *Amenophis* indeed, is set next before *Busiris*, or *Orus* the second, by *Eusebius* and others; but whether he were a King, or onely a *Regent*, I cannot conjecture. For *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and the antient Historians, name the Son of *Sesostris*, *Pheron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis*; and his Daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the Neece or Grand-child, than the Daughter of *Pharaoh*, because of the glory of *Sesostris*, and the dis-reputation of his Son. If so, and if that *Busiris*, or *Orus* the second, marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our conjecture strengthened, and then was she both Daughter, Grand-child, and Wife unto *Pharaoh*; and surviving him, Queen of the Land, 12. years. But if she were Daughter of *Orus* the second, and sister of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many think, to whose conjecture I will not oppose mine, then may it seem, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her father died.

§. VIII.

Of the two brethren of Queen Thermutis; *and what King it was, under whom* Moses *was born; and who it was that perished in the Red Sea.*

SHe had two brethren; the one was *Rathoris*, or *Athoris*, who succeeded her; the other *Telegonus*, who is onely named by *Eusebius*; but his linage and off-spring described by *Reineccius*. *Rathoris*, after his sisters death, reigned nine years; after whom *Chencres*, thought to be his Son, reigned ten years, and then perished in the Red Sea. During the reign of *Chencres*, *Eusebius* saith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* upon *Io*; of which History elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of *Chencres* (whom some call *Acencheres*, but all, or most do stile Θεόμαχον, a fighter against God) *Acherres* reigned 8. years; and then *Cherres* 15. This descent seems from Father to Son. In the 11. year of *Cherres*, it is said by *Eusebius*, that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Egypt*, built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not unlikely; *viz.* That *Egypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid upon it, and the destruction of her King and Army in the Red Sea; else could it not have had two reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his Posterity, seems to have taken all from *Cherres*, the Grand-child of *Chencres*. For whereas *Armais* is said to have reigned four years after *Cherres*; and *Armesis* one after *Armais*: these two Kings are by *Eusebius* and others, accounted as one, and his reign said to have been five years. His name is called *Armeus*, otherwise *Danaus*; and his Pedigree thus described by *Reineccius* in *Histor. Julia.*

Telegonus:
Epaphus:
Lybia, who had

Agenor, *Belus*, and *Busiris*.

T

Ægyptus or *Rameſſes*, who gave name to the Country, having expell'd his brother *Danaus*, reigned, and begat *Lynceus*, married to *Hypermneſtra*.

Danaus or *Armeus*, expelled by his brother *Ægyptus*, after he had reigned five years, became King of *Argos* in *Greece*: was father to *Hypermneſtra*.

How it might come to pass, that the Nephews Sons of *Epaphus* should have occupied the Kingdom after *Cherres*, it is hard to say; considering that *Epaphus* himself is reported by *Eusebius*, to have been born in the time of *Chencres*. But for as much as the History of *Epaphus* his birth, is diversly related by *Eusebius*, it may suffice, that *Belus* the father of *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*, otherwise called *Armeus* and *Rameſſes*, was equally distant from *Busiris*, or *Orus* the second, with *Cherres* the Grand-child of *Chencres*. And that the Posterity of *Telegonus* did marry very young, it appears by the History of these two brethren, *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*; of whom the former had fifty Daughters, the latter fifty Sons; perhaps, or rather questionless, by divers women; yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: Howsoever it were, the general consent of Writers is, that *Armeus*, or *Danaus*, did succeed *Cherres*; and (according to *Eusebius*, and good Authours approving him) reigned five years. *Rameſſes* followed, who reigned 68. years. This *Rameſſes*, or *Ægyptus*, is that *Armeſeſmiamum*, or *Armeſeſmiamus*, under whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that follows *Mercator*, *Moses* was born; and the cruel *Edict* made of drowning the *Hebrew* children. The length of his reign seems to me the chief, if not the only ground of *Mercator*'s opinion. For, whereas the Lord said to *Moses*, *Go, return to* Egypt, *for they are all dead which went about to kill thee*: *Mercator* hereupon conceives, that it was one and the same King under whom *Moses* was born, and under whom he slew the *Egyptian* at the 40. year of his age; and fled into the wilder-

ness,

neſs, and there abode for fear: all which circumſtances could agree with none, but this *Rameſſes*, who reigned ſo long; wherefore, deſirous rather to hold a true Paradox, than a common Errour, he placeth one *Aliſfragmuthoſis* (whoſe name is found in the Liſt of *Egyptian* Kings, but the time uncertain wherein he reigned) in an Age 112. or 113. years, more antient than others left him in: and ſo continuing the Catalogue of his Succeſſours from *Themoſis* (whom *Euſebius* calls *Amaſis*) downwards, with no other variation of the length of each mans reign, than is the difference between *Manetho* and *Euſebius*, he finds *Moſes* born under *Armeſeſmiamum*, and *Iſrael* delivered in the days of his Son *Amenophis*. The very name of *Aliſfragmuthoſis* ſeems to him with little alteration to ſound like *Phararates*, of which name one was thought to have flouriſhed, either as a King, or a wiſe Man, about the time of *Iſaac*. For (ſaith he) from *Aliſfragmuthoſis* to *Phragmuthoſis*, *Pharmuthoſis*, or *Phararates*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a man of excellent Learning and Induſtry; and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable Works: yet my aſſent herein is with-held from him by theſe Reaſons. Firſt, I ſee all other Writers agree, that *Chencres* was King, who was drowned in the Red Sea. Secondly, the place, *Exod.* 4. *All are dead*, &c. may better be underſtood of *Buſiris*, and all his children, than of one King alone. Thirdly, S. *Cyril* in his firſt Book againſt *Julian* the *Apoſtate*, ſaith, that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moſes* was 120. years old, which was this *Armeſeſmiamum*, being then King of *Egypt*. After *Rameſſes*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. years; who is thought by *Mercator*, and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the King that periſhed in the Red Sea; of which our Opinion being alreay laid open, I think it moſt expedient to referr the Kings enſuing to their own times (which a *Chronological Table* ſhall lay open) and here to ſpeak of that great deliverance of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*; which for many great conſiderations depending thereupon, we may not lightly over-paſs.

CHAP. III.

Of the delivery of Iſrael *out of* Egypt.

§. I.

Of the time of Moſes *Birth, and how long the* Iſraelites *were oppreſſed in* Egypt.

TRue it is, that the Hiſtory it ſelf is generally and well known; yet concerning the time of *Moſes* his Birth, who was the excellent and famous Inſtrument of this, and other great Works of the *Higheſt*, the different opinions are very near as many, as the men that have written of that *Argument*.

L. Vives, in his Annotations upon S. *Auguſtine*, cites very many of their conjectures: as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moſes* lived in the time of *Semiramis*: But, if he did mean the firſt *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit; for beſides that the ſame is contrary to all Stories, divine and humane; while that *Semiramis* lived, ſhe commanded *Syria*, and all the parts the parts thereof abſolutely; neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Moabites*, or *Edomites*, while ſhe ruled, *in rerum natura*.

A ſecond Opinion he remembreth out of *Appion*, taken from *Ptolemy*, a Prieſt of *Mendes*, who ſaith, that *Moſes* was born while *Inachus* did rule the *Argives*, and *Ameſtes* in *Egypt*.

The third Opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greek* Hiſtory, the firſt Book; that *Moſes* was born while *Apis* the third King ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Aſſyrius*, who, though he cite ſome Authorities, that *Moſes* lived after the *Trojan* war, is himſelf of opinion, that *Moſes* was farr more antient, proving it by many arguments.

Fifthly, he ſetteth down the teſtimony of *Numinius* the Philoſopher, who took *Muſæus* and *Moſes* to be one; confirming the ſame out of *Artapanas*, who confeſſeth that *Moſes* was called *Muſæus* by the *Grecians*; and who farther delivereth, that he was adopted by *Chenephis*, or *Thermutis*, the Daughter of *Egypt*; the ſame which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*)

Thermothes. *Eusebius* also affirmeth, that by *Eupolemus*, in his first Book, *de Bono*, Moses, *vir Deo conjunctissimus*, is called *Musæus Judæorum*. *Eusebius*, in his Chronologie, finds that *Moses* was born while *Amenophis* ruled *Egypt*. The antient *Manethon* calls that *Pharaoh*, which lived at *Moses* birth, *Thumosis*, or *Thmesis*: the same, perchance, which *Appion* the *Grammarian* will have to be *Amosis*, and else-where *Amenophis*, the father of *Sethosis*: to whom *Lysimachus*, and *Cornelius Tacitus*, gave the name of *Focchoris*. To me it seems most probable, that while *Saphrus*, called also *Spherus*, or *Iphereus*, governed *Assyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*; and *Criasus* the *Argives*; that then (*Sesostris* the second ruling in *Egypt*) *Moses* was born. For, if we believe Saint *Augustine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops* time, that *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. *Eduxit* Moses *ex Ægypto populum Dei novissimo tempore* Cecropis *Athenienſium Regis*; Moses (saith he) *led the people of God out of* Egypt, *about the end of* Cecrops *time*, *King of the* Athenians. In this sort therefore is the time of *Moses* birth, and of his departure out of *Egypt* best proved, Saint *Augustine* affirms (as before remembred) that *Moses* was born, *Saphrus* governing *Assyria*; and that he left *Egypt* about the end of *Cecrops* time. Now, *Saphrus* ruled twenty years; his succeſſour *Mamelus* thirty years; *Sparetus* after him fourty years: in whose fourth year *Cecrops* began to govern in *Attica*: *Ascatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the Empire one and fourty years. So as *Moses* being born while *Saphrus* ruled *Assyria*; *Orthopolis Sicyonia*, and *Criasus Argos* (for these three Kings lived at once at his birth, saith Saint *Augustine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Egypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moses* was in the nineteenth year of the *Assyrian Saphrus*; for take one yeare remaining of twenty (for so long *Saphrus* reigned) to which add the thirty years of *Mamelus*, and the fourty years of *Sparetus*, these make seventy one, with which there were wasted three years of *Cecrops* his fifty years: then take nine years out of the reign of *Ascatades*, who was *Sparetus* succeſſor, those nine years added to seventy one, make eighty, at which age *Moses* left *Egypt*; and add these nine years to the three years of *Cecrops* formerly spent, there will remain but four years of *Cecrops* his fifty, and so it falleth right with S. *Augustine*'s words, affirming, that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moses* led the people of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.

Euseb. de prap. Evan. l. 3. c. 3.

Aug. l. 18. c. 11. de Civit. Dei.

2514.

Now, the time in which the *Hebrews* were oppreſſed in *Egypt*, seemeth to have had beginning some eight or nine years before the birth of *Moses*, and fifty four years, or rather more, after *Joseph*; between whose death, and the birth of *Moses*, there were consumed sixty four years, some of which time, and eighty years after, they lived in great servitude and misery. For, as it is written in *Exodus*: *They set task-masters over them, to keep them under with burthens; and they built the Cities* Pithom *and* Rameses, *&c. And by cruelty, they caused the children of* Israel *to serve, and made them weary of their lives, by sore labour in Clay and Brick, and in all work of the field, with all manner of bondage*. All which laid upon them by a mastering power, and strong hand, they endured to the time by the wisdome of God appointed; even from fifty four years, or not much more, after the death of *Joseph*, who left the World when when it had lasted 2370. to the eighth year of *Moses*, and untill he wrought his miracles in the field of *Zoan*, which he performed in the Worlds age 2514. towards the end thereof, according to *Codoman*, or after our account, 2513. And because those things which we deliver of *Egypt*, may the better be understood, I think it necessary to speak a few words of the principal place therein named in this Discourse.

Exod. 1.

2370.

2514.

§. II.

Of divers Cities and Places in Egypt, *mentioned in this Story, or else-where in the Scriptures.*

THis City, which the *Hebrews* call *Zoan*, was built seven years after *Hebron*. *Ezekiel* calleth it *Taphnes*, and so doth *Hieremy*; the *Septuagint*, *Tanais*; *Josephus*, *Protaidis*, after the name of an *Egyptian* Queen; *Antonius* gives it the name of *Thanis*; *Hegesippus*, *Thamna*; and *William Tyrius*, *Tapius*. It adjoyneth to the Land of *Gosen*, and is the same, wherein *Hieremy* the Prophet was stoned to death, for preaching against the *Egyptian* and *Jewish* Idolatry.

Num. 33. *Ezech.* 30. *Hier.* 2. 43. 44. 46. *Joseph. l.* 1. *c.* 9. *Tir. de Bel. sac. l.* 19. *c.* 23.

Zoan, or *Taphnes*, was, in *Moses* time, the *Metropolis* of the lower *Egypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly resided; and not unlikely to be the same City, where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Eusebius* out of *Artapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* did read Astronomy in *Heliopolis*, or *On*, to *Pharetates* King of *Egypt*. *Alex. Polyhistor*, out of *Eupolemus*, hath it otherwise, saying, that *Abraham* instructed the *Egyptian* Priests, and not the King; both which authorities *Eusebius* citeth. The *Septuagint* and the Vulgar Edition,

Euseb. de prep. Evang. l. 9. c. 4. Gen. 12. 15 Isa. 19, 11. Edition, for *Zoan*, write *Heliopolis*. *Pagnin*, *Vatablus*, *Junius*, and our *English* call it *On*; and *Ptolemie*, *Onium*. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the fronier of the lower *Egypt*, toward the South; the other somewhat lower on the Easter-most branch of *Nilus*, falling into the Sea at *Pelusium*. And it may be, that *Heliopolis*, to the South of the River *Trojan*, was the same which *Vatablus* and our *English* call *Aven*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certain knowledge; the same which *Pomp. Mela* and *Plinie* call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrius* in the *Holy Warr*, *Malbec*; the *Arabians*, *Bahalbeth*; and *Simeon Sethi*, *Fons Solis*. Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Potiphar* Priest, or Prince, whose Daughter *Joseph* married. In the Territory adjoining, *Jacob* inhabited, while he lived in *Egypt*. In the confines of this City, *Onias*, the High Priest of the *Jews*, built a Temple, dedicated to the Eternal God; not much inferiour to that of *Hierusalem* (*Ptolemy Philopater*, then governing in *Egypt*) which stood in the time of *Vespasian*, 333. years after the foundation by *Onias*, whom *Josephus* falsly reporteth herein, to have fulfilled a Prophecie of *Esay*, Chap. 19. *In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terræ* Egypti; *In that day shall the Altar of the Lord be in the midst of the Land of* Egypt. *Antiochus Epiphanes*, at the time of the building tyrannizing over the *Jews*, gave the occasion for the erecting of this Temple in *Egypt*. Lastly, there it was that our Saviour *Christ Jesus* remained, while *Joseph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: near which (saith *Brochard*) the Fountain is still found, called *Jesus Well*, whose streams do afterward water the Gardens of *Balsamum*, no where else found in *Egypt*. And hereof see more in *Brochard*, in his Description of *Egypt*.

Esay 19. 13. Ezech. 34. Hos. 9. 6. There is also in that City of *Noph*, remembred by *Esay* and *Ezechiel*, the same which *Hosea* the Prophet calleth *Moph*; which later name it took from a Mountain adjoining, so called; which Mountain *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great City, which was called *Memphis*; and so the *Septuagint* write it. It is known to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar*. The *Chaldæans* name it *Alchabyr*; and *Tudalensis Mizraim*.

Lib. 2.

G. Tyr. l. 20. c. 17. l. 2. c. 5. *Pelusium*, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *English*, write *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*; is not the same with *Damiata*, as *Gul. Tyrius* witnesseth. In the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Pelusium* was called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (saith *Tyrius*) *quæ olim dicta est* Pelusium; Belbeis *that in times past was called* Pelusium.

The City of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Diospolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Egypt*. *Hierom* converts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future. Ezech. 30. 15, 16.

Bubastus (for so *Hierome* and *Zeigler* do write it) is the same which the *Hebrews* call *Pibeseth*. Ezech. 30. 17.

To make the Story more perceivable, I have added a Description of the Land of *Gosen*, in which the *Israelites* inhabited; with those Cities and places so often remembred in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes*, or *Zoan*, *Heliopolis*, or *Bethsemes*, *Balsephon*, *Succoth*, and the rest; together with *Moses* passage through the Desarts of *Arabia the Stony*. For all Story, without the knowledge of the places wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure, so it no way enricheth the knowledge and understanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing serve to retain, what we read, in our memories, so well as these Pictures and Descriptions do. In which respect I am driven to digress in many places, and to interpose some such Discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent; taking for my authority, after many others more antient, that great learned man, *Arias Montanus*; who, in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, hath these words: *Si enim absque locorum observatione res gestæ narrentur, aut sine Topographiæ cognitione Historiæ legantur, adeo confusa atque perturbata erunt omnia, ut ex iis nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit; If narration* (saith he) *be made of those things which are performed, without the observation of the places wherein they were done; or if Histories be read without Topographical knowledge; all things will appear so intricate and confused, as we shall thereby understand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.*

§. III.

Of the cruelty against the Israelites *young children in* Egypt; *and of* Moses *his preservation and Education.*

But to return to the Story it self. It appeareth, that notwithstanding the labour and slavery which the *Israelites* endured, yet they decreased not in numbers: In so much as *Pharaoh*, considering the danger of discontented poverty, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perillous they might be to his estate, by suggestion of the Devil, resolved to slaughter all the male children of the *Hebrews*, as soon as

they ſhould be born. To which end he ſent for *Sephora* and *Thura*, women the moſt famous and expert amongſt them, *Quæ præerant* (ſaith *Comeſtor*) *multitudini obſtetricum, who had command given them over all Mid-wives*; by whom (as it ſeemeth) he gave order to all the reſt for the execution of his *Edict*. For, to have called all the Mid-wives of *Egypt* together, had been a ſtrange Parliament. Now, whether theſe two (before named) were of the *Hebrews*, or of the *Egyptians*, it is diverſly diſputed. S. *Auguſtine* calls them *Hebrews*, becauſe it is written *Exodus* 1. *The King of* Egypt *commanded the Mid-wives of the* Hebrew *women*, &c. But *Joſephus*, *Abulenſis*, and *Pererius* believe them to be *Egyptians*. Whoſoever they were, when it pleaſed God to fruſtrate the execution of that ſecret murther, to the end the World might witneſs both the wickedneſs of the *Egyptians*, and the juſt cauſe, thereby made manifeſt, of his future indignation and revenge: *Pharaoh* finding theſe Women filled with piety, and the fear of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publickly, or howſoever, to deſtroy all the male *Hebrew* children born within his Dominions.

Verſ. 16. Joſeph. ant. l. 2. c. 5. Abul. & Perer. in Exod.

Now, beſides the doubts, which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrews*, the greateſt part of whom he might have aſſured, by affording them the juſtice which every King oweth to his vaſſals, and the reſt he might have employed, or ſent away, at his pleaſure; *Joſephus* giveth another cauſe of his rage againſt them, namely, That it was prophetically delivered him by an *Egyptian* Prieſt, that among the *Hebrews* there ſhould be born a child, who growing to mans eſtate, ſhould becom a plague and terror to his whole Nation. To prevent which (and preſuming that he could reſiſt the Ordinance of God, by a mean, contrary to the Laws of Heaven and of Nature) he ſtretched out his bloudy and mercileſs hand to the execution of his former intent. The ſame prevention *Herod* long after practiſed, when fearing the ſpiritual Kingdom of *Chriſt*, as if it ſhould have been temporal, he cauſed all the male children at that time born, to be ſlaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had ſome kind of foreknowledg of the future ſucceſs, it may be gathered by his own words, in the tenth Verſe of the fifth of *Exodus*: *Come, let us work wiſely with them, leſt they multiply; and it come to paſs, that if there be Warr, they join themſelves alſo unto our enemies, and fight againſt us, and get them out of the Land.* But we ſee, and time hath told it us from the beginning, how God derideth the wiſdom of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inventions of their own moſt feeble, and altogether darkened, underſtanding. For even by the hands of the dearly beloved daughter of this Tyrant, was that great Prophet and Miniſter of Gods marvellous works taken out of *Nilus*, being thereinto turned off, in an Ark of Reeds, a ſucking and powerleſs Infant. And this Princeſs having beheld the child his form and beauty, though but yet in the blouth, ſo pierced her compaſſion, as ſhe did not onely preſerve it, and cauſe it to be foſtered; but commanded that it ſhould be eſteemed as her own, and with equal care to the Son of a King nouriſhed. And for memory that it was her deed, ſhe called the child *Moſes*, as it were, *extractus*, or *ereptus*, *taken out*, to wit, out of the Water; or after *Joſephus* and *Glycas*, *Moy*, a voice expreſſing Water, and *Hiſes*, as much as to ſay, as that which is drawn out of Water, or thence taken. *Clemens Alexandrinus* was of opinion, that *Moſes* was circumciſed before he was put into the Ark of Reeds, and that *Amram* his father had named him *Joachim*. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care, and at the charge, of *Pharaohs* Daughter, and by men of the moſt underſtanding, taught and inſtructed: *Quem regio more educavit, præfeſtis ei ſapientibus* Ægyptiorum *Magiſtris, à quibus erudiretur*, ſaith *Baſil*; *unto whom ſhe gave Princely education, appointing over him wiſe Maſters of the* Egyptians *for his inſtructers.* Thereby (ſay *Joſephus* and *Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Egyptians*; which alſo the Martyr *Stephen* in the ſeventh of the *Acts* confirmeth; *And* Moſes *was learned in all the wiſdom of the* Egyptians. Which Wiſdom or Sapience, ſuch as it was, or at leaſt ſo much thereof as *Six. Senenſis* hath gathered, we have added, between the death of *Moſes*, and the reign of *Joſua*.

Strom. l. 1.

Phil. de vita Moyſ.

Joſ. ant. l. 2. c. 5.

Exod. 5. 10

§. IV.

Of Moſes *his flying out of* Egypt; *and the opinions of certain antient Hiſtorians of his war in* Æthiopia; *and of his marriage there:* Philo *his judgment of his Paſtoral life*; *and that of* Pererius *of the Books of* Geneſis *and* Job.

WHen *Moſes* was grown to mans eſtate, *Joſephus* and *Euſebius*, out of *Artapanus*, tell us of ten years Warr that he made againſt the *Æthiopians*; of the beſieging of *Seba*, afterward, by *Cambyſes*, called *Meroe*; and how he recovered the City by the favour

vour of *Tharbis*, a Daughter of *Æthiopia*, whom he took to Wife. So hath *Comeſtor* a pretty tale of *Moſes*, how after the end of that Warr, *Tharbis* reſiſting his return into *Egypt*, *Moſes*, moſt ſkilful in *Aſtronomy*, cauſed two Images to be engraven in two precious Stones, whereof the one increaſed memory; the other cauſed forgetfulneſs: Theſe he ſet in two Rings; whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his Wife *Tharbis*, reſerving the other of memory for himſelf; which Ring of forgetfulneſs, after ſhe had a while worn, ſhe began to neglect the love ſhe bare her Huſband: and ſo *Moſes*, without danger, returned into *Egypt*. But leaving theſe fancies to the Authours of them: It is true, that about the fourtieth year of *Moſes* age, when he beheld an *Egyptian* offering violence to one of the the oppreſſed *Hebrews*, moved by compaſſion, in reſpect of his brother, and ſtirred up by diſdain againſt the other, in the contention he ſlew the *Egyptian*. Soon after which fact, finding a diſpoſition in ſome of his own Nation to accuſe him, for whoſe defence, he had thus greatly endangered his own life: by the ordinance and advice of God, whoſe choſen ſervant he was, he fled into *Arabia Petræa*, the next bordering Countrey to *Egypt*; where wandering all alone, as a man left and forſaken, in a place unknown unto him, as among a Nation of barbarous ſtrangers; and who in future times, were the irreconcileable enemies of the *Hebrews*: it pleaſed God (working the greateſt things by the weakeſt worldly means) to make the watering of a few ſheep, and the aſſiſting of the Daughter of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, an occaſion whereby to provide him a Wife of one of thoſe, and a father-in-law, that fed him, and ſuſtained him in a Countrey neareſt *Egypt*, fitteſt to return from; neceſſary to be known, becauſe interjacent between *Egypt* and *Judæa*, through which he was to lead the *Iſraelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occaſion which God preſented beſt ſerved. And laſtly, where the glory of the world ſhined leaſt, amidſt mountainous Deſarts, there the glory of God, which ſhineth moſt, covered him over, and appeared unto him, not finding him as a Kings Son, or an adopted child of great *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, but as a meek and humble Shepherd, ſitting at a mountains foot, a keeper and commander of thoſe poor Beaſts onely.

In that part of *Arabia* near *Madian*, he conſumed 40. years; and though (as *Philo* in the Story of *Moſes* life obſerveth) he did not neglect the care of thoſe flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Paſtoral knowledge; yet in that ſolitary Deſart, he enjoyed himſelf: and being ſeparate from the preaſs of the world, and the troubleſome affairs thereof, he gave himſelf to contemplation, and to make perfect in himſelf all thoſe knowledges, whereof his younger years had gathered the grounds and principles: the ſame Authour alſo judging that his Paſtoral life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principality, which he afterward obtained. *Eſt enim* (ſaith *Plato*) *ars Paſtoralis, quaſi præludium ad regnum, hoc eſt, ad regimen hominum, gregis manſuetiſſimi. Quemadmodum bellicoſa ingenia præexercent ſe in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod poſtea in militia, & bello perfectura ſunt; brutis præbentibus materiam exercitii, tam belli quàm pacis tempore. At verò præfectura manſueti pecoris, habet quiddam ſimile cum regno in ſubditis; ideoque Reges cognominantur Paſtores populorum, non contumeliæ, ſed honoris gratia; The art of keeping Sheep is, as it were, an introductory exerciſe unto a Kingdom, namely, the rules over men, the moſt gentle flock: Even as warlike natures do before-hand exerciſe themſelves in hunting, practiſing on wild beaſts thoſe things which after they will accompliſh in warfare: thoſe brute beaſts affording matter, wherein to train themſelves, both in time of war and of peace. But the government of gentle cattel, hath a kind of reſemblance unto a Kingly rule over ſubjects; therefore Kings are ſtiled Sheepherds of the people, not in way of reproach, but for their honour.*

That *Moſes*, in the time of his abode at *Madian*, wrote the Book of *Job*, as *Pererius* ſuppoſeth, I cannot judge of it, becauſe it is thought, that *Job* was at that time living. Neither dare I ſubſcribe to *Pererius* opinion, That *Moſes*, while he lived in that part of *Arabia*, wrote the Book of *Geneſis*; although I cannot deny the reaſon of *Pererius* conjecture, That by the example of *Jobs* patience he might ſtrengthen the oppreſſed *Hebrews*: and by the promiſes of God to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, put them in aſſurance of their delivery from the *Egyptian* ſlavery, and of the Land of reſt, and plenty, promiſed. *Perer in c. 3. Exod.*

Of his calling back into *Egypt* by the Angel of God, and the marvels and wonders which he performed, thereby to perſwade *Pharaoh*, that he was the meſſenger of the moſt High, the particulars are written in the firſt fourteen Chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needleſs. But for the firſt, it is to be noted, that when *Moſes* deſired to be taught of God, by what name he ſhould make him known, and by whom he was ſent; *Exod. c. 3. v. 13, 14, & 15.*

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he received from God ſo much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being Nature. Out of which he delivered him in the firſt part of his Anſwer, a name to be conſidered of by the wiſeſt; and in his ſecond, to be underſtood by all. For, there is nothing that is, or hath being of it ſelf, but the Eternal: which truly is, which is above all, which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment; their ſubſtance waſteth, and is repaired by nutriment; never continuing at one ſtay, nor being the ſame ſo long as while one may ſay, Now. Likewiſe, whatſoever is conſumed in the longeſt continuance of time, the ſame, in every ſhorteſt piece of time ſuffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one ſtate. *Una eſt Dei, & ſola natura quæ verè eſt: id enim quod ſubſiſtit, non habet aliundè, ſed ſuum eſt. Cætera quæ creata ſunt, etiamſi videntur eſſe, non ſunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & poteſt rurſum non eſſe, quod non fuit; It is the one and onely nature of God, which truly is: for he hath his being of himſelf, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they ſeem to be, yet they are not; for ſometimes they were not; and that which hath not been, may again want being.* And with this, in reſpect of the divine Nature, the ſaying of *Zeno Eleates* excellently agreeth: *Tota rerum natura umbra eſt, aut inanis, aut fallax; The whole nature of things is but a ſhadow, either empty or deceitfull:* in compariſon of whom (ſaith *Eſay*) all Nations are nothing, leſs than nothing, and meer vanity.

Hier. ad Dam.

Cap. 40. v. 13.

Of the ten Plagues wherewith the *Egyptians* were ſtrucken, the firſt was by changiug the Rivers into bloud; God puniſhing them by thoſe waters, into which their forefathers had thrown, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the *Hebrews*. To which this place of the *Revelation* may be fitly applied: *And I heard the Angel of the water ſay, Lord, thou art juſt, which art, and which waſt; and holy, becauſe thou haſt judged theſe things; for they ſhed the bloud of thy Saints and Prophets, and therefore haſt thou given them bloud to drink.*

Cap. 16. v. 5.

The reſt of the Plagues by Froggs, Lice, Flies, or ſtinging Waſps; by the death of their Cattel; by leprous Scabs; by Hail and Fire; by Graſhoppers; by Darkneſs; after which, *Pharaoh* forbad *Moſes* his preſence: moved the hardened heart of the unbelieving King, no longer than the pain and peril laſted; till ſuch time as his own firſt-born, and the firſt-born of all his Nation periſhed. He then, while he feared his own life (a time wherein we remember God perforce) ſtood upon no condition; whereas before, he firſt yielded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women, and children, reſerving their beſtial; but he was now content for the preſent, that the *Iſraelits* ſhould not onely depart with all their own, but with a part of the Silver, Gold, and Jewels of his own people: of which (the fear being paſt) he ſuddenly repented him, as his purſuit after them proved. For, when every one of the *Hebrews* had (according to direction from *Moſes* received) ſlain a Lamb, without ſpot or blemiſh, for the *Paſſover* (a *Sacrament* of the moſt clean and unſpotted Saviour) and with the bloud thereof coloured the poſt and lintern of the doors; the Angel of God in the night ſmote every firſt-born of *Egypt*, from the Son of the King, to that of the Beggar and Slave: the children of the *Iſraelites* excepted. At which terrible judgment of God, *Pharaoh* being more than ever amazed, yielded, as before is ſaid, to their departure. The *Egyptians* (ſaith *Epiphanius*) did, in after-times, imitate this colouring with bloud, which the *Iſraelites* uſed after the *Paſſover*; aſcribing an exceeding virtue to the Red Colour: and therefore they did not onely mark their Sheep and Cattel, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preſerve them from lightning, and other harms.

Epiph. l. 1. cont. Hæreſ.

§. V.

Of Pharaoh's *purſuit of the* Iſraelites; *and of their paſſage towards the Red Sea, ſo farr as* Succoth.

NOw, when the people were removed, and on their way (his heart being hardned by God) he bethought him as well of the honour loſt, as of the ſhame remaining after ſo many Calamities and Plagues, in ſuffering them to depart with the ſpoils of his people, and in deſpight of himſelf. And having before this time great Companies of Souldiers in readineſs, he conſulted with himſelf, what way the *Iſraelites* were like to take. He knew that the ſhorteſt and faireſt paſſage was through the Countrey of the *Philiſtims*. But becauſe theſe people were very ſtrong, and a warlike Nation, and (in all probability) of his Allies, he ſuſpected that *Moſes* meant to find ſome other out-let, to wit, through the Deſart of *Etham*; and there, becauſe the Countrey was exceeding mountainous, and of hard acceſs, and that *Moſes* was peſtered with multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattel, he thought it impoſſible for the *Iſraelites* to eſcape him that

that way. In the mean while, having gathered together all the Chariots of *Egypt*, and six hundred of his own, and Captains over them; he determined to set upon them in the plains of *Gosen*, which way soever they turned themselves. For it was the antient manner to fight in those Chariots, armed with broad and sharp hooks on both sides, in fashion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kind of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the *Britains* used against the *Romans*, while they made the Warr for the conquest of this Land. Of this Army of *Pharaoh*, *Josephus* affirmeth, that it consisted of 50000. Horse, and 20000. Foot; which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted, but that *Pharaoh* intended long before to assail the *Hebrews* at their departure, or to destroy them in *Gosen*; and refused them passage, till such time as he had prepared an Army to set on them. For, as it is written in the first of *Exodus*, he doubted two things, either that the *Hebrews* might join themselves to his enemies within the Land; or, being so multiplied, as they were, might leave his service, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the plagues which God grieved him withall, enforced him, at this time, to give an assent to their departure; perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise, and *Josephus* partial in this affair, yet, by the words of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of *Egypt*, which could not be done in haste. For *Moses* made but three days march, ere *Pharaoh* was at his heels; and yet the last day, he went on 16. miles: which in so hot a Countrey, and to drive their Cattel and Sheep with them, pestered with a world of Women and Children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerfull Enemy at hand. Now, as *Moses* well knew that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his understanding in all his enterprizes; so he lay not still in the ditch, crying for help, but using the understanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed becoming a wise man, and a valiant and skilfull Conductor; as by all his actions and counsels, from this day to his death, well appeared.

Exod. 14. 7.

Joseph. ant. l. 2. *c.* 6.

Exod. 14. 7.

When *Moses* perceived that *Pharaoh* was enraged against him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence: after that he had warned *Israel* of the *Passover*, he appointed a general Assembly, or *Rendez-vous* of all the *Hebrews* at *Rameses*, in the Territory of *Gosen*; a City standing indifferent to receive from all parts of the Countrey, the dispersed *Hebrews*; and gave commandment, that every Family should bring with them such store as they had of Dough, and Paste, not staying to make it into Bread; knowing then that *Pharaoh* was on foot, and on his way towards them. Which done, and having considered the great strength of *Pharaoh*'s Horse-men and Chariots, of which kind of defence *Moses* was utterly unprovided (though, as it is written, the *Israelites* went up armed) he marched from *Rameses* East-ward, towards the Desarts of *Etham*, and encamped at *Succoth*; which he performed on the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Abib*; which Moneth, from that time forward, they were commanded to account as the first Moneth of the year. Whereas in former times they had been accustomed to begin their year in some other Moneth, following the manner of the *Egyptians*, and were now re-called by *Moses* to the rule of their fore-fathers, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that they had, and retained another beginning of their Politick year, which was not now abrogated, but rather, by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and still continued in use. Wherefore in referring things done, or happening among them, unto the beginning, middest, or ending of the year; that distinction of the Sacred and the Politick year is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of days in every Moneth, and the whole form of their year, like enough it is, that *Moses* himself in fourty years space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in trust; but that any rule of framing their Kalendar was made publick, before the captivity of *Babylon*, I do not find. Now, because time and motion begin together, it will not, I think, be any great breach of order, to shew here, at their first setting forth, what was the form of the *Hebrew* year; with the difference between them and other Nations, in ordering the account of time.

The Territory of *Gosen* was afterward called *Rameses* after the name of this City, as appeareth in *Gen.* 47. & *Numb.* 33. *Exod.* 13.

Exod. 13. 16. & 34. 22.

§. VI.

§. VI.

Of the Solary and Lunary years; and how they are reconciled; with the form of the Hebrew *year, and their manner of intercalation.*

The *Hebrew* Moneths are thus named.

The Firſt Moneth, *Niſan*, or *Abib.*	1. *March.*
II. *Jar*, or *Tiar*, *Zio*, or *Zin.*	2. *April.*
III. *Sivan*, or *Sinan*, or *Siban.*	3. *May.*
IV. *Tamuz.*	4. *June.*
V. *Ab.*	5. *July.*
VI. *Ehul.*	6. *Auguſt.*
VII. *Tiſri*, or *Ethavin*, or *Ethanim.*	7. *September.*
VIII. *Marcheſuan*, or *Mechaſuan*, or *Bul*, or with *Joſephus*, *Morſonane.*	8. *October.*
IX. *Chiſleu*, or *Caſleu.*	9. *November.*
X. *Tebeth*, or *Thobeth.*	10. *December.*
XI. *Sebeth*, or *Sabath.*	11. *January.*
XII. *Adar*, and *Ve Adar.*	12. *February.*

Ant. l. 1. c. 4.

VE Adar, was an intercalary Moneth, added ſome years unto the other twelve, to make the Solary and Lunary year agree; which (beſides the general inconvenience that would otherwiſe have riſen, by caſting the Moneths of Summer into the Winter ſeaſon, to the great confuſion of all account) was more neceſſarily to be regarded of the *Hebrews*, becauſe of the divine Precept. For God appointed eſpecial Feaſts to be celebrated preciſely in ſuch a Moneth of the year, and withall on a ſet day, both of the Moon, and of the Moneth: as the Feaſt of the Firſt-fruits, the new Moons, and the like; which could not have ſo been kept, if either the day of the Moon had fallen in ſome other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it ſelf been found far diſtant from his place in the ſeaſon of the year.

Deut. 16.

Other Nations, the better to obſerve their Solemnities in the due time, and to aſcertain all reckonings and remembrances (which is the principal commodity of time that is, the meaſure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their years unequal, by adding ſometimes, and ſometimes abating one or more days, as the errour committed in foregoing years required. The errour grew at firſt, by not knowing what number of days made up a compleat year. For though by the continual courſe of the Sun, cauſing Summer and Winter duly to ſucceed each other, it is plain enough, even to the moſt ſavage of all people, when a year hath paſſed over them; yet the neceſſity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbred by a ſhorter tally, makes this long meaſure of whole years inſufficient for the ſmaller ſort of more daily affairs. Therefore men obſerved the Monethly conſpicuous revolution of the Moon, by which they divided the the year into twelve parts, ſubdividing the Moneth into 29. days and nights, and thoſe again into their quarters and hours. But as the marks of time are ſenſibly and eaſily diſcerned; ſo the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the underſtanding. Twelve revolutions of the Moon, containing leſs time by 11. days, or thereabout, than the yearly courſe of the Sun through the Zodiak, in the ſpace of ſixteen years, every Moneth was found in the quite contrary part of the year, to that wherein it was placed at the firſt. This cauſed them to add ſome days to the year, making it to conſiſt of twelve Moneths, and as many days more, as they thought would make the courſes of the Sun and Moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errours. For neither did the Sun determine his yearly revolution by any ſet number of whole days; neither did the Moon change always at one hour; but the very minutes and leſſer fractions were to be obſerved by him, that would ſeek to reduce their motions (which motions alſo were not ſtill alike) into any certain rule.

30. & 19.

Here lay much Wiſdom, and deep Art, which could not ſoon be brought to perfection. Yet, as making an eſtimate at random, the *Athenians* held the year to contain thee hundred and ſixty days; wherein moſt of the *Greeks* concurred with them. That three hundred and ſixty days filled up the *Grecian* year (beſides many collateral proofs) it is manifeſt by that which *Pliny* directly affirmeth, telling of the *Statues*, erected in the honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, which were (ſaith he) 360. whileſt as yet the year exceeded not that number of days. By this account, neither did any certain age of the Moon begin or end their Moneths; neither could their Moneths continue many years in their own places; but muſt needs be ſhifted by little and little, from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the days forgotten to be inſerted into the *Almanack* by men, but not forgotten by the ſuperiour bodies in their courſes, ſhould occupy their own rooms in their due turns. Now, becauſe the ſolemnity of the *Olympian* games was to be held at the full Moon, and withall, on the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Hecatombæon* (which anſwereth in a manner to our *June*) they were careſull to take order, that this Moneth might ever begin with the new Moon; which they effected by adding ſome two days to the laſt Moneth of every year; thoſe games being held once in four years. This intercalation ſufficed not

Plin. l. 34. cap. 6.

to

to make the matter even; which cauſed them ſomtimes to omit one day in the fourth year, which was the ſecond of the Moneth *Bædromion* (agreeing nearly with our *Auguſt*) ſometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to inſert another for it in their fourth Lunary year, accounting by the Moon, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithſtanding, their Moneth of *June* would every year have grown colder and colder, had they not ſought to keep all upright, by intercalating in each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth year, one whole Moneth, which they called the ſecond *Poſideon*, or *December*; which was the device of *Harpalus*, who alſo taught them to make one Month of 29. days, another of 30. days, & ſo ſucceſſively through the whole year. Thus, with much labour, they kept their year, as near as they could, unto the high way of the *Planets*; but theſe marks, which they obſerved, were found at length to be deceitfull guides. For it was not poſſible ſo to faſhion this eighth years intercalation, that it ſhould not deceive them in 11. hours and 18. minutes at the leaſt, or ſome ways in 34. hours and 10. miuutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences, would in few Ages, have bred much confuſion. The firſt that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Meton* the *Athenian*, who, not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth years intercalation, deviſed a *Cycle* of 19. years, wherein the Moon, having 235. times run out her circuit, met with the Sun in the ſame place, & on the ſame day of the year; as in the 19. year before paſt ſhe had done. This invention of *Meton*, was entertained with great applauſe, and paſſing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inſerted into the Kalendar in Golden Letters, being called, The Golden Number, which name it retaineth unto this day. Hereby were avoided the great and uncertain intercalations that formerly had been uſed; for by the intercalation of ſeven Months, in the 19. years, all was ſo even, that no ſenſible difference could be found. Yet that error which in one year could not be perceiv'd, was very apparent in a few of thoſe *Cycles*; the new Moons anticipating in one *Cycle* 7. hours, and ſome minutes, of the preciſe rule. Therefore *Calippus* deviſed a new *Cycle*, containing four of *Metons*, that is to ſay, 76. years; and afterwards, *Hipparchus*, a noble *Aſtrologer*, framed another, containing four of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding ſome errour in the former Obſervations, which they diligently corrected. The laſt reformation of the Kalendar, was that which *Julius Cæſar* made, who, by advice of the beſt *Mathematicians*, then to be found, examining the courſes of thoſe heavenly bodies, reduced the year unto the form which is now in uſe with us, containing 365. days and 6. hours, which hours in four years, make up one whole day, that is intercalated every fourth year, the 24. of *February*. The correction of the *Julian* year by *Pope Gregory* the 13. *Anno Dom.* 1582. is not as yet entertained by general conſent; it was indeed but as a Note added unto the Work of *Cæſar*; yet a Note of great importance. For whereas it was obſerved, that the Sun, which at the time of the *Nicene Council*, *An. Dom.* 234. entred the *Æquinoctial* on the 21. day of *March*, was in the year 1583. ten days ſooner found, in that time *Pope Gregory* ſtrook out of the Kalendar ten days, following the 4. of *October*; ſo that in ſtead of the fifth day, was written the fifteenth; by which means the movable Feaſts depending on the Sun's entrance into *Aries*, were again celebrated in ſuch time, as at the *Nicene Council* they had been. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the *Council* of *Trent* ordained, that from thence forward, in every hundred year, the Leap-day ſhould be omitted, excepting ſtill the fourth hundred; becauſe the Sun doth not in his yearly courſe take up full ſix hours above the 365. days; but faileth ſo may minutes, as in 400. years make about three whole days.

But the *Cycle* of 29. years, which the *Hebrews* uſed, was ſuch as neither did need any nice curioſity of hours, minutes, and other leſſer fractions to help it; neither did in ſumming up the days of the whole year, neglect the days of the Moon, confounding one Month with another. For with them it fel out ſo, that always the *Kalends*, or firſt day of the Moneth, was at the new Moon; and becauſe that day was Feſtival, they were very carefull, as well to obſerve the ſhort year of the Moon, paſſing through all the 12. Signs in one Moneth, as that longer of the Sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. Firſt, therefore they gave it to *Niſan*, their firſt Moneth, which is about our *March*, or *April*, 30. days; to *Jar*, their ſecond Moneth 29. days; and ſo ſucceſſively 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to paſs, that every two Moneths of theirs contain'd ſomewhat evenly two revolutions of the Moon, allowing 29. days 12 hours, and odd minutes, from change to change. The ſpare minutes were beſtowed among the ſuperfluous, or *Epact* days; which made up ſeven Moneths in 19. years; to ſix of which ſeven were commonly given 30. days, to one of them 29. days, or otherwiſe, as was found requiſite. Their common year (as appeareth by the ſeveral

days of each Moneth) contained 354. days, which fail of the year, wherein the Sun finiſheth his courſe, 11. whole days, with ſome fractions of time. But theſe days, and other broken pieces, howſoever they were neglected in one year, yet in the *Cycle* of 19. years, were ſo diſpoſed of by convenient intercalations, that ſtill at the end of the *Cycle*, both the Sun and Moon were found on the ſame day of the year, Moneth, and week, yea, commonly on the ſame hour of the day, where they had been at the beginning of it, 19. years before.

Sig. de rep. Heb. lib. 3. cap. 1. Divers have diverſly ſet down the form of the *Hebrew* year, with the manner of their intercalations. *Sigonius* tells us, that every ſecond year, they did add a Moneth of 22. days; every fourth year a Moneth of 23. in regard of 11. days and a half wanting in 12. Moons, to fulfill a year of the Sun. But herein *Sigonius* was very much deceived. For the Moon doth never finiſh her courſe in 22. or 23. days; and therefore to have added ſo many days to the end of the year, had been the way to change the faſhion of all the Moneths in the years following, which could not have begun, as they ought, with the new Moon. *Genebrard* ſaith, that every third year, or ſecond year, as need required, they did intercalate one Moneth, adding it at the years end unto the other 12. This I believe to have been true; but in which of the years the intercalation was (if it be worthy of conſideration) me thinks they do not probably deliver, who keep all farr from evenneſs, untill the very laſt of the 19. years. For (to omit ſuch as erre groſly) ſome there are who ſay, that after three years, when beſides the days ſpent in 36. courſes of the Moon, 33. days are left remaining, that is, 11. days of each year; then did the *Hebrews* add a Moneth of 30. days; keeping three days, as it were, in pluſiage unto the next account. The like, ſay they, was done at the end of the ſixth year; at which time, beſides the intercalary Moneth, remained ſix days, namely, three ſurmounting that Month, and the *Epact* of three years, beſides the three formerly reſerved. Thus they go on to the 18. year; at which time they have 18. days in hand: all which, with the *Epact* of the 19. year, make up a Moneth of 29. days, that being intercalated at the end of the *Cycle*, makes all even.

Geneb. Chron. l. 2.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirm nor deny; yet ſurely it muſt needs have bred a great confuſion, if in the 18. year every Moneth were removed from his own place by the diſtance of 48. days, that is, half a quarter of a year and more; which inconvenience, by ſuch a reckoning, was unavoidable. Wherefore I preferr the common opinion, which prevents ſuch diſlocation of the Moneths, by ſetting down a more convenient way of intercalation in the 8. year. For the 6. days remaining after the two former intercalations made in the third and ſixth years, added unto the 22. days, ariſing out of the *Epacts* of the 7. and 8. years, do fitly ſerve to make up a Moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the year following; and this borrowing of two days is ſo farr from cauſing any diſorder, that indeed it helps to make the year enſuing vary the leſs from the proper ſeaſon of every Moneth. This may ſuffice to be ſpoken of the *Hebrew* Moneths and years, by which they guided their accounts.

§. VII.

Of the paſſage of Iſrael *from* Succoth *towards the Red Sea; and of the divers ways leading out of* Egypt.

FRom *Succoth*, in the morning following, *Moſes* led the *Iſraelites* towards the Deſart of *Etham*, to recover the Mountain foot, by the edge of that Wilderneſs, though he intended nothing leſs than to go out of that way, of all other the neareſt. But being aſſured of the multitude of Horſe-men and armed Chariots that followed him, he kept himſelf from being encompaſſed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* he reſted but one night, and then he reflected back from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the diſtance between it and *Succoth* being about eight miles. That he forbare to enter *Arabia*, being then in ſight thereof, it ſeemeth to proceed from three reſpects: the firſt two, natural; the third, divine. For, *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which *Moſes* took, perſwaded himſelf, that the numbers which *Moſes* led, conſiſting of above a Million, if not of two Millions of Souls (for it is written, *Exod.* the 12. *Great multitudes of ſundry ſorts of people went out with them*) could not poſſibly paſs over thoſe Deſart and high Mountains with ſo great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattel, but that at the very entrance of that faſtneſs he ſhould have overtaken them, and deſtroyed the greateſt number of them. For theſe his own words, *They are tangled in the Land, the Wilderneſs hath ſhut them in*, do ſhew his hopes and intents; which *Moſes*, by turning another way, did fruſtrate. Secondly, *Moſes* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way,

It is probable that all thoſe *Egyptians*, and others brought by the *Hebrews* to the knowledg of the true God, followed *Moſes* at his departure.

Sin. Ezek: 30. 15. Vatablus. Iunius. Hierom. write Pelusiu. the Septuagint Sais.
Casluhim. Gen: 10. 14. Ptolomie writes Casius. of whom the Palestines. or Philistims.
Pathros. Ezek: 30. 14. Gen: 10. 14. Ptolomie writes Phacusa.
Phibeseth. Ez: 30. 17. ye Sept: ye Vulgar. & Iun: write Bubastus. Vat: & English Phibeseth.
Zoan. Ez: 30. 14. so Vat: Iun: Eng: write it. the Vul: Taphnis. the Septuag: Taris.
On. Ge: 41. 45. so Vat: Inn: & our Eng: write it. ye Vul: & Sep: Heliopolis. Plin: & Mela Solis
Babylon. the Ebrwes. Tudalensis. & Postellus. Mesraim. (Oppidum
Noph. Ez: 30. 16. so Vat: Pagm: Iun: & Eng: write it. ye Sep: Chad: Par: & Hier: Mephis
Auen. Ez: 30. 17. so Vat: Pag: & Eng: write. the Sep: Vul: & Iunius. Heliopolis.
Rameses. Ex: 12. 37. Gen: 47. Gosen. the Hebrewes and Chald: Par:
Migdol. Ex: 14. 1. Ieremi 46. 14. speaketh of Migdol neere Pelusium.
Damiata. not the same with Pelusium. G. Tyr: bel. Sac: l: 20. c: 17.
Pithom. Exod: 1. 11. which Herodotus calls Putamos.
Elim. Ex: 15. 27. ye 6. Mansion. W: of Tyre in his 11. book of ye holy warr. c: 20. found ye
ruins of a Cit: there. wch was still caled Helis. & inhab: in his time in ye y: 200. after Christ
Etham and Sur: one and the same. Etham. Nüb: 33. 8. Sur. Ex: 15. 22.
Pharan. so called in Ptol: time. who finds a Citie of ye name neere ye Red Sea.
Sin. Zin cades. and Cades barne. distinct places. (Paran. Nüb: 13. 14. 27.
Sin is betweene Elim & Sinai. Ex: 16. 1. Sin streche no far. Nor the Alus for Raphidim
Zin cades ioyne to Arabia ye Desert & Cades barne to Idumea. (is without Ex: 17.
Sinai. Desert is betweene Raphidim and Mount Sinai. Ex: 19. 2. and it streeheth Seuthward towards Midian.
The Deserts of Moab lye East from the Dead Sea and ioyne vppon the Desert Arabia. and those of Edom betweene Hor. and Theman.

Dor
Cæsaria P:
Edrai
AMO:
RITES
Dibon
Medeba
Iazer
A:
Antipatris
Samaria
The ouerthrow of Schon ye Amorit
Esebon
Aroer
MO:
Murneth
NI:
TES
Ioppe
Plaines of Moab 42.
Abarim 41.
Nebo
Arnon flu:
Mathana
Helmondblathaim 40.
Geth
Azotus
Ascalon
Icrusalem
Seboim
Saue
Gaza
Adama
Meinrim
Midian
Arthedon
Dinhaba
Duma
Gomo-rrha
Sodom
Dibon Gad 39.
Bosra
Petra
Dinhaba
Asarim
Icabarim 38.
Marissa
Dedan
Cades barne
Theman
Phares 16.
Oboth 37.
Rethma 15.
Lebna 17.
Ressa 18.
Ceelah 19.
Sepher 20.
Phunon 36.
Haseroth 14.
Arada 21.
Maceloth 22.
Thaath 23.
Thare 24.
Here Arad the Cananite assayleth Israel.
Kibroth 13.
Methca 25.
Salmona 35.
Hesmona 26.
Maseroth 27.
Hor 34.
Bemaaran 28.
Galgad 29.
Getabatha 30.
Zin cades 33.
Ebrona 31.
Esiongaber
Eloth
THE CANAANITES
THE DEAD SEA
MOABITES
THE DESERT OF EDOM & MOAB
The way from Gilead & Moab to the red sea
EDOM OR IDUMEA
PART OF ARABIA
DESERT
THE DESERT OF ZIN CADES
SINUS ELANITICUS
PART OF THE HAPPI ARABIA

way, drew *Pharaoh* toward the Eaſt-ſide of the Land of *Goſen*, or *Rameſes*: from whence (miſſing *Moſes* there) his purſuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reaſon of the roughneſs of the way; and howſoever, yet while the *Hebrews* kept the Mountain foot on the left hand, they were better ſecured from the over-bearing violence both of Horſe and Chariots. Thirdly, *Moſes* confidence in the All-powerfull God was ſuch, by whoſe Spirit, onely wiſe, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to Almighty God than either by an eſcape the next way, or by the ſtrength of his multitude, conſiſting of 600000. men, to caſt the ſucceſs upon his own underſtanding, wiſe conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, ſixteen miles diſtant; and ſate down between two ledges of Mountains adjoining to the *Red Sea*, to wit, the Mountains of *Etham* on the North, and *Baalzephon* towards the South; the ſame which *Oroſius* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there ſtood a Temple, dedicated to *Baal*. And, as *Phagius* noteth, the word ſo compounded, is as much to ſay, as, *Dominus ſpeculæ, ſive cuſtodiæ*; *Lord of the watch-tower*. For the *Egyptians* believed, or at leaſt made their ſlaves believe, that if any of them offered to eſcape that way into *Arabia*, this Idol would both arreſt them, and force them to return to their Lords and Maſters. For the *Egyptians* had gods for all turns. Egyptii *diis fœcundi*; *The* Egyptians *were fruitfull in gods*, ſaith S. *Hierom*. But *Moſes*, who encamped at the foot of this Mountain with a million of Souls, or, as others conceive, with two millions, found this Lord of the Watch-tower aſleep, or out of countenance.

Climax is rather ſo called in reſpect of a paſſage up and down, than that it is any proper name.

Now, theſe two paſſages, leading out of *Egypt* into *Arabia* upon the firm Land, *Moſes* refuſed, as well that of *Peluſium* and *Caſiotis*, the faireſt and ſhorteſt of all other, in reſpect of *Judæa*, as the other by *Etham*, from which he reflected, for the reaſons before remembred, and took the way by the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, between the Mountains, which made a ſtreight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made ſo great ſpeed with his Horſe-men and Chariots, as he gave the *Hebrews* no time at all to reſt them after ſo long a march; but got ſight of them, and they of him, even at the very brink and waſh of the Sea; in ſo much as the *Hebrews* being terrified with *Pharaoh*'s ſudden approach, began to deſpair, and to mutiny, at that time when it behooved them moſt to have taken courage for their own defence; laying it to *Moſes* charge, that themſelves foreſaw thoſe perils in which they were wrapped. And fear, *Which*, ſaith the Book of *Wiſdom*, *is the betraying of thoſe ſuccours which reaſon offereth*, made them both deſpair in God's former Promiſes, and to be forgetfull of their own ſtrength and multitudes. *Exod.* 13. 17. *Chap.* 17. 11.

§. VIII.

Of their paſſage over the Red Sea; and of the Red Sea it ſelf.

BUt *Moſes*, who feared nothing but God himſelf, perſwaded them to be confident in his goodneſs, who hath never abandoned thoſe, that aſſuredly truſted in him; uſing this comfortable and reſolved ſpeech: *Fear not*, &c. *for the* Egyptians *whom ye have ſeen this day, ye ſhall never ſee them again. The Lord ſhall fight for you.* After which, *Moſes* called on God for ſuccour, received encouragement, and commandment to go on, in theſe words; *Wherefore cryeſt thou unto me? Speak unto the children of* Iſrael *that they go forward; and lift thou up thy Rod, and ſtretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it, and let the children of* Iſrael *go on dry ground through the midſt of the Sea.* *Moſes* obeying the voice of God, in the dark of the night, finding the ſands uncovered, paſt on towards the other ſide and coaſt of *Arabia*; two parts of the night being ſpent ere he entred the Foord, which it pleaſed God by a forcible Eaſtern Wind, and by *Moſes* Rod, to prepare. *Exod.* 14. 13. *Exod.* 14. 16.

Pharaoh followed him even at the heels, finding the ſame dry ground which *Moſes* trod on. Therefore, as it is written: *The Angel of God which went before the Hoſt of* Iſrael, *removed, and went behind them; alſo the Pillar of the cloud went from before them, and ſtood behind them*; which is, that it pleaſed God therein, either by his immediate power, or by the miniſtry of his Angel, to interpoſe his defence between the *Hebrews* and their Enemies; to the end that the *Egyptians* might hereby be blinded, in ſuch ſort, as they could not purſue *Iſrael* with any harmfull ſpeed. But in the morning-watch, *Moſes* ſeized the other bank of *Arabia* ſide; and *Pharaoh* (as the dawn of the day began to enlighten the obſcure air) finding a beginning of the Sea's return, haſted himſelf towards his own Coaſt: *But* Moſes *ſtretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force*, that is, the Sea, moved by the power of God, ran back towards the Land with unreſiſtible fury and ſwiftneſs, and overwhelmed the whole Army of *Pharaoh*, ſo as not one eſcaped. For, it is written, that *God took off their Chariot wheels*, *Joſua* 24. 7. *Exod.* 14. 27.

that is, when the waters began to cover the ſands, the *Egyptians* being ſtrucken with fear of death, ran one athwart another, and miſſing the path by which they had paſt on after the *Hebrews*, their wheels ſtuck faſt in the mud and quick-ſands, and could not be drawn out; the Sea coming againſt them with ſupernatural violence.

Lyranus, upon *Exod.* 14. and others, following the Opinions or old Traditions of the *Hebrews*, conceived, that after *Moſes* had by the power of God divided the *Red Sea*, and that the children of *Iſrael* were fearfull to enter it, *Aminadab*, Prince, or Leader of the Tribe of *Judah*, firſt made the adventure; and that therefore was that *Tribe*, ever after, honoured above the reſt, according to the Prophecie of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 49. 8. *Thy fathers Sons ſhall bow down unto thee.* But *Hierome*, upon *Hoſea* 11. condemns this Opinion, And though it be true, that *Judah* had the firſt place in all their miracles in the Deſart, and, as we now call it, led the Van-guard (whereupon it may be inferred, that he alſo led the way through the *Red Sea*) yet, that *Moſes* himſelf was the Conducter of *Iſrael* at that time, it is generally received. For, it is written in the 77. *Pſalm*; *Thou didſt lead thy people, like Sheep, by the hand of* Moſes *and* Aaron.

The *Hebrews* have alſo another fancie, that the *Red Sea* was divided into twelve parts, and that every *Tribe* paſt over in a path apart, becauſe it is written in the 135. *Pſalm*, according to the vulgar: *Diviſit Mare Rubrum in diviſiones*; *He divided the Red Sea in diviſions.* Alſo that the bottom of the Sea became a green Field, or Paſture. But *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, *Abulenſis*, and *Genebrard*, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to conſider, that there were not twelve Pillars, nor twelve Armies of the *Egyptians*. It is written, *Pſalm* 77. *v.* 16. *Thy way is in the Sea*; not *thy ways*: and in the laſt Book of *Wiſdom*, verſ. 7. *In the Red Sea there was a way.*

Now, this Sea, through which *Moſes* paſt, and in which *Pharaoh*, otherwiſe called *Chencres*, periſhed, in the 16. year of his reign, is commonly known by the name of the *Red Sea*, though the ſame differ nothing at all in natural colour from other Waters. But, as *Philoſtratus* in his third Book noteth, and our ſelves know by experience, it is of a bluiſh colour, as other Seas are. It entreth at a narrow ſtrait, between *Arabia* the *Happy*, and *Æthiopia*, or the Land of the *Abyſins*: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which *Ptolemy* calleth *Poſſodium*, to the other Land of *Æthiopia*, hath not above ſix leagues in breadth, and the ſame alſo filled every where with Iſlands, but afterwards it extendeth it ſelf 58. leagues from coaſt to coaſt, and it runneth up between *Arabia* the *Happy*, and *Arabia Petræa* on one ſide, and *Æthiopia* and *Egypt* on the other, as farr as *Sues*, the uttermoſt end and indraught of that Sea; where the *Turk* now keeps his fleet of Gallies. The *Coſmographers* commonly give it the name of the *Arabian Gulf*; but the North part towards *Sues*, and where *Moſes* paſt, is called *Heropolites*, of the City *Hero*, ſometime *Troy*, and of later times *Sues*. *Pliny* calls it *Cambiſu*, by which name it was known, ſaith he, before it was called *Hero*, many years. The *Arabians* call this Sea towards the North, *Apocopa*, *Eccant*, and *Eant*. *Artemidorus* writes it *Æleniticum*; King *Juba*, *Læniticum*; others more properly, *Elaniticum*, of the Port and City *Elana*, which the *Septuagint* call *Elath*; *Ptolemy*, *Elana*; *Pliny*, *Læna*; *Joſephus*, *Ilana*; and *Marius Niger*, *Aila*: there is alſo *Ilalah* in *Aſſyria*, to which *Salmanaſſer* carried the *Iſraelites* captive, 2 *King.* 8. 11. which *Ilalah* in *Aſſyria*, the *Septuagint* call *Elæa*; and in the firſt of *Chro.* 5. *Ala*. But, as for the *Red Sea*, on the parts thereof, thus diverſly named, the *Moors*, and *Arabians* (Vaſſals to the *Turk*) know it by no other appellation, than the *Gulf* of *Meca*, after the name of *Mahomet's* Town *Mecca*. The *Greeks* write it the Sea *Erythræum*, of a King called *Erythras*, or *Erythræus*: and becauſe *Erythros* in the *Greek* ſignifieth Red; hence it is, that, being denominated of this *Erythræus*, the Son of *Perſeus* and *Andromeda*, it took the name of the *Red Sea*, as *Q. Curtius* conjecture th; which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirm. But it ſeems to me, by the view of a Diſcovery of that Sea, in the year 1544. performed by *Stephen Gama*, *Viceroy* of the *Eaſt-India* for the King of *Portugal*, that this Sea was ſo called from a reflection of a redneſs, both from the banks, cliffs, and ſands of many Iſlands, and part of the Continent bordering it. For, I find by the report of *Caſtro*, a principal Commander under *Gama* (which Diſcourſe I gave Mr. *Richard Hacluit* to publiſh) that there is an Iſland called *Dalaqua*, ſometime *Leques*, containing in length, 25. leagues, and 12. in breadth; the earth, ſands, and cliffs, of which Iſland, being of a rediſh colour, ſerve for a foil to the waters about it; to make it ſeem altogether of the ſame colour. Secondly, the ſame *Caſtro* reporteth, that from 24. degrees of *Septentrional* latitude, to 27. (which make in length of Coaſt 180. miles, lying, as it doth, Northerly & Southerly) all the cliffs, and banks are of red earth, or ſtone, which by reflection of the Sunbeams, give a kind of rediſh luſtre to the waters. Thirdly, thoſe *Portugals* report, and we

Plin. l. 6. c. 23.

2 King. 19. Joſ. An. 8. cap. 2.

Arian. de geſt. Alex. Mag. l. 8. Strabo. l. 6.

we know it by many teſtimonies, that there are found in the bottom of this Sea, towards the ſhore, great abundance of red ſtones, on which the greateſt ſtore of Corral grows, which is carried into moſt parts of *Europe*, and elſewhere. There are alſo on the Iſlands of this Sea, many red Trees, ſaith *Strabo*, and thoſe, growing under water, may alſo be a cauſe of ſuch a colour. Of theſe appearances of redneſs by the ſhadow of theſe ſtones, ſands, earth, and cliffs, I ſuppoſe that it firſt took the name of the *Red Sea*, becauſe in ſo many places it ſeemeth to be ſuch; which *Johannes Barros* in his ſecond *Decade*, eighth Book, and firſt Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea, from *Elana*, or *Ezion-Gaber* adjoining, now *Toro*, called by the antient *Coſmographers*, *Sinus Elaniticus*, which waſheth the banks of *Madian*, or *Midian*, is for 16. or 17. leagues together, along Northward toward *Sues*, ſome 3. leagues, or 9. *Engliſh* miles over, and from this Port of *Toro* to *Sues*, and the end of this Sea, it is in length about 28. leagues, of which, the firſt 26. have 9. miles breadth, as aforeſaid, and afterward, the Lands, both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thruſt themſelves into the Sea, and ſtrengthen it ſo faſt, as for 6. miles together, it is not above 3. miles over; from thence, upward the Land on *Egypt* ſide, falleth away, and makes a kind of *Bay*, or *Cove*, for ſome 10. miles together, after which, the Land grows upon the Sea again, and ſo binds it into the very end thereof, at 4. miles breadth, or there about, in which Tract it was that *Moſes* paſt it over, though others would have it to be over againſt *Elana*, or *Toro*, but without judgment; for from *Rameſes* to *Pihacheroth*, and *Baalzephon*, there is not above 30. miles interjacent, or 35. miles at moſt, which *Moſes* paſt over in three days; and between the Land of *Egypt*, oppoſite to *Elana*, or *Toro*, the diſtance is above 80. miles. For *Rameſes*, to which City *Moſes* came (being the *Metropolis* of *Goſen*) when he left *Pharaoh* at *Zoan*, and took his laſt leave, ſtandeth in 30. degrees 5. minutes of *Septentrional* latitude; and *Migdol*, or the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, at the foot of the Mountain *Climax*, or *Baalzephon*, in nine and twenty and a half, which make a difference of five and thirty *Engliſh* miles, the way lying, in effect, North and South.

§. IX.

That the paſſage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not a low ebb.

THe *Egyptians*, and of them the *Memphites*, and other *Heathen* Writers, who, in hatred of the *Hebrews*, have objected that *Moſes* paſt over the *Red Sea* at a low ebb, upon a great Spring-tyde, and that *Pharaoh*, conducted more by fury than diſcretion, purſued him ſo farr, as before he could recover the coaſt of *Egypt*, he was overtaken by the floud, and therein periſhed; did not well conſider the nature of this place, with other circumſtances. For, not to borrow ſtrength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plain, that the Waters were divided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Eaſterly Wind, and by the hand and rod of *Moſes* (which authority to men that believe not therein, perſwadeth nothing) I ſay, that by the ſame natural reaſon unto which they faſtened themſelves, it is made manifeſt, that had there bin no other working power from above, or aſſiſtance given from God himſelf to *Moſes* and the children of *Iſrael*, than ordinary, and caſual, then could not *Pharaoh* and all his Army have periſhed in that purſuit.

For whereſoever there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulf, or indraught, there do the waters fall away from the Land, and run downwards toward the *Ocean*, leaving all that part towards the Land, as far as the Sea can ebb, or fall off, to the dry land. Now, *Moſes* entring the Sea at *Migdol* under *Baalzephon* (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the tide) muſt have left all that end of the *Red Sea* towards *Sues*, on his left hand, dry and uncovered. For if a paſſage were made by falling away of the water 10. or 12. miles farther into the Sea than *Sues*, and between it and where *Moſes* paſt, who entred the ſame ſo far below it, and towards the body of the ſame Sea; it followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleev, or Strait, had been by the ebb of a Spring-tide diſcovered, when *Pharaoh* found the floud increaſing, he needed not to have returned by the ſame way toward *Egypt* ſide, but might have gone on in his return before the tide, on his right hand; and ſo taken ground again at the end of the Sea, at *Sues* it ſelf, or elſewhere. But the Scriptures do truly witneſs the contrary, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth, but that *Moſes* paſt on between two Seas, and that the waters were divided. Otherwiſe, *Pharaoh*, by any return of waters, could not have periſhed, as he did; and therefore the effects of that great Armies deſtruction, prove the cauſe to have bin a power above nature, and the miraculous work of God himſelf. Again, thoſe words of the Scriptures, that *God cauſed the Sea to return back by a ſtrong Eaſt-wind*, do rather prove the miracle, than that there-

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by was caused an ebb more than ordinary; for that Sea did not lie East and West, but, in effect, North and South. And it must have been a West and North west wind, that must have driven those waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-east into the Sea. But the East-wind blew athwart the Sea, and cut it asunder: so as one part fell back towards the South and main body thereof, the other part remained toward *Sues*, and the North. Which being unknown to *Pharaoh*; while he was checkt by that Sea, which used in times before to ebb away, the floud prest him, and over-whelm'd him. Thirdly, seeing *Josephus* avoweth, that *Moses* was not onely of excellent judgment, generally, but also, so great a Captain, as he over-threw the *Æthiopians* in battels, being imployed by *Pharaoh*, and wan divers Cities, seeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemn him of this grosness, and distraction: that rather then he would have endured the hardness of a Mountainous passage at hand (had not God commanded to take that way, and fore-told him of the honour which he would there win upon *Pharaoh*) he would have trusted to the advantage of an ebbing water. For he knew not the contrary, but that *Pharaoh* might have found him, and prest him, as well when it flowed, as when it ebbed, as it seemeth he did. For the people, beholding *Pharaoh*'s approach, cried out against *Moses*, and despaired altogether of their safety; and when *Moses* prayed unto God for help, he was answered by God; *Wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of* Israel, *that they go forward, and lift thou up thy Rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it:* which proves that there was not at that time of *Pharaoh*'s approach any ebb at all, but that God did disperse and cut through the weight of waters, by a strong East-wind, whereby the sands discovered themselves between the Sea on the left hand toward *Sues*, from whence the Waters moved not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand, *so that the Waters were a wall unto them on the right hand, and on the left hand*, that is, the Waters so defended them on both sides, as the *Egyptians* could onely follow them in the same path, not that the Waters stood upright as walls do, as some of the Schole-men have fancied. For, had *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* perceived any such buildings in the Sea, they would soon have quitted the chase and pursuit of *Israel*. Furthermore, there is no man of judgment, that can think, that *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, who then excelled all Nations in the observations of heavenly motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes and refluxes of the Sea, in his own Countrey, on his own coast, and in his own most traded and frequented Ports and Havens; and wherein his people having had so many hundreds of years experience of the tides, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any fore-known or natural accident, but by God's powerfull hand only; which then falleth most heavily on all men, when, looking through no other spectacle but their own prosperity, they least discern it coming, and least fear it. Lastly, if the Army of the *Egyptians* had been overtaken by the ordinary return of the floud, before they could recover their own coast; their bodies drowned would have been carried with the floud, which runneth up to *Sues*, and to the end of that Sea, and not have been cast a-shore on the coast of *Arabia*, where *Moses* landed, to wit, upon the Sea-bank over against *Baalzephon*, on *Arabia* side; where it was that the *Israelites* saw their dead bodies, and not at the end of the *Red Sea*, to which place the ordinary floud would have carried them; Which floud doth not any where cross the Channel, and run athwart it, as it must have done from *Egypt* side to *Arabia*, to have cast the bodies there; but it keeps the natural course towards the end of that Sea; and to which their carkasses should have been carried, if the work had not been supernatural and miraculous. *Apollonius*, in the lives of the Fathers, affirmeth, that those of the *Egyptians* which stayed in the country, did not follow *Pharaoh* in the pursuit of *Israel*, did ever after honor those beasts, birds, plants or other creatures, about which they were busied at the time of *Pharaoh*'s destruction; as he that was then labouring in his Garden, made a god of that Plant or Root about which he was occupied, and so of the rest. But how those multitudes of gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be given else-where. *Orosius*, in his first Book and tenth Chapter against the *Pagans*, tells us, that in his time, who lived some 400. years after *Christ*, the prints of *Pharaoh*'s Chariot wheels were to be seen at a low water, on the *Egyptian* sands; and though they were sometime defaced by wind and weather, yet soon after they appeared again. But hereof I leave every man to his own belief.

Cap. 14. *v.* 21.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the journeying of the Iſraelites *from the* Red Sea, *to the place where the Law was given them; with a diſcourſe of Laws.*

§. I.

A tranſition, by way of recapitulation of ſome things touching Chronologie; with a continnation of the Story, untill the Amalekites *met with the* Iſraelites.

BUt to go on with the Story of *Iſrael*, in this ſort I collect the times. *Moſes* was born in the year of the World, 2434. *Saphrus* then governing *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sycionia*, or *Peloponneſus*; *Crioſus*, the *Argives*; *Orus*, *Egypt*; and *Deucalion*, *Theſſaly*. He fled into *Midian*, when he had lived fourty years, in the year of the World, 2474. and two years after was *Caleb* born. He returned by the commandment and ordinance of God into *Egypt*, and wrought his miracles in the fields of *Zoan*, in the year, 2514. the laſt Moneth of the year. On the 14. day of the firſt *Hebrew* Moneth *Abib*, or the 15. of that Moneth, beginning the day (as they) at Sunſetting, in the year of the World, 2514. was the celebration of the *Paſſover*; & in the dead of the night of the ſame day, were all the firſt born ſlain through *Egypt*, or in all thoſe parts where the *Hebrews* inhabited not. The 15. day of the firſt Month of the *Hebrews*, called *Abib*, being about the beginning of the year of the World, 2514. *Moſes*, with the children of *Iſrael* removed from the general Aſſembly at *Rameſes*, and marched to *Succoth*.

Acts 7. Joſua 14. 2474. 2514. Pag. 254. Exod. 12. Numb. 33.

And departing thence, they made their third ſtation at *Etham*; and journeying from *Etham*, they encamped in the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, or *Migdol*, under the Mountain *Baalzephon*; and in the ſame night, after midnight, they paſt the *Red Sea*; *Pharaoh* and his Army periſhing in their return, about the firſt dawn of the day. *Moſes* having recovered the banks of *Arabia*, gave thanks unto God for the delivery of *Iſrael*; and making no ſtay on that coaſt, entred the Deſarts of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Sur*. But finding no water in that paſſage, he encamped at *Marah*, in the Deſart of *Etham*, which in *Exod.* 15. 22. is called *Sur*, 25. miles from the Sea; where the children of *Iſrael*, preſt with extreme thirſt, murmured againſt *Moſes* the ſecond time; firſt, at *Pharaohs* approach at *Pihacheroth*, and now in *Arabia*. But *Moſes* taking the branches of a Tree, growing near a Lake of bitter water, and caſting the ſame thereinto, made the ſame ſweet: a plain type and figure of our Saviour; who, upon the Tree of the Croſs, changed the bitterneſs of everlaſting death, into the ſweetneſs of eternal life. *Pliny* remembers theſe bitter Fountains in his ſixth Book, 29. Chapter. From whence to *Delta* in *Egypt*, *Seſoſtris* firſt, *Darius* after him, and laſtly, *Ptolemy* the ſecond, began to cut an artificial River, thereby by Boats and ſmall Shipping to Trade and Navigate the *Red Sea*, from the great Cities upon *Nilus*. From *Marah* he removed to *Elim*, the ſixth Manſion, a march of eight miles: where finding twelve Fountains of ſweet water, and threeſcore and ten Palm-trees, he reſted divers days.

Exod. 13. Numb. 33. Exod. 14. Numb. 33. Exod. 14. Exod. 15. Numb. 33. Exod. 15. Numb. 33.

Whether this *Helim* were the name of a Town or City in *Moſes* time, I cannot affirm. And yet the ſcarcity of waters in that Region was ſuch, as *Helim*, which had twelve Fountains, could hardly be left unpeopled. *William*, Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, in his Hiſtory of the *Holy Warr*, found at *Helim*, the ruines of a great and antient [illegible]. And at ſuch time as *Baldwine* the firſt paſt that way into *Egypt*. *Ingreſſus* (ſaith he) Helim *Civitatem antiquiſſimam, populo* Iſraelitico *aliquando familiarem; ad quem cum perveniſſet, loci illius incolæ, Regis adventu præcognito, naviculam ingredientes, in Mare vicinum ſe contulerunt; Entring* Helim, *a very antient City, well known ſometime to the people of* Iſrael; *whither, when he came, the Inhabitants, forewarned of the Kings approach, took Boat, and ſhifted themſelves into the Sea lying near them.* From *Elim* he returned again towards the South, and ſat down by the banks of the *Red Sea*; the ſeventh Manſion. For it ſeemeth, that he had knowledge of *Amalech*, who repaired to reſiſt his paſſage through part of *Arabia*. And *Moſes*, who had not as yet trained the *Hebrews*, appointed to bear Arms; nor aſſured the minds of the reſt, who encountring with the

Exod. 15. Numb. 33. *William Tyre, l. 11. cap. 16.*

the least misery, were more apt to return to their quiet slavery, than either to endure the wants and perils which every way accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to undertake or sustain so dangerous an enemy: he therefore made stay at this Mansion, untill the fifteenth of this second Moneth, called *Zim*, or *Jiar*; and made *Exod.16.* the eighth Mansion in the Desart of *Zin*; where the children of *Israel* mutinied against *Moses* the third time, having want of food. In the 16. Chapter of *Exodus*, *Moses* omitteth this retreat from *Elim* to the *Red Sea*, but in the collection of every several encamping, in the 33. of *Numbers*, it is set down.

Here it pleased God to send so many flights of Quails, as the Countrey about their encamping was covered with them. The morning following, it also rained Manna, being the 16. of their Moneth, which served them in stead of bread. For now was the store consumed which the people carried with *Exod.16.* them out of *Egypt*. And though they had great numbers of Cattel and Sheep among them, yet it seemeth, that they durst not feed themselves with many of those; but reserved them, both for the Milk to relieve the Children withall, and for Breed to store themselves when they came to the Land promised.

From hence towards *Raphidim*, they made two removes of 20. miles; the one to *Daphca*, the other to *Alus*, distant from *Raphidim* six miles. Here, being again prest with want of Water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from *Egypt*, where they rather contented themselves to be fed and beaten after the manner of Beasts, than to suffer a casual, and sometime necessary want, and to undergo the hazards and travels which every manly mind seeks after, for the love of God, and their own freedoms. But *Moses*, with the same Rod which he divided the Sea withall, *Exod.17.* in the sight of the *Elders* of *Israel*, brought waters out of the Rock, wherewith the whole multitude were satisfied.

§. II.

Of the Amalekites, Madianites, *and* Kenites, *upon occasion of the battel with the* Amalekites, *and* Jethro's *coming; who, being a* Kenite, *was Priest of* Madian.

AND while *Moses* encamped in this place, the *Amalekites*, who had knowledg of his approach, and ghessed that he meant to lead the children of *Israel* through their Countrey (which being barren of it self, would be utterly wasted by so great a multitude of People and Cattel) thought it most for their advantage to set upon them at *Raphidim*, where the want of water, and all other things needfull for the life of man, enfeebled them. On the other side, *Moses* perceiving their resolutions, gave charge to *Josua*, to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest *Hebrews*, to encounter *Amalech*. Be- *Exod.17.* tween whom and *Israel* the victory remained doubtfull, for the most part of the day; the *Hebrews* and the *Amalekites* contending with equal hopes and repulses for many hours. And had not the strength of *Moses* Prayers to God been of farr greater force, and more prevalent than all resistance & attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are unacquainted with scarcity of food, and those minds whom a servile education hath dulled, being beaten, and despaired in their first attempts, will hardly, or never, be brought again to hazzard themselves.

After this Victory, *Jethro* repaired to *Moses*, bringing with him *Moses* his Wife, and his two Sons, which either *Jethro* forbare to conduct, or *Moses* to receive, till he had by this overthrow of *Amalech* the better assured himself of that part of *Arabia*. For it is written in *Exod.*18. 1. *When* Jethro, *the Priest of Madian*, Moses *Father-in-law*, *heard all that God had done for* Moses, *&c.* of which, the last deed, to wit, the overthrow of *Amalech*, gave *Jethro* courage and assurance, he then repaired to his Son-in-law, *Moses*, at *Sinai*; where, among other things, he advised *Moses* to appoint *Judges*, and other *Officers* over *Israel*, being himself unable to give order in all causes and controversies, among so many thousands of people, full of discontentment and private controversie.

This *Jethro*, although he dwelt amongst the *Madianites*, yet he was by Nation a *Kenite*, as in the fourth of *Judges*, Vers. 11, 17. it is manifest: where it is written, *Now* Heber *the* Kenite, *which was of the children of* Hobab, *to wit, the Son of* Jethro, *the Father-in-law of* Moses, *was departed from the* Kenites, *and* *Chap.15.* *pitched his Tents untill the Plain of* Zaanaim, *v.18.* *which is by* Kedesh. Likewise, in the first of *Samuel*, *Saul* commanded the *Kenites* to depart from among the *Amalekites*, lest he should destroy them with the *Amalekites*. For the *Kenites* inhabited the mountains of *Numb.24.* *28.* *Sin Kadesh*; and the *Amalekites* dwelt in *1 Sam.* the Plains, according to the saying of *Bala-* *cap.15.* *am*, speaking of the *Kenites*: *Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest in the rock.* And that *Saul* spared this Nation, he giveth

giveth for cause, that they shewed mercy to all the children of *Israel*, when they came up from *Egypt*. For these *Kenites* were a Nation of the *Madianites*, and the *Madianites* were of the issues of *Madian*, one of the six Sons which *Abraham* begat on *Kethura*: and might also take that name of *Kenites* from *Kethura*, of whom they descended by the mother, who (as it seemeth) kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they received from their Parent *Abraham*. For *Moses*, when he fled out of *Egypt* into *Madian*, and married the Daughter of *Jethro*, would not (had he found them Idolaters) have made *Jethro*'s Daughter the mother of his children. And although the *Kenites* are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the seed of *Abraham* should root out, and inherit their lands; yet it cannot be meant by these, who are descended from *Abraham* himself: but by some other Nation, bearing the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of *Chus*. For, in the fifteenth of *Genesis*, *vers.* 19. these *Kenites*, or *Chusites*, are listed with the *Hittites* and *Perizzites*, with the *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Gergesites*, and *Jebusites*, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these *Kenites* descended from *Abraham*, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether Idolatrous. For, as it is before remembred, *Heber* the *Kenite*, which was of the children of *Hobab*, was departed from the *Kenites*; that is to say, from those *Kenites* of *Canaan*, and inhabited in *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kedesh*, or *Cadesh*. Again, *Moses* nameth that Nation of the *Kenites*, before *Midian*, or any of *Abraham*'s other Sons were born; which he did (referring my self to better judgment) rather, because they were more antient, than by anticipation.

Gen. 25.

Gen. 15.

Jud. 4.

Gen. 25. 4.

And as of the *Kenites*, so we may consider of the *Madianites*, parted by *Moses* into five Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and Heathens; as those of *Madian* by the River *Zared*, afterwards destroyed by *Moses*. But the *Madianites*, neer the banks of the *Red Sea*, where *Moses* married his Wife *Zippora*, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the overthrow of *Amalech*, seem likewise not to have been corrupted. For these *Madianites*, with the *Kenites*, assisted *Israel*, and guided them in the Deserts. But the *Madianites* in *Moab*, and to the North of the *Metropolis* of *Arabia*, called *Petræa*, were by *Israel* rooted out, when those adjoyning to the *Red Sea* were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of *Madian*, of whom *Jethro* was Priest, and the other Cities in *Moab* were the same, yet the contrary is more probable. For *Moses* would not have sent 12000. *Israelites*, as far back as the *Red Sea*, from the Plains of *Moab*, to have destroyed that *Madian*, where his Wives kinred inhabited; seeing himself coming with 600000. able men, was encountred by *Amalech* in that passage. Neither could *Moses* forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Deserts, wherein himself and *Israel* had wandered fourty years.

That *Jethro*, or *Jothor*, *Raguel*, or *Revel*, and *Hobab*, were but one person, the Scriptures teach us. For the *Vulgar*, and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*, and our *English*, *Revel*, *Exod.* 2. 18. cals him *Jethro*, or *Jothor*, *Exod.* 3. 1. and 4. 18. & 18. 1. & 6. 9, 10, 12. & in *Numb.* 10. 29. *Hobab*. Others take *Jethro* and *Hobab* to be the same, but not *Raguel*.

§. III.

Of the time when the Law was given; with divers commendations of the invention of Laws.

THE rest of the Moneths of this year 2515. were spent in the Desart of *Sinai*, neer the mountain of *Sinai*, or *Horeb*, the twelfth Mansion. *Eusebius* thought that *Sinai* and *Horeb* were distinct Mountains: *Hierom*, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many Scriptures. For, in *Exod.* 3. 1. it is called *Horeb*: and in *Exodus* 24. 19. it is written *Sinai*. In the 106. *Psalm*, *vers.* 19. *Horeb*: in *Exodus* 19. 11. *Sinai*. And so it is called, *Galatians* 4. *vers.* 24. And again, *Deut.* 4. 10. and 15. and *Deut.* 5. 2. *Horeb*. And so it is in the first of *Kings* 8. 6. and the second of *Chronicles* 5. 10. and in *Malachie* 4. 4. Finally, in *Ecclesiasticus*, 48. 7. they are named as one. *Which heardest* (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) *the rebuke of the Lord in* Sinai, *and in* Horeb *the judgment of the vengeance*. Somewhat they are dis joined at the top, by the report of *Peter Belonius*; who, in the year 1588. past out of *Egypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monsieur de Fumet* of *France*, and travelled to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb*: *Sinai* being by farr the higer hill. From the side of *Horeb* (saith he) there falleth a very fair Spring of Water into the Valley adjoining: where he found two *Monasteries* of *Christian Marronites*, containing some hundred Religious persons of divers Nations, who had pleasant Gardens, delicate Fruits, and excellent Wine. These (saith the same Authour) give entertainment to all strangers, which pass that way. Pet. Bel. l. 2. cap. 62.

Now, that there was some such Torrent of water neer *Sinai*, in *Moses* time, it is very probable: First, because he encamped thereabout almost a year, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: Secondly, because it is written, *Exod.* 32.20. that when *Moses* had broken the golden Calf to powder, which *Aaron* set up in his absence, he cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Israel* to drink thereof.

On this mountain, the Law by the Angel of God was given to *Moses*, where he stayed a whole year, wanting some ten or twelve days: for he removed not till the twentieth day of the second Moneth of the second year; and he arrived about the five and fourtieth day after the egression; the Law being given the fiftieth day.

At this Mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that Book; all in *Leviticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (because there is no Story nor other Passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speak somewhat of the Law, and the kinds and use thereof: wherby, if the Reader find the Story any way dis-joyned, he may turn over a few leaves, and, omitting this, find the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, level, and square of Laws: so it pleased God to give thereby unto *Moses* the powerfullest man (his miraculous grace excepted) to govern that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For, as the North Starr is the most fixed Director of the Sea-man to his desired Port: so is the Law of God the Guide and Conductor of all in general to the haven of eternal life: the Law of Nature, from God his eternal Law deduced, the rule of all his creatures; the Law humane, depending on both these, the guard of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous Men; yea, the very spirit, and the very sinews of every Estate in the World, by which they live and move: the Law, to wit, a just Law, being resembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eye without lust, and to a Mind without passion; a Treasurer, which keepeth for every man what he hath, and distributeth to every man what he ought to have. This benefit the *Antient*, though barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those which were taken for the first makers of Laws were honoured as gods, or, as the Sons of gods: and the rest, that made either additions, or corrections, were commended to all Posterity for men of no less vertue, and no less liberally beneficial to their Countreys, than the greatest and most prosperous Conquerors that ever governed them. The *Israelites*, the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians*, received their Laws from one; as the *Israelites*, from *Moses*; the *Lacedæmonians*, from *Lycurgus*; the *Athenians*, from *Solon*; the *Romans*, sometime from their first Kings, from their *Decem viri*, from their *Senators*, from their *Lawyers*, and from the people themselves: other from the Prince, Nobility, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other *Christian Monarchies* and *Estates*.

§. IV.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law *and* Right.

THE word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not always taken alike, but is diversly, and in an indifferent sence used. For, if we consider it at large, it may be understood for any rule prescribing a necessary mean, order, and method, for the attaining of an end. And so the Rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Laws. Or, it is taken for any private Ordinance of Superiours or Inferiours: for the commandments of Tyrants, which they cause to be observed by force, for their Decrees do also usurp that Title, according to the general acceptation of the word *Law*: of which *Esay*, *Wo unto them that decree wicked Decrees, and write grievous things.* Likewise, the word is used for the tumultuary resolutions of the People. For such constitutions doth *Aristotle* also call Laws, though evil and insufficient: *Mala lex est, quæ tumultariè posita est*; *It is an evil Law that is made tumultuously.* So as all Ordinances, either good or evil, are called by the name of Laws. *Esay* 10. *Ethic. l.* 4. *cap.* 1.

The word *Law* is also taken for the moral habit of our mind, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to it self, as to their pattern and plat-form. And thus the Law of the flesh, which the Divines call *legem fomitis*, is to be understood. For every law is a kind of pattern of that which is done according unto it: in which sence, as elsewhere, this moral habit or disposition of the heart, is called the frame, or *figmentum* of the heart: so in S. *Paul* *Gen.* 6. 5. *Item* 8. 21.

to

to the *Romans* it is called a *Law*; *But I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto the law of sin.* Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures, are sometime called (*a*) *laws*, so farr as they agree with the reason of the Law eternal; as the law of a *Lion*, to be fierce or valiant.

(*a*) So *Virgil*, *Continuo has leges æternaque fœdera certis imposuit natura locis*; where also it is to be noted, that he joyns *Leges* and *Fœdera* together, as in the Scripture the Law is oftentimes called the covenant.

Also private contracts among Merchants, and other Trades-men, do often put on the name of laws. But law, commonly and properly, is taken for a right rule, prescribing a necessary mean, for the good of a Commonwealth, or Civil Community. The rest, to wit, the commandments of Tyrants, *&c.* which have not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquæ*, are by *Thomas* called *violentiæ magis quàm leges*; *rather compulsions than laws:* And whatsoever is not just, S. *Augustine* doth not allow for laws, howsoever established: for he calls them *iniqua hominum constituta, quæ nec jura dicenda, nec putanda sunt*; *The unjust constitutions of men, which are neither to be tearmed nor thought laws.* For, saith *Aristotle*, *Legalia justa sunt factiva, & conservativa fœlicitatis*; *Just laws are the workers and preservers of happiness:* because by them we are directed *ad vitam quietam, to a quiet life*, according to *Cicero:* Yea, *to life everlasting*, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the Law, saith *Plato*, is God, and his worship: *Finis legis Deus & cultus ejus. Lex*, or the Law, is so called by the *Latines*, *à legendo*, or, *à ligando*, *of reading*, or *binding: Leges quia lectæ & ad populum latæ*, saith *Varro*; For, after Laws were written and published, all men might read them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other *Etymologie*, *à ligando*, is no less agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called also a yoak, and a band: as *confregerunt jugum, diruperunt vincula*; *they have broken the yoak, they have broken the bands.* And in the second *Psalm*, *Dirumpamus vincula eorum, & projiciamus à nobis funes ipsorum*; *Let us break their bands asunder, and let us cast away their cords from us.*

Arist. Ethic. 5. c. 5.

Plato in Dial. 1. de Leg.

Hier. 5. 5.

Psal. 2.

The *Covenant* it is called, because of the conditional promises of God; and because of God's people's voluntary submission of themselves unto it: for which word the *Septuagint*, and the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, use the word διαθήκη, a *Testament*, or *last Will:* which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectual for our salvation, but in respect of the death of the Testator; for without the death of the Testator, the Testament is of no force, as *Heb.* 9. 17. it is said, *Testamentum in mortuis ratum est.*

The *Hebrews* call the Law *Thorah*, of teaching, because every man is thereby taught his duty, both to God and Men. The *Greeks* call it *Nomos*, of distributing, because it distributeth to every man his own due; the power of the Law is the power of God: Justice being an attribute proper unto God himself. *Imperium legis, imperium Dei est*; *The reign of the Law, is the reign of God.*

Law in general is thus defined by the *Philosophers*; *Lex est vitæ regula, præcipiens quæ sunt sequenda, & quæ fugienda*; *Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, and what to shun:* or, *Lex est omnium divinarum & humanarum rerum Regina*; *Law is the Queen*, or *Princess of things both humane and divine.* But this description is grounded upon the opinion of inevitable fate. Law is the very wisdom of Nature: the reason and understanding of the prudent; and the rule of right and wrong. For, as a right line is called, *Index sui, & curvi*, the demonstrance of it self, and of the crooked; so is the Law, the judge and measure of right and wrong.

M. *Hooker* calls the *Law* a directive rule to goodness of operation; and though Law, as touching the substance & essence, consists in understanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis*; *Yet it comprehends the act of our will.* The word *Jus* is also diversly taken, as sometime for the matter of the Law, and for common right: sometime for the Law it self; as *Jus civile*, or *Jus gentium*. *Isidore* distinguisheth the two general words, *Jus* and *Fas*; whereof *Jus*, saith he, hath reference to men, *Fas* to God. *Fas lex divina, Jus lex humana.* *Isid. Etym.* To go over another man's field, is permitted by Gods Law, not by Man's; and therefore in a thing out of controversie, *Virgil* used both these words: as *Fas & jura sinunt*, God and men permit.

The word *Jus*, or Right, is derived or taken from the old Substantive Noun *jussus*, a bidding or commandment: or, perhaps, from the *Greek* Ζεύς, which is the name of *Jupiter*, or of the *Latine* Genitive case *Jovis*; because, as the Scripture speaks, the *judgment is God's.* For, as it is certain that *jus jurandum* came of *Jovis-jurandum* (for so we find it written in *Nonius* out of the antient, in which sence the Scripture calls it *juramentum Jehovæ*) so also we may say, that *Jus* came of *Jovis, quia Jovis est*; because as God is the Authour, and Pattern, and Maintainer of right, so also in his *Vicegerents*, the *Magistrates*, he is the Pronouncer and Executor of right. Of this *Jus*, the just are denominated, *Justus à jure*, and *Justitia à justo*; *The Right gives name to the Righteous*; and *Justice takes her name from the Just.*

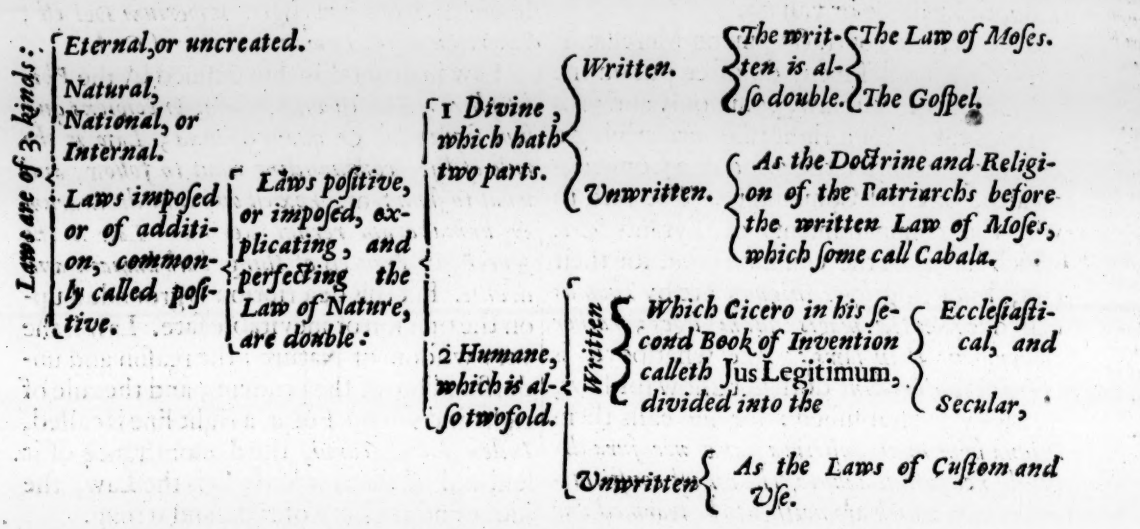
Deut. 1. 17. 2 Chron. 19. 6.

Exod. 22. 11. 1 Reg. 2. 43.

§. V.

Of the definition of Laws, and of the Law eternal.

But, because Laws are manifold, and that every kind hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, first to divide and distinguish them. I mean, those sorts of Laws from whence all other particulars are drawn: leaving the individuals of humane laws to their infinite and horrible confusion.



The Law Eternal is thus defined by *Thomas*. *Lex æterna est æternus divinæ sapientiæ conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso præcognitarum*; *The eternal Law is the eternal conceit of God's Wisdom, as it is referred to the government of things foreknown by himself.* Or, *Lex æterna est summa atque æterna ratio divinæ sapientiæ: quatenus res omnes ad destinatos fines ita dirigit, ut illis juxta conditionem ipsarum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat*; *It is high and eternal reason of divine sapience: as it directeth all things in such sort to their proper ends, imposing a kind of necessity, according to their several natures, or conditions.* Now, the difference lies in this: That as the same divine understanding directs all these to their proper ends; so it is called Providence: but, as it imposeth a necessity, according to the nature of all things which it directs, so it is called a Law.

P. 2. q. 2. art. 1.

Th. q. 36. art. 1.

Of this eternal Law, *Cicero* took knowledge, when in his Book of Laws, he wrote in this manner: *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad recte faciendum impellens & à delicto avocans: quæ non tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est, sed tum orta est. Orta autem simul est cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, ratio est recta à summi Jovis*; *That perfect reason and nature of things, incouraging or impelling to rightfull actions, and calling us back from evil, did not* (saith he) *then begin to be a law when it was written, but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with divine understanding, and therefore a true Law, and a fit Princess to command and forbid, is the right reason of the most high God.* This eternal Law (if we consider it in God, or as God) is always one and the same; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to divers objects, so the reason of man finds it divers and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessary, as the motions of the heavens, stability of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent: another law to men, another to other creatures, having life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternal Law, all things are directed, as by the counsel and providence of God: from this Law, all laws are derived, as from the rule universal, and thereto referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

The eternal, and the divine Law, differ only in consideration; the eternal directing more largely: as well every creature, to their proper and natural ends, as it doth Man to his supernatural: but the divine Law to a supernatural end onely: the natural law is thence derived, but an effect of the eternal: as it were a stream from the fountain. *Tho. & Aug.*

The Law humane or temporal is also thence drawn: in that it hath the form of right reason; from which if it differ, it is then *impositio iniqua, a wicked imposition*; and onely borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternal Law all things are subjected, as well Angels and Men, as all other creatures,

creatures, or things created; whether neceſſary or contingent, natural or moral, and humane. For the Law eternal runneth through all the univerſal, and therefore it is the Law alſo of things which are ſimple, natural and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praiſe God their Creator and Director: as *Praiſe him all ye his Angels: praiſe him Sun and Moon, all bright Starrs: Heavens of heavens, for he hath eſtabliſhed them for ever and ever. He hath made an ordinance which ſhall not paſs: Praiſe ye the Lord from the earth ye Dragons and all Deeps; fire and hail, ſnow and vapours, ſtormy winds which execute his word: mountains and hills, fruitfull trees, and all Cedars; Beaſts and all Cattel,* &c. Now, as the reaſonable creatures are by this eternal Law bound, by the glory and felicity propoſed unto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) ſo all other natural things and creatures have in themſelves, and in their own natures, an obedience formal to it, without any proper intention, known cauſe, or end propoſed. For Beaſts are led by ſenſe, and natural inſtinct: thinks without life by their created form, or formal appetites, as that which is heavie to fall downward; things light to mount upward, &c. and fire to heat whatſoever is appoſed. This kind of working, the *Ariſtotelians* aſcribe to common nature; others to fate; a difference uſed in tearms only; it being no other than God's general providence: for, as it is truly ſaid of God, that he is *omnia ſuper omnia*: ſo are all things which appear in themſelves thence derived, there-under ſubjected, thence-from by his eternal Law and providence directed, even from the greateſt to the leaſt of his creatures, in heaven and in earth.

Pſal. 148.

The Schoolmen are very curious and ample in the conſideration of theſe laws: and in diſcourſe of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternal Law. But, as the profit is manifeſt in the good of all creatures, who have thence-from, either reaſon, ſenſe, vegetation, or appetitions, to conduct them: ſo is the object and matter of the Law, the whole creature. For, according to S. *Auguſtine*, *Lex æterna eſt qua juſtum eſt, ut omnia ſint ordinatiſſima*; *The Law eternal is that, whereby it is juſt, that all things ſhould be diſpoſed in the beſt and goodlieſt order.*

Laſtly, it is diſputed, whether the eternal law be immutable, yea or no? But the reſolution is, that it changeth not; for which S. *Auguſtine* uſeth a ſufficient argument in his firſt Book of *Free-will*, the ſixth Chapter. For the law of *Moſes*, which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to laſt untill the time of the Pædagogie of God's people, or Introduction to Chriſt, ſhould be expired; which time of expiration, ſome think our Saviour noted to be come, when on the Croſs he ſaid, *Conſummatum eſt.* But I rather think theſe words of our Saviour to have no other ſignification, than that now the Prophecie of their giving him Vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For ſo S. *John* expounds it, when he ſaith, *v.* 28. *That Chriſt ſeeing all* (other) *things to be fulfilled, Ut conſummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture* in this alſo *might be fulfilled*, ſaid, *I thirſt*: though I deny not, but at the ſame time alſo the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremonial, and of ſo much of the judicial, as appertained peculiarly to the *Jews*, and agreeth not with the Law of the New *Teſtament* and Goſpel of Chriſt. For the immutable Law of God, though preſcribing things mutable, is not therfore changed in it ſelf; but the things preſcribed change according to this eternal ordinance, of which the *Wiſdom* of *Solomon*, *and being one, ſhe can do all things, and remaining in her ſelf, reneweth all.*

L. 1. de lib. arb. cap. 6.

John 18. 30. Pſal. 69. 22.

§. VI.

Of the Law of Nature.

OF the Law of Nature, as it is taken in general, I find no definition among the School-men; only as it is conſidered in Man, it is called *The impreſſion of divine Light, and a participation of the eternal Law in the reaſonable creature. Lex Naturalis eſt impreſſio divini luminis in nobis, & participatio Legis æternæ in rationali creatura. Ulpian* defines *the natural Law to be the ſame which Nature hath taught all living creatures: Jus naturale eſt quod Natura omnia animalia docuit*: and he afterward addeth, *Jus iſtud non humani generis proprium, ſed omnium animalium quæ terra marique naſcuntur, avium quoque commune eſt*; *The Law of Nature is not proper to man alone, but the ſame is common to all living creatures, as well Birds, as to thoſe the Land and Sea produceth.* But this definition is not general, but of the natural Law in things of life.

Aug. in Ep. ad Hil. 89. & in Evang. Joh. tract. 49.

Ulp. de juſtitia & jure l. 1. tit. 1.

The Law of Nature in general, I take to be that diſpoſition, inſtinct, and formal quality, which God in his eternal Providence hath given and imprinted in the nature of every creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is *divinum lumen* in men, inlightning our formal reaſon; ſo is it more than ſenſe in Beaſts; and more than vegetation in Plants. For it is not ſenſe alone in Beaſts, which teacheth them, at firſt ſight, and without experience

perience or instruction, to flie from the enemies of their lives: seeing that Bulls and Horses appear unto the sense more fearfull and terrible, than the least kind of Doggs; and yet the Hare and Deer feedeth by the one, and flieth from the other; yea, though by them never seen before, and that as soon as they fall from their Dams. Neither is it sense, which hath taught other Beasts to provide for Winter, Birds to build their Nests high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons: or the Birds of *India*, to make their Nests on the smallest twigs which hang over Rivers, and not on any other part of the Tree, or elsewhere, to save their Eggs and young ones from the Monkies, and other Beasts, whose weight such a twig will not bear, and which would fear to fall into the Water. The instances in this kind are exceeding many which may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of Plants, that some Trees, as the female of *Palmitto*, will not bear any fruit, except the male grow in sight. But this they do by that Law, which the infinite and unsearchable Wisdom of God had in all eternity provided for them, and for every nature created. In Man this Law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt: corrupt, where the reason of Man hath made its self subject, and a Vassal to Passions, and Affections Brutal: and incorrupt, where time and custom hath bred in Men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kind of Law. For it was not by the Law of Nature incorrupt, which S. *Augustine* calleth the Law of Reason, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did antiently allow of theft: and that other Nations were by Law constrain'd to become Idolaters; that by the Laws of *Lycurgus* it was permitted to men to use one another's Wife, and to the women, to choose them others besides their Husband, to beget them with child: which Law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

Supra sect. 4. cap. 1. loco. ad Rom. 7. 23.

Theod. l. 9. de curandis affect Græcorum.

Acosta.

The *Scythians*, and the People of both *Indies*, hold it lawfull to bury with them the best beloved Wives: as also they have many other customs remembred by *G. Valentia*, against nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authority it is, that these Laws some men avow to be natural: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithless among the faithless: to provide for our selves by another man's destruction: that Injury is not done to him that is willing; to destroy those whom we fear, and the like. For taking the definition of natural laws, either out of S. *Augustine*, or *Aquinas* (the one calling it *The impression of divine light*; the other, *the dictate*, or sentence *of practique reason*) the same can teach us, or incline us to no other thing, than to the exercise of Justice and uprightness: and not to offer or perform any thing toward others, save that which we would be content should be offered or performed toward our selves. For, such is the Law of Nature to the Mind, as the Eye is to the Body; and that which, according to *David*, sheweth us good, that is, the observation of those things which lead us thereby to our last end; which is eternal life; though of themselves not sufficient without faith and grace.

Nemo jure naturæ cum alterius detrimento locupletior fieri debet.

Psal. 4.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of God's divine light in men, and a participation of the law increated and eternal. For without any law written, the right reason and understanding, which God hath given us, are abilities within our selves, sufficient to give us knowledge of the good and evil, which by our gratitude to God and distribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchase for our selves. *For when the Gentiles* (saith S. *Paul*) *which have not the law, do by nature those things contained in the law: they having not the law, are a law unto themselves.* Now, to love God, by whom we are, and to do the same right unto all men, which we desire should be done unto us, is an effect of the purest reason; in whose highest Turrets, the quiet of Conscience hath made her resting place and habitation; *In arce altissima rationis quies habitat.* Therefore the *Gentiles* (saith S. *Paul*) *which shew the effects of the law written in their hearts, have their consciences for a witness of those effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuse them.*

Rom. 2. 11.

Rom. 2. 11.

And it is most true, that whosoever is not a law unto himself (while he hopeth to abuse the World by the advantage of hypocrisie) worketh nothing else, but the betraying of his own Soul, by crafty unrighteousness, purchasing eternal perdition. For it helpeth us not to hide our corrupt hearts from the World's eye, seeing from him, who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: some Garlands we may gather in this May-game of the World, *Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, arescit*; *Those flowers wither, while we discourse of their colours, or are in gathering them.* That we should therefore inhabit and dwell within our selves, and become fearfull Witnesses of our secret evils, did that reverend Philosopher *Pythagoras* teach in this golden Precept: *Nil turpe committas, neque coram aliis, neque*

neque tecum; maximè omnium verere teipſum; Commit nothing foul or diſhoneſt, ſaith he, *neither to be known to others, nor to thine own heart: but above all men, reverence thine own Conſcience.* And this may be a Precept of Nature and right Reaſon; by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to thoſe operations, which are anſwerable to their own form; as Fire to give heat. Now, as the reaſonable mind is the form of Man, ſo is he aptly moved to thoſe things which his proper form preſenteth unto him; to wit, that which right Reaſon offereth; and the Acts of right Reaſon, are the acts of Vertue; and in the breach of the rules of this Reaſon, is a man leaſt excuſable: as being a reaſonable creature. For all elſe, both ſenſitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the Law which God impoſed on them at their firſt creation.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the bud of the Herb, which ſeedeth ſeed, *&c.* and the Beaſt, which liveth thereon. He gave a law to the Seas, and commanded them to keep their bounds; which they obey. He made a decree for the Rain, and a way for the Lightning of the Thunders. He cauſed the Sun to move, and to give light, and to ſerve for ſigns, and for ſeaſons. Were theſe as rebellious as Man, for whoſe ſake they were created, or did they once break the Law of their natures and forms; the whole World would then periſh, and all return to their firſt *Chaos*, darkneſs, and confuſion.

Gen. 1.

Job c. 28.

By this natural Law, or law of humane Reaſon, did *Cain* perceive his own wickedneſs and offence, in the murther of *Abel*: for he not onely feared the diſpleaſure of God, but the revenge of men; it being written in his reaſon, that whatſoever he performed towards others, the ſame by others might be done unto him again. And that this judgment of well and evil doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternal Law, before the Law written, *Moſes* in the perſon of God witneſſeth, *Gen.* 4. *If thou do well, ſhalt thou not be accepted? and if thou do not well, ſin lieth at thy door.*

The *School-men* are large alſo in this Queſtion of the natural Law; the ſame being opened amply by *Reinerius*, *Antonius*, and *Valentia*. But it is not my purpoſe to write a Volume of this Subject.

But this Law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth *An act of Reaſon taken properly*; and not a habit, as it is an evident natural judgment of practick reaſon; they divide into indemonſtrable, or needing no demonſtration (as that good is to be followed, and evil eſchewed) and demonſtrable, which is evidently proved out of higher and more univerſal propoſitions. Again, as it anſwereth the natural appetite, preſcribing things to be deſired as good, or to be avoided as evil (as of the firſt, to deſire to live, and to ſatisfie hunger, *&c.* and of the ſecond, to eſchew pains, ſorrow, and death) in this conſideration they divide it, according to the divers kinds of appetites that are in us. For in every man there are three ſorts of appetites, which anſwer the three degrees of natural Law. The firſt is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the deſire, both to live, and to preſerve our being and life, as alſo the deſire of iſſue, with care to provide for them: for the Father, after his death, lives in his children; and therefore the deſire of life comprehends the deſire of children. And to theſe appetites are referred the firſt indemonſtrable laws of Nature, for the moſt part. For it needs no proof, that all creatures ſhould deſire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to live in their iſſue, when they cannot in themſelves. And as Man is a Being, *Ens* or *Res*; ſo he doth deſire good, and ſhun evil. For it is common to all things, to deſire things agreeable to their own natures, which is, to deſire their own good. And ſo is good defined by *Ariſtotle*, to be that which all deſire. Which definition *Baſil* upon the 44. *Pſalm* approveth: *Rectè quidem bonum definierunt, quod omnia expetunt*; *Rightly have ſome men defined good, or goodneſs, to be that which all things deſire.*

Tho. q. 94. *art.* 2.

Ethic. l. 1. *cap.* 1.

The ſecond kind of appetite, is of thoſe things which appertain unto us, as we have ſenſe. Whence, by the law of Nature, we deſire the delights of every ſenſe; but with ſuch moderation, as may neither glut us with ſatiety, nor hurt us with exceſs. For, as Senſe it ſelf is for the preſervation of life and being; ſo is it meet, even by the law of Nature, that the ſenſitive appetite ſhould not carry us to the deſtruction, either of our life or being. And although (ſeeing both theſe kinds of appetites are in Beaſts) we may well ſay, that Nature hath given divers laws unto them: In which ſenſe the *Civilians* define *natural Right*, or *Jus naturale*, to be the ſame which Nature hath taught all living creatures: Yet the *School-men* admit not, that the inſtincts of Beaſts can properly be called a law, but onely a *Jus*, or *Right*, which is the matter, and aim of every law. For ſo they diſtinguiſh it; where *Ulpian* affirmeth, that *Jus naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all living creatures. In this place (ſaith *Valentia*) *Jus* is not to be taken

for

for a law, but for the matter of the law. And yet where *Ulpian* alſo diſtinguiſheth the right belonging to living creatures in general, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *Jus Naturæ*, the other *Jus Gentium:* the Divines underſtand the law of Nature more largely, that is, for all evident dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine reaſon, both in Beaſts and Men; and reſtrain the law of Nations to a kind of humane right.

The third appetite is of thoſe things which appertain properly to Man, as he is a living creature reaſonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our ſelves: and the laws of this appetite are the commandments of our Religion.

Now, although there are many other branches and diviſions of this law of Nature anſwering the diviſion of matter, which it preſcribeth, and as manifold, as the moral actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth; yet is the law of Nature but one law, according to *Aquinas:* firſt, becauſe it hath one fountain or root in the natural or motive faculty, which is but one, ſtirring up to good, and declining the contrary: ſecondly, becauſe all is contained in that general natural precept, That good is to be followed, and ill avoided: and thirdly, becauſe all the parts are reduced to one and the ſame laſt end.

That this law of Nature binds all creatures, it is manifeſt; and chiefly Man; becauſe he is endued with reaſon: in whom as reaſon groweth, ſo this band of obſerving the law of Nature increaſeth; *Poſtquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod ſcriptum eſt, Adveniente mandato, peccatum revixit; When reaſon grew to perfection, then it came to paſs, which was written by* S. Paul, *When the commandment came, ſin revived.* Neither is it a ſmall warrant for this law of Nature, when thoſe that break the ſame, are ſaid by S. *Paul, To be delivered over into a reprobate ſenſe* (or mind) *to do thoſe things which are not convenient:* And again, *that their conſciences bear witneſs, and their thoughts accuſe them.* For, though this law of Nature ſtretch not to every particular; as to command faſting, and the like; yet it commandeth in general all good, and whatſoever is agreeable to right and reaſon. And therefore ſaid *Damaſcene; Homines facti ſunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam eſt; Men* (ſaith he) *are made evil, by declining unto that which is contrary to Nature:* And S. *Auguſtine, Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam eſt; Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary unto it.*

Baſil.

Rom 1. 18.

Rom 2. 15.

L. 2. *Fid. Ortho c.* 30.

Neither yet are the rules of this law of Nature ſo ſtreight, but that they ſuffer exceptions in ſome particulars. For, whereas by this law, all men are born Lords of the Earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to unequal merit: by taking from the evil, and giving to the good; and by permitting and commanding that all men ſhall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themſelves: according to the rules of Juſtice and Equity.

And though the law of Nature command, that all things be reſtored which are left in truſt, yet in ſome caſes, this her law ſhe ſuffereth to be broken: as to deny a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was ſober. But the Univerſal principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable: who, according to S. *Paul, abideth faithfull, and cannot deny himſelf.* *2 Tim.* 2.

§. VII.

Of the written Law of God.

AFter the Eternal, and Natural, the law *Poſitive* or impoſed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather an explication of the former, hath two kinds; Divine, and Humane. Again, the Divine poſitive law is double; the Old, and New: The Old was given unto *Moſes* in Mount *Sinai*, or *Horeb*, at ſuch time as the World had ſtood 2513. whole years: and in the 67. day of this year, when as *Aſcatades*, or *Aſcades* governed the *Aſſyrians*, *Marathus* the *Sycionians*, *Triopus* the *Argives*, *Cecrops Attica*, and *Acherres Egypt:* to wit, after the promiſe to *Abraham*, 430. years. And this, it ſeemes, was the firſt written law which the World received. For the very word *Nomos*, ſignifying a law, was not then, nor long after, invented by the *Græcians*; no, not in *Homer*'s time, who lived after the fall of *Troy* 80. years at leaſt; and *Troy* it ſelf was caſt down 335. years, after *Moſes* led *Iſrael* out of *Egypt.* This law, it pleaſed God to engrave in Stone, that it might remain a laſting Book of his expreſſed Will in the Church: and that the Prieſts and People might have whereof to meditate, till the coming of Chriſt: and that ſo theſe Children of *Iſrael*, though bred among an Idolatrous People in *Egypt*, might be without excuſe, the ſlight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 1

The reaſon known to us, why this law was not written before, is, that when the People were few, and their lives long, the *Elders* of Families might eaſily, without any written law, inſtruct their own Children; and yet, as they increaſed, ſo doubtleſs they had, beſides the law of Nature, many precepts from God, before

before the law written. But now at length, for as much as the law of Nature did not define all kinds of good, and evil; nor condemn every sin in particular: nor sufficiently terrifie the consciences of offenders; nor so expound divine Worship, as for those afterages was required, who gave every day less authority than other to the natural law; In these respects it was necessary, that the law should be written, and set before the eyes of all men; which before, they might, but would not, read in their own consciences. The *School-men*, and the Fathers before them, inlarge the causes and necessity, why the law was written; whereof these are the chiefest.

The first, for restraining of sin, directly grounded upon this place of *David*, *The law of the Lord is undefiled, converting Souls: The testimonies of the Lord are faithful, giving wisdom to children.* For the humane law, saith S. *Augustine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away somthing seeming necessary, and hinder common profit; but the divine law written, forbiddeth every evil, and therefore, by *David*, it is called undefiled.

Secondly, it serveth for the direction of our minds. For the laws of men can onely take knowledg of outward actions, but not of internal motions, or of our disposition and will: and yet it is required, that we be no less clean in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *converting our Souls*, added by *David:* wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the *Cabalists*. *Actiones hominum nullæ essent, nisi prius in mente dicerentur*; *The actions of men* (say they) *would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the mind.*

Thirdly, it leadeth us to the knowledg of truth, which by reason of diversity of Opinion, and difference of peculiar laws among sundry Nations, we cannot be assured of; but the Law of GOD bindeth all men, and is without errour; and therefore also said *David*, *That the testimony of the Law of God is faithful; giving wisdom to children.*

§. VIII.

Of the unwritten Law of God, given to the Patriarchs by Tradition.

NOw, that in all this long tract of Time, betweeen the Creation and the written Law, the World and People of God were left altogether to the law of Reason and Nature, it doth not appear. For the *Patriarchs* of the first Age received many *Precepts* from God himself, and whatsoever was first imposed by *Adam*, the same was observed by *Seth*, who instructed *Enos*; from whom it descended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*, and *Moses*. Yea, many particular commandments afterward written, were formerly imposed and delivered over by tradition; which kind of teaching the *Jews* afterward called *Cabala*, or *Receptio*; Precepts received from the mouth of their *Priests* and *Elders*; to which the *Jews* after the law written, added the interpretation of secret Mysteries, reserved in the bosoms of their *Priests*, and unlawful to be uttered to the People. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeed the divine Law revealed to the *Patriarchs*, and from them delivered to the Posterity, when as yet it was unwritten. The commandments which God gave unto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that he should impose names to all Beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of understanding, they were sufficiently known. For, finding the reason of his own name *Adam*, or *Adamah*, Earth, or red clay, he gave other names significant, not only to Beasts, but to his Children and Nephews, which afterward his issues imitated; as the name of *Seth* signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather one given in recompence for *Abel* that was slain; and *Enosh* signifieth Man, or miserable, *&c.* Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the Ground, and to live by the labour thereof: God also gave him the choice of all fruits, but the forbidden; and in *Adam* also was Marriage first instituted, all men thence-after being commanded to co-habit with their Wives, rather than with their Father or Mother.

That murther and cruelty was also forbidden, both before the Law written, and before the Flood it self, it is manifest. God himself making it appear, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of Mankind by the general Flood. For God said unto *Noah*, *An end of all Flesh is come before me; for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them: and behold, I will destroy them* from the Earth.* That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be unknown to all that perished: God's Mercy and Justice interposing between the untaught and Revenge. This Commandment God repeated to *Noah*, after the Waters were dried up from the Earth: *Whoso sheddeth Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed; for in the Image of God hath He made Man.*

Also the law of honouring and reverence-

* The common reading is *cum terra*: but God did not destroy the earth: and why may not this Prepositition in this place have the same force, which it hath, according to *Junius*? *Gen.* 4. 1. *Item* 44. 4. & *Deut.* 34. 1. especially, seeing these words are but a repetition of that which is said, *ver* 7. *Delebo hominem de superficie terræ. Gen.* 9. 6. *Gen.* 9. 15. *Gen* 34. 25 *Gen* 38. 24

ing our Parents, was obſerved among the faithful, and the contrary puniſhed by the Father's curſe: as, *Curſed be Canaan, a ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be unto his brethren.* Again, we find that the unnatural ſin of the *Sodomite* was puniſhed in the higheſt degree, as with fire from Heaven. The ſin of Adultery and Raviſhment, was before the Law no leſs deteſted than the reſt, as appeareth by that revenge taken for *Dina*'s forcing: and by the judgment which *Juda* gave againſt *Tamar*, That ſhe ſhould be burnt; and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* and *Abimelech*, againſt whom this ſentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, becauſe of the woman which thou haſt taken; for ſhe is a man's Wife.* To theſe we may add the ordinance of Sacrifice, of diſtinction of clean and unclean Beaſts, of Circumciſion, of the brother to raiſe up ſeed to his brother that left a Widow childleſs, and divers other conſtitutions, partly Moral, and partly Ceremonial, which being delivered before the written Law were after by it confirmed. So that this *Divine Law impoſed*, of which the Law of *Moſes* containeth that which is called, *The Old Teſtament*, may be ſaid, not only to have been written in the hearts of men, before it was engraven in ſtone, but alſo in ſubſtance to have been given in Precept to the *Patriarchs*. For, as S. *Paul* witneſſeth of himſelf, *I knew not ſin, but by the Law*; ſo ever the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed. It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by ſome kind of unwritten Law; the Angels intuitively; Men, by reaſon; Beaſts by ſenſe and inſtinct, without diſcourſe; Plants by their vegetative powers; and things Inanimate, by their neceſſary motions, without ſenſe or perception.

§. IX.

Of the Moral, Judicial, and Ceremonial Law, with a note prefixed, how the Scripture ſpeaketh not alway in one ſence, when it nameth the Law of Moſes.

NOw, as the word (*Law*) in general, as is aforeſaid, hath divers ſignifications, and is taken for all doctrin which doth preſcribe and reſtrain; ſo the Law, called *the Law of Moſes* in particular, is taken by S. *Paul* diverſly: as ſometime for the *Old Teſtament*; as, Rom. 3 19 *Now we know, that whatſoever the Law ſaith, it ſaith to them which are under the Law.*

When it is oppoſed, or differenced from the *Prophets* and *Pſalms*, it is there taken for the five Books of *Moſes*. For ſo S. *Luke* hath diſtinguiſhed them; as, *All muſt be fulfilled which are written of me in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Pſalms.* Luke 24. 44.

When it is oppoſed to the *Goſpel*, then it is taken for the Law Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is juſtified by Faith, without the works of the Law.* Rom. 3. 28.

When it is oppoſed to *Grace*, it ſignifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the Law, and *Summum Jus*: as, *For ye are not under the law, but under grace.* Rom. 6. 4. Gal. 3. 18.

When it is oppoſed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or Signs are taken for the things ſignified; as the *Sacrifice* for *Chriſt*, and the like; then it ſignifieth but ſhadows and figures; as, *The law was given by* Moſes, *but grace and truth came by Jeſus Chriſt.* John 1. 17.

Laſtly, when it is oppoſed to the time of *Chriſt's* coming, it ſignifieth the whole policy of the *Jews* Common-wealth; as, *Before Faith came, we were kept under the law*, &c. Or the law of the Order and Inſtitution of the *Aaronical Prieſthood*; as, *All the Prophets & the law*, or the Prieſts, *propheſied unto John.* And if the *Prieſthood* be changed, the Law alſo, to wit, of the *Prieſthood*, muſt needs be changed. Gal 3. 23. Luc. 16 6. Heb. 7. 11. & 10. 1.

The word (*Law*) is ſometime alſo taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Intereſt, Authority, and Empire, or for conſtraining force; as, *The law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of ſin and death, the enforcements of concupiſcence*, &c. Rom. 8. 2. Rom. 7 23.

But the *Written Law of Moſes*, or the law of the *Old Teſtament*, of which we now ſpeak, is thus defined. The law is a doctrine, which was firſt put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by *Moſes*, or by him repeated, commanding Holineſs and Juſtice, promiſing eternal life conditionally, that is, to the obſervers of the Law, and threatning Death to thoſe which break the Law in the leaſt. For, according to S. *James*, *Whoſoever ſhall keep the whole, and fail in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition uſed by the *Schole-men*, in which both the Old and New Law are comprehended, is thus given: *Lex divina eſt divinum decretum, hominibus præſcribens modum neceſſarium, ut aptè pervenire poſſint ad ſupernaturalem beatitudinem, quæ eſt ultimus humanæ vitæ finis*; *the divine Law* (ſay they) *is the decree of God, preſcribing unto men a neceſſary mean, whereby they may aptly attain ſupernatural beatitude, which is the laſt end of man's life.* James 2. 10.

The Law of *Moſes* hath three parts: Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial. The Moral part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that evil to be avoided, in particu-

particular; as alſo it declareth, for whoſe ſake it is to be done; as, *Do this, for I am the Lord*; whereas the law of Nature commands it but in general. Again, the Moral law entreateth of vertue and goodneſs; the Ceremonial of divine ſervice, and of holineſs; (for external worſhip, and the order of hallowing our ſelves unto God, is called Ceremony) and the Judicial teacheth the particular government, fit for the Common-wealth of the *Jews*, and preſcribeth orders for juſtice and equity. And therefore was it ſaid of
Rom. 7. 12. S. *Paul*, *The Commandment is juſt, holy, and good:* juſt, or juſtice being referred to the Judicial: holy, or holineſs to the Ceremonial; good, or honeſt to the Moral. The Judicial part is touching the government of the Common-wealth of the *Jews*, in which many things muſt needs be proper to that eſtate, as ſuch as were inſtituted either in reſpect of place or perſons.

The Ceremonial is divided into four parts, according to the four kinds of things of which it ſpeaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, holy things, Sacraments, and Obſervances. To Sacrifices belong Beaſts, and the Fruits of the earth; to holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Veſſels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments, Circumciſion, the Paſſover, and ſuch like. For Obſervances, they conſiſted either in prohibition of certain meats, as not to eat the bloud and fat of Beaſts; or in ſome other outward things, as in waſhings, purifyings, anointings, and attire, as not to wear mix'd Garments of Linnen and Woollen: as alſo it prohibiteth other unnatural and unproper commixtion; as, *Thou ſhalt not yoak together in a Plough, an Ox and an Aſs*, or caſt mingled ſeed in one field. It alſo exhorteth to natural compaſſion, and forbiddeth cruelty, even to Beaſts, Birds, and Plants, whereby the creatures of God might be deſtroyed without any profit to man. For ſo ſome referr theſe Precepts, *Thou ſhalt not kill the Bird ſitting on her Neſt, nor beat down the Buds of the Tree, nor muzzle the labouring Ox*, and the like, to the Ceremonial Law.

Neither is there any of theſe three parts of the law of *Moſes*, but it hath as yet in ſome reſpect the ſame power which it had before the coming of *Chriſt*. For the Moral liveth ſtill, and is not abrogated or taken away; ſaving in the ability of juſtifying or condemning; for therein are we commanded to love and worſhip God: and to uſe charity one towards another; which for ever ſhall be required at our hands. Therein alſo are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done; which power of directing by ſpecial Rules and Precepts of life, it retaineth ſtill. For theſe things alſo are commanded in both Teſtaments to be obſerved: though principally for fear of God in the one, and for the love of God in the other.

The Ceremonial alſo lived in the things which it fore-ſignified. For the ſhadow is not deſtroyed, but perfected, when the body it ſelf is repreſented to us. Beſides, it ſtill liveth, in that it giveth both inſtruction and teſtimony of *Chriſt*, and in that it giveth direction to the Church, for ſome Ceremonies and Types of holy ſignification, which are ſtill expedient; although in a farr fewer number than before *Chriſt*'s coming, and in a farr leſs degree of neceſſity.

Laſtly, the Judicial liveth in ſubſtance, and concerning the end, and the natural and univerſal equity thereof.

But the Moral faileth in the point of juſtification, the Ceremonial as touching the uſe and external obſervation (becauſe *Chriſt* himſelf is come, of whom the Ceremonies were ſigns and ſhadows) and the Judicial is taken away, as far forth as it was peculiar to the *Jews* Common-weal and Policy.

§. X.

A Propoſal of nine other points to be conſidered, with a touch of the five firſt.

AS for that which remaineth in general conſideration of the divine Written Law, it may in effect be reduced into theſe nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
2. The Majeſty of the Law-giver.
3. The property and peculiarity of the People receiving it.
4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.
5. The efficacy and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the Old and New Teſtament.
7. The end and uſe of the Law.
8. The ſence and underſtanding of the Law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the Law is ſufficiently proved by S. *Paul*, in theſe words: *Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandment is holy, and juſt, and good:* which three attributes are referred, as aforeſaid, to the Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial.

2. The Majeſty of the Law-giver is approved in all his creatures; who, as he hath given all things their lives and beings, ſo he only gave the Law, who could onely give

the end and reward promised, to wit, the salvation of Mankind; but he gave it not to *Moses* immediately, but by the ministery of Angels, as it is said: *And the Law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediator:* And in the *Acts*, *He gave the Law by the Ordinance of Angels.*

Gal. 3 19.

3. The Propriety and Peculiarity of the People receiving the Law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared. Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and dissevered. Thirdly, in that they were the Children of the Promise made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledg of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and severed they were, because of God's choice and election. Children of the Promise they were, for the Promise was made by God unto *Abraham* and his seed; not unto his seeds, as to *Esau* and *Jacob*, but to his seed, as to *Jacob* or *Israel* singularly, of whom *Christ*. *Now, to* Abraham *and his seed was the Promise made; he saith not, to the seeds, as speaking of many, but, to thy seed, as of one, which is Christ.*

Gal. 3 6.

4. The conveniency of the time, in which it was given, is noted by S. *Augustine*; that it was about the middle time, between the Law of Nature and Grace: the Law of Nature continued from *Adam* to *Moses*: the Law written in the commandments received by *Moses* in the Worlds year, 2514. continued to the Baptism of *John*; from which time, began the Law of Grace, which shall continue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the conveniency are formerly given.

5. The fifth consideration is of the efficacy of this Law, the same being a disposition to, or sign of, our Justification; but not by it self sufficient, but as a figure of *Christ* in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousness in moral precepts. For through the Passion of *Christ* were sins forgiven, who taketh away the sins of the World: and therefore S. *Paul* calleth the Rudiments of the Law, *beggarly and weak*; beggarly, as containing no Grace, weak, as not able to forgive and justifie. The bloud of Goats and Bulls, and the Ashes of an Heifer could onely cleanse the body; but they were figures of *Christ's* bloud, which doth cleanse the inward Soul. *For if the Law could justifie, then Christ died in vain.*

Gal. 4.

Heb. 9

Gal. 8.

§. XI.

Of the sixth Point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.

THe old and new Testament differ in name, and in the mean and way proposed for attaining to salvation; as the old by Works, the new by Grace; but in the thing it self, or object and remote end, they agree; which is, mans happiness and salvation.

The old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witness of Gods Will, was called the old, because it preceded the new Testament; which is an explication of the old: from which the new taketh witness. Yet the new is of more excellency, in that it doth more lively express, and openly and directly delineate, the ways of our redemption. It is also called the old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated: *In that he saith, the New Testament, he hath abrogated the Old.* For the old Law, though greatly extolled by the *Prophets*, and delivered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy perishable; but the new was given in a promise of an everlasting Kingdom, and therefore called in the *Apocalyps*, a Testament and Gospel for ever during.

Heb. 8, 13.

The old Testament is called the Law, because the first and chief part is of the Law of *Moses*, of which the *Prophets* and *Psalms* are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The new Testament is called the Gospel, because the first and chief part thereof, is the glad tidings of our Redemption: the other Books, as the Epistles, or Letters of the *Apostles*, and the *Acts* or Story of the *Apostles*, are plentiful Interpreters thereof: The word *Evangelion*, signifying a joyful, happy, and prosperous message, or (as *Homer* used it) the reward given to the Messenger bringing joyful news. It is also sometime taken for a sacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing success, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three significations. First, for glad tidings in general, as in *Esay* 52. *v.* 7. concerning peace. Secondly, by an excellency it is restrained, to signifie that most joyful message of Salvation, as in *Luke* 2. 10. whence also by figure it is taken for the History of *Christ*; and so we understand the four Gospels.

Acts 1.

Lastly, for the preaching and divulging the Doctrine of *Christ*, as 1 *Cor.* 9. 14. and 2 *Cor.* 8. 18.

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I think, as they are divided in Volumes) is by *Danæus* comprised in these four.

In their Author.
In the substance of the Covenant, or things promised.
In the foundation, to wit, *Christ*.
In the Effects, that is, in Righteousness and Justification.

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testament

ment and will of God in ſubſtance of doctrine. For as there was ever one Church, ſo was there one Covenant and Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old law doth point at *Chriſt*, ſo doth the new Law teach *Chriſt*; the old propoſing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the ſame thing being promiſed in both; both tending to one and the ſame end, even the ſalvation of our Souls; which, according to S. *Peter*, is the end of our Faith. For although it be ſaid, that *Moſes* did promiſe by obſerving the law, an earthly kingdom, a land flowing with Milk and Honey, the propagation of children, and other worldly bleſſings; yet all theſe were but figures to teach, and pledges to aſſure the Fathers of thoſe ſpiritual bleſſings by *Chriſt*; for by the earthly, he raiſed their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers, notwithſtanding theſe worldly goods, did yet acknowledg themſelves ſtrangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heavenly *Hieruſalem*; according to this place of the *Hebrews*; *All theſe died in faith, and received not the promiſes, but ſaw them afar off, and believed them; confeſſing that they were ſtrangers and pilgrims on the earth.* To which purpoſe alſo S. *Auguſtine*, *Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes per promiſſa terrena, æterna promitti*; *Few* (ſaith he) *do underſtand the old law; not attending that by things earthly, eternal are promiſed.* And S. *Hierom*; *Noluit Deus paſcere* Judæos *more pecorum corporalibus donis opibuſque, ut* Judæi *ſomniant*; *God would not feed the* Jews *as beaſts with corporal gifts and riches, as themſelves dream.* And this may be gathered out of God's own words, *Ego ſum Deus tuus*; *& ero vobis in Deum*; *I am thy God, and I will be your God.* For the words, *I wil be your God*, prove that it was not for the preſent, or for periſhable things, that God gave them this promiſe, but in reſpect of the future; to wit, the ſafety of their Souls. For as God created both Body and Soul, ſo hath he of his goodneſs, not left the better part uncared for, which liveth ever.

Cap 11. v. 13.

Lib. de Civit. Dei, 18. c. 15.

In Sophon. c. 3. v. 9.

The agreement between the old and new Teſtament in ſubſtance, inferrs alſo the agreement in foundation. For *Chriſt* is called the foundation of the law laid by the *Apoſtles* and *Prophets*; in whom all the promiſes of God in the old and new, are aſſured: the Fathers having eaten the ſame ſpiritual food, which we eat in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects, is, in that the knowledg of our ſin and miſery, which is taught us by the law, maketh way, and, as it were, ſerveth in ſubordination to the Goſpel, the proper effects wereof are mercy and ſalvation; to which the law ſerving as an introduction (for to thoſe which acknowledg their ſin and miſery, God ſheweth his mercy and ſalvation) may be ſaid to agree with the Goſpel in the effect. For otherwiſe, if we ſever the law from ſubordination to the Goſpel, the effects are very different; the one ſheweth the way of righteouſneſs by works, the other by faith; the law woundeth, the Goſpel healeth; the Law terrifieth, the Goſpel allureth; *Moſes* accuſeth, *Chriſt* defendeth; *Moſes* condemneth, *Chriſt* pardoneth. The old reſtrained the hand, the new, the mind. *Data eſt lex quæ non ſanaret* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *ſed quæ ægrotantes probaret*; *The law was given, not to help, but to diſcover ſickneſs:* and S. *Chryſoſtom*; *Data eſt lex, ut ſe homo inveniret*; *non ut morbus ſanaretur, ſed ut medicus quæreretur*; *The law was given, that man might find and know his own imperfection*; *not that his diſeaſe was thereby holpen, but that he might then ſeek out the Phyſician.* For Chriſt came to ſave the World, which the Law had condemned. And as *Moſes* was but a Servant, and *Chriſt* a Son; ſo the greateſt benefit was reſerved to be brought, as by the *worthieſt* perſon, ſaith *Cyril*; for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

Homil. ad Rem.

Heb. 7.

§. XII.

Of the reſt of the points propoſed.

THe ſeventh Conſideration is of the end, and uſe of the Law; which is, to bring us to *Chriſt*; for finding no righteouſneſs in our own works, we muſt ſeek it in ſome other. But this is the laſt, and remote, and utmoſt end; the next and proper end of the Law, is to preſcribe righteouſneſs, and to exact abſolute and perfect obedience to God. *Curſed is he that continueth not in all the things of this Law.*

Lev. 18. 5.

The ſecond end of the Law, is, to render us inexcuſable before God; who knowing ſo perfect a Law, do not keep it; the Law requiring a perfect and entire, not a broken or half obedience; but both inward and outward righteouſneſs, and performance of duty to God and Men.

The the third and chief end of the law, is, as hath been ſaid, to ſend us to *Chriſt*, and his Grace, being in our ſelves condemned and loſt. For the law was delivered with thunder, and with a moſt violent and fearfull tempeſt, threatning eternal death.

The fourth end of the law was to deſign, and preſerve, the place of the Church and true People of God; and to hold men in one Diſcipline, and aw, till the coming of *Chriſt*;

Chriſt; after whom the Church was to be diſperſed over the whole World.

Theſe be the ends of the Moral Law. The end and uſe of the Ceremonial law, is to confirm the truth of *Chriſt*, and the new Teſtament. The uſe of the Judicial, to teach us natural equity and right, whereto we muſt conform our ſelves.

The ſence and underſtanding of the law is double, literal, and ſpiritual; by the literal, we are taught the worſhip and ſervice of God; by the ſpiritual, the figures and myſtical fore-ſpeakings of *Chriſt*.

Gen. 49 10. The Scepter ſhall not depart from *Judah*, nor a Law-giver from between his feet, until *Shila* come.

Laſtly, for the durance or continuance of the Law, the ſame had being until the Paſſion of *Chriſt*; before which time, and while *Chriſt* taught in the World, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true ſacrifice was offered upon the Altar of the Croſs, then the *Jewiſh* ſacrifices and ceremonies, which were Types and Figures of *Chriſt* (*Chriſt* being the Body of thoſe ſhadows) ceaſed to bind the conſcience any longer; the myſterie of our Redemption being now by *Chriſt*, and in him, finiſhed. In token whereof the veil of the Temple rent aſunder; noting that the ceremonial veils and ſhadows were now to be removed, not that the moral law of the Commandments was hereby aboliſhed, or weakned at all; otherwiſe than that it had not power to condemn according to the *Jewiſh* doctrine, as aforeſaid. For the obſerving of the law was by *Chriſt* himſelf ſeverely commanded; our love towards God being thereby to be witneſſed. And herein *David* ſo much rejoiced, as he preferred the obſervation of the law before all that the World could yield. *In via teſtimoniorum tuorum delectatus ſum, ſicut in omnibus divitiis*; *I have been delighted in thy law, as in all manner of riches:* And again, *The law of thy mouth is good for me above thouſands of gold and ſilver. This is the love of God* (ſaith S. *John*) *that we keep his commandment.* And that there is no excuſe for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himſelf in *Deuteronomy* witneſſeth. *This Commandment* (ſaith he) *which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it farr off. It is not in heaven, that thou ſhouldeſt ſay, Who ſhall go up for us to heaven, and bring it us, and cauſe us to hear it, that we may do it? Neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou ſhouldeſt ſay Who ſhall go over the Sea for us, and bring it us?* &c. *but the word is very near unto thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart for to do it. Behold* (ſaith *Moſes*) *I have ſet before thee this day life and death, good and evil, in that I command thee this day, to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his Commandments, and his Ordinances, and his Laws, that thou mayſt live*, &c. Neither is it ſaid in vain in S. *Matthew: Si vis ad vitam ingredi, ſerva mandata*; *If thou wilt enter into life, keep the Commandments*; and in S. *John*, *Scio quia mandatum ejus vita æterna eſt*; *I know that his Commandment is life everlaſting.* And if this be the charity of God, or of Men towards God, as S. *John* hath taught, to wit, that we keep his Commandments; certainly, he is but a lyar, that profeſſeth to love God, and neglecteth to obſerve the word of his Will, with all his Power. And, though I confeſs it not in mans ability, without the ſpecial grace of God, to fulfil the law (*Chriſt* only as man excepted) yet, if we rightly conſider the merciful care which God had of his people in thoſe his Commandments, we ſhall find in our ſelves, how we borrow liberty, and rather let ſlip our affections, and voluntarily looſen them from the chains of obedience, to which the Word of God, and Divine Reaſon hath faſtened them, than that we are excuſable by thoſe difficulties and impoſſibilities, which our mind (greedy of liberty) propoſeth to it ſelf. *For, this is the love of God, that we keep his Commandments, and his Commandments are not grievous*, 1 Joh. 5. 12. and if we examine every Precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our conſciences; it is not hard for any man to judg, by what eaſie perſuaſions, we ſteal away from our own power, as unwilling to uſe it againſt our pleaſing deſires.

1 John 5.

Deut. 30 11, 12, 13. & 14. Rom 10. v. 6, 7, 8.

(a) 9. 17. Cap 12. 30.

§. XIII.

Of the ſeveral Commandments of the Decalogue; *and that the difficulty is not in reſpect of the Commandments, but by our default.*

FOr by the firſt, we are commanded to acknowledg, ſerve, and love one God. Now, whereby are we enticed to the breach of this Precept? ſeeing every reaſonable man may conceive and know, that an Infinite power cannot be divided into many infinities; and that it is of neceſſity, that by this Almighty Unity, all things have been cauſed, and are continued. And if brute Beaſts had this knowledg of their Creator, and how in his Providence he hath alſo provided for every of them, *Which giveth to Beaſts their food*, &c. there is no doubt, but they would alſo ſerve and love him onely. Pſal. 149. 9

The ſecond Precept is the forbidding of Idolatry, and worſhip of Images; the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the beginning, ſeeing this

is

Gloſſa in verb. Calum.

is generally true; *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta ſunt; All ill examples did ſpring and ariſe from good beginnings.* For their firſt erection was to keep the memory of men famous for their vertue; until (ſaith *Lactantius*) the Devil crept into them, and (having blotted out the firſt intent) working in weak and ignorant Souls, changed the nature of the one, and the reaſon of the other, to ſerve himſelf thereby. For what reaſonable man, if he be not forſaken of God, will call on thoſe blind, deaf, dumb, and dead ſtocks, more worthleſs than the moſt worthleſs of thoſe, that having life and reaſon, implore their help, which have neither; yea, of more vile price and baſer, than the baſeſt of Beaſts, who have ſenſe and eſtimation? For what do we thereby (ſaith the Wiſdom of *Solomon*) *but call to the weak for help, pray to the dead for life, require aid of him that hath no experience, aſſiſtance in our journeys of him that cannot go, and ſucceſs in our affairs of him that hath no power?* And whether the Idolater, or the Block to which he prayeth, be more ſenſleſs, *David* maketh a doubt. *For* (ſaith he) *they that make them are like unto them, and ſo are all the reſt that truſt in them.*

Wiſd. 13. v. 19.

Pſal. 35. 18.

The branch of the third Commandment, is neither perſuaded by worldly pleaſure, nor worldly profit; the two greateſt inchanters of mortal men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible diſdain of God, unleſs the hate of good men, and Gods curſe, be accounted an advantage. For, as our corrupteſt nature gives us nothing towards it, ſo can it ſatisfie no one appetite, except everlaſting ſorrow, and Hell dwell in our deſire. And therefore this ſtrange cuſtom hath the Devil brought up among men, without all ſubtilty of argument, or cunning perſuaſion, taking thereby the greateſt and moſt ſcornful advantage over us. For ſlaughter ſatisfieth hatred, Theft gives ſatisfaction to need, Adultery to luſt, Oppreſſion to covetouſneſs; but this contemptuous offence of blaſphemy, and the irreverent abuſe of God's name, as it giveth no help to any of our worldly affections, ſo the moſt ſalvage Nations of the World do not uſe it.

The fourth Commandment, to keep the *Sabbath day* holy, hath neither pain, burthen, nor inconvenience. For it giveth reſt to the labourer, and conſolation to their Maſters. And, that this law was impoſed on man for his benefit, *Moſes* teacheth in the reaſon of the law: as in *Exod.* 23. 12. *And in the ſeventh day thou ſhalt reſt, that thine Ox, and thine Aſs may reſt, and the Son of thy Maid, and the Stranger may be refreſhed.*

The firſt of the ſecond Table, to honor our Parents, with whom we are one and the ſame, is a gratitude which Nature it ſelf hath taught us towards them, who, after God, gave us life and being, have begotten us, and born us, cheriſhed us in our weak and helpleſs infancy, and beſtowed on us the harveſt and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporal and Judicial Ordinances, curſing of Parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, That thou ſhalt not Murther, that is, Thou ſhalt not do the acts following the affections of hatred. For the Law of God, and after it, our own laws, and, in effect, the law of all Nations, have made difference between ſlaughter caſual, and furious. *Affectio enim tua* (ſaith *Bracton*) *imponit nomen operi tuo; It is the affection and will that makes the work ſuch as it is.* And certainly, whoſoever cannot forbear to commit Murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any uſe of his own will.

The third of the ſecond Table, commands us from Adultery. Now, if the preſervation of Virginity have been poſſible for thouſands of Men and Women, who in all Ages have maſtered their fleſhly deſires, and have returned chaſte to their Grave: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the diſhonour and injury, which we offer to others by ſuch a violation, ſeeing Marriage is permitted by the Laws of God and men, to all that affect it. And there is no man living, whom the deſire of beauty and form hath ſo conſtrained, but he might with eaſe forbear the proſecution of this ill, did not himſelf give ſuck to this Infant, and nouriſh warmth, till it grow to ſtrong heat, heat till it turn to fire, and fire to flame.

Nuptiæ replent terram, Virginitas Paradiſum.

The fourth of the ſecond Table, is, That we ſhall not ſteal. And, if that kind of violent robbery had been uſed in *Moſes* time, which many Ruffians practiſe now a-days in *England*, and, to the diſhonour of our Nation, more in *England*, than in any Region of the World among *Chriſtians*; out of doubt, he would have cenſured them by death, and not by reſtitution, though quadruple. For, I ſpeak not of the poor and miſerable Souls, whom hunger and extreme neceſſity inforceth; but of thoſe deteſted Thieves, who, to maintain themſelves Lord-like, aſſault, rob, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and labouring man; or break by violence into other mens houſes, and ſpend in Bravery, Drunkenneſs and upon Harlots, in one day, what other men have ſometime laboured for, all their lives; impoveriſhing whole Families, and taking the bread and food from the mouths of their children. And that this

Commandment

Commandment might eaſily be obſerved, it would ſoon appear, if Princes would reſolve, but for a few years, to pardon none. For, it is the hope of life, and argument of ſparing the firſt offence, that incourageth theſe Hell-hounds. And if every man preſume to be pardoned once, there is no State or Commonwealth, but theſe men would in a ſhort time impoveriſh or deſtroy it.

The fifth Commandment of this ſecond Table, is, the prohibition of falſe witneſs: from which, if men could not forbear, all ſurety of eſtate and life were taken away. And ſo much did God deteſt a falſe witneſs, and a falſe accuſer, eſpecially, in matters criminal, that the Law ordained him to ſuffer the ſame death or puniſhment, which he ſought by falſhood to lay on his brother.

The laſt of the ten Commandments, forbiddeth us to covet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wives for concupiſcence, or their goods for deſire of gain. And this Precept ſeemeth the hardeſt for men to obſerve; ſo eſteemed by reaſon of our frail affections; and yet, if we judg hereof rightly, it may be doubted, whether it extend to all our inconſiderate fancies, and vain thoughts. For, although it be not eaſie to maſter all our ſudden paſſions, yet we may reſtrain and hinder the growing, and farther increaſe, if we pleaſe to intend our ſtrength, and ſeek for grace. How the word *Coveting*, reacheth to all thoſe, it is to be conſidered. For, *Concupiſcentia*, according to ſome, *Eſt effrænatus habendi appetitus*; *An unbridled, or unreſtrained appetite of having:* And, as touching ſuch an appetite, we cannot excuſe our ſelves by any our natural frailty, or unadviſed error; But, as I ſuppoſe, the word *Concupiſcence* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and unbridled evil intent, or for ſome urging inclination thereunto. All the queſtion is of the later ſort; which is, *Actus imperfectus, id eſt, non deliberatus ratione, quæ eſt principium proprium actus boni aut vitioſi*; *Such paſſions, or inclinations are imperfect acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reaſon, which is the proper Principle of a good or vicious action.* And ſure, it may ſeem, that ſo long as we reſiſt ſuch motions, they harm us not: as they ſay, *Quamdiu refragamur, nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus*; *As long as we give no aſſent unto them, it is thought by ſome, that they hurt us not*; *and that then onely they hurt, when we ſuffer them to bear ſway.* But theſe men, as it ſeems, make nothing forbidden in the tenth Precept, but what hath been forbidden in the other: for in every Commandment, not onely the outward act, but alſo the inward aſſent unto evil, though it break not out into act, is forbidden; therefore, that we may know the difference between this Commandment and the reſt, the diſtinction of deſires is to be held; that ſome are with aſſent, and unbridled; others bridled, and without aſſent. For, even ſo the Moral *Philoſopher* can tell us, that the continent man hath evil deſires, but without aſſent (for they are bridled by the ſtrength of right reaſon) as, on the other ſide, the Incontinent hath good deſires but reſtrained and ſuppreſſed by contrary paſſions. The evil deſires, when they are accompanied with aſſent, are in every Commandment forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore, if we will have any thing proper to this Commandment, we muſt needs ſay, that the evil deſires of the continent man (that is, even thoſe which we reſiſt and bridle) are here forbidden. For though he that bridled his evil deſires, be much better than he that yieldeth unto them; yet, ſuch a man according to the Heathen *Philoſopher*, is not worthy the name of a vertuous man. For *Ariſtotle* himſelf makes *Continentia*, not to be vertue, but only a degree unto it; confeſſing, that though the Continent man do well in bridling his evil affections, yet he doth not all, ſeeing he ought not ſo much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true Divinity delivereth touching this matter. For, as he ſaith, that in the Continent man the having of theſe evil deſires, though he reſiſt them, is the cauſe that he cannot be called a vertuous man: ſo we, that the having of them is a ſin. Onely in this we excel him here; that we are able, out of Divinity, to give the true reaſon of this doctrine; which is, that every one ſinneth, that doth not love God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the evil deſires of the Continent man; that is, of him which bridleth them, muſt needs be ſin: ſeeing ſuch deſires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleaſed God, to make us know, that by our faithful endeavours to keep his Commandments, we witneſs our love toward himſelf; we may not ſafely give liberty to our vanities, by caſting back upon God (who is Juſtice it ſelf) that he hath given us Precepts altogether beyond our power, and Commandments impoſſible for us to keep. For, as he is accurſed (ſaith Saint *Hierom*) that avows that the Law is in all things poſſible to be obſerved: ſo he hath made this addition: *Maledictus qui*

qui dicit impossibilia Deum præcepisse; Accursed is he that saith, that God hath cōmanded things (in themselves, and not through our fault) *impossible.* Now, as the places are many which command us to keep the Law; so is our weakness also in the Scriptures laid before us, and therefore it is thus safely to be understood, that we should without evasion, or without betraying of our selves, do our faithful endeavours to observe them: which if we do unfeignedly, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man just, *David* witnesseth: *Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight, no flesh that liveth shall be justified.* And in the first of *Kings*, *There is no man that sinneth not*; And again, *Who can say, I have made my heart clean?* But, seeing there is no sin grievous without deliberation; let every man's conscience judg him, whether he give way willingly, or restrain himself in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King gives to his subject a commandment upon pain of loss of his love, to perform some service: if the subject, neglecting the same, seek to satisfie his *Soveraign* with shifting excuses, out of doubt such a Prince will take himself to be derided therein.

Psal. 143.

Cap. 8. v. 46.

Prov. 20. 9.

§. XIV.

If there were not any Religion, nor Judgment to come, yet the Decalogue *were most necessary to be observed.*

AND if we consider advisedly, and soberly, of the Moral Law, or ten Commandments, which God by the hand of *Moses* gave unto his People, it will appear, that such was his merciful Providence in the choice of them, as, were there neither pain nor profit adjoyned to the observing, or not observing of them; were there no divine power at all, nor any Religion among men; yet, if we did not for our own sakes strive to observe these Laws, all Society of men, and all endeavours, all happiness and contentment in this life would be taken away, and every State and Common-weal in the World fall to the ground and dissolve. Therefore these Laws were not imposed as a burthen, but as a blessing: to the end that the innocent might be defended, that every man might enjoy the fruits of his own travel, that right might be done to all men, from all men: that by Justice, Order, and Peace, we might live the lives of reasonable men, and not of Beasts; of free-men, and not of slaves; of civil men, and not of Salvages. And hereof making our humane reason onely Judg, let us see the inconveniences in this life, which would follow by the breach and neglect of these Laws.

As first, what would the issue be, if we acknowledged many gods? would not a farr greater hatred, warr, and bloud-shed follow, than that which the difference of Ceremony, and diversity of interpretation, hath already brought into the World, even among those Nations which acknowledg one *God*, and one *Christ?*

And what could it profit mankind to pray to Idols, and Images of Gold, Metal, dead Stones, and rotten Wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the loss of time, and an impossibility to receive thence-from, either help or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandment bringeth therewith this disadvantage, and ill to man, that whosoever taketh the Name of God in vain, shall not at any time benefit himself by calling God to witness for him, when he may justly use his Holy Name.

The observing the *Sabbath* Holy, giveth rest to Men and Beasts, and Nature her self requireth intermission from labour.

If we despise our Parents, who have given us being, we thereby teach our children, to scorn and neglect us, when our aged years require comfort and help at their hands.

If Murther were not forbidden, and severely punished, the race of mankind would be extinguished; and whosoever would take the liberty to destroy others, giveth liberty to others to destroy himself.

If Adultery were lawful, and permitted, no man could say unto himself; This is my Son: there would be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to Posterity, no endeavour by vertue and undertaking to raise Families; murthers and poisonings between Man and Wife would be daily committed; and every man subject to most filthy and unclean Diseases.

If Stealth and violent Rapine were suffered, all mankind would shortly after perish, or live as the Salvages, by Roots and Acorns. For no man laboureth but to enjoy the fruits thereof. And such is the mischief of Robbery, as where *Moses* for lesser crimes, appointed restitution fourfold, policy of State, and necessity, hath made it death.

To permit false Witnesses, is to take all mens lives and estates from them by corruption; the wicked would swear against the vertuous; the waster against the wealthy; the idle Beggar and Loyterer, against the careful and painful Labourer; all trial of right were taken away, and Justice thereby banished out of the World.

The coveting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a diſtraction of mind, with an inward vexation; for while we covet what appertains to others, we neglect our own: our appetites are therein fed with vain and fruitleſs hopes, ſo long as we do but covet; and if we do attain to the deſire of the one, or the other, to wit, the Wives, or goods of our neighbours; we can look for no other, but that our ſelves ſhall alſo, either by theft or by ſtrong hand, be deprived of our own.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandments, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the general and particular good of all living? Surely, for our own good, and not in reſpect of himſelf, did the moſt merciful and provident God ordain them; without the obſervation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the bleſſings given us in this life, would be unto us altogether unprofitable, and of no uſe. For we ſhould remain but in the ſtate of brute Beaſts, if not in a farr more unhappy condition.

§. XV.

Of humane law, written, and unwritten.

HUmane law, of which now it followeth to ſpeak, is firſt divided into two (*viz.*) Written, and unwritten. The unwritten conſiſts of uſage, approved by time; which *Iſidore* calls *Mores*; and he defines *Mores* to be *Conſuetudines vetuſtate probatæ*; to be *cuſtoms approved by antiquity, or unwritten laws.* Now cuſtom differeth from uſe, as the cauſe from the effect; in that cuſtom is by uſe and continuance eſtabliſhed into a law; but yet there, where the law is defective, ſaith *Iſidore.*

And of cuſtoms there are two general natures, containing innumerable particulars; the firſt are written cuſtoms, received and exerciſed by Nations, as the cuſtoms of *Burgundy* and *Normandy*, the antient general cuſtom of *England*, and the cuſtoms of *Caſtile*, and other *Provinces.*

The ſecond are theſe petty cuſtoms, uſed in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The general or National cuſtoms are ſome written, others unwritten.

The particular or petty cuſtoms are ſeldom written, but witneſſed by teſtimony of the inhabitance. The cuſtom of the *Dutchie* of *Cornwall*, comprehending alſo the *Stannary* of *Devon*, as touching *Tinn*, and *Tinn* cauſes are written in *Devon*, but not in *Cornwall.* But howſoever, uſe and time hath made theſe cuſtoms as laws, yet ought every cuſtom to be *rationabilis*, as well as *præſcripta. Non firmatur tractu temporis, quod de jure ab initio non ſubſiſtit*; *That which at firſt was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time.* And (ſaith *Ulpian*) *quod ab initio vicioſum eſt, non poteſt tractu temporis convaleſcere*; *Courſe of time amends not that which was naught from the firſt beginning.* For theſe two defences are neceſſary in all laws of cuſtom; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law Divine, and Natural; the other, that the cauſe and reaſon be ſtrong, proving a right birth, and neceſſary continuance; it being manifeſt, that every cuſtom which is againſt the law, had its beginning from evil deeds, and therefore not without the former conſiderations to be allowed. And it is true, that all cuſtoms of this nature, were but tollerated for a time, by the law-makers, though they have been ſince continued; becauſe poſterity is not bound to examine by what cauſe their Anceſtors were thereto moved. For, *Non ſufficit ſimplex toleratio.* And it is in this ſort over-ruled in the law; *Per populum conſuetudo contra legem induci non poteſt, niſi de voluntate illius qui novam legem & novam conſtitutionem ſtatuere poteſt, qui ſolus princeps eſt*; *The people cannot bring in a new cuſtom againſt law, ſave by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is only the Prince.*

In Reg. Jur. v. 2. q. 117. art. 1.

Ulp. l. 29.

Humane law, generally taken, to wit, humane law written, is by ſome defined to be the decree or doom of practick reaſon; by which humane actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the law a common precept, the adviſement of wiſe men, and the reſtraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Iſidore* calls the law, a Conſtitution written, agreeing with Religion, fitteſt for government and common profit; And more largely, *Omne id quod ratione conſiſtit*; *All that ſtands with reaſon.*

Laſtly, and more preciſely, it is thus defined. Humane law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the law natural and eternal; made by the rational diſcourſe of thoſe, that exerciſe publick authority; preſcribing neceſſary obſervances to the ſubject. That every law ought to be a righteous decree, S. *Auguſtine* teacheth, ſaying, *Mihi lex eſſe non videtur, quæ juſta non fuerit*; *It ſeems to be no law at all to me, which is not juſt*; and juſt it cannot be, except it agree with the law natural and eternal. For there is no law juſt and legitimate (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) which the Law-makers have not derived from the eternal. *Nihil juſtum atque legitimum eſt, quod non ab æterna lege ſibi homines derivaverunt.*

Greg. de Val. ex Tho. q. 91. art. 3. & q. 94. art. 2.

Lib. 1. de li. arb. cap. 6.

Secondly, it ought to be conſtituted by diſcourſe

diſcourſe of reaſon, whereby it is diſtinguiſhed from the law natural, to wit, the natural, demonſtrable, or needing no demonſtration, from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authoriſed Magiſtracy, it cannot be doubted, be the government of what kind ſoever. For it falleth otherwiſe under the title of thoſe decrees called *Violentiæ*, or *iniquæ conſtitutiones*; *Violences, or wicked conſtitutions.*

4. *Parts.* Of humane law there are four properties, eſpecially anſwering theſe four conditions in the former definition. Firſt, as it is drawn out of the law of Nature; ſo every particular of the humane law may be reſolved into ſome principle or rule of the natural.

Secondly, it is to be conſidered as it is referred unto, and doth reſpect, the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publick authority.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the law, it preſcribeth and directeth all humane actions. And ſo is the law as large and divers, as all humane actions are divers, which may fall under it. For, according to *Thomas*, *Alia lex* Julia *de Adulteriis*, *alia* Cornelii *de Sicariis*; *The law of* Julian *againſt Adultery, is one, the* Cornelian *againſt Ruffians, is another.* Now, the humane law generally taken, is in reſpect of theſe conſiderations, divided into the law of Nations, and the Civil.

The law of Nations is taken leſs or more properly; leſs properly for every law which is not of it ſelf, but from other higher principles deduced: and ſo it ſeemeth that *Ulpian* underſtands it: for he defineth *Jus Gentium*, or *the law of Nations*, to be that which is only common amongſt men, as Religion, and the Worſhip of God; which is not in the very nature of this law of Nations; but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other divine Revelations. But the law of Nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *ſentence*, which is drawn from a very probable, though not from an evident principle, yet ſo probable, that all Nations do aſſent unto the concluſion, as that the free paſſage of *Ambaſſadors* be granted between enemies, *&c.* which National law, according to divers acceptations, and divers conſiderations had of the humane law, may be ſometime taken for a *Species* of the Natural, ſometime of the Humane.

Jus civile, or the civil Law, is not the ſame in all Common-wealths, but in divers Eſtates it is alſo divers and peculiar, and this law is not ſo immediately derived from the law of Nature, as the law of Nations is: For, it is partly deduced out of ſuch principles, as all Nations do not agree in, or eaſily aſſent unto; becauſe they depend on particular circumſtances, which are divers, and do not fit all Eſtates. Hereof *Ulpian*, *Jus civile neque in totum à Naturali & Gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei ſervit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, vel detrahimus juri communi, jus proprium, id iſt, Civili efficimus*; *The civil Law* (ſaith he) *doth neither wholly differ from the law of Nature and Nations, nor yet in all points obey it: therefore, when we add ought to, or take from the law that is common, we make a law proper, that is, the Civil Law.* *In Leg. 6. to. ff. de Juſtitia jur.*

The law now commonly called the *Civil Law*, had its birth in *Rome*; and was firſt written by the *Decem-viri*, 303. years after the foundation of the City. It was compounded as well out of the *Athenian* and other *Grecian* laws, as out of the antient *Roman* cuſtoms and laws *Regal*. The Regal laws were deviſed by the firſt Kings, and called *Leges Regiæ*, or *Papyrianæ*, becauſe they were gathered by *Papyrius*, *Tarquin* then raigning. For, though ſo many of the former laws as maintained Kingly authority, were aboliſhed with the name; yet thoſe of *Servius Tullius*, for commerce and contracts, and all that appertained to Religion and common Utility, were continued, and were a part of the laws of the twelve Tables. To theſe laws of the twelve Tables, were added (as the times gave occaſion) thoſe made by the *Senate*, called *Senatus-conſulta*: thoſe of the common people, called *Plebei-ſcita*, thoſe of the Lawyers, called *Reſponſa-prudentum*; and the Edicts of the *Annual Magiſtrate*; which Edicts being firſt gathered and interpreted by *Julian*, and preſented to *Adrian* the Emperor, they were by him confirmed, and made perpetual laws, and the *Volume* ſtyled, *Edictum perpetuum*; as thoſe and the like collections of *Juſtinian* afterward were. *Dion. Hal.* *C. Signon. l. 1. out of Pomponius.*

The difference antiently between Laws and Edicts, which the *French* call *Reglements*, conſiſted in this, that laws are the Conſtitutions made or confirmed by Soveraign Authority (be the ſoveraignty in the People, in a few, or in one) and are withall general and permanent: but an Edict (which is but *Juſſum Magiſtratus*, unleſs by authority it be made a Law) hath end with the *Officer*, who made the ſame, ſaith *Varro*. *Qui plurimum Edicto tribuunt, legem annuam eſſe dicunt*; *They who aſcribe the moſt to an Edict, ſay that it is a law for one year:* Though *Iſidore* doth alſo expreſs by the word *Conſtitutions* or *Edicts*, thoſe Ordinances called *Acts of Prerogatives*; as, *Conſtitutio, vel Edictum eſt quod Rex, vel Imperator conſtituit, vel edixit*; *An Ordinance or Edict is that which*

a King or Emperour doth ordain, or proclaim.

Laſtly, the *humane Law* is divided into the *Secular*, and into the *Eccleſiaſtical*, or *Canon*. The *Secular* commanding temporal good, to wit, the Peace and tranquility of the Common-weal; the *Eccleſiaſtical*, the ſpiritual good, and right government of the *Eccleſiaſtical Common-wealth*, or *Church*: *Illud naturæ legem, hoc divinam ſpectat*; *That reſpecteth the law of Nature, this the Law of God.* And ſo may *Jus Civile* be taken two ways; Firſt, as diſtinguiſhed from the law of Nations, as in the firſt diviſion: Secondly, as it is the ſame with the *Secular*, and diverſe from the *Eccleſiaſtical*. But this diviſion of the *School-men* is obſcure. For although the *Civil* be the ſame with the *Secular*, as the *Civil* is a law, yet the *Secular* is more general, and comprehendeth both the *Civil*, and all other laws not *Eccleſiaſtical*. For, of *Secular* laws in uſe among *Chriſtian* Princes, and in *Chriſtian* Common-weals, there are three kinds; the *Civil*, which hath every where a voice, and is in all *Chriſtian* Eſtates (*England* excepted) moſt powerful; the laws of *England*, called *Common*, and the laws of cuſtom, or *Provincial*. In *Spain*, beſides the law *Civil*, they have the cuſtoms of *Caſtil*, and other Provinces. In *France*, beſides the *Civil*, the cuſtoms of *Burgundy*, *Bloys*, *Berri*, *Nivernois*, and *Lodunois*, &c. *Tous liez ſitues & aſſis en Lodunois, ſeront governez ſelon les coſtumes du dit pays*; *All places lying within the precincts of Lodunois, ſhall be governed according to the cuſtoms of that place.* There are alſo in *France* the cuſtoms of *Normandy*, and theſe of two kinds; General, and Local; and all purged and reformed by divers Acts of the three Eſtates. The *Charters* of confirmation of theſe antient cuſtoms, before and ſince their reformation have theſe words: *Nos autem Regiſtrum prædictum, uſus laudabiles, & conſuetudines antiquas*, &c. *laudamus, approbamus, & authoritate Regia confirmamus*; *The Regiſter aforeſaid, laudable uſe, and antient cuſtoms, we praiſe, approve, and by our Kingly Authority confirm.* The Common Law of *England* is alſo compounded of the antient cuſtoms of the ſame, and of certain *Maxims* by thoſe cuſtoms of the Realm approved. Upon which cuſtoms alſo are grounded thoſe Courts of *Record*, of the *Chancery*, *Kings Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other ſmall Courts.

Art. 3. tit. 5. G. Caſt.

Theſe antient cuſtoms of *England* have been approved by the Kings thereof from Age to Age: as that cuſtom by which no man ſhall be taken, impriſoned, diſſeiſed, nor otherwiſe deſtroy'd, but he muſt firſt be put to anſwer by the Law of the Land, was confirmed by the *Statute* of *Magna Charta*. It is by the antient cuſtom of *England*, that the eldeſt Sons ſhould inherit without partition. In *Germany*, *France*, and elſewhere otherwiſe, and by partition. In *Ireland*, it is the cuſtom of all Lands (that have not been reſigned into the Kings hands) that the eldeſt of the Houſe ſhall enjoy the Inheritance during his own life; and ſo the ſecond and third eldeſt (if there be ſo many brothers) before the Heir in lineal deſcent; this is called the cuſtom of *Taniſtry*. For example, if a Lord of Land have four Sons, and the eldeſt of thoſe four have alſo a Son, the three brothers of the eldeſt Son ſhall, after the death of their brother, enjoy their Fathers Lands before the grandchild: the cuſtom being grounded upon the reaſon of neceſſity. For the *Iriſh* in former times, having always lived in a ſubdivided *civil* Warr, not onely the greateſt againſt the greateſt, but every *Baron* and *Gentleman* one againſt another, were enforc'd to leave ſucceſſors of age and ability, to defend their own Territories. Now, as in *Normandy*, *Burgundy*, and other Provinces of *France*, there are certain peculiar and petty Cuſtoms, beſides the great and general cuſtom of the Land, ſo are there in *England*, and in every part thereof. But the greateſt bulk of our Laws, as I take it, are the *Acts* of *Parliament*; Laws propounded and approved by the three Eſtates of the Realm, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which, all men are therefore bound, becauſe they are *Acts* of choice, and ſelf-deſire. *Leges nulla alia cauſa nos tenent, quàm quòd judicio populi receptæ ſunt*; *The Laws do therefore bind the Subject, becauſe they are received by the judgment of the Subject.* *Tum demum humanæ leges habent vim ſuam, cum fuerint non modò inſtitutæ, ſed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis*; *It is then that humane laws have their ſtrength, when they ſhall not onely be deviſed, but by the approbation of the People confirmed.*

Vlp. ff. de Leg. Leg. 31. Aug. de vera relig. cap. 31. Gratian. in dec. diſt. 4. Cum in iſtis.

Iſidore faſtneth theſe properties to every *Chriſtian* Law, that the ſame be honeſt, that it be poſſible, that it be according to Nature, and according to the cuſtom of the Countrey; alſo for the time and place, convenient, profitable, and manifeſt; and without reſpect of private profit, that it be written for the general good. He alſo gives four effects of the Law, which *Modeſtinus* comprehends in two; to wit, obligation, and inſtigation: the former binds us by fear, to avoid vice; the later encourageth with hope, to follow vertue. For, according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet eſſe vitiorum emendatricem*,

tricem, commendatricemque virtutum: It behooveth the Law to be a mender of Vices, and a commender of Vertue. The part obligatory, or binding us to the observation of things commanded, or forbidden, is an effect common to all laws; and it is two-fold: the one constraineth us by fear of our consciences, the other by fear of external punishment. These two effects the Law performeth, by the exercise of those two powers, to wit, *Coactive* and *Directive.*

The second of these two effects remembred by *Modestinus*, is *Instigation*, or incouragement to Vertue, as *Aristotle* makes it the end of the Law, to make men vertuous. For laws being such as they ought to be, do both by prescribing and forbidding, urge us to well-doing; laying before us the good and the evil, by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding evil, are those into which the law is divided, as touching the matter: and in which *David* comprehendeth the whole body and substance thereof: saying, *Declina à malo, & fac bonum, Decline from evil, and do good.* Psalm 37.

§. XVI.

That onely the Prince is exempt from humane laws, and in what sort.

NOw, whether the power of the humane Law be without exception of any person, it is doubtfully disputed among those that have written of this subject, as well *Divines* as *Lawyers*; and namely, whether Soveraign Princes be compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the Law, as aforesaid; the one *Directive*, the other *Coactive*: to the power *Directive* they ought to be subject, but not to that which constraineth. For, as touching violence, or punishments, no man is bound to give a prejudicial judgment against himself; and, if equals have not any power over each other, much less have inferiours over their superiours, from whom they receive their authority and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of Laws, simply then is the Prince so much above the laws, as the Soul and Body united, is above a dead and sensless Carkass. For the King is truly called, *Jus vivum, & lex animata: An animate, and living law.* But this is true, that by giving authority to laws, Princes both add greatness to themselves, and conserve it; and therefore was it said of *Bracton* out of *Justinian*; *Meritò debet Rex tribuere legi quod lex attribuit ei: nam lex facit ut ipse sit Rex; Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the law, which the law first attributeth to the King; for it is the law that doth make Kings.* Bract. l. 2.

But whereas *Bracton* ascribeth this power to the humane law, he is therein mistaken. For Kings are made by God, and laws divine; and by humane laws onely, declared to be Kings. As for the places remembred by the *Divines* and *Lawyers*, which inferr a kind of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to give an accompt of their actions to God onely.

Tibi soli peccavi, saith *David*; *against thee onely have I sinned*; therefore the Prince cannot be said to be subject to the law; *Princeps non subjicitur legi.* For seeing, according to the *School-men*, the law humane, is but *quoddam organum, & instrumentum potestatis gubernativæ: non videtur posse ejus obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsa vis potestatis humanæ non pertinet; sed vis potestatis humanæ non se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet. Ergo, neque lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia activa, est principium transmutandi aliud; Seeing humane law* (say they) *is but a kind of organ, or instrument of the power that governeth, it seems that it cannot extend it self to bind any one, whom no humane power can controll, or lay hold of: but the Governour himself, in whom the governing power doth reside, is a person that cannot by himself, or by his own power, be controlled. And therefore the law which is made by such a power, cannot bind the Law-maker himself: for every active ability, is a cause or principle of alteration in another body*, not in the body in which it self resides. And seeing Princes have power to deliver others from the obligation of the law; *Ergo, etiam potest ipsemet Princeps, sive Legislator sua se voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare; Therefore also may a Prince, or Law-maker, at his own will and pleasure, deliver himself from the bond of the Law.* Therefore in the rules of the Law it is thus concluded: *Subditi tenentur leges observare necessitate coactionis. Princeps vero sola voluntate sua, & intuitu boni communis; The subjects are bound to fulfill the Law by necessity of compulsion, but the Prince only by his own will, and regard of the common good.* Psalm 50. Aff. de Leg. Greg. Valentia de Leg.

Now, concerning the politick laws, given by *Moses* to the Nation of the *Israelites*, whether they ought to be a Prefident, from which no civil Institutions of other People should presume to digress, I will not presume to determine, but leave it as a question

on for such men to decide, whose professions give them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirm, That we ought not to seem wiser than God himself, who hath told us, that there are no laws so righteous, as those which it pleased him to give to his Elect People to be governed by. True it is, that all Nations have their several qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next borderers, no less than in their peculiar Languages; which disagreeable conditions to govern aptly, one and the same law very hardly were able. The *Roman* civil laws did indeed contain in order a great part of the then known World, without any notable inconvenience, after such time as once it was received and become familiar; yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yielded much unto the natural customs of the sundry people which it governed. For, whether it be through a long continued persuasion; or (as *Astrologers* more willingly grant) some influence of the Heavens; or, peradventure, some temper of the soil and climate, affording matter of provocation to vice (as plenty make the *Sybarites* luxurious; want, and opportunity to steal, makes the *Arabians* to be Thieves) very hard it were to forbid by law, an offence so common with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be distinguished from just and honest. By such rigour was the Kingdom of *Congo* unhappily diverted from the Christian Religion, which it willingly at the first imbraced, but after, with great fury rejected, because plurality of Wives was denied unto them, I know not how necessarily, but more conscientiously than seasonably. In such cases, methinks it were not amiss to consider, that the high God himself permitted some thing to the *Israelites*, rather in regard of their natural disposition (for they were hard-hearted) than because they were consonant unto the antient Rules of the first perfection. So, where even the general nature of man doth condemn (as many things it doth) for wicked and unjust; there may the law, given by *Moses*, worthily be deemed the most exact reformer of the evil, which forceth man, as near as may be, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custom hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habit, with so long and so publick approbation, that the vertue opposing it would seem as uncouth, as it were to walk naked in *England*, or to wear the *English* fashion of apparel in *Turkie*; there may be a wise and upright Law-giver, without presumption, omit somewhat that the rigour of *Moses* law required; even as the good King *Hezekiah* did, in a matter meerly *Ecclesiastical*, and therefore the less capable of dispensation, praying for the people; The good Lord be mercifull unto him, that prepareth his whole heart to seek the Lord God, *the God of his Fathers*, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the Sanctuary; which Prayer the Lord heard and granted. 2 *Chron.* 30.18,19.

To this effect it is well observed by Mr. Doctor *Willet*, that the moral Judicials of *Moses* do partly bind, and partly are let free. They do not hold affirmatively, that we are tied to the same severity of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they do hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adjudged, where sentence of death is given by *Moses*; Christian Magistrates ruling under *Christ* the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemency and Mercy, may abate of the severity of *Moses* law, and mitigate the punishment of death, but they cannot add unto it, to make the burthen more heavie: for to shew more rigour than *Moses*, becometh not the Gospel. *Isai.* 9.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath been the subject of many learned discourses, neither will I take upon me, to speak any thing definitively in a case which dependeth still in some controversie among worthy *Divines*. Thus much (as in honour of the Judicial law, or rather of him that gave it) I may well and truly say, that the defence of it hath always been very plausible. And surely, howsoever they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a general and onely law; yet shall we hardly find any other ground, wheron the conscience of a Judg may rest, with equal satisfaction in making interpretation, or giving sentence upon doubts arising out of any law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Judg could have been witness, of whom *Fortescue*, that notable Bulwark of our laws, doth speak, complaining of a judgment given against a Gentlewoman at *Salisbury*; who being accused by her own man, without any other proof, for murthering her Husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes: the man who accused her, within a year after, being convict for the same offence, confest that his Mistris was altogether innocent of that cruel fact, whose terrible death he then (though over-late) grievously lamented; but this Judg, saith the same Author, *Sæpius ipse mihi fassus est, quod nunquam in vita sua animum ejus de hoc facto ipse purgaret; He himself often confessed unto me, that he should never, during his life, be able to clear* Cap. 5. 3.

his

his conscience of that fact. Wherefore, that acknowledgment which other *Sciences* yield unto the *Metaphysicks*, that from thence are drawn Propositions, able to prove the principles of Sciences, which out of the Sciences themselves cannot be proved, may justly be granted by all other politick institutions, to that of *Moses*; and so much the more justly, by how much the subject of the *Metaphysicks* which is, *Ens quatenus Ens*; *Being as it is being*; is infinitely inferiour to the *Ens Entium*; *The Being of beings*, the onely good, the fountain of Truth, whose fear is the beginning of Wisdom. To which purpose, well saith Saint *Augustine*, *Conditor legum temporalium si vir bonus est, & sapiens, illam ipsam consulit æternam, de quâ nulli animæ judicare datum est*; *The Author of temporal Laws, if he be good and wise, doth therein consult the Law æternal, to determine of which, there is no power given to any Soul.* And as well Prince *Edward*, in *Fortescue* his Discourse, *Nemo potest melius, aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quàm posuit Dominus*; *No man can lay a better, or another foundation, than the Lord hath laid.*

CHAP. V.

The Story of the Israelites *from the receiving of the Law, to the death of* Moses.

§. I.

Of the numbring and disposing of the Host of Israel, *for their marches through the Wilderness; with a note of the reverence given to the Worship of God, in this ordering of their troups.*

WHen *Moses* had received the Law from God, and published it among the People, and finished the Tabernacle of the *Ark*, and *Sanctuary*; he mustred all the Tribes and Families of *Israel*; and having seen what number of Men fit to bear Arms, were found in every Tribe, from twenty years of age upwards; he appointed unto them, by direction from the LORD, such Princes and Leaders, as in Worth and Reputation were in every Tribe most eminent. The number of the whole Army was 603550. able men for the Warrs, besides Women and Children; also, besides the strangers which followed them out of *Egypt*. This great Army was divided by *Moses* into four gross and mighty Battalilions, each of which contained the strength of three whole Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400. able Men, consisted of three Regiments, which may well, in respect of their number, be called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of *Judah*, *Issachar* and *Zabulon*. In the Tribe of *Judah* were 74600. fighting men, led by *Naasson*; in *Issachar*, 54400. led by *Nathaniel*; in *Zabulon* 57400 led by *Eliab*. All these marched under the Standard of the Tribe of *Judah*, who held the Vaunt-guard, and was the first that moved and marched, being lodged and quartered at their general encamping on the East-side of the Army, which was held the first place, and of greatest dignity.

The second Battalion or Army, called in the Scriptures, the host of *Reuben*, had joyned unto it *Simeon* and *Gad*, in number, 151450. All which marched under the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Reuben* were 46500. under *Elizur*; in *Simeon*, 59300. under *Shelumiel*; in *Gad*, 45650. under *Eliasaph*: These had the second place, and encamped on the South-side of the Tabernacle.

The third Army marched under the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were joyned the Regiment of *Manasse* and *Benjamin*; who joyned together, made in number 108100. able men. These marched in the third place, encamping on the West quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500. under *Elishama*; *Manasse* 32200. under *Gamliel*; *Benjamin* 35400. under *Abidam*.

The fourth and last Army, or Squadron, of the general Army, containing 157600. able men, marched under the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were joyned the two Tribes of *Nephtali* and *Asher*. And these had the Rere-ward, and moved last, encamping on the North-side. *Dan* had 62700. under *Ahiezer*; *Asher* 41500. under *Pagiel*; *Nephtali* 53400. under *Ahira*.

Besides these Princes of the several Tribes, there were ordained Captains over Thousands, over Hundreds, over Fifties, and over

over Tens; as it may appear by that mutiny and insurrection against *Moses*; *Numb.* 16. *verse* 1. and 2. For there arose up against *Moses* 250. Captains of the *Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renown*; of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principal Mutineers, with those 250. Captains that followed them, were not any of the Princes of the Tribes or general Colonels before spoken of, as by their names, *Numb.* 1. is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gave to his children, took place not only in the division of the Land of Promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but even in sorting them under their several Standards in the Wilderness it was observed. For *Judah* had the precedency, and the greatest Army, which also was wholly compounded of the Sons of *Leah*, *Jacob*'s Wife. *Reuben* having lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother *Simeon*, who had under-gone his Fathers curse; and with *Gad*, the Son of his Mothers Hand-maid. *Joseph*, who, in temporal blessings, had the prerogative of the first-born, a double portion, was accompted as two Tribes, and divided into two Regiments; the younger (according to *Jacob*'s prophecy) taking place before the elder, he was assisted by *Bejamin*, his best beloved brother, the other son of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldest son of *Jacob*'s Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Army, according to *Jacob*'s prophecy. He had with him under his Standard, none of the children of *Leah*, or *Rachel*, but only the sons of the Hand-maids.

In the middle of these four Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, surrounded by the *Levites*. Near unto which, as the *Heathens* and *Pagans* could not approach, by reason of these four powerful Armies which guarded the same; so was it death for any of the children of *Israel* to come near it, who were not of the *Levites*, to whom the charge was committed. So sacred was the movable Temple of God, and with such reverence guarded and transported, as 22000. persons were dedicated to the service and attendance thereof: of which, 8580. had the peculiar charge, according to their several offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the People observed the former order in their incampings: so did the *Levites* quarter themselves, as in an inner square, on every side of the Tabernacle; the *Gesshurites* on the West, within the Army, and Standard of *Ephraim*, over whom *Eliasaph* commanded, in number, 7500. The Family of *Cohath* on the South-side, guided by *Elizaphan*, within the Army of *Reuben*, and between him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third Company were of the Family of *Merari*, over whom *Zuriel* commanded, in number 6200. and these were lodged on the North-side, within the Army of *Dan*. On the East-side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which *Judah* led, did *Moses* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of Ceremonies, and of the People; under whom, as the chief of all the other *Levitical* Families, was *Eleazar*, the son of *Aaron*, his successor in the high Priest-hood.

This was the order of the Army of *Israel*, and of their encamping and marching; the Tabernacle being always set in the middle and center thereof. The reverend care which *Moses* the Prophet, and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, Ark, and Sanctuary, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeal born towards God himself. The industry used in the framing thereof, and every, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the provisions; the dutiful observance in the laying up, and preserving the holy Vessels; the solemn removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the provident defence of the same, which all Ages have in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this super-fine Age, by those of the *Family*, by the *Anabaptist*, *Brownist*, and other *Sectaries*, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accompted a kind of *Popery*, and as proceeding from an Idolatrous disposition; insomuch as time would soon bring to pass (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barns, and from thence again into the Fields, and Mountains, and under the Hedges, and the offices of the *Ministery* (robbed of all dignity and respect) be as contemptible as those places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-government, left to newness of Opinion, and mens fancies; yea, and soon after, as many kinds of Religions would spring up, as there are Parish-Churches within *England*; every contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancy with the *Spirit of God*, and his imagination with the gift of *Revelation*; insomuch, as when the *Truth*, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude, no less variable than

than contrary to it self, the Faith of men will soon after die away by degreees, and all Religion be held in scorn and contempt. Which distraction gave a great Prince of *Germany* cause of this Answer to those that persuaded him to becom a *Lutheran*; *Si me adjungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab aliis: si me aliis adjungo, à vobis condemnor; quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar, non habeo: If I adjoin my self to you, I am condemned by others; If I joyn with others, I am condemned by you: what I should avoid I see, but I see not what I should follow.*

§. II.

The offerings of the twelve Princes: the Passover of the second year: the departing of Jethro.

NOw, when *Moses* had taken order for all things necessary, provided for the service of God, written the laws, numbred his Army, and divided them into the battels and troups before remembred, and appointed them Leaders of all sorts; The twelve Princes or Commanders of the Tribes, brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, six covered Chariots, and twelve Oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto, the *Sanctuary* excepted, which for reverence was carried upon the shoulders of the Sons of *Korah*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots, in which was conveyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Vessels thereto belonging, were delivered to the *Levites* for that service, namely, to the sons of *Gershan* and *Merari*. *Numb.* 6.

Besides these Chariots, each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered unto God, and for his service in the Temple, a Charger of fine Silver, weighing 130. shekels; a silver Bowl of 70. shekels, after the shekel of the *Sanctuary*; and an Incense-Cup of Gold, of ten shekels, which they performed at the same time when the Altar was dedicated unto God by *Aaron*; and before they marched from *Sinai* towards their conquest, besides the Beasts which they offered for sacrifice, according to the law Ceremonial, the weight of all the twelve silver Chargers, and twelve silver Bowls, amounted unto 2400. shekels of silver; and the weight of gold in the Incense-Cups, to 120. shekels of gold; which makes of shekels of silver, 1200. every shekel of gold valuing ten of silver, so that the whole of gold and silver which they offered at this time, was about four hundred and twenty pound sterling. This done, *Moses*, as in all the rest, by the Spirit of God conducted, gave order for the celebrating of the *Passover*, which they performed on the fourteenth day of the second Moneth of the second year; and on the twentieth day of the same, the cloud was lifted up from above the Tabernacle, as a sign of going forward; *Moses* beginning his march with this invocation to God: *Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee, flie before thee.* Then all the people of *Israel* removed from their encamping at the foot of the Mountain *Sinai*, towards *Paran*, the Army, or great squadron of *Juda*, led by *Naasshon*, taking the Vaunt-guard, followed by *Nathaniel* and *Eliab*, Leaders of the Tribes of *Issachar* and *Zabulon*; after whom the rest marched, as in the Figure expres'd. And because the passage through so many Desarts and Mountains, was exceeding difficult: *Moses* leaving nothing un-forethought, which might serve for the advancement of his enterprise, he instantly intreated his Father-in-law, whom, in the tenth of *Numbers*, he calleth *Hobab*, to accompany them in their journey towards *Canaan*; promising him such part and profit of the enterprise, as God should bestow on them; for this man, as he was of great understnding and judgment (as appeared by the counsel he gave to *Moses* for the appointing of Judges over the People) so was he a perfect guide in all those parts, himself inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian* or *Madian*: and (as it seemeth) a man of great years and experience; for he was then the Priest or Prince of *Madian*, when *Moses* fled first out of *Egypt*, and married his Daughter, which was 42. years before this request made. And though *Moses* himself had lived 40. years in these parts of *Arabia*, through which he was now to travel; yet the better to assure his passage, and so great a multitude of souls, which could not be so few as a Million, it was necessary to use many guides, and many conductors. To this request of *Moses*, it may seem by the places, *Exod.* 18. 27. and *Numb.* 10. 30. that *Jethro*, otherwise called *Hobab*, yielded not; for it is evident, that he went back from *Moses* into his own Countrey. But because it appeareth by other places of Scripture, that the Posterity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Israelites*, it is most likely that this his return to his own Countrey, was rather *Judic.* 1. 16. & 4. 11. Also 1 *Sam.* 15. 6. And 2 *Reg.* 10. 15. 1 *Chron.* 5. 55. *Jer.* 35.

The Hebrew *Gerah* weigheth sixteen grains: so a *Gerah* of Silver is about three half pence sterling: the *Sicle* of the Sanctuary (as it is expounded, *Exod.* 30. 13.) containeth 20. *Gerahs*, so a Sanctuary *Sicle* of Silver is about 7. Groats, the common *Sicle* is but half as much, to wit, 10. *Gerahs*: as it is usualy expounded; though *Villalpandus* labours to prove that the common, and the Sanctuary *Sicle* were all one, *Numb.* 9. 5. *Numb.* 10. 11. *Exod.* ult. 34. *Num.* 9. 17.

rather to fetch away his Family, and to take his leave of his own Country, by ſetting things in order, than to abide there.

§. III.

The Voyage from Horeb *to* Kades; *the Mutinies by the way; and the cauſe of their turning back to the Red Sea.*

AFter this diſmiſſion of *Hobab*, *Iſrael* began to march towards the deſarts of *Paran*; and after three days wandring, they ſate down at the *Sepulchres* of luſt, afterward called *Tabeera*, or *Incenſio*; by reaſon that God conſumed with fire thoſe Mutineers and Murmurers, which roſe up in this remove, which hapned about the 23. day of the ſame Moneth. And from this 23. day of the ſecond Moneth of the ſecond year, they reſted, and fed themſelves with Quails (which it pleaſed God by a Sea-wind to caſt upon them) to the 24. day of the third Moneth; to wit, all the Moneth of *Sinan*, or *June*; whereof ſurfeiting, there died great numbers; from whence *Numb.* 11. and 13. in the following Moneth, called *Thamus*, anſwering to our *July*, they went on to *Haze-* *Numb.* 12. *roth*, where *Miriam* the ſiſter of *Moſes* was ſtricken with the leproſie, which continued upon her ſeven days, after whoſe recovery *Iſrael* removed toward the border of *Idumæa*, and encamped at *Rithma*, near *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moſes* ſent the twelve diſcoverers into the Territory of *Canaan*, both to inform themſelves of the fertility and ſtrength of the Countrey; as alſo to take knowledg of the ways, paſſages, rivers, fords and Mountains. For *Arad*, King of the *Canaanites*, ſurprized divers companies of the *Iſraelites*, by lying in ambuſh near thoſe ways, through which the diſcoverers and ſearchers of the Land had formerly paſt. Now, after the return of the diſcoverers of *Kades*, the wrath of God was turned againſt *Iſrael*; *Numb.* 21. whoſe ingratitude and rebellion after his ſo many benefits, ſo many remiſſions, ſo many miracles wrought, was ſuch, as they eſteemed their deliverance from the *Egyptian* ſlavery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible *Wilderneſs* (for ſo *Moſes* calleth it) with the Victory which he gave them againſt the powerful *Amalekites*, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that he led them on, and preſerved them, but to bring them, their Wives and Children to be ſlaughtered, and given for a prey and ſpoile to the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*. For, it was reported unto them by the ſearchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many ſtrong Towers and Caſtles, that many of the people were *Giant-like* (for they confeſs'd that they ſaw the Sons of *Anac* there) who were men of fearful ſtature, and ſo far over-topped the *Iſraelites*, as they appeared to them and to themſelves, but as Graſhoppers in their reſpect. Now, as this mutiny exceeded all the reſt, wherein they both accuſed God, and conſulted to chooſe them a Captain (or as they call it now aday, an *Electo*) to carry them back again into *Egypt*; ſo did God puniſh the ſame in a greater meaſure, than any of the former. For he extinguiſhed every Soul of the whole multitude (*Joſua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promiſes, perſuaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then near it; and at the mountain foot of *Idumæa*, which is but narrow; laying before them the fertility thereof, and aſſuring them of Victory. But as men whom the paſſion of fear had bereaved both of reaſon and common ſenſe, *Numb.* 14. 10. they threatned to ſtone theſe encouragers to death; accompting them as men either deſperate in themſelves, or betrayers of the lives, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God reſiſted theſe wicked purpoſes, and interpoſing the fear of his bright glory between the unadviſed fury of the multitude, and the innoceney & conſtancy of his ſervants, preſerved them thereby from their violence; threatning an entire deſtruction of the whole Na- *Numb.* 14. tion, by ſending among them a conſuming 22. and mercileſs Peſtilence. For this was the tenth inſurrection and rebellion, which they had made, ſince God delivered them from the ſlavery of the *Egyptians*. But *Moſes* (the mildeſt or meekeſt of all men) prayed unto *Numb.* 12. God to remember his infinite mercies; alleg- 3. ing, that this ſo ſevere a judgment, how deſervedly ſoever inflicted, would increaſe the pride of the heathen Nations, and give them occaſion to vaunt, that the God of *Iſrael* failing in power to perform his promiſes, ſuffered them to periſh in theſe barren and fruitleſs Deſarts. Yet, as God is no leſs juſt than merciful, as God is ſlow to anger, ſo is his wrath a conſuming fire; the ſame being once kindled by the violent breath of man's ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand leſs heavie than hoped for, he ſcourged this iniquity; ſo by the meaſure of his glory (evermore jealous of neglect and deriſion) he ſuffered not the wicked to paſs unpuniſhed; reſerving his compaſſion for the innocent; whom, becauſe they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleaſed to preſerve, and in them to perform his promiſes, which have never been fruſtrate.

§. IV.

§. IV.

Of their unwillingness to return; with the punishment thereof, and of divers accidents in the return.

NOw, when *Moses* had revealed the purposes of God to the People, and made them know his heavie displeasure towards them, they began to bewail themselves, though over-late; the times of grace and mens repentance, having also their appointment. And then when God had left them to themselves, and was no more among them, after they had so often plaid and dallied with his merciful sufferings, they would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt, and make offer to enter the Land, contrary again to the advice of *Moses*; who assured them that God was not among them; and that the *Ark* of his Covenant should not move, but by his direction, who could not err; and that the Enemies sword, which God had hitherto bended, and rebated, was now left no less sharp than death; and in the hands of the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites*, no less cruel. But as men from whom God hath with-drawn his Grace, do always follow those counsels which carry them to their own destructions: so the *Hebrews*, after they had forsaken the opportunity by God and their Conductors offered: and might then have entred *Judæa* before their Enemies were prepared and joyned; did afterward, contrary to Gods Commandment, undertake the enterprise of themselves, and ran head-long, and without advice, into the Mountains of *Idumæa*. There the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being joyned, and attending their advantage, set on them, brake them, and of their numbers slaughtered the greatest part: and following their victory and persute, consumed them all the way of their flight, even unto *Hormah*: the *Amalekites*, in revenge of their former loss, and overthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites*, to prevent their displantation and destruction threatned. Of which powerful assembly of those two Nations (assisted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings, joined together for their common safety) it pleased God to forewarn *Moses*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to return by those painful passages of the Desarts, through which they had formerly travelled, till they found the banks of the *Red Sea* again; in which retreat, before they came back to pass over *Jordan*, there were consumed eight and thirty years; and the whole number of the 600. and odd thousand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moses*, *Josua*, and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wilderness, the stubborn and careless generations were wholly worn out, and the promised Land bestowed on their children; which were increased to 600000. and more. For, besides the double fault, both of refusing to enter the Land upon the return of their discoverers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it seemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worshipping *Moloch*, and the Host of Heaven. For, although *Moses* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and so doth the Martyr *Stephen*; as also that the *Israelites* worshipped the Sun and Moon in after-times, it is proved out of sundry other places. *Amos* 5. 25. *Acts* 7. 42. 2 King. 17. 16. & cap. 21. v. 3. & c. 23. v. 4, 5, 11. 2 *Chron.* 33. 3. *Hier.* 19. v. 13. &c.

Now, after the broken Companies were returned to the Camp at *Cades*, *Moses*, according to the commandment received from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recover the shoars of the *Red Sea*. And so from *Cades*, or *Rithma*, he removed to *Remmonparez*, so called of abundance of Pomegranates there found, and divided among them. From whence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the Frankincense there found. From *Libnah* he crossed the Valley, and sate down at *Ressa*, near the foot of the Mountain. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the West, and encamped at *Ceelata*; where one of the *Hebrews*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was stoned to death. After which, *Moses* always keeping the Valley, between two great legdes of Mountains (those which bound the Desart of *Sin*, and those of *Pharan*) cross'd the same from *Ceelata*, and marched Eastward to the Mountain of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*; this making the twentieth Mansion. From thence he passed on to *Harada*; then to *Maceloth*; and then to *Thahah*, and so to *Thara*, or *Thare*; the four and twentieth Mansion. Where *Moses* rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutiny of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; who, for their contempt of God and his Ministers, were some of them swallowed up alive, and by the earth, opening her mouth, devoured; others, even two hundred and fifty which offered Incense with *Korah*, were consumed with fire from Heaven; and 14700. of their party, which murmured against *Moses*, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest marvels and judgments of God that hath been shewed in all the time of *Moses* his Government, or before. For *Numb.* 33.

among ſo great a multitude, thoſe lay-men, who would have uſurped Eccleſiaſtical authority, were ſuddenly ſwallowed up alive into the Earth, with their Families and goods; even while they ſought to overthrow the Order, Diſcipline, and Power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliouſly contending againſt the *High Prieſt and Magiſtrate*, to whom God had committed the government both of his Church, and Common-weal of his People. And the better to aſſure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirm them, it pleaſeth him in this place alſo to approve by miracle the former election of his ſervant *Aaron*, by the 12. Rods given by the Heads of the 12. Tribes; of which *Moſes* received one of every Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which, being all withered and dried Wands, and on every Rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aaron*'s on that of *Levi*, it pleaſed God, that the Rod of *Aaron* received, by his power, a vegetable ſpirit, and having lain in the Tabernacle of the Congregation before the *Ark* one night, had on it both Buds, Bloſſoms, and ripe Almonds.

From *Tharah*, the whole Army removed to *Methra*; and thence to *Eſmona*; and thence to *Moſeroth* (or *Maſurit*, after S. *Hierom*) and from *Moſeroth* to *Benejacan*; and ſo to *Gadgad*, which *Hierom* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Jetabata*, the thirtieth Manſion; where, from certain fountains of water gathered in one, *Adricomius* maketh a River, which falleth into the *Red Sea*, between *Madian*, and *Aſiongaber*.

Now, although it be very probable, that at *Aſiongaber*, where *Solomon* furniſhed his Fleet for the *Eaſt-India*, there was ſtore of freſh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great River in *Arabia the Stony*, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence (ſaith he) the Inhabitants convey water in Pipes of Leather to other places, by which device the King of *Arabia* relieved the Army of *Cambyſes*; yet is *Adrichomius* greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding theſe Springs at *Gadgad*, or *Jetabata*, being the nine and twentieth, or thirtieth Manſion. For it was at *Punon*, that thoſe Springs are ſpoken of, which in *Deuteronomy* the tenth, and the ſeventh Verſe, is alſo called *Jetabata*, or *Jotbath*, a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the River *Zared*, the next adjoyning. And that theſe Springs ſhould fall into the *Red Sea* at *Aſiongaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot believe, for the way thither is very long. And this I find in *Belonius*, that there are divers Torrents of freſh water in thoſe ſandy parts of *Arabia*; which though they continue their courſe for a few miles, yet they are drunk up by the hot and thirſty ſand, before they can recover the banks of the *Red Sea*.

Herod. l. 3.

From *Jetabata*, *Moſes* directed his journey towards the *Red Sea*, and encamped at *Hebrona*, & from thence to *Eſiongaber*; which City in *Joſephus* time, had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Hieroms*, *Eſſia*. From thence, keeping the Sea, and *Eloth* on his right hand, he turned towards the North, as he was by God commanded; *Eſiongaber* being the farthеſt place towards the South-Eaſt, that *Moſes* travelled in that paſſage. *Deut. 2.*

It ſeemeth that *Eſiongaber*, or *Aſiongaber*, *Eloth* and *Madian*, were not at this time in the poſſeſſion of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is ſaid, *That the Lord ſpake unto* Moſes *and* Aaron *in the Mount Hor, near the coaſt of the Land of Edom*; ſo as the Mount *Hor* was at this time in the South border of *Idumæa*. And if *Eſiongaber*, and the other places near the *Red Sea*, had at this preſent been ſubject unto the *Idumæans*, *Moſes* would alſo have demanded a free paſſage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumæans* obtained thoſe places: for it is ſaid; *And they aroſe out of Midian, and came to Paran, and took men with them*; which were thoſe Companies that followed young *Adad* of *Idumæa* into *Egypt*, when he fled from *Joab*. Likewiſe it is ſaid of *Solomon*, that he made a Navie of Ships in *Eſiongaber*, beſides *Eloth*, in the Land of *Edom*. *Numb. 20. 13.* *1 King. 11. 18.*

§. V.

Of Moſes *arrival at Zin Kades: and of the accidents while that they abode there.*

FRom *Eſiongaber* he turned again towards the North, and pitched in the *Wilderneſs* of *Zin*, which is *Kadeſh*; or in *Beroth*, of the children of *Jacan*; where they ſate down in the firſt Moneth of the fourtieth year, after they left *Egypt*. For, at the next Manſion, *Aaron* died in the firſt day of the fifth Moneth of the fourtieth year; the nine and thirtieth year taking end at *Eſiongaber*. And at this City of *Cades* (for ſo it was thought to be) or near it, died *Miriam*, or *Mary*, *Moſes* ſiſter, whoſe Sepulcher was to be ſeen in S. *Hieroms* time, as himſelf avoweth. From hence, ere they departed to the Mountain *Hor*, all the people murmured moſt violently againſt *Moſes*, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of water. For neither the puniſhments by fire from Heaven; by being devoured and ſwallowed up by the Earth; by the ſudden Peſtilence, which often ſeized them; nor any *Numb. 20. 1.* *Numb. 20. 3.*

any miracle formerly shewing, either the love or wrath of God, could prevail with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and satisfied in every of their appetites; but in stead of seeking for help and relief at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting ungratefully on *Moses* all their misadventures; yea, though they well knew that their own fathers had left their bodies in the Desarts, and they were now entred into the fourtieth year, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in sight of the Land promised, they again as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of God are without beginning; so his mercies being without end, he commanded *Moses* to strike a Rock adjoyning, with his Rod, and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattel were satisfied. Nevertheless, because God perceived a kind of diffidence both in *Moses* and *Aaron* at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised, whereto perchance their worldly desires might invite them. But it pleased him to end the travels of *Aaron* at the Mountian *Hor*, being the next, and the four and thirtieth Station. At which Mountain *Hor*, *Aaron* was despoiled of the garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on *Eleazar* his Son, as God hath commanded. Which done, *Moses* and *Eleazar* descended the Mountain; but God received *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more seen.

Numb. 20. 9.

2553.

Of this Mountain called *Hor*, otherwise *Mosera*, as in *Deut.* 10. *vers.* 6. those *Horites* took name, which the *Idumæans* had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make *Mosera*, which was the seven and twentieth Mansion; and *Mosera*, which they write *Moseroth*, for difference, which was the four and thirtieth Mansion, and is also called *Hor*, to be two distinct places; because *Moses* in passing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Esiongaber*, encamped at *Mosera*, after he departed from *Hesmona*, and before he came to *Benjaacan*. And this *Mosera*, which is also called *Hor*, he came unto after he had left *Cades*, where *Miriam*, *Moses* sister, died; the first being the seven and twentieth, and the second being the four and thirtieth Mansion. But for *Hor*, which is also called *Mosera*, it should have been written, *Hor juxta Mosera*; *Hor near Mosera*; for it is but one root of a Mountain, divided into divers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horeb* are: Whereof the West part *Moses* calleth *Mosera*, and the East part *Horeb*. By the West part *Moses* encamped, as he past towards the *Red-Sea* on his left hand; by the East part, as he went back again North-wards towards *Moab*, as in the description of *Moses* his passage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceive.

Numb. 33.

Now, it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, because *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moses* sent messengers to the Prince of *Idumæa*, praying him that he might pass with the people of *Israel* through his Territory into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the neerest way of all other from the City of *Kadesh*, where *Moses* then encamped; whereas otherwise, taking his journey by the Rivers of *Zared*, *Arnon* and *Jordan*, he might have run into many hazards in the passage of those Rivers, the far way about, and the many powerful Kings, which commanded in those Regions. Now, the better to perswade the Prince of *Idumæa* hereunto, *Moses* remembred him, that he was of the same Race and Family with *Israel*; calling him by the name of Brother, because both the *Edomites* and *Israelites* were the Sons of one father, to wit, *Isaac*; inferring thereby, that he had more reason to favour and respect them, than he had to assist the *Canaanites*; against whom, *Esau* his Ancestor had made Warr, and driven out the *Horites* (who were of their antient Races descended of *Cham*) out of the Region of *Seir*, calling it by his own name, *Edom*, or *Idumæa*. He also making a short repetition of Gods blessings bestow'd on them, & of his purposes; and promises assured *Edom*, or the King thereof that he would no way offend his people, or waste his Countrey, but that he would restrain his Army within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high ways, paying money for whatsoever he used, yea, even for the water, which themselves or their cattel should drink. For *Moses* was commanded by God, not to provoke the children of *Esau*. But the King of *Idumæa*, knowing the strength of his own Countrey, the same being near *Canaan*, rampir'd with high and sharp mountains; and withall suspecting, as a natural wise man, that 600000. strangers being once entred his Countrey, it would rest in their wills to give him law, resolvedly refused them passage, and delivered this answer to the Messengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and resist them by all possible means. And not knowing whether such a denial might satisfie or exasperate, he gathered the strength of his Countrey together,

Deut. 2. 4.

Numb. 20. 20, 21.

ther, and shewed himself prepared to defend their passage. For, as it is written, Numb. 20. *Then* Edom *came out against him* (to wit, *Moses*) *with much people, and with a mighty power.* Whereupon *Moses* understanding, that the end of his enterprise was not the conquest of *Seir*, or *Idumæa*, and that the Land promised, was that of *Canaan:* like unto himself, who was of natural understanding the greatest of any man, and the skilfullest man of Warr that the World had, he refused to adventure the Army of *Israel* against a Nation, which being overcome, gave but a passage to invade others; and which, by reason of the seat of their mountainous Countrey, could not but have endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of *Israel*, and rendred them less able, if not altogether powerless, to have conquered the rest.

§. VI.

Of their compassing Idumæa, *and travelling to* Arnon, *the border of* Moab.

HE therefore leaving the way of *Idumæa*, turned himself towards the East, and marched towards the Desarts of *Moab*. Which, when *Arad* the King of the *Canaanites* understood, and that *Moses* had blanched the way of *Idumæa*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom*, which *Israel* aimed at, he thought it safest, rather to find his enemies in his neighbours Countrey, than to be found by them in his own; which he might have done with a farr greater hope of victory, had *Moses* been enforced first to have made his way by the Sword through *Idumæa*, and thereby, though victorious, greatly have lessened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwise than *Arad* hoped for, yet, being resolved to make trial, what courage the *Israelites* brought with them out of *Egypt*, before they came nearer his own home; leading the strength of his Nation to the edge of the Desart, he set upon some part of the Army; which, for the multitude occupied a great space, and for the many herds of cattel that they drave with them, could not encamp so near together, but that some quarter or other was evermore subject to surprise. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he slew some few of the *Israelites*, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now, it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Predecessor, which joyned Numb. 14. 45. his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gave an overthrow to those mutinous *Israelites*, which, without direction from God by *Moses*, would have entred *Canaan* from *Cadesbarne*. For it seemeth, that the greatest number of that Army were of the *Canaanites*, because in the first of *Deuteronomy* 44. the *Amorites* are named alone, without the *Amalekites*, and are said to have beaten the *Israelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the same that had a victory over *Israel*, near *Cadesbarne*; or if it were his Predecessor that then prevailed; this man finding that *Moses* was returned from the *Red Sea*, and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was first to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of *Moses* purpose to pass *Moab*, determined, while he was yet in the Desart, to try the quarrel. And whereas it followeth in the third Verse of the twelfth Chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Israelites* utterly destroyed the *Canaanites*, and their Cities, they are much mistaken that think, that this destruction was presently performed by the *Israelites*. But it is to be understood, to have been done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Josua*. For, had *Moses* at this time entred *Canaan* in the persute of *Arad*, he would not have fallen back again into the Desarts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and have fetch'd a wearisome and needless compass, by the Rivers of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirm, that *Arad* did not inhabit any part of *Canaan* it self, but that his Territory lay without it, and near to the Mountain *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin Cades* were the South borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. Numb. 33. 40. And it was in the South of the Land of *Canaan*, that *Arad* dwelt; which South part of *Canaan*, was the North part of *Edom*.

Again, *Horma* (for so farr the *Israelites*, after their victory, persued the *Canaanites*) is seated in the South of *Judæa*. There is also a City of that name in *Simeon*. But there is no such place to the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed presently after the repetition of this Victory, it were enough to prove, that the same was obtained in the future, and in *Josua* his time, and not at the instant of *Arads* assault. For, had the *Israelites* at this time sack'd the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day have complained for want of Water and Bread. For where there are great Cities, there is also Water and Bread. But it was in the time of *Josua*, that the *Israelites* took their revenge, and after they had pass'd *Jordan*; *Josua* then governing them, who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verse, nameth this *Arad* by the

the name of his City so called; and with him the King of *Horma*; to which place the *Israelites* persued the *Canaanites*. And he named them amongst those Kings, which he vanquished, and put to death.

Now, after this assault, and surprize by *Arad*, *Moses* finding that all entrance on that side was defended, he led the people Eastward to compass *Idumæa*, and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the Plains of *Moab*, at that time in the possession of the *Amorites*. But the *Israelites*, to whom the very name of a Desart was terrible, began again to rebel against their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents (that is, by the biting of Serpents, whose Venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentiful grace, cured them again by their beholding an artificial Serpent, by his commandment set up.

From the *Mount Hor*, *Moses* leaving the ordinary way which lyeth between the *Red Sea* and *Cœlosyria*, encamped at *Zalmona*; and thence he removed to *Phunon*, where he erected the Brazen Serpent; making these journies by the edg of *Idumæa*, but without it. For *Phunon* was sometime a principal City of the *Edomites*. Now, where it is written in *Numb.* 21. 4. *That from Mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieved the people*, it was not thereby meant, that the *Israelites* turned back towards the *Red Sea*; neither did they march (according to *Fonseca*) *per viam quæ habet à latere mare rubrum*; *By the way that sided the Red Sea*, but indeed they cross'd; and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Traconitis*, and the Countreys of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, that is, to *Esiongaber*, *Eloth*, and *Midian*; which way, as it lay North and South, so *Israel*, to shun the border of *Edom*, and to take the utmost East part of *Moab*, cross'd the common way towards the East, and then they turned again towards the North, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*, where he entred the Territory of *Moab*, adjoyning to the Land of *Supk*, a Countrey bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from thence to *Abarim*, the eight and thirtieth Mansion, that is, where the Mountains so called take beginning, and are as yet but small Mountures of Hills, on the East border of *Moab*; from thence they recovered *Dibon Gad*, or the River of *Zared*, which riseth in the Mountains of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead Sea*, not farr from *Petra* the *Metropolis* thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And having pass'd that River, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, and from thence they kept the way to *Diblathaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*; which *Hieremy* the Prophet, *Chap.* 48. *Vers.* 22. calleth the *House of Diblathaim*, the same which afterward was destroyed among the rest by *Nebuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the River *Arnon*, and encamped in the Mountains of *Abarim*; though in the 22. of *Numbers*, *Moses* doth not remember *Helmondiblathaim*, but speaketh of his remove from the River of *Zared*, immediately to the other side of *Arnon*; calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, between them and the *Amorites*; speaking as he found the state of the Countrey at that time. For *Arnon* was not antiently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the *Moabites*, by *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*; even from the Predecessor of *Balac Peor* then raigning. From *Diblathaim*, *Moses* sent messengers to *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, to desire a passage through his Countrey; which, though he knew would be denyed him, yet he desired to give a reason to the neighbour Nations of the Warr he undertook. And though *Edom* had refused him as *Sehon* did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moses* also in sending messengers to *Sehon*, observed the same precept which he left to his Posterity and Successors, for a law of the Warr; namely, in *Deut.* 20. 10. in these words; *When thou comest neer unto a City to fight against it, thou shalt offer it peace; which if it do accept of, and open unto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries unto thee, and serve thee; but if it refuse*, &c. *thou shalt smite all the males thereof with the edg of the sword*. Which ordinance all Commanders of armies have observed to this day, or ought to have done.

§. VII.

Of the Book of the battels of the Lord, mentioned in this Story, and of other Books mentioned in Scripture, which are lost.

NOw, concerning the Warr between *Israel* and *Sehon*, Moses seemeth to referr a great part of this Story to that Book, entituled, *Liber bellorum Domini*; *The book of Gods battels*: and therefore passeth over many encounters, and other things memorable, with greater brevity in this place. His words, after the *Geneva* Translation, are these: *Wherefore it shall be spoken in the book of the battels of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, and in the Rivers of Arnon.* The *Vulgar* Copy differeth not in sense from this: But the *Greek Septuagint* vary. For the *Greek* writes it to this effect; *For thus* Numb. 21. 14.

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it is said in the book: The Warr of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brooks of Arnon. *Junius* for the *Red Sea*, which is in the *Genevian* and *Vulgar Edition*, names the Region of *Suph*, a Country bordering the *Dead Sea* towards the East, as he conjecture th. The Text, he readeth thus. *Idcircò dici solet in recensione bellorū* Jehovæ, *contra* Vahebum *in Regione* Suph; *& contra flumina, flumina Arnonis*; *Therefore is it spoken in repeating of the battels of* Jehovah, *against* Vaheb *in the Countrey of* Suph, *and against the Rivers, the Rivers of Arnon.* In which words he understands, that amongst the Warrs which the Lord disposed for the good of the *Israelites*, there was in those times a famous memory in the mouth of most men, concerning the Warr of *Sehon* against *Vaheb*, the King of the *Moabites*, and of his winning the Country near *Arnon*, out of the possession of the *Moabites*. For this *Vaheb* was the immediate Predecessor of *Balac*, who lived with *Moses*; though it be written that this *Balac* was the Son of *Zippor*, and not of *Vaheb*. For, it seems (as it is plain in the succession of the *Edomites*) that these Kingdoms were elective, and not successive. And as *Junius* in this Translation understandeth no special Book of the battels of the Lord: so others, as *Vatablus* in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any special Book be meant; and if any, whether it be not a prediction of Wars in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the book of *Judges*. *Syracides*, *cap.* 46. tells us plainly, that those battels of the Lord were fought by *Josua*; *Who was there* (saith he) *before him like to him? for he fought the battels of the Lord.* But seeing the Histories of the Scripture elsewhere often pass over matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other books written of the same matter at large; therefore it seemeth probable, that such a book as this there was; wherein the several victories by *Israel* obtained, and also victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the *Israelites*, were particularly and largely written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with divine discourse, have perished in the long race of time, or have been destroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrates. For the Books of *Henoch*, howsoever they have been in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembred in an Epistle of *Thaddæus*, and cited by *Origen*, περὶ ἀρχῶν, and by *Tertullian*.

That work also of the Patriarch *Abraham*, *of Formation*, which others bestow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The Books remembred by *Josua*, *Chap.* 10 *Vers.* 13. and in the second of *Samuel*, *Chap.* 1. *Vers.* 18. called the Book of *Jasher*, or *Justorum*, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sun and Moon in the middest of the Heavens is recorded, and how they stood still till *Israel* had avenged themselves of their enemies; out of which also *David* took the Precept of teaching the Children of *Juda*, to exercise their Bows against their Enemies.

Some think this to be the Book of eternal Predestination, in which the just are written, according unto the sixty and ninth *Psalm*, *Vers.* 28. where it is said; *Let them be put out of the book of Life, neither let them be written with the Righteous.* *Hierom* thinks that *David* by this Book, understood those of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Solomon*, that the Books of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the just *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Moses* are written. Others, that it is was the Book of *Exodus*. Others, as *Theodoretus*, that is was a Commentary upon *Josua*, by an unknown Author.

The Book of *Chozai*, concerning *Manasse*, remembred in the second of *Chron.* *Chap.* 33. *v.* 18, and 19. Of this Book, also lost, *Hierom* conceives, that the Prophet *Esay* was the Author.

The same mischance came as well to the Story of *Solomon*, written by *Ahia Silonites*, who met with *Jeroboam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdom of *Israel* from the Son of *Solomon*: As to the Books of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to those of *Jeedo* the *Seer*, remembred in the second of *Chron.* *Chap.* 9. *Vers.* 29. With these have the Books of *Shemaiah* and of *Iddo*, remembred in the second of *Chron.* *Chap.* 12. *Vers.* 15. perished; and that of *Jehu* the Son of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Jehosaphat*, cited in the second of *Chron.* *Chap.* 20. *Vers.* 34. Also that Book of *Solomon*, which the *Hebrews* write *Hascirim*, of 5000. Verses, of which, that part called *Canticum Canticorum*, onely remaineth, 1 *Kings* 4. 32. and with this, divers others of *Solomon*'s works have perished, as his Book of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fishes, *&c.* 1 *Kings* 4. 33. with the rest remembred by *Origen*, *Josephus*, *Hierom*, *Cedrenus*, *Ciccus Asculanus*, *Picus Mirandula*, and others.

Of these, and other Books many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt the Temple of *Hierusalem*. But let us return thither where we left.

§. VIII.

Numb. 21. Of the Countrey of *Suph*, see more, *cap.* 10 *sect.* 4. ‖ 2. and of the force of the word *Suph*, also *Chap.* 18. *Sect.* 3.

Numb. 21. 26.

1 *Chron.* 12.

Hier. in quæst. super lib. Reg.

Hier. in annot in Paralip.

§. VIII.

Of Moses *his sparing the issue of* Lot; *and of the Giants in those parts; and of* Sehon *and* Og.

WHen *Moses* had past *Arnon*, he incamped on the other side thereof at *Abarim*, opposite to the City of *Nibo*; leaving the City of *Midian* on the left hand, and attempting nothing upon the *Moabites* on that side. For *Moab* did at this time inhabite on the South-side of *Arnon*, having lost all his antient and best Territory, which was now in the possession of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to molest *Moab*, neither to provoke them to battel, God having given that Land to the children of *Lot*; the same which was antiently possest by the *Emims*, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those Giants called *Anakims*, or the sons of *Anac*.

Deut. 2. 9, 10, 11, 12.

God also commanded *Moses* to spare the *Ammonites*, because they likewise were descended of *Lot:* who had expelled from thence those Giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummims*. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the East of *Jordan*, even to the Desart of *Arabia*, as well on the West, as on the East-side of the Mountains of *Gilead*, was inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promised, the *Israelites* did not at any time pass those Mountains to the East of *Basan*, but left their Countrey to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We find also, that as there were many Giants both before and after the floud: so these Nations, which antiently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the Land it self, had among them many Families of Giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which sometimes was called the City of *Arbah*, which *Arbah* in *Josua* is called the father of the *Anakims*; and the greatest man of the *Anakims*. There had also been Giants in the Land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims:* and their chief City was *Aroer* or *Ar*, near the River of *Arnon*. To the Giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gave the name of *Zamzummims*; which were of the same antient *Canaanites:* and their chief City was *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*. They were also called *Zuzims*, which is as much to say, as *Viri robusti, horrendique Gigantes*; *Strong men, and fearful Giants*, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the same Province, and not far to the North of *Aroer*.

Jos. 15. v. 13, 14, 15.

Now *Moses* having past *Arnon*, and being incamped at *Abarim*; and having (as before) sent to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a passage through his Countrey, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proud by his former conquest upon *Vaheb* the *Moabite*; which Nation the *Amorites* esteemed but as strangers and usurpers, (themselves being of the sons of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refused to grant *Israel* any entrance that way; and withal, prepared to encounter *Moses* with as much speed as he could, because *Moses* incamped in the Countrey of his new conquests, to wit, the Plains of *Moab*, the two and fortieth and last Mansion: which *Moses* wasted with the multitude of his people and cattel. Towards him therefore hasting himself, they encountred each other at *Jahaz:* where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and discomfited, and the victory so pursued by *Moses*, as few or none of the *Amorites* escaped. He also slaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Essebon*, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as those of *Basan* also were, and descended of *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus:* for *Moses* calleth the *Basanites* also *Amorites*. And although *Israel* might now have taken a ready way and passage into *Judæa*, being at this time, and after this victory, at the banks of *Jordan:* yet he knew it to be perillous to leave so great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his back, as inhabited all the Region of *Basan*, or *Traconitis:* and therefore he led on his Army to invade *Og*, a person of exceeding strength and stature, and the only man of mark remaining of the antient Giants of those parts, and who at that time had 60 Cities walled and defenced: lying between the Mountain of *Hermon* (which Mountain, saith *Moses*, the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites*, *Shenir*) and the River of *Jordan*. And it befell unto the King of *Basan* (who attended *Moses* coming at *Edrei*) as it did unto *Sehon:* for he and his sons perished, and all his Cities were taken and possest. After this, *Moses* with-drawing himself back again to the Mountains of *Abarim*, left the prosecution of that war unto *Jair* the son of *Manasse:* who conquering the East parts of *Basan*, to wit, the Kingdom of *Argob*, even unto the Nations of the *Gessuri* and *Machati*, &c. walled Cities, called the same after his own name *Havoth Jair:* of all which conquests afterward the half Tribe of *Manasse* possest the North part as far as *Edrei*, but the East part that belonged to *Sehon* the *Amorite*, with the Mountains of *Gilead* adjoyning, was given to *Reuben*, and unto *Gad*.

Deut. 1. 8.

§. IX.

Of the troubles about the Madianites, *and of* Moſes *his death.*

AFter theſe victories, and while *Iſrael* ſojourned in the valley of *Moab*, the *Madianites* and *Moabites* (over both which Nations it ſeemeth that *Balac* King of the *Moabites* then commanded in chief) ſought, according to the advice of *Balaam*, both by alluring the *Hebrews* to the love of their daughters, and by perſuading them to honour and ſerve their Idols, to divide them both in Love and Religion among themſelves: thereby the better both to defend their own intereſt againſt them, as alſo to beat them out of *Moab*, and the Countries adjoyning. The *Iſraelites* as they had ever been enclined, ſo were they now eaſily perſuaded to theſe evil courſes, and thereby drew on themſelvs the plague of peſtilence, whereof there periſhed 24000. perſons: beſides which puniſhment of God, the moſt of the offenders among the *Hebrews*, were by his commandment put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the ſon of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the *Simeonites*, together with *Cosbi*, a Daughter of one of the chief of the *Midianites*, the Plague ceaſed, and Gods wrath was appeaſed. For ſuch was the love and kindneſs of his all-powerfulneſs, reſpecting the ardent zeal of *Phineas* in proſecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chief among the *Hebrews*, become an Idolater) as he forgave the reſt of *Iſrael*, and ſtayed his hand for his ſake. *Nu.* 25. 1.

In this valley it was that *Moſes* cauſed the people to be numbred the third time: and there remained of able men fit to bear arms 601730. of which, as his laſt enterpriſe, he appointed 12000. to be choſen out, to invade the Cities of *Midian*, who, together with the *Moabites*, practiſed with *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael*: and after that, ſought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worſhip of the true God, to the ſervice of *Beth-Peor*: and to the reſt of their barbarous Idolatry. Over which Companies of 12000. *Moſes* gave the charge to *Phineas* the ſon of *Eleazar* the high Prieſt: who ſlew the five Princes of the *Midianites*, which were, or had lately been, the vaſſals of *Sehon*, as appeareth by *Joſuah*. Theſe five Princes of the *Midianites* ſlain by *Eleazar*, were at this time but the vaſſals of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Evi*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Rera*, the Dukes of *Sehon*, ſaith *Joſuah*. He ſlew alſo the men, male-children, and women: ſaving ſuch as had not yet uſed the company of men, but thoſe they ſaved, and diſpers'd them among the children of *Iſrael* to ſerve them. *Nu.* 16 31. *Nu.* 31. 8. *Joſ.* 13. 21. *Cap.* 13. 21.

And *Moſes* having now lived 120. years, making both his own weakneſs of body known to the people, and his unability to travel: and alſo that he was forewarned of his end by the Spirit of God, from whom he received a new commandment to aſcend the Mountains of *Abarim*, and thereon to render up his life: He haſtned to ſettle the government in *Joſua*, whom he perſuaded with moſt lively arguments to proſecute the conqueſt begun, aſſuring him of Gods favour and aſſiſtance therein. And ſo having ſpent theſe his latter days after the conqueſt of *Og*, and *Sehon* King of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and expoſition of the Law, (or an iteration of the Law, according to Saint *Auguſtine*) uſing both arguments, prayers, and threats unto the people, which he often repeated unto them; thereby to confirm them in knowledg, love, fear, and ſervice of the all-powerful God: He bleſſed the twelve Tribes, that of *Simeon* excepted, with ſeveral and moſt comfortable bleſſings: praiſing the greatneſs and goodneſs of him, unto whom in his prayers he commended them: He alſo commanded the Prieſts to lay up the Book of the Law, by the ſide of the *Ark* of God, The laſt that he indited, was that Prophetical Song, beginning: *Hearken ye Heavens, and I will ſpeak, and let the Earth hear the words of my mouth:* and being called by God from the labours and ſorrows of this life, unto that Reſt which never afterward hath diſquiet, he was buried in the Land of *Moab*, over againſt *Beth-Peor*: but no man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day; which happened in the year of the World, 2554. *Deut.* 31. 1. *Deut.* 31. 2. *Aug. l.* 4. *de Mirab. Sacr. Scrip.* *Deut.* 33. *Deut.* 32. 1. *Deut.* 34 6.

§. X.

Obſervations out of the Story of Moſes, *how God diſpoſeth both the ſmalleſt occaſions, and the greateſt reſiſtances, to the effecting of his purpoſe.*

NOw let us a little, for inſtruction, look back to the occaſions of ſundry of the great events, which have been mentioned in this Story of the life of *Moſes*, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promiſe, and fore-choice of this people) he wrought in all things elſe by the *medium* of mens affections, and natural appetites. And ſo we ſhall find that the fear which *Pharaoh* had of the increaſe of the *Hebrews*, multiplyed by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next natural cauſe of

of the sorrows and loss, which befel himself, and the *Egyptian* Nation: which numbers when he sought by cruel and ungodly policies to cut off and lessen, as when he commanded all the male children of the *Hebrews* to be slain, God (whose providence cannot be resisted, nor his purposes prevented by all the foolish and salvage craft of mortal men) moved compassion in the heart of *Pharaoh*'s own daughter, to preserve that child, which afterward became the most wise, and of all men the most gentle and mild, the most excellently learned in all Divine and Humane knowledge, to be the conductor and deliverer of his oppressed brethren, and the overthrow of *Pharaoh*, and all the flower of his Nation; even then, when he sought by the strength of his men of War, of his Horse, and Chariots, to tread them under, and bury them in the dust. The grief which *Moses* conceived of the injuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrews* in his own presence, moved him to take revenge of the *Egyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his own Nation, by threatning him to discover the slaughter of the *Egyptian*, moved him to fly into *Madian*: the contention between the Shepherds of that place, and *Jethro*'s Daughters, made him known to their Father; who not onely entertained him, but married him to one of those Sisters: and in that Solitary life of keeping of his Father-in-Law's sheep, far from the preass of the World, contenting himself (though bred as a Kings Son) with the Lot of a poor Heardsman, God found him out in that Desart wherein he first suffered him to live many years, the better to know the waies and passages through which he purposed that he should conduct his people, toward the Land promised: and therein appearing unto him, he made him know his will and divine pleasure for his return into *Egypt*. The like may be said of all things else, which *Moses* afterward by God's direction performed in the Story of *Israel* before remembred. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seem unto men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence, but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many years after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Israelites *had dealing after their coming out of* Egypt; *and of the Men of renown in other Nations, about the times of* Moses *and* Josua; *with the sum of the History of* Josua.

§. I.

How the Nations with whom the Israelites *were to have War, were divers waies, as it were prepared to be their Enemies.*

IN like manner, if we look to the quality of the Nations, with whom the *Israelites*, after their coming out of *Egypt*, had to do, either in the Wilderness, or afterward, we shall find them long before-hand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were, prepared for enmity: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of *Canaan*, or at least of *Ham*; and the rest (as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Israelites*) were mingled with them by mutual marriages: whereas the *Israelites* still continued strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by antient injuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diversity in Religion, were these Nations, as it were, prepared to be enemies to the *Israelites*: and so to serve for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, we must understand that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the mountains of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North, by the same mountains continued as far as the Springs of *Arnon* on the East: by the way of *Egypt*, and the *Red Sea*, on the South: and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one springing from the sons of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but those of

Sem, were but as ſtrangers therein for a long time, and came thither, in effect, but with * one Family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kinred. The other for the greateſt part, were the *Canaanites*, the antient Lords and poſſeſſors of thoſe Territories, by proceſs of time divided into ſeveral Families and Names: whereof ſome of them were of eminent ſtature and ſtrength, as the *Anakims*, *Zamzummims*, or *Zuzei*, *Emims*, *Horites*, and others. Theſe (as men moſt valiant and able commonly do) did inhabite the utter borders and Mountains of their Countries: the reſt were the *Zidonians*, *Jebuſites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Hetites*, and others, who took name after the ſons of *Canaan*, and after whom the Countrey in general was ſtill called.

It ſeemeth alſo that *Hus*, the Son of *Nachor*, and *Buz* his Brother, planted themſelvs in the Eaſt ſide of *Jordan*, about *Baſan*: whereby they find the Land of *Hus*, in which *Job* dwelt as one of the iſſue of *Hus*, the Son of *Nachor*, and *Eliha*, his friend who is called a *Buzite*. See hereafter *chap.* 10. *ſect.* 7.

As for the *Hebrews* which deſcended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another Family, and ſtrangers in that Country, eſpecially the *Iſraelites*: and this was ſome cauſe that the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or indure them, no more than the *Philiſtims* did, who deſcended alſo of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham himſelf*, being a ſtranger, was highly eſteemed and honoured among them; eſpecially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the Weſt part of *Jordan*: yet now even they which deſcended from *Abraham*, or from his kinred, abode and multiplied in thoſe parts, were alienated in affections from the *Iſraelites*, as holding them ſtrangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the reſt of the iſſue of *Cham*, with whom they dayly contracted affinity, than of their old pedigree from *Abraham*.

Ex. 17. 16.

Deut. 11. 5.

True it is, that theſe Nations deſcended of *Abraham*, or of his kinred, who had linked themſelves, and marched with the *Canaanites* and others, had ſo far poſſeſt themſelves of the borders of thoſe Regions, as they began to be equal in ſtrength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not ſuperiour. For of *Lot* came thoſe two great Families of the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: of *Eſau* the *Idumæans*: of *Madian* the *Madianites*: of *Iſmael* the eldeſt ſon of *Abraham*, came the *Iſmaelites*, with whom are joyned, as of the ſame Nation, the *Amalekites*; whom though the more common opinion thinketh to have been a Tribe of *Edom*, becauſe *Eſau* had a grand-child of that name, yet manifeſt reaſon convinceth it to have been otherwiſe.

Deut. 11. 5. For the *Iſraelites* were forbidden to provoke the *Edomites*, or do them any wrong;

Ex. 17. 16. whereas contrariwiſe *Amalek* was curſed, and endleſs war decreed againſt him: but hereof more elſewhere, Chap. 8. §. 3. Of *Iſmael's* eldeſt ſon *Naboth* ſprung the *Arabians* of *Petræa*, called *Nabathæi*. Now even as *Abraham* beſought God to bleſs *Iſmael*, ſo it pleaſed him both to promiſe and perform it. For of him thoſe twelve Princes came, which in- *Gen.* 17. habited, in effect, all that Tract of Land between *Havilah* upon *Tygris*, and *Sur* which is the Weſt part of the *Deſart of Arabia Petræa*. Yet howſoever the ſtrength of theſe later named Nations, which deſcended from *Abraham*, were great; it is not unlikely, but that ſome reaſon which moved them not to favour the entrance of the *Iſraelites* into *Canaan*, was in reſpect of fear: becauſe all Princes and States do not wilingly permit any ſtranger or powerful Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all theſe Families before named, were not ſo united in and among themſelves, but that they had their jealouſies of each other, and contended for dominion: yet fearing a third more ſtrong than themſelves, whether they ſtood apart or united, they were taught by the care of their own preſervation, to joyn themſelves together againſt *Iſrael*: though they did it nothing ſo maliciouſly and reſolvedly as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Edumæans* onely denied the *Hebrews* a paſſage, which the *Moabites* durſt not deny: becauſe their Country lay more open; and becauſe themſelves had lately been beaten out of the richeſt part of their Dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites* their Country lay altogether out of the way, and the ſtrength of *Sehon* and *Og*, Kings of the *Amorites*, was interjacent: and beſides that, the border of the *Ammonites* was ſtrong by reaſon of the mountains which divided it from *Baſan*. Again, that which moved the *Nu.* 21. 24. *Moabites* in their own reaſon not much to interrupt *Iſrael*, in the conqueſt of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his confederate, was, that the *Moabites* might hope, after ſuch a time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moſes*, that themſelves might recover again their own inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plains lying between the mountains of *Arabia* and *Jordan*: But as ſoon as *Sehon* was ſlain, and that the King of *Moab*, *Balac*, perceived that *Moſes* allotted that Valley to the Tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*, he began to practiſe with *Balaam* againſt *Iſrael*, and by the daughters of *Midian*, as aforeſaid, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at the length the *Moabites*, by ſpecial occaſion, were more and more ſtirred up to enmity againſt *Iſrael*. And as for divers of the reſt that were deſcended from *Abraham's* kinred, we may note, how in the beginning, between the Authours of their Pedigrees, God permitted

ted some enmities to be, as it were, presages of future quarrels, which in the posterity might be the easier incensed by the memory of old grudges: and withall, by some disdain from the elder in nature to the younger. For the *Ismaelites* being descended from the eldest son of *Abraham*, and the *Edomites* from the eldest son of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, being but a second son, of a second brother; those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses, being natural men, might scorn to give place, much less to subject themselvs to their inferiours, as they took it: and for a more aggravation, the issues of *Esau*, Princes of *Idumæa*, might keep in record, that their Parent was bought out of his birthright by *Jacob*'s taking his advantage, and that he was deceived of his Father's blessing also by him: and that *Jacob*, after reconciliation, came not unto him as he promised, into *Seir* or *Idumæa*.

Gen. 25. Gen. 27. Gen. 33 14.

So also in the posterity of *Ismael*, it might remain as a seed or pretence of enmity, that their fore-father was by the instigation of *Sara*, cast out into the *Desart*, with his mother *Hagar*; and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his Angel to relieve them. *Ismael* also had an Egyptian both to his Mother and to his Wife: and *Amalec* was also an *Horite* by his Mother: which *Horites* were of the antient *Canaanites*. The *Edumæans* also, or *Edomites*, were by their Maternal line descended of the *Canaanites*. For *Esau* took two wives of that Nation: one of them was *Adath*, the daughter of *Elon*, the *Hittite*; and the other *Aholibamah*, the grand-child of *Zibeon*, the *Hevite*, Lord of *Seir*, before the same was conquered by *Esau*, and called after his name, *Edom*, or *Edumæa*.

Gen. 36.

Lastly it appeareth that all those Families of the *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, &c. were in process of time corrupted, and drawn from the knowledg and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the conversation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those wives of the *Canaanites* which they had married: onely a few of the *Kenites* and those *Madianites*, which inhabited on the edge of the *Red Sea*, whereof *Jethro* was Priest, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true and ever-living God.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the Canaanites *and* Madianites, *mentioned in the antient Wars of the* Israelites.

OF the Kings of the *Canaanites*, descended of *Cham* (for *Melchizedek* may be thought to be of a better *Pedigree*) we find four named by *Moses*: and one and thirty remembred by *Josua*, though few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities over which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territory adjoyning, and no other Dominion. These *Canaanites* in a general consideration are to be understood for all those Nations, descended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Jebusites*, *Amorites*, *Gergesites*, *Hevites*, *&c.* and so here we understand this name in speaking of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and so also we call the Country of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of promise: for God hath appointed that the seven principle Families should be rooted out, and that his own people should inherit their Lands and Cities. But if we consider of the name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Jordan*, on the East, and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the West: in which narrow Country, and in the choisest places thereof, those *Canaanites* which held their Paternal name chiefly inhabited.

The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was *Hamor* or *Hemer*, of the *Hevites*, whom *Simeon* and *Levi* slew, together with his Son *Sichem*, in revenge of their sisters ravishment. Gen 34.

Arad was the second King which the Scriptures have remembred, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring *Edom* and the *dead Sea*; the same which surprised *Israel*, as they encamped in the *Wilderness* in the edge of *Edumæa*. Num. 21. 1.

The third named was *Sehon* King of *Essebon*, who before *Moses* arrival had beaten the *Moabites* out of the West part of *Arabia Petræa*, or *Nabathea*, and thrust them over *Arnon* into the Desarts, the same whom *Moses* overthrew in the plains of *Moab*: at which time he took *Essebon*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*. Num. 21. 24.

Jos. 9. Josephus antiq. lib. 4. c. 5.

Presently after which victory, *Og* was also slain by *Israel*, who commanded the North part of that Valley between the Mountains *Traconi*, or *Galaad*, and *Jordan*, who was also a King of the *Amorites*. Num. 21. 35.

The fifth was *Adonizedek* King of the *Jebusites*, and of *Hierusalem*, with whom *Josua* nameth four other Kings.

Hoham,

Hoham, King of *Hebron*.
Piram, King of *Jarmuth*.
Japia, King of *Lachis*: and
Deber, King of *Eglon*, who were all *Amorites* overthrown in battel; and hanged by *Josua*. After this overthrow *Josua* nameth *Jabin*, King of *Hazor*, and

Josua 10. *Joseph ant. l.* 5. *cap* 1.

Jobab, King of *Madon*: whom he also slaughtered, and took his Cities: and this *Jabin* seemed to have some dominion over the rest; for it is said in the Text, *For* Hazor *before times was the head of all those Kingdoms.*

Jos. 11. 1.

After these *Adonibezek* that notorious Tyrant is named: who confest that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands and feet of seventy Kings, inforcing them to gather crumbs under his Table: who, after *Juda* and *Simeon* had used the same execution upon himself, acknowledged it to be a just revenge of God: this King was carried to *Hierusalem* where he died.

Jud. 1. *Joseph. l.* 5. *c.* 2.

The last King named is *Jabin* the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Josua*. For at such time as he employed *Sisara* against *Israel*, whom he oppresst twenty years after the death of *Ehud*, he inhabited *Hazor*. This *Jabin*, *Barac* (encouraged by *Debora*) overthrew; and his Captain *Sisara* had by *Jael*, the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, a nail driven into his head while he slept in her Tent: *Jabin* himself perishing afterward in that war.

Jud. 4. *Jud* 4. *Psal.* 83.

The *Madianites* had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the *Moabites*: and they held a corner of Land in *Nabathea*: to the South-East of the *Dead Sea*. They descended from *Madian Abrahams* son, by *Cethura*. *Raguel* surnamed *Gethegleus* or *Jethres*, saith *Josephus*, called *Jethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the first of *Judges*, the son of *Dathan*, the grand-child of *Jexanis*, or *Joksham*, the great grand-child of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, was Priest or Prince of the *Madianites* by the Red Sea: whose Daughter or Neece, *Moses* married, and of whom, I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This *Jethro*, if he were not the same with *Hobab*, must be his father: and this *Hobab* had seven daughters. He guided *Moses* in the *Wilderness*, and became one of the *Israelites*: of him descended the *Kenites*, so called of his father *Raguels* surname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had peace with *Jabin* the second, even now remembred.

Joseph. l. 5. *c.* 6. *Exod.* 3. *Cedren. p.* 34. *Jud.* 5.

At such time as *Saul* invaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good affection of the *Kenites* to *Israel*, gave them warning to separate themselves: and yet the *Kenites* had strong seats, and lived in the mountains of the Desarts.

1 Sam. 15. 6.

The Kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I find named, were these:

1. *Homer* the *Hevite* of *Sichem*
2. *Arad* of the South parts
3. *Sehon* of *Essebon*
4. *Og* of *Basan*
5. *Adonizedek* the *Jebusite*, King of *Hierusalem*. *Jos.* 10.
6. *Hoham* of *Hebron*
7. *Piram* of *Jarmuth*
8. *Japia* of *Lachis*
9. *Debir* of *Eglon*
10. *Jabin* of *Hazor*
11. *Jobab* of *Modon*. *Jos.* 11.
12. *Adonibezek* of *Bezek*, and
13. *Jabin* the second King of *Hazar*.

Of the *Madianites* these:

* *Evi* or *Evis*.
Rekam or *Recem*, who built *Petra* the *Metropolis* of *Petræa*, so called by the *Greeks*: and by *Esay*, cap. 16. v. 1. and *Selah*, which is as much as *Petra*: and so also it is called 2 *Reg.* 14. 7. where it is also called *Joktheel*.
Zur
Hur and
Reba
* *Oreb*
Zeb
Zebah
Zalmunna.

* These five were first all at one time Kings of several portions of the *Madianites*, slain by *Phineas*, and the 12000. which he led against them: *Num.* 31. 8.
* These four last were likewise at one time slain in the pursuit of *Gideons* victory, *Jud.* c. 7. v. 25. & c. 8. v. 12.

After the death of *Barac*, *Judge* of *Israel*, the four last named of these *Madianite* Kings vexed *Israel* seven years: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them, to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and slain by the *Ephraimites*, at the passage of *Jordan*, as in the 6. 7. and 8. of *Judges* it is written at large. Afterward in the pursuit of the rest, *Gideon* himself laid hands upon *Zebah* and *Salmana*, or *Zalmunna*, and executed them, being prisoners; in which expedition of *Gideon* there perished 120000. of the *Madianites* and their confederates. Of the *Idumæans*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, I will speak hereafter in the description of their Territories.

§. III.

Of the Amalekites and Ismaelites.

OF the Kings of the *Amalekites* and *Ismaelites*, I find few that are named; and though of the *Ismaelites* there were more in number than of the rest (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according unto the promise of God made unto *Abraham*) yet the *Amalekites*, who together with the *Midi-*

Gen. 17. 20. *Jud.* c. 7.

Midianites were numbered among them, were more renowned in *Moses* time than the rest of the *Ismaelites*. So also were they when *Saul* governed *Israel*. For *Saul* pursued them from *Sur* unto *Havilah*, to wit, over a great part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Desart*. The reason to me seemeth to be this: That the twelve Princes which came of *Ismael*, were content to leave those barren *Desarts* of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Sur*, *Paran*, and *Sin*, to the issue of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, that joyned with them (for so seem the *Amalekites* to have been, and so were the *Madianites*:) themselves taking possession of a better soil in *Arabia the Happy*, and about the Mountains of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petræa*: For *Nabaioth* the eldest of those twelve Princes planted that part of *Arabia Petræa*; which was very fruitful, though adjoyning to the *Desart* in which *Moses* wandred, afterward called *Nabathea*: the same which neighboureth *Judæa* on the East-side. They also peopled a Province in *Arabia the Happy*, whereof the people were in after-times called *Napathæi* (*B*) changed into (*P.*)

Kedar, the second of *Ismaels* sons, gave his own name to the East-part of *Basan*, or *Batanea*, which was afterward possest by *Manasse*, so much thereof as lay within the mountains *Traconi*, or *Gilead*. Which Nation *Lampridius* calleth *Kedarens*, and *Pliny*, *Cedræans*.

Abbeel sat down in the *Desart Arabia*, near the Mountains which divide it from the *Happy*: and gave name to the *Adubens*, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Agubens*.

Mibsam was the Parent of the *Masamancuses*, near the Mountain *Zamath*, in the same *Arabia the Happy*.

The *Raabens* were of *Mishma*: who joyned to the *Orchens*, near the *Arabian* gulf, where *Ptolomy* setteth *Zagmais*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumæans*, between the *Adubens* and *Raabens*: where the City *Dumeth* sometimes stood.

Of *Massa* the *Massani*, and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar*, the *Athritæ*, who bordered the *Napatheans* in the same *Happy Arabia*.

Thema begat the *Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* Mountains, where also the City of *Thema* is seated.

Of *Jetur* the *Ituræans*, or *Camathens*: of whom *Tohu* was King in *Davids* time. *Plin. l. 6. c. 28.*

Of *Naphri*, the *Nubeian Arabians*, inhabiting *Syria Zoba*: over whom *Adadezer* commanded, while *David* ruled *Israel*.

Cadma, the last and twelfth of *Ismaels* sons, was the Ancestor of the *Cadmonæans*: who were afterward called *Asitæ*, because they worshiped the Fire with the *Babylonians*. *Junius.*

The *Amalekites* gave their Kings the name of *Agag*, as the *Egyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the antient *Syrians*, *Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabian Nabatheans*, *Aretas*, as names of Honour.

The *Amalekites* were the first that fought with *Moses* after he past the *Red Sea*: when of all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished. *Exod. 17.*

Afterward they joyned with the *Canaanites*, and beat the *Israelites* near *Cadesbarne*. After the government of *Othoniel*, they joyned them with the *Moabites*: after *Barac*, with the *Madianites*, and invaded *Israel*. God commanded that as soon as *Israel* had rest, they should root out the name of the *Amalekites*: which *Saul* executed in part, when he wasted them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Chaldæa*: from *Havilah* to *Shur*. *Num. 14.*

In *Davids* time they took *Siklag* in *Simeon*: but *David* followed them, and surprised them, recovering his prisoners and spoils. And yet, after *David* became King, they again vexed him, but to their own loss. *1 Sam. 30.*

In *Ezekias* time, as many of them as joyned to *Edumæa*, were wasted and displanted by the children of *Simeon*. *2 Sam. 8. 12.*

§. IV.

Of the instauration of Civility in Europe about these times, and of Prometheus *and* Atlas.

THere lived at this time, and in the same age together with *Moses*, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily strength as in all sorts of learning. And as the World was but even now enriched with the written Law of the living God, so did Art and Civility (bred and fostered far off in the East, and in *Egypt*) begin at this time to discover a passage into *Europe*, and into those parts of *Greece*, neighbouring *Asia* and *Judæa*. For if *Pelasgus*, besides his bodily strength, was chosen King of *Arcadia*, because he taught those people to erect them simple Cottages, to defend them from rain and storm: and learned them withal to make a kind of Meale, and bread of Acorns, who before lived, for the most part, by Herbs and Roots: we may thereby judge how poor and wretched those times were, and how falsly those Nations have vaunted of those their antiquities, accompanied not only with civil learning, but with all other kindes of knowledg. And it was in this age of the World, as both *Eusebius* and S. *Augustine* have observed, that *Prometheus* flourished: *Quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse homines* *Aug. l. 18. c. 8. de civit. Dei.*

homines, quia optimus sapientiæ doctor fuisse perhibetur; Of whom it is reported, that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of wisdom: and so *Theophrastus* expoundeth the invention of fire ascribed to *Prometheus*, *Ad inventa sapientiæ pertinere; To have reference to wise inventions:* and *Æschylus* affirmeth, That by the stealing of *Jupiters* fire was meant, that the knowledg of *Prometheus* reached to the Stars, and other celestial bodies. Again, it is written of him, that he had the art so to use this fire, as thereby he gave life to the Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning, that before his birth and being, those people among whom he lived, had nothing else worthy of men, but external form and figure. By that fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the Hill *Caucasus*, his entrails the while devoured by an *Eagle*, was meant the inward care and restless desire he had to investigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of heavenly bodies; for so it is said: *Ideo altissimum ascendisse Caucasum, ut sereno cœlo quàm longissimè astra, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret; That he ascended Caucasus, to the end that he might in a clear skie discern a far off the settings and risings of the Stars:* though *Diodorus Siculus* expounds it otherwise, and others diversly.

Æschyl. in Prom. vinct.

In c. 8. lib. 18. de civit. Dei.

Lud. Vives ex Hes.

Of this mans knowledg Æschylus *gives this testimony.*

Æschyl. in Prom. vinct.

Ast agebant omnia
Ut fors ferebat: donec ipse repperi
Signorum obitus, ortusque qui mortalibus
Sunt utiles: & multitudinem artium
His repperi: componere inde literas;
Matremque Musarum auxi ego Memoriam
Perutilem cunctis, &c.

(when
But Fortune govern'd all their works, till
I first found out how Stars did set and rise:
A profitable art to mortal men:
And others of like use I did devise:
As letters to compose in learned wise
I first did teach: and first did amplifie
The Mother of the *Muses*, *Memorie.*

Africanus makes *Prometheus* far more antient, and but 94. years after *Ogyges*. *Porphyrius* sayes, that he lived at once with *Inachus*, who lived with *Isaac*.

Aug. l 18. c. 3. de civit. Dei.

There lived also at once with *Moses*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the sons of *Japetus*, of whom though it be said, that they were born before *Moses* dayes, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more antient date: yet the advantage of their long lives gave them a part of other ages among men, which came into the World long after them. Besides these sons of *Japetus*, *Æsculus* finds two other, to wit, *Oceanus* and *Hesperus*, who being famous in the West, gave name to the Evening, and so to the Evening Star. Also besides this *Atlas* of *Lybia*, or *Mauritania*, there were others which bare the same name: but of the *Lybian*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that those Mountains which cross *Africa*, to the South of *Marocco*, *Sus*, and *Hea*, with the Sea adjoyning, took name, which memory *Plato* in *Critias* bestowes on *Atlas*, the son of *Neptune*.

Cicero in the fifth of his *Tusculan* questions affirmeth, that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by those names to express divine knowledg. *Nec vero* Atlas *sustinere cœlum, nec* Prometheus *affixus Caucaso, nec stellatus* Cepheus *cum uxore traderetur, nisi divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxisset; Neither should* Atlas *be said to bear up heaven, nor* Prometheus *to be fastened to Caucasus, nor* Cepheus *with his wife to be stellified, unless their divine knowledg had raised upon their names these erroneous fables.*

Orpheus sometimes express'd *Time* by *Prometheus*, sometime he took him for *Saturn*; as, *Rheæ conjux alme Prometheu.* But that the Story of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction, and that he lived about this time, the most approved Historians and Antiquaries, and among them *Eusebius* and S. *Augustine* have not doubted: For the great judgment which *Atlas* had in *Astronomy*, saith S. *Augustine*, were his daughters called by the names of constellations, *Pleiades* and *Hyades*. Others attribute unto him the finding out of the Moons course, of which *Archas* the son of *Orchomenus* challengeth the invention. Of this *Arcas*, *Arcadia* in *Peloponnesus* took name; and therefore did the *Arcadians* vaunt that they were more antient than the Moon: *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit:* which is to be understood, saith *Natalis Comes*, before there had been any observation of the Moons course: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there be that bestow the finding out thereof upon *Endymion:* others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon:* yet *Isacius Tzetzes*, a curious searcher of antiquities, gave it *Atlas* of *Libya:* who, besides his gifts of mind, was a man of unequalled and incomparable strength: from whom *Thales* the *Milesian*, as it is said, had the ground of his *Philosophy.*

Lib. 18. cap 8 de civit. Dei.

Ovid. de fast. l. 1.

§. V.

§. V.

Of Deucalion and Phaeton.

AND in this age of the World, and while *Moses* yet lived, *Deucalion* reigned in *Thessaly*, *Crotopus* then ruling the *Argives*. This *Deucalion* was the son of *Promotheus*, saith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Hesiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Hesiodus* gave him *Pandora* for mother; the rest *Clymene*: *Homer* in the fifteenth of his *Odysses*, makes *Deucalion* the son of *Minos*: but he must needs have meant some other *Deucalion*; for else either *Ulysses* was mistaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Ulysses*, after his return from *Troy*, feigned himself to be the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was son to this later *Deucalion*, the son of *Minos*: but this *Minos* lived but one age before *Troy* was taken: (for *Idomeneus* served in that war) and this *Deucalion* the son of *Prometheus*, who lived at once with *Moses*, was long before. In the first *Deucalion*'s time happened that great inundation in *Thessaly*: by which in effect every soul in those parts perished, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrrha* his wife, and some few others. It is affirmed, that at the time of this flood in *Thessaly*, those people exceeded in all kind of wickedness and villany: and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractive of Gods vengeance, so did all that Nation for their foul sins perish by waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the corruption and cruelty of all mankind drew on them that general destruction by the flood universal. Onely *Deucalion*, and *Pyrrha* his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be lovers of Vertue, of Justice, and of Religion. Of whom *Ovid*:

Com. Alex. Strom. l. 1. Strabo l. 9.

Non illo melior quisquam, nec amantior æqui
Vir fuit: aut illa reverentior ulla dearum.

No man was Better, nor more just than hee:
Nor any woman godlier than shee.

It is also affirmed, that *Prometheus* foretold his son *Deucalion* of this over-flowing, and advised him to provide for his safety: who hereupon prepared himself a kind of Vessel, which *Lucian* in his *Dialogue* of *Timon* calls *Cibotium*; and others *Larnax*. And because to these circumstances, they afterward add the sending out of the Dove, to discover the waters fall and decrease, I should verily think that Story had been but an imitation of *Noah*'s flood devised by the *Greeks*, did not the time so much differ, and S. *Augustine* with others of the Fathers and reverent Writers approve this Story of *Deucalion*. Among other his children, *Deucalion* had these two of note; *Hellen*, of whom *Greece* had first the name of *Hellas*; and *Melantho*, on whom *Neptune* is said to have begot *Delphus*, which gave name to *Delphos*, so renowned among the Heathen for the *Oracle* of *Apollo* therein founded.

Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 10. ex Eusebio & Hieronimo.

And that which was no less strange and marvellous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also happened under *Phaeton*; not only in *Ethiopia*, but in *Istria*, a Region in *Italy*, and about *Cuma*, and the Mountains of *Vesuvius*: of both which the *Greeks*, after their manner, have invented many strange fables.

§. VI.

Of Hermes Trismegistus.

BUt of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen, *Mercurius* was the most famous and renowned; the same which was also called *Trismegistus*, or *Ter Maximus*; and of the *Greeks*, *Hermes*.

Many there were of this name; and how to distinguish, and set them in their own times, both S. *Augustine* and *Lactantius* find it difficult. For that *Mercury* which was esteemed the god of Theeves, the God of Wrestlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the god of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the same with that *Mercury*, of whose many works some fragments are now extant.

Cicero, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certain of the *Greeks* reckon five *Mercuries*. Of which, two were famous in *Egypt*, and there worshipped; one, the son of *Nilus*, whose name the *Egyptians* feared to utter, as the *Jews* did *Tetragrammaton*; the other that *Mercury*, which slew *Argus* in *Greece*, and flying into *Egypt*, is said to have delivered literature to the *Egyptians*, and to have given them laws. But *Diodorus* affirmeth, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of *Egypt* into *Greece*: which *Plato* also confirmeth, saying; That letters were not found out by that *Mercury* which slew *Argus*, but by that antient *Mercury*, otherwise *Thevet*; whom *Philo Byblius* writeth *Taautus*; the *Egyptians*, *Thoyth*; the *Alexandrians*, *Thot*, and the *Greeks*, (as before) *Hermes*. And to this *Taautus*, *Sanconiatho*, who lived about the the war of *Troy*, gives the invention of letters

Lud. Vivet out of Cicero in Aug. de civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 26.

ters. But S. *Augustine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both *Egyptians*, calls neither of them the son of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have slain *Argus*. For he finds this *Mercury* the slayer of *Argus*, to to the grand-child of that *Atlas*, which lived while *Moses* was yet young. And yet *L. Vives* upon S. *Augustine* seems to understand them to be the same with those, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the rest have remembred. But that conjecture of theirs, that any *Grecian Mercury* brought letters into *Egypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there be any truth in prophane antiquity) that all the knowledg which the *Greeks* had, was transported out of *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*, and not out of *Greece*, nor by any *Grecian* into *Egypt*. For they all confess, that *Cadmus* brought letters first into *Bœotia*, either out of *Egypt*, or out of *Phœnicia*: it being true, that between *Mercurius*, that lived at once with *Moses* and *Cadmus*, there were these descents cast; *Crotopus* King of the *Argives*, with whom *Moses* lived, and in whose time about his tenth year *Moses* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus*, who reigned eleven years; after him *Danaus* fifty years; after him *Linceus*: in whose time, and after him in the time of *Minos* King of *Crete*, this *Cadmus* arrived in *Bœotia*. And therefore it cannot be true that any *Mercurius* about *Moses* his time, flying out of *Greece* for the slaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of *Greece* into *Egypt*. Neither did either of those two *Mercuries* of *Egypt*, whom Saint *Augustine* remembreth, the one the grand-father, the other the Nephew or grand-child, come out of *Greece*. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moses* found out letters, and taught the use of them to the *Jews*: of whom the *Phœnicians* their neighbours received them; and the *Greeks* of the *Phœnicians* by *Cadmus*. But this invention was also ascribed to *Moses*, for the reason before remembred; that is, because the *Jews* and the *Phœnicians* had them first from him. For every Nation gave unto those men the honour of first Inventors, from whom they received the profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercury*, upon part of whose works he commenteth, to have been four descents after *Moses*; which he hath out of *Virgil*, who cals *Atlas*, that lived with *Moses*, the maternal grand-father of the first famous *Mercury*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, call the Counseller and Instructer of that renowned *Isis*, wife of *Osiris*. Fut *Ficinus* giveth no reason for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercury* instructed *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that such an Inscription was found on a pillar erected on the Tomb of *Isis*. *Lod. Vives* upon the six and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Book of Saint *Augustine*, *de Civitate Dei*, conceiveth, that this *Mercury*, whose works are extant, was not the first which was entituled *Ter Maximus*, but his Nephew or Grand-child, * *Sanchoniaton*, an ancient *Phœnician*, who lived shortly after *Moses*, hath other fancies of this *Mercury*; affirming that he was the *Scribe of Saturn*, and called by the *Phœnicians*, *Taautus*, and by the *Egyptians*, *Thoot*, or *Thoyt*. It may be, that the many years which he is said to have lived, to wit, three hundred years, gave occasion to some Writers to find him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those who have collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* Philosophy and Divinity, he is found more antient than *Moses*: because the Inventor of the *Egyptian Wisdom*, wherein it is said, that *Moses* was excellently learned.

It is true, that although this *Mercury* or *Hermes* doth in his Divinity differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, especially in the approving of Images, which *Moses* of all things most detested: yet whosoever shall read him with an even judgment, will rather resolve, that these works which are now extant, were by the *Greeks* and *Egyptian* Priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, then that ever they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and spirit devised. For there is no man of understanding, and master of his own wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same Tract, those things which are directly contrary in doctrine, and in nature: For out of doubt (*Moses* excepted) there was never any man of those elder times that hath attributed more, and in a stile more reverend and divine unto Almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if those his two Treatises now among us; the one converted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had been found in all things like themselves: I think it had not been perillous to have thought with *Eupolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moses* himself; and that the *Egyptian Theologie* hereafter written, was devised by the first, and more antient *Mercury*, which others have thought to have been *Joseph*, the son of *Jacob*: whom, after the exposition of *Pharaoh*'s dreams, they called *Saphanetphane*, which is as much to say, as *Absconditorum repertor*; *A finder out of hidden things*. But these are overventurous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Envy and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worn out the certain knowledg of him: of whom, whosoever he were, *Lactantius* writeth

Euseb. l. 1. c. 6. de Præp Evan

Vir l 4. Æneid.

Ficin in Præf. Pæmand. Mercurii Trismegisti.

* Or Sanchoniatho: See Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 6.

Vives in lib. 8. c. 26. Aug. de Civ. Dei.

Masius.

L.1c.6 f4. eth in this sort: *Hic scripsit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus Majestatem summi ac singularis Dei asserit, iisdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem*; He hath *written many Books belonging to, or expressing the knowledg of divine things, in which he affirmeth the Majesty of the most High, and one God, calling him by the same names of God and Father, which we do.* The same Father also feareth not to number him among the *Sybils* and *Prophets*. And so contrary are these his acknowledgments to those Idolatrous fictions of the *Egyptians* and *Grecians*: as for my self I am persuaded, that whatsoever is found in him contrary thereunto was by corruption inserted. For thus much himself confesseth: *Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & spiritus*; *& omnia in ipso, & sub ipso sunt. Verbum enim ex ejus esse prodiens, perfectissimum existens, & generator, & opifex, &c. God* (saith he) *the Lord and Father of all things, the fountain and life, and power, and light, and mind, and spirit: and all things are in him, and under him. For his Word out of himself proceeding, most perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitful nature, made it also fruitful and producing.* And he was therefore (saith *Suydas*) called *Ter Maximus, quia de Trinitate loquutus est, in Trinitate unum esse Deum asserens*; *Because he spake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity. Hic ruinam* (saith *Ficinus*) *prævidit priscæ Religionis, hic ortum novæ fidei, hic adventum Christi, hic futurum judicium, resurrectionem sæculi, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum*; *This* Mercury *foresaw the* In Præf. Mer. Tris. *the ruine of the old or superstitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith, and of the coming of Christ, the future judgment, the resurrection, the glory of the blessed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.*

To this I will onely add his two last speeches reported by *Calcidius* the *Platonist*, and by *Volteran* out of *Suydas*. *Hactenus, fili, pulsus à patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto. Cumque post paulum à vobis corporeis vinculis absolutus discessero, videtote ne me quasi mortuum lugeatis: nam ad illam optimam beatamque Civitatem regredior, ad quam universi cives mortis conditione venturi sunt. Ibi namque solus Deus est summus Princeps, qui cives suos replet suavitate mirifica: ad quam hæc, quam multi vitam existimant, mors est potius dicenda quam vita*; *Hitherto, O son, being driven from my country, I have lived a stranger and banished man: but now I am repaired homeward again in safety. And when I shall after a few days* (*or in a short time*) *by being loosed from these bonds of flesh and blood, depart from you, see that you do not bewail me as a man dead*; *for I do but return to that best and blessed City, to which all her Citizens* (*by the condition of death*) *shall repair. Therein is the onely God, the most high and chief Prince, who filleth or feedeth his citizens with sweetness more than marvellous: in regard whereof, this being, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death than a life.* The other, and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus converted by others, agreeing in sense, but not in words: with *Suydas*: *O cœlum, magni Dei sapiens opus, teque O vox Patris quam ille primam emisit, quando universum constituit mundum, adjuro per unigenitum ejus Verbum, & Spiritum, cuncta comprehendentem, Miseremini mei: I adjure thee O heaven, thou wise work of the great God, and thee O voyce of the Father, which he first uttered, when he framed the whole World, by his onely begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all things, Have mercy upon me.*

But *Suydas* hath his invocation in these words: *Obtestor te cœlum, magni Dei sapiens opus, obtestor te vocem Patris, quam loquutus est primùm cum omnem mundum firmavit, obtestor te per unigenitam Sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius esto*; *I beseech thee O heaven, wise work of the great God, I beseech thee O voice of the Father, which he spake first when he established all the world, I beseech thee by the onely begotten Word containing all things, be favourable, be favourable.*

§. VII.

Of Jannes *and* Jambres, *and some other that lived about those times.*

THere were also in this age both *Æsculapius*, which after his death became the god of the *Physicians*, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as *Vives* thinks in his Commentary upon *Augustine*, *de Civitate Dei*, *lib.* 8. and also those two notorious Sorcerers, *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that ever had been heard of to this day: and yet *Moses* himself doth not charge them with any familiarity with Divels, or ill Spirits: words indeed that seldom came out of his mouth: however by the *Septuagint* they are called *Sophistæ*, or *Venefici*, and *Incantatores*; Sophists, Poysoners, and Inchanters: by *Hierome*, *Sapientes, & malefici*; Wise men, and evil doers: and so by *Vatablus*, who also useth the word *Magi*. The *Greek* it self seems to attribute some-

L. Vives in l. 8. Aug. de civ Dei. c. 20.

what of what they did to natural *Magick:* calling them φαρμακὸς, workers by drugs. The *Genevan*, *Sorcerers and Inchanters:* Junius, *Sapientes, Præſtigiatores, & Magi.* Magicians and Wiſe men here by him are taken in one ſence: and Preſtigiators are ſuch as dazel mens eyes, and make them ſeem to ſee what they ſee not: as falſe colours, and falſe ſhapes. But as ſome vertues and ſome vices are ſo niceſly diſtinguiſhed, and ſo reſembling each other, as they are often confounded; and the one taken for the other (Religion and Superſtition having one face and countenance) ſo did the works and working of *Moſes*, and of *Pharao*'s Sorcerers appear in outward ſhew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the ſame art and gift of knowledg. For the Divel changeth himſelf into an *Angel* of light: and imitateth in all he can the waies and workings of the moſt High. And yet, on the contrary, every work which ſurmounteth the wiſdom of moſt men, is not to be condemned, as performed by the help or miniſtery of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to natural things, are ſuch, as where he alſo beſtoweth the knowledg to underſtand their hidden and beſt vertues, many things by them are brought to paſs, which ſeem altogether impoſſible, and above nature or art: which two ſpeculations of works of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabaliſts* diſtinguiſhed by theſe names; *Opus de Bereſith, & opus de mercana:* the one they call, *Sapientiam naturæ*; *The Wiſdom of nature:* the other, *Sapientiam divinitatis*; *The Wiſdom of divinity:* the one *Jacob* practiſed in breeding the pied Lambs in *Meſopotamia*; the other *Moſes* exerciſed in his miracles wrought in *Egypt*, having received from God the knowledg of the one in the higheſt perfection, to wit, the knowledg of nature: of the other ſo far as it pleaſed God to proportion him, both which he uſed to his glory that gave them: aſſuming to himſelf nothing at all, either in the leaſt or moſt. Alſo S. *Auguſtine* noteth, that from the time that *Moſes* left *Egypt*, to the death of *Joſhua*, divers other famous men lived in the World, who, after their deaths, for their eminent vertues, and inventions, were numbred among the gods: as *Dionyſius*, otherwiſe *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Grecians* the uſe of the Vine in *Attica:* at which time alſo there were inſtituted *Muſical* plays to *Apollo Delphicus*: thereby to regain his favour, who brought barrenneſs and ſcarcity upon that part of *Greece*, becauſe they reſiſted not the attempts of *Danaus*, who ſpoiled his Temple, and ſet it on fire: ſo did *Erichthonius* inſtitute the like games to *Minerva*: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a preſent of *Oyl*, in memory of her that firſt preſt it out of the Olive.

Ex. 6. 11.

In this age alſo *Xanthus* raviſhed *Europa*, and begat on her *Radamanthus*, *Sarpedon* and *Minos*, which three are alſo given to *Jupiter* by other Hiſtorians. To theſe Saint *Auguſtine* addeth *Hercules*; the ſame to whom the twelve labours are aſcribed, native of *Tyrinthia* a City of *Peloponneſus*; (or as others ſay, onely nurſed and brought up there) who came into *Italy*, and deſtroyed many Monſters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Euſebius* ſurnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phœnicia*; nor that *Hercules*, according to *Philoſtratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Egyptian: Manifeſtum fit, non Thebanum* Herculem, *ſed Egyptium ad Gades pervenisſe, & ibi finem ſtatuiſſe terræ* (ſaith *Philoſtratus*;) *It is manifeſt, that it was the Egyptian* Hercules, *and not the Theban, which travelled as far as the ſtraights of Gades, and there determined the bounds of the earth.* In this time alſo while *Moſes* wandered in the Deſarts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania.*

Lib. de Civ. Dei, c. 12.

Philoſt. l. 2.

But whoſoever they were, or how worthy ſoever they were that lived in the Dayes and Age of *Moſes*, there was never any man, that was no more than Man, by whom it pleaſed God to work greater things; whom he favoured more, to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he ſo often appeared; never any man more familiar and converſant with Angels; never any more learned both in Divine and Humane knowledge; never a greater Prophet in *Iſrael* He was the firſt that received and delivered the Law of God entire; the firſt that left to poſterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World Univerſal, and all the creatures therein; that taught the deteſtation of Idolatry, and the puniſhment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed.

Syracides calleth *Moſes* the beloved of God and men, whoſe remembrance is bleſſed. *He made him* (ſaith the ſame Author) *like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the fear of his enemies, made him glorious in the ſight of Kings, ſhewed him his glory, cauſed him to hear his voyce, ſanctified him with faithfulneſs and meekneſs, and choſe him out of all men.*

Syrac. 45. 12.

He is remembred among prophane Authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetick*: by *Megaſtenes*, and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian.* The long lives which the *Patriarchs* enjoyed

ed before the flood, remembred by *Moſes*, *Eſtieus*, *Hieronymus*, *Ægyptius*, *Hecatæus*, *Elanicus*, *Acuſilaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander the Hiſtorian*, confirm. The univerſal flood which God revealed unto *Moſes*, *Beroſus*, *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, and others, have teſtified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confuſion of tongues, *Abydenus*, *Eſtieus*, and *Sybilla* have approved. *Beroſus* alſo honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecatæus* wrote a book of him. *Damaſcenus* before cited, ſpeaketh of *Abrahams* paſſage from *Damaſcus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the books of *Moſes*. *Eupolemon* writeth the very ſame of *Abraham*, which *Moſes* did. For beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the overthrow thereof by divine power, he ſaith that *Abraham*, born in the tenth generation, in the City called *Camerina*, or *Urien*, excelled all men in wiſdom: and by whom the Aſtrology of the *Caldeans* was invented. *Is juſtitia pietateque ſua* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of the ſame Author) *ſic Deo gratus fuit, ut divino præcepto in Phæniciam venerit, ibique habitaverit*; *For his juſtice and piety he was ſo pleaſing unto God, as by his commandment he came into Phœnicia, and dwelt there.* Likewiſe *Diodorus Siculus* in his ſecond Book and fifth Chapter, ſpeaketh reverently of *Moſes*: There are many other among prophane Authors, which do confirm the books of *Moſes*, as *Euſebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparation to the Goſpel*, Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I refer the Reader. Laſtly, I cannot but for ſome things in it commend this notable teſtimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moſes* in theſe words: Moſes *enim affirmavit, docebatque Ægyptios non recte ſentire, qui beſtiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: Itemque Afros & Græcos, qui diis hominum figuram affinxerunt: id verò ſolum eſſe Deum, quod nos, & terram, & mare continet, quod cœlum, & mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cujus profecto imaginem, nemo ſanæ mentis, alicujus earum rerum, quæ penes nos ſunt, ſimilem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni ſimulachrorum effictione repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum conſtituendum, ac ſine aliqua figura colendum:* Moſes *affirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought amiſs, which attributed unto God the images of beaſts and cattel: Alſo that the Africans and Greeks greatly erred in giving unto their gods the ſhapes of men: whereas that onely is God indeed, which containeth both us, the earth and ſea, which we call heaven, the world, and the nature of all things, whoſe image, doubtleſs, no wiſe man will dare to faſhion out unto the likeneſs of thoſe things, which are amongſt us. That therefore (all deviſing of Idols caſt aſide) a worthy Temple and place of prayer was to be erected unto him, and he to be worſhipped without any figure at all therein.*

Strabo. l. 16.

Now concerning the *Egyptian* wiſdom, for which the *Martyr Stephen* commended *Moſes*, ſaying, *That Moſes was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in his works and words*; the ſame is corrected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus*, *Diogenes*, *Laertius*, *Iamblicus*, *Philo Judæus*, and *Euſebius Cæſarienſis*, and divided into four parts, *viz.* Mathematical, Natural, Divine, and Moral. Acts. 7. 23.

In the Mathematical part, which is diſtinguiſh'd into *Geometry*, *Aſtronomy*, *Arithmetick*, and *Muſick*, the antient *Egyptians* exceed all others. For *Geometry* which is by interpretation, Meaſuring of grounds, was uſeful unto them: becauſe it conſiſting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus*, were yearly overflown and confounded, ſo as no man could know what in right belonged unto him.

For the ſecond part, to wit, *Aſtronomy*, the ſite of the Countrey being a level and ſpacious Plain, free and clear from the clouds, yielded them delight with eaſe, in obſerving and contemplating the riſings, fallings, and motions of the Stars.

Arithmetick alſo, which is the knowledg of numbers, they ſtudied; becauſe without it, in *Geometry* and *Aſtronomy*, nothing can be demonſtrated or concluded. But of *Muſick* they made no other account, nor deſired farther knowledg, than ſeemed to them ſufficient to ſerve and magnifie their gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Natural part of this Wiſdom, which handleth the principles, cauſes, elements, and operations of natural things, differs little from *Peripatetical Philoſophy*; teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies, and living creatures have their being; that Heaven is round like a Globe; that all Stars have a certain fovent heat, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that rains proceed and be from mutations in the air; that the Planets have their proper ſouls, &c.

The Divine part of this wiſdom, which is called *Theology*, teacheth and believeth that the world had a beginning, and ſhall periſh; that men had their firſt original in *Egypt*; partly by means of the temperateneſs of that Countrey, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heat, are offenſive; and partly through the fertility, that *Nilus* giveth

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in thoſe places: That the ſoul is immortal, and hath tranſmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all gods, and that from this God, other gods are, as the Sun and Moon, whom they worſhipped by the names of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and divers Images, becauſe the true ſimilitudes of the gods is not known; that many of the gods have been in the eſtate of mortal men, and after death, for their virtues and benefits beſtowed on mankind, have been Deified; that thoſe beaſts, whoſe Images and Forms the Kings did carry in their Arms, when they obtained victory, were adored for gods: becauſe under thoſe Enſigns they prevailed over their enemies. Moreover the *Egyptian* Divines had a peculiar kind of writing, myſtical, and ſecret, wherein the higheſt points of their Religion and worſhip of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar ſort, were obſcured.

Clem Stron l. 5. *Clemens* diſtributeth the whole ſum of this later *Egyptian* learning into three ſeveral ſorts, *viz. Epiſtolar*, which is uſed in writing common Epiſtles; *Sacerdotal*, which is peculiar to their Prieſts; and *Sacred*, which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kinds: the one proper, which is expreſſed by letters Alphabetical in obſcure and figurative words; as for example, where it is written: The *Ibis* by the Hornet participateth the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: The Moon doth by the Sun borrow part of the light of God: becauſe Light is an Image of Divine beauty; the other ſymbolical, or by ſignatures, which is threefold, *viz.* Imitative, Tropical, and Ænygmatical: Imitative, which deſigneth things by characters, like to the things ſignified, as by a Circle, the Sun; and by the Horns of the Moon, the Moon it ſelf: Tropical or transferent, which applys the divers forms and figures of natural bodies or creatures, to ſignifie the dignities, fortunes, conditions, virtues, vices, affections, and actions of their gods, and of men. So with the *Egyptian* Divines, the Image of an Hawke ſignifieth God, the figure of the Hornet ſignifieth the Sun, the picture of the Bird *Ibis* ſignifieth the Moon: by the form of a Man, Prudence, and Skilfulneſs: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horſe, Liberty: by a Crocodile, Impudency: by a Fiſh, Hatred is to be underſtood: Ænigmatical is a compoſition, or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which ſence, the monſtrous Image of a Lions body having a Mans head, was graven on their Temples and Altars, to ſignifie, that to men all divine things are Ænigmatical and obſcure. So the Image of the Sun ſet on the head of a Crocodile, (which liveth as well in the Waters, as on Land) expreſſeth, that the Sun nouriſheth Meteors in the Air, aſwell from the Waters, as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eye, and an Ear, ſignifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and governing all things. The *Scythians* are thought to have been delighted with this kind of writing. For *Pherecides Syrius* reporteth, That when *Darius* ſending letters, threatned *Idanthura*, King of the *Scythians*, with ruine and deſtruction of his Kingdom, unleſs he would acknowledge ſubjection: *Idanthura* returned to him a Mouſe, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Ploughſhare: which *Orontopagas*, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to ſignifie, that by the Mouſe, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their air: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their Lands were ſignified to be ready to be delivered to *Darius*, as their Soveraign Lord. But *Xyphodres* made another conſtruction, *viz.* that the King meant, That except *Darius* with his men did haſten away, as a Bird through the aire, or creep into holes as a Mouſe, or run into the waters which they had paſſed as a Frog, they ſhould not eſcape his arms, but either be ſlain, or, being made Captives, till his grounds. The ſame Hiſtory is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*. *Herod. l. 4.*

The fourth and laſt part, which is Moral and Politick, doth contain eſpecially the Laws, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, or *Ter Maximus* deviſed: who in his Books or Dialogues of *Pimander* and *Aſclepius*, hath written ſo many things of God, worthy of admiration; aſwell (ſaith *Sixtus Senenſis* of the *Trinity*, and of the coming of *Chriſt*, as of the laſt and fearfull day of *Judgment*: that (as ſaith the ſame Author, the opinion being alſo antient) he is not onely to be accounted a Philoſopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus in his Books of Myſteries of the *Egyptians*, taking two very antient Hiſtorians for their Authors, to wit, *Seleucus* and *Menætus*, affirmeth, that this *Mercury* was not only the Inventor of the *Egyptian* Philoſophy, but of all other learning, called the *Wiſdom of the Egyptians*, before remembred: and that he wrote of that ſubject 36525. Books or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Books; of Aereal Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celeſtial a thouſand; which becauſe they were out of the *Egyptians* language converted by certain learned Philoſophers into natural *Greek*, they ſeemed to have been firſt written in that Tongue. *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth, *Clem. Stron l. 6.*

writeth, that among the Books of *Hermes*, to wit, of the *Wisdom of the Egyptians*, there were extant in his time 36. Of *Physick*, six Books; of the orders of *Priests*, ten; and of *Astrology*, four.

§. VIII.

A Brief of the History of Josua; *and of the space between him and* Othoniel: *and of the remainders of the Canaanites; with a note of some Contemporaries to* Josua: *and of the breach of Faith.*

After the death of *Moses*, and in the one and fortieth year of the Egression, in the first moneth called *Nisan*, or *March*, *Josua*, the son of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the Spirit of wisdom, took on him the government of *Israel*: God giving him comfort, and encouraging him to pass the River of *Jordan*, and to possess and divide among the *Israelites*, the land promised.

The beginning of *Josua*'s rule, Saint *Augustine* dates with the reign of *Amyntas*, the eighteenth King in *Assyria*; with *Corax* the sixteenth King in *Sicyonia*, when *Danaus* governed the *Argives*; and *Erichthonius*, *Athens*. Lib 18. de civit. Dei. c. 11.

Josua, imitating in all things his Predecessor, sent over *Jordan* certain discoverers to view the seat and strength of *Jericho*, the next City unto him on the other side of the River, which he was to pass over. Which discoverers being sayed, and sent back by *Rahab*, a woman of ill fame, because she kept a Tavern or Victualling-house, made *Josua* know, that the inhabitants of *Jericho*, and those of the Country about it, hearing of the approach of *Israel*, had lost courage. Whereupon the day after the return of the Spies, which was the sixth day of the one and fortieth year after the Egression, *Josua* removed from *Sittim* in the plains of *Moab*, and drew down his Army to the banks of the River *Jordan*; and gave them commandment to put themselves in order to follow the *Ark of God*, when the Levites took it up, and moved towards the River, giving them withal this forcible encouragement, That they should thereby assure themselves of his favour and presence, who is Lord of all the world, when the River of *Jordan* should be cut off and divided, and the waters coming from above should stand still in a heap, whereby those below towards the *Dead Sea* wanting supply, they might pass over into the Land of *Canaan* with dry feet. Jos. 2. 1. Jos. 2. 11. Jos. 3. 1. Jos. 3. 3. Jos. 3. 13.

He also commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manasse*, to prepare themselves (according to their Covenant made with *Moses*) to march in the head of the rest, and, as we call it in this age, to lead in the Vaunt-guard, which through all the Desarts of *Arabia*, from the Mount *Sinai* to this place, those of the Tribe of *Juda* had performed. For these Tribes being already provided of their habitations, and Country, and Cities of the *Amorites* by the help of the rest, conquered for them: it agreed with justice and equality, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half of *Manasse* should also assist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession. Jos. 1. 12.

On the banks of *Jordan* they rested themselves from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first moneth *Nisan*, or *March*, they pass'd over to the other side, taking with them twelve stones from the dry ground in the midst of the River: which, for a memory of that miracle by God wrought, they set up at *Gilgal*, on the East-side of the city of *Jerico*, where they incamped the first night. At which place *Josua* gave commandment, that all born in the last fortieth year in the Desarts should be circumcised, which ceremony to that day had been omitted. Of the neglect whereof S. *Augustine* giveth for cause, The peoples contempt of their Superiours. *Thomas* excuseth it in this sort; That the *Israelites* knew not the certain time of their removing from one place to another: *Damascen*, That it was not needfull by circumcision to distinguish them from other Nations, at such times as they lived by themselves, and a-part from all Nations. Jos. 4. 19. Jos. 5. 2. Aug. q. 3. in Jos. Thom. part. 3. quæst 70. art. 4. ad. 3.

On the fourteenth day of the same moneth, the children of *Israel* celebrated the *Passover* now the third time; first, at their leaving *Egypt*; secondly, at Mount *Sinai*; and now at *Gilgal*. After which, being desirous to taste of the fruits of the Country, and having, as it were, surfetted on *Manna*, they parched of the Corn of the Land, being not yet full ripe, and eat thereof. Jos. 5. 10.

And as *Moses* began to distribute those Regions beyond *Jordan*, to wit, the Lands of the *Amorites*, which *Og* of *Basan*, and *Sehon* held, so did *Josua* perform the rest; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, he gave to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at three several times; first, by *Moses* to *Gad*, *Reuben*, and the half Tribe of *Manasse*, of the Lands over *Jordan*; secondly, by *Josua*, to the Tribe of *Juda*, *Ephraim*, and the other half Tribe of *Manasse*, about the fifth year of his government; proved in the 14. of *Josua*. *v.* 10. and a third division was made to the other seven Tribes at *Shilo*, where *Josua* seated the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*. Jos. 14. 5. Jos. 18.

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The victories of *Josua* against the Kings of the *Canaanites*, are so particularly set down in his own books, as I shall not need to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whose Story I chiefly note these particulars. First, how in the beginning of the war, those little kings, or *reguli* of the *Canaanites*, had not so much understanding, as to unite themselves together against the *Israelites*; but according to the custom of those estates, from whose Governours God hath taken away all wisdom and foresight, they left those of their own Nation, which were next the invaders, to themselvs, and to their own defences; hoping that the fire kindled somewhat far off, might again have been quenched, ere it could spread it self so far as their own Territories and Cities. But after such time as *Jerico* and *Ai* were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities consumed; five of those 31 Kings (all which at length perished in that war) joyned themselves together, first attempting the *Gibeonites*, who had rendred themselves to *Josua*. Onely five (the rest looking on to the success) namely, the King of the *Jebusites*, in *Jebus*, or *Hierusalem*, the Kings of *Hebron*, *Jarmoth*, *Lachis*, and *Eglon*, addrest themselves for resistance: whose Army being by *Josua* surprized and broken, themselves despairing to escape by flight, and hopeless of mercy by submission, creeping into a Cave under ground, were thence by *Josua* drawn forth and hanged. In the prosecution of which victory he also took *Makkedath*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the relief whereof *Horam* King of *Gezar* hastened, and perished. After which *Josua* possest himself of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, destroying the Cities with their Princes.

Jos. 10.

Jos. 10.

In the end, and when the South Countries were possest, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made dust: the rest of the *Canaanites*, guided by the over-late counsels of necessity, united themselves, to make one gross strength and body of an Army: which *Jabin*, King of *Hazor*, practised and gathered together, by *Josua* discovered, as the same rested neer the Lake of *Merom*, he used such diligence, as he came on them unawares; and obtaining absolute victory over them, he prosecuted the same to the utmost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities, of which he burnt *Hazor* onely, reserving the rest for *Israel* to inhabit and enjoy.

Secondly, I note, that *Josua* shewed himself a skilful man of War, for that in those antient times he used the stratagem of an ambush in taking of *Ai*; and in that he broke the Armies of the first five Kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon* by surprise. For he marched all night from his Camp at *Gilgal*, and set on them early the next day; when he overthrew *Jabin* and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victory, he assaulted the great City of *Hazor*.

Jos. 10.3.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this war, were exceeding admirable as the stay of the River *Jordan* at the Springs, so as the Army of *Israel* past it with a dry foot; the fall of *Jerico* by the sound of the Horns; the showers of Hale-stones, which fell upon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, wherby more of them perished than by the sword of *Israel*: again, the arrest of the Sun in the firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lightened, as the *Israelites* had time to execute all those which fled after the overthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a work only proper to the all-powerfull God.

Jos 3. 13. & 10 v. 11.

Fourthly, out of the passage between *Josua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is so plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all evasion, it admitteth no intrusion, nor leaveth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiousnes, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called *Equivocation*. For, notwithstanding that these *Gibeonites* were a people of the *Hevites*, expressly and by name, by the commandment of God to be rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were liars, and deceivers, and counterfeits, and that they did over-reach, and as it were, deride *Josua*, and the Princes of *Israel*, by feigning to be sent as Embassadours from a far Country, in which travel their cloths were worn, their bread mouldie, which they avowed to have been warm for newnes when they first set out; their barrels and bottles of wine broken; their shoos patch'd; and their sacks rent and ragged: Yet *Josua* having sworn unto them by the Lord God of *Israel*, he durst not, though urged by the multitude of the people, to lay violent hands on them; but he spared both their lives, and the Cities of their inheritance.

Jos. 9.7.

Jos 9. from the 5. to the 13.

Now if ever man had warrant to break faith, and to retract his promise made, *Josua* had it. For first, the commandment which he received from God to root out this Nation among the rest, preceded by far the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, he might justly have put these men to the sword, and have sack'd their Cities, if there be any evasion from a promise made, whereof the living God is called to witness. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* he gave peace, because

cause he knew them to be a people hated of God. He told them, that if they were of
Jos. 9. 7. the *Hevites*, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a strange people that he gave faith, and to a Nation which came from far, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Israel* had done
Jos. 9. 14. in *Egypt* and over *Jordan*, sought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the accord, which *Israel* made with these crafty *Canaanites*, was without warrant. For it is written in the same place, That the *Israelites* accepted their tale, that is, believed what they had said, *and counselled not with the mouth of the Lord.* Fourthly, these men who were known Idolaters, and served those Puppets of the Heathen, men of an apish Religion, as all Worshippers of Images are, could not challenge the witness of the true God, in whom they believed not. I say therefore, that if ever man might have served himself by any evasion or distinction, *Josua* might justly have done it. For he needed not in this case the help of *Æquivocation* or *Mental Reservation.* For what he sware, he sware in good Faith; but he sware nothing, nor made any promise at all to the *Gibeonites.* And yet, to the end that the faithless subtilty of man should borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promises he made in the Name of God, were made to the living God, and not to the dying man, he held them firm and inviolable, notwithstanding that they, to whom he had sworn it, were worshippers of the Devil.

For it is not, as faithless men take it, that he which sweareth to a Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a King, and sweareth by the Name of the living Lord, and in his presence, That this promise (if it be broken) is broken to a Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a Prince; but the Promise in the Name of God made, is broken to God. It is God that we therein neglect: we therein profess that we fear him not, and that we set him at naught, and defie him. If he that without reservation of Honour, giveth a lie in the presence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth, in point of Honour, give the lie to the King himself, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he break Faith with God, that giveth Faith in the presence of God, promiseth in his Name, and makes him a witness of the Covenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearfull thing for a Son to break the Promise, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdom, to break those Contracts which have been made in former times, and confirmed by publick faith. For though it were 400 years after *Josua*, that *Saul*, even out of devotion, slaughtered some of those people descended of the *Gibeonites:* yet God, who forgat not what the Predecessors and Fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Israelites* had sworn in his Name, afflicted the whole Nation with a consuming famine; and could not be appeased, till seven of *Sauls* sons were delivered to the *Gibeonites* grieved, and by them hanged up.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the help of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equivocation, to swear one thing by the Name of the living God, and to reserve in silence a contrary intent: the life of man, the estates of men, the faith of Subjects to Kings, of Servants to their Masters, of Vassals to their Lords, of Wives to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trials of right, will not onely be made uncertain, but all the chains whereby free-men are tied in the world, be torn asunder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot pass) that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: it is by oath that wars take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it, or ought it to be, that makes an oath thus powerful, but this; That he that sweareth by the Name of God, doth assure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true, whom he calleth for a Witness, and in whose presence he that taketh the oath hath promised? I am not ignorant of their poor evasions, which play with the severity of Gods Commandments in this kind: But this indeed is the best answer, That he breaks no faith, that hath none to break. For whosoever hath faith and the fear of God, dares not do it.

The *Christians* in the *Holy Land*, when they were at the greatest, and had brought the *Caliph* of *Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not onely loose it again, but were soon after beaten out of the *Holy Land* it self: by reason (saith *William* of *Tyre*, a reverend Bishop which wrote that Story) that *Almerick* the fiftieth King after *Godfrey* brake faith with the *Caliph Elhadech*, and his Vicegerent. The *Soldan Sanar*, who being suddenly invaded by *Almerick*, drew in the *Turk Syracon* to their aid: whose Nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his own, beat the *Christians* out of the *Holy Land*; neither would the wooden Cross (the very *Cross*, say they, that Christ died on) give them victory over *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge, seeing they had forsworn themselves in his Name that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from

Psal 5.6. Wisd. 1.11. the Holy Ghost, *That he that speaketh lies, shall be destroyed*, and that *the mouth which uttereth them, slayeth the soul*: how much more perillous is it (if any peril be greater than to destroy the soul) to swear a lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that persuaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungary* after his great victory over *Amurath* the *Turk*, and when the said King had compelled him to peace, the most advantagious that ever was made for the Christians, to break his Faith, and to provoke the *Turk* to renew the war. And though the said King was far stronger in the field than ever; yet he lost the battel with 30000. *Christians*, and his own life. But I will stay my hand: For this first volume will not hold the repetition of Gods judgments upon faith-breakers; be it against *Infidels*, *Turks*, or *Christians* of divers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oaths now-a-dayes, is rather made a matter of custom, than of conscience.

It is also very remarkable, That it pleased God to leave so many Cities of the *Canaanites* unconquered by *Israel*, to scourge and afflict them, by fore-seeing their Idolatry, and, as it is said in the Scriptures, *To be thorns in their eyes to prove them, and to teach them to make War.* For these Cities hereafter named did not onely remain in the *Canaanites* possession all the time of *Josua*; but soon after his death the children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plain Countries, and enforc'd to inhabit the Mountains, and places of hardest access. And those of *Juda* were not able to be masters of their own Vallies; because as it is written in the *Judges*, The *Canaanites* had Chariots of Iron. And those principal Cities which stood on the Sea-side, adjoyning unto *Juda*, were still held by the remainder of the *Anakims*, or *Philistims*: as *Azzah*, *Gath*, *Asdod*; out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembred in *Samuel*.

Josh. 23. Judg 1. & Judg. 3.2. Judg 1.34 Judg. 1.19 Josh. 11.19 1 Sam. 17. 4.

Neither did the children of *Manasse* over *Jordan* expel the *Geshurites*, nor the *Maachathites*; which inhabited the North parts of *Basan*, afterward *Traconitis*.

Nor the *Nepthalims* possess themselves of *Bethshemish*, nor of *Bethanah*; but they inforc'd those *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Neither did *Asher* expel the *Zidonians*, nor those of *Acho*, or *Acon*, *Athlab*, *Achzib*, *Heblah*, *Aphike*, & *Rehob*, nor inforc'd them to tribute.

Josh. 13.13 Judg 1.31

No more could *Zabulon* enjoy *Kitron*, and *Nahalol*, but received tribute from them. Also the *Canaanites* dwelt in *Gezer* among the *Ephraims*: and among the children of *Manasse*, on the West of *Jordan*, the *Canaanites* held *Bethshean*, *Taacnak*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megaddo*; yea *Hierusalem* it self did the *Jebusites* defend above four hundred years, even till *David*'s time.

Josh. 16.10. Jud. 2.27.

Now *Josua* lived one hundred and ten years, eighteen of which he governed *Israel*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the Scriptures, which causeth divers to conjecture diversly of the continuance. *Josephus* gives him five and twenty years: *Seder Ollam Rabbi* the Authors of the *Hebrew Chronologie* eight and twenty; and *Massius* six and twenty: *Maimonius* cited by *Massius*, fourteen: *Joannes Lucidus*, seventeen: *Cajetanus*, ten: *Eusebius* giveth him seven and twenty: and so doth S. *Augustine*: *Melanthon*, two and thirty: *Codoman*, five and twenty. But whereas there passed 480. years from the delivery of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, unto the building of the Temple, it is necessary that we allow to *Josua* onely eighteen of them; as finding the rest supplyed otherwise, which to me seems the most likely, and, as I think, a well approved opinion.

The same necessity of retaining precisely 480. years from the departure out of *Egypt* unto the building of the Temple, convinceth of errour, such as have inserted years between *Josua* and *Othoniel*, of whom *Eusebius* finds eight years, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which he giveth his reason in his four and twentieth and last Chapters upon *Josua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine years: *Bucolzer* and *Reusner* but one; *Codoman*, twenty; and *Nicephorus* no less than three and thirty: whereas following the sure direction of these 480. years, there can be no void years found between *Josua* and *Othoniel*, unless they be taken out of those eighteen ascribed unto *Josua* by the account already specified. The praises and acts of *Josua* are briefly written in the six and fortieth Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, where among many other things it is said of him, *Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battels of the Lord?*

Euseb. Præp. Evang.

That he wrote the book called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, because it is said in the last Chapter, *verse* 26. *And* Josua *wrote these words in the book of the Law of God*: which seemeth rather to have been meant by the covenant which *Josua* made with *Israel* in *Sichem*, where they all promised to serve and obey the Lord: which promise *Josua* caused to be written in the book of the Law: and of this opinion were *Cajetan* and *Abulensis*: *Theodoret* doth likewise conceive, that the book of *Josua* was collected out of an antient Volume, intituled *Liber Justorum*, remembred by *Josua* himself; and others, that it was the work

of

1 Sam. 10. 13. Joſ. 5. 24, 26. of *Samuel*: for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion upon theſe words of the 26. Verſe, *And* Joſua *wrote theſe words, &c.* this place hath nothing in it to prove it: for when the people had anſwered *Joſua*; *The Lord our God will we ſerve, and his voyce will we obey*, it followeth that *Joſua* made a covenant with the people, and wrote the ſame in the book of the Law of God.

There lived at once with *Joſua*, *Erichthonius* in *Attica*, who taught that Nation to yoke beaſts together, thereby to till the ground with more eaſe and ſpeed: And about the ſame time the fifty Daughters of *Danaus* (as it is ſaid) ſlew the fifty ſons of *Egyptus*, all but *Lynceus*, who ſucceeded *Danaus*, if the tale be true. There lived alſo with *Joſua*, *Phœnix*, and *Cadmus*, and neer the end of *Joſua*'s life, *Jupiter* is ſaid to have raviſhed *Europa* the daughter of *Phœnix* (afterward married to *Aſterius* King of *Creta*) and begat on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. But S. *Auguſtine* reports this raviſhment to be committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sons of *Jupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was father to *Deucalion*, and *Deucalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old man at the war of *Troy*, and *Sarpedon* was in perſon a young or ſtrong man at the ſame *Trojan* war. And ſo doth *Neſtor* reckon up in the Councel of the *Greeks*, *Theſeus*, and *Peritheus* for men of Antiquity and of Ages paſt: *Minos* being yet more antient than any of theſe. But hereof elſewhere.

Lib. 18 c. 12. De Civ. Dei. Homer Odyſſ. & Iliad. Hom. Iliad. 1.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of Iſrael *that were planted in the borders of* Phœnicia, *with ſundry Stories depending upon thoſe places.*

§. I.

The Proœme to the deſcription of the whole Land of Canaan; *with an Expoſition of the name of* Syria.

THE Story of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Joſua*, after whom the Common-wealth of the Jews was governed by Kings, of which ſo many of them as ruled the ten Tribes, ſhall be remembred when we come to the deſcription of *Samaria*: but becauſe the Land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, whereon the greateſt part of the Story paſt, with that which followeth, hath been acted, I think it very pertinent (for the better underſtanding of both) to make a *Geographical* deſcription of thoſe Regions: that all things therein performed by the places known, may the better be underſtood, and conceived. To which purpoſe (beſides the addition of the neighbour Countries) I have beſtowed on every Tribe his proper portion: and do ſhew what Cities and Places of ſtrength were by the Jews obtained: and what numbers it pleaſed God to leave unconquered; by whom he might correct and ſcourge them, when ungrateful for his many graces, they at ſundry times forgat or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored thoſe deaf and dead Idols of the Heathen. *Divina bonitas* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *ideo maximè iraſcitur in hoc ſeculo, ne iraſcatur in futuro: & miſericorditer temporalem adhibet ſeveritatem, ne æternam juſtè inferat ultionem; The divine goodneſs is eſpecially therefore angry in this world, that it may not be angry in the world to come, and doth mercifully uſe temporal ſeverity, that it may not juſtly bring upon us eternal vengeance.*

To the Cities herein deſcribed, I have added a ſhort Story of the beginnings and ends of divers Kingdoms and Common-weals: and to help my ſelf herein, I have peruſed divers of the beſt Authors upon this ſubject: among whom, becauſe I find ſo great diſagreement in many particulars, I have rather in ſuch caſes adventured to follow mine own reaſon, than to borrow any one of their old patterns.

And becauſe *Canaan*, with *Paleſtina* of the *Philiſtims*, and the Lands of *Og* and *Sehon* Kings of *Baſan*, and the *Arabian Amorites*, were but ſmall Provinces of *Syria*: it ſhall be neceſſary, firſt to divide and bound the general, and ſo to deſcend to this particular, now called the *Holy Land*.

Ptol. Asiæ tab 4. Ptol 5.

Syria, now *Soria*, according to the largest description, and as it was antiently taken, imbraced all those Regions from the *Euxine Sea*, to the *Red Sea*: and therefore were the *Cappadocians*, which look into *Pontus*, called *Leucosyrians*, or white *Syrians*. But taking it shorter, and from the coast of *Cilicia*, which is the North border, unto *Idumæa*, towards the South, *Tigris* towards the Sunrising, and the *Mediterran Sea* Westward: it then containeth besides *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, *Arabia the Desart*, and *Arabia Petræa*, that Region also which the *Greeks* call *Mesopotamia*, the *Hebrews Syria*, of the two Rivers, to wit, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for so *Aran Naharajim* is expounded: also *Padan Aram*; that is, *Jugum Syriæ*, because the two Rivers go along in it as it were in a yoke.

Aurogallas

Edessa, sometime *Rages*, now *Rage*, was the Metropolis of this Region of *Syria*. In *Syria* taken largely, there were many small Provinces, as *Cœlosyria*, which the *Latins* call *Syria Cava*, because it lay in that fruitfull Valley between the Mountains of *Lybanus*, and *Antilybanus*, in which the famous Cities of *Antioch*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, with many others, were seated. Then *Damascena*, or *Syria Lybanica*, taking name of the City *Damascus*, and the Mountains of *Lybanus*, the Regal seat of the *Adades*, the first Kings of *Syria*. Adjoyning to it was the Province of *Sophene*, or *Syria Soba*, *Choba*, or *Zobal*: over which *Adadezer* commanded in *Solomon's* time. Then *Phœnicia*, and the people *Syraphœnicies*: and lastly, *Syria Palæstina* bordering *Egypt*: of which *Ptolomy* maketh *Judæa* also a part: and to that Province which *Moses* calleth *Seir* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giveth the name of *Syrea Judæa*.

1 Kings 11.

Herod. in Pelim Dio. l. 27.

Ptol. Asiæ tab. 4.

§. II.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the promises touching this Land.

BUt that Land which was antiently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phœnicia*, and stretcheth from behind *Lybanus* to the great *Desarts* between *Idumæa* and *Egypt*: bounded by the *Mid-land Sea* on the West, and the Mountains of *Hermon*, *Galaad*, and *Arnon* towards the East: the same Hills which *Strabo* calleth *Traconi*, or *Traconitæ*, and *Ptolemie*, *Hippus*. The name of *Canaan* it had from *Canaan* the Son of *Cham*: *Et lingua appellata fuit* Canaan; *The language was also called* Canaan, saith *Montanus*: and after *Hebræa* of the *Hebrews*: who took name from *Heber*, the Son of *Sale*, according to Saint *Augustine*. But *Arias Montanus* not so well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all those of *Noah's* Sons, who past over *Euphrates* towards the West Sea. For the word *Heber*, saith he, is as much as *transiens*, or *transmittens of going*, or *passing over*. And because the children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certain abiding: therefore, as he thinks, they were by the *Egyptians* called *Hebræi*, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of *C. Sigonius*, and of *Eusebius* long before them both. It had also the name of *Judæa* from *Juda*; and then afterwards intituled the *Holy Land*, because therein our *Saviour Christ* was Born, and Buried. Now this part of *Syria* was again divided into four; namely, into *Edom*, (otherwise *Seir*, or *Edumæa*) *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*. *Galilee* is double, the *superiour* called *Gentium*, and the *inferiour*: and that *Galilee* and *Judæa* are distinguished, it is plain in the *Evangelists*, though both of them belong to *Phœnicia*.

Strab. l. 10.

Caleb f 62.

Euseb præp Evang l. 7. c. 3.

Matth. 3. Luke 2. John 4.

Now besides these Provinces of *Phœnicia*, and *Palæstina* (both which the River of *Jordan* boundeth; saving that *Phœnicia* stretcheth a little more Easterly towards *Damascus*) that part also of the East of *Jordan*, and within the Mountains of *Hermon*, *Gilead*, and *Arnon*, otherwise *Traconi*, fell to the possession of half *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Ruben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* also: as well because antiently possest by the *Amorites*, as for that they were conquered and enjoyed by the *Israelites*; which Eastermost parts are again divided into *Basan*, or *Batanea*, into *Gilead*, *Moab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the Territories of the *Macbati*, *Gessuri*, *Argobe*, *Hus*. They are known to the later *Cosmographers* by the name of *Arabia* in general: and by the names of *Traconitis*, *Pieria Batanea*, *&c.* of which I will speak in their proper places.

But where *Moses* describeth the Land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Genesis*, he maketh no mention of the later Provinces, which fell to *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, for these be his words: *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou comest to Gerar untill Azzah* (which is *Gaza*) and this was the length of the Countrie North and South: then it followeth in the Text; *And as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorah, and Admah, and Seboiim, even unto Lasha:* by which words *Moses* seteth down the breadth, to wit, from the *Dead Sea* to the *Mediterran*. But in *Deuteronomy* it seemeth to be far more large: For it is therein written; *All the places whereon the soal of your feet shall tread, shall be yours: your coast shall be from the Wilderness,*

Deut. 11. 24.

ness, and from Libanon, and from the River Perah, unto the uttermost Sea. Now for the length of the Countrie North and South, this discription agreeth with the former: only *Libanon* is put for *Zidon*; and the *Wilderness* for *Gerar* and *Azza*, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, if *Perah* be taken for *Euphrates*: then the Land promised stretcheth it self both over *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Desart*, as far as the border of *Babylon*: which the *Israelites* never possest; nor at any time did so much as invade or attempt. And therefore *Vadianus* doth conceive, that by the River *Perah* was meant *Jordan*, and not *Euphrates*: taking light from this place of *Josua*: *Behold, I have divided unto you by lot these Nations, that remain to be an inheritance according to your Tribes: from Jordan with all the Nations that I have destroyed, even unto the great Sea Westward.* Ios. 23. 4.

And though it be true, that *David* greatly enlarged the Territory of the *Holy Land*: yet as *Vadianus* well noteth, if *Perah* in the former place be taken for *Euphrates*, then was it put *per in gentes amicitiam receptas.* For *David* did not at any time enter so far to the East as *Assyria*, or *Babylonia*. Neither doth the not possessing of all these Countries give advantage to those that would make any irreligious cavill, as touching the promise of God to the *Israelites* unperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his worship and service, it pleased him not onely to include them within that Territory, which was for so many people exceeding narrow; but therein and elsewhere to subject them unto those Idolatrous Nations, whose false and foolish gods themselves also served and obeyed. And sure the promise by which the *Hebrews* claimed the inheritance of *Canaan*, and the lasting enjoying thereof, to wit, *as long as the heavens were above the earth*, was tied to those conditions, both in the Verses preceeding, and subsequent; which the *Israelites* never performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankind could or can expect; who knew that all sorts of comforts from the merciful goodness of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, then while we persevere in his love, service, and obedience. So in the eighth Verse of the eleventh of *Deuteronomy*, the keeping of Gods Commandments was a condition joyned to the prosperity of *Israel*. For therein it is written; *Therefore shall ye keep all the Commandements which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and go in, and possess the Land, whither ye go to possess it. Also that you may prolong your daies in the Land which the Lord sware unto your fathers, &c.* Vadian. Epitom. trium terrapartium c. Palæstin. Deut. 11. 11. Deut. 11.

The like condition was also annexed to the enjoying of the Land conquered, and the possession thereof, so long as the heavens were above the earth. *For if ye keep diligently*, saith he, *all these commandments, which I command you to do, that is, to love the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all these Nations before you, and ye shall possess great Nations, and mightier than you.* And here, though it be manifest, that by reason of the breach of Gods Commandments, and their falling away from the worship of his allpowerfull Majestie, to the Idolatry of the Heathen, the conditional promises of God were absolutely void, as depending upon obedience unperformed: yet I cannot mislike that exposition of *Melanchon*: *For*, saith he, *Ostendit promissionem præcipuam non esse de hoc politico Regno*; *He sheweth that his chief promise is not of a civil Kingdom.* To which agrees that answer which S. *Hierome* made to a certain Heretick in his Epistle *ad Dardanum*, who accused S. *Hierome*, that he overthrew the reputation of the *Jews* Story, and brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an *Allegorie*, and *ad illam duntaxat viventium terram quæ in cœlis est*; (that is) *Onely to that land of the living which is in heaven. Quoniam tota Judæorum Regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut vix longitudinem habeat 160. milliarium, latitudinem verò 40. & in his etiam regiones, loca, urbes, & oppida sunt plurima, nunquam à Judæis occupata, sed tantùm divina pollicitatione promissa*; *Because the whole Countrey of the Jews is so narrow in compass, that it scarce hath 160. miles in length, and 40. miles in breadth, and in these are countries, places, cities, and many towns, which the Jews never possest, but were onely granted by divine promise.* In like manner the same Father speaketh upon *Esay*, touching the blessings promised unto *Hierusalem*, where he hath these words: *De quo discimus Hieruſalem nequaquam in Palæstinæ regione petendam, qua totius Provinciæ, deterrima est: & saxosis montibus asperatur, & penuriam patitur sitis: ita ut cœlestibus utatur pluviis, & raritatem fontium cisternarum extructione soletur: sed in Dei manibus, ad quam dicitur, festinaverunt structores tui*; *From whence*, saith he, *we learn, that Hierusalem is not to be sought in that region of Palæstina, which is the worst of the whole Province, and ragged with craggie mountains, and suffereth the penury of thirst: so as it preserveth rain water, and supplieth the scarsity of Wells by building of cisterns*; *but this Hierusalem* Deut. 11. Sap 49 14.

salem is in Gods hands, to which it is said, Thy builders have hastened: so far St. *Hierome*; where also to prevent mistaking, he thus expoundeth himself: *Neque hoc dico in suggillationem terræ Judææ, ut hæreticus Sycophanta mentitur: aut quo auferam historiæ veritatem, quæ fundamentum est intelligentiæ spiritualis: sed ut decutiam supercilium Judæorum, qui Synagogæ angustias latitudini Ecclesiæ præferunt: Si enim occidentem tantum sequuntur literam, & non spiritum vivificantem, ostendant terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem*; Neither (saith he) *say I this to disgrace the land of Judæa, as the heretical Sycophant doth belie me: or to take away the truth of the history, which is the foundation of spiritual understanding: but to beat down the pride of the Jews, which enlarge the straits of the Synogogue farther than the breadth of the Church: For if they follow only the killing letter, and not the quickening spirit, let them shew the Land of promise, flowing with Milk and Honey.*

By this it may also be gathered, howsoever it be unlikely (seeing the West-bound in the place, *Deut.* 11. 24. had his truth in the litteral sense, that *Euphrates* or *Perath*, which is made the East-bound, should be taken only in a spiritual sense) yet nevertheless that *Hierom*'s opinion inclineth to this, as if this *Perath* were not to be understood for *Euphrates*, and that the promise it self was never so large: much less the plantation and conquest of *Israel*.

And now for a more particular description of this *Holy Land*, because *Asher*, *Nephtalim*, and *Zabulon* held the Northermost part, and were seated in *Phœnicia*, I will begin with these three, taking *Asher* for the first: of which Tribe yet before I spake, I must admonish the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names, by reason of the divers fancies of Translators, are diversly expressed, so that to the unskilfull they may seem divers, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diversity (as by those learned in the *Hebrew* I am taught) is, partly because the antient Editions of the *Hebrew* want vowels, the old Translators imagined other vowels than now the *Hebrew* Editions have; and partly, because the Antient expressed or omitted divers consonants, otherwise than the later do think fit.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

¶. I.

The bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

THE *Asherites* descended of *Asher* the son of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, were increased while they abode in *Egypt*, to the number of 41500. and odd persons, all men above twenty years of age, and able to bear arms, at the time when they were mustered by *Moses* at Mount *Sinai*: all which number perishing in the Desarts, there remained of their issues, besides women and children, 53400. bodies fit for the wars: which past the river of *Arnon* into the Plains of *Moab*, and after the conquest of *Canaan*, had for their portion that part of *Phœnicia*, from *Zidon* and the fields of *Libanus*, unto *Ptolomais Acon* alongst the Sea-coast, containing thirty English miles, or thereabout: and from the Mid-land Sea to the East border some twelve miles: though *Antoninus* makes it some what larger. This part of *Canaan* was very fruitful, abounding in Wine, Oyl, and Wheat, besides the *Balsamum*, with other pleasant and profitable commodities: according to that *Prophecy*, Asher *pinguis panis*: Concerning *Asher*, his bread shall be fat: *And he shall give pleasures for a King.* *Ant. Itin.* *Gen. 40.*

¶. II.

Of Zidon.

THE first City seated on the North border of the Territory of *Asher*, was *Zidon*, which *Josua* calleth the great *Zidon*, both for strength and magnitude. The *Greeks* and *Q. Curtius* make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and *Justine* derives the name from the abundance of fish found on those shores: whereof it hath been called *Zidona*. But that it was far more antient, *Moses*, *Josua*, and *Josephus* witness, the same being founded by *Zidon* the eldest of *Canaan*'s sons: and so strong it was in *Josua*'s time, as neither did himself attempt it, neither could the *Asserites*, or any of their successours master it: but it continued all the time of the *Judges* and *Kings*, even unto the coming of *Christ*; a City interchangeably governed, by their own Princes or other Magistrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the Prophets, *Esay*, *Hieremie*, *Ezechiel*, and *Zacharie*, it was often afflicted, both by the enemies *Justin. l. 18.* *Gen. 10.* *Joseph.* *Esa. 23.* *Hier. 47.* *Ezek. 28. & 32.* *Zac. 9.*

enemies Sword, and by the Pestilence.

Zidon is seated on the very wash of the *Phœnician Sea*, which is a part of the *Mediterran* or *Mid-land Sea*. It hath to the North the City of *Berythus*, and the River *Leontis*: and to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat*, which standeth between it and *Tyre*: the distance between which two great and famous Cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is 14. thousand paces, saith *Seiglerus*: but *Vadianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and so doth *Weissinburie* in his description of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make five and twenty miles. This difference of distance as well between these two known Cities, as all the rest, make it over-difficult to divise any new Scale to the Map and Description of the Holy Land.

Paleſt. Seig. f. 19. Vadian. Phen. f. 278. Strabo. l. 16.

What Kings it had till *Agenors* time there is no memory: the story which *Zeno* the Philosopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by time consumed and lost. It seemeth to be more antient than *Tyre*; which was also built by the *Zidonians*. For as * *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* speaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memory of *Tyre*, because it was but a member of *Zidon*; and a City subject to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacy, and became far more renowned, opulent, and strong: From *Zidon* had *Solomon* and *Zorobabel* their principal workmen, both in Timber and Stone, for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of learning, so did it in all other Mechanical Arts or Trades: the Prophet *Zachary* calling them the *wise Zidonians*. The City was both by nature and art exceeding strong, having a Castle or Citadell on the North-side, standing upon an unaccessible Rock, and compassed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the Knights of the *Dutch* Order: and another Castle it hath on the South-side by the Port of *Egypt*, which the Templers guarded. It also sent many other *Colonies* beside that of *Tyre*, into places remote: as unto *Thebes*, and *Sephyra*, Cities of *Bœotia* in *Greece*. *Strabo* and *Pliny* give the *Zidonians* the invention of * Glass, which they used to make of those Sands which are taken out of the River *Belus*, falling into the *Mediterran Sea*, neer *Ptolomais*, or *Acon*: and from whence the *Venetians* fetch the matter of those cleer Glasses which they make at *Murana*: of which St. *Hierom* and *Pliny*: Zidon *insignis artifex vitri*: Zidon *vitrariis officinis nobilis*; Zidon *a famous Glass-maker, or a skilful worker in Glass-houses.*

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the rest of the *Canaanites*) worshippers of *Baal* and *Astaroth*: which Idols though common to the other of the issue of *Canaan* (as *Pineda* gathers out of 1 *Sam.* 31.10. and *Judg.* 10.6.) yet especially and peculiarly were accounted the gods of the *Zidonians*: as appears 1 *Reg.* 11. 5. in the story of *Solomons* Idolatry: where *Astaroth* is called the god of the *Zidonians*: and 1 *Reg.* 16. 33. in the story of *Achab*, the chief worshipper of *Baal*, where it is said, that he marrying *Jezabel* the daughter of the King of the *Zidonians*, worshipped their *Baal*. Divers *Baals* and divers *Astaroths* in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appears by the plural names of *Baalim*, and *Astaroth*, 1 *Sam.* 12. 10. and elsewhere: for even the name *Astaroth*, as I am informed by a skillful *Hebritian*, is plural; the singular being *Astoreth*: whence *Judg.* 2. 13. the *Septuagint* read ἐλάτρευσαν ταῖς ἀστάρταις· *They worshipped the Astarties.* The occasion of this their multiplying of their *Baals* and *Astoreths*, may be diversly understood: either in respect of the diversity of the forms of the Images, or of the worship in divers places, or of the stories depending upon them: which (as fables use to be) were doubtless in divers Cities divers. *Augustine quæst.* 19. *in Judg.* thinks *Baal* and *Astarte* to be *Jupiter* and *Juno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Juno* by such a name as *Astarte*. *Tully, lib.* 3. *de Nat. Dearum*, making divers *Goddesses* of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to be *Astarte*: whom he makes to be born of *Tyrus* and *Syria*, and to have been the wife of *Adonis*: as also *Macrob.* 2. *Saturn. cap.* 21. sayes, that *Adonis* was with great veneration commonly worshipped of the *Assyrians*: and *Hierome* upon *Ezek.* 8.44. notes that *Thammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewail) is the name of *Adonis* among the *Syrians*. So that it may seem that in the worship of *Astarte* or *Venus*, they did bewail her husband *Adonis*: as also the *Grecians* did in their songs of *Adonis*: *Mourn for* Adonis *the fair, dead is* Adonis *the fair.* Howbeit others in that place of *Ezekiel* not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Osiris* in the sacrifice of *Isis*: whose loss of her Husband *Osiris*, was as famous in the *Egyptian* Idolatry, as with the *Grecians*, *Venus* loss of *Adonis*. And to this agreeth that which *Plutarch* hath, *de Iside & Osiride*; that *Osiris* with the *Egyptians* is called *Ammuz*: which word may seem to be the same with *Ezekiels Thammuz*. But howsoever these *Zidonians* were thus antiently fostered with the milk of Idolatry: yet they were more apt to receive the Doctrine

The form of *Astoreth* (or *Astarte*) seemeth to have been a sheep, for *Deut* 7.13. the word in the plural number signifieth sheep and this may confirm *Augustines* opinion, that *Astarte* was *Juno*: for the form of her husband *Jupiter Hammon* was a Ram.

Κλαίετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις.

* *Strabo, l.* 16. *Zach.* 9.2 *Herod. l.* 5. *Plin. l.* 5. *c.* 9.

* It seems that even in *Josua's* time they practised glass-making, whence *Junius* for *Misphreboth majim* which *ad verbum* is as much as *combusti ones aquarum*, reads *fornaces vitrarias*, *Jos.* 11.8. as it seems because those fornaces were where there was store of water, either for the moving of the bellows by the force of the water, or for other necessary uses. But there are others that take them for salt-pits, and others again for hot baths.

of the Gospel of *Christ* after his Ascension, than the *Jews*: who had been taught by *Moses* and the *Prophets* so many years, whereof our Saviour in *Matthew* and *Luke*: *Woe be to thee Corazin, &c. for if the great works which were done in thee, had been done in Tyrus and Zidon, they had repented long agone, &c. but I say unto you, it shall be easier for Tyrus and Zidon, at the day of judgment, than for you.* Mat. 11 21

It received a *Christian* Bishop with the first: who was afterward of the Dioceſs of *Tyre*. But in the year of our Redemption 636. it fell into the hands of the *Saracens*, and continued in their possession till *Baldwinus* the first, then King of *Hierusalem*: in the year 1111. by the help of the *Danes* and *Norwaies*, who came with a Fleet to visit the *Holy Land*, and took Port at *Joppa*, it was again recovered, the commandment thereof being given to *Eustace Gremer*, a Noble man of that Country. And again in the year 1250. it was re-edified and strengthened by *Lodowick* the French King: while he spent four year in the War of the *Holy Land*. Lastly, in the year 1289. it was reconquered by the *Saracens*: and is now in possession of the *Turk*, and hath the name of *Zai*. Tyr. 11. Bell. Sacr. 14. Vitriac. c 27. Niger. Postellus.

§. III.

Of Sarepta, with a brief History of Tyre in the same Coast.

SArepta, or after the *Hebrew*, *Sarphath*, is the next City Southward from *Zidon*, between it and the River called *Naar*, or *Fons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards *Tyre*, a City very famous for the excellent Wine growing neer it: of which *Sidonius*:

Vina mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,
Quæque Sareptano *palmite missa bibas.*

I have no wine of *Gaza*, nor *Falerna* wine,
Nor any for the drinking of *Sarepta*'s vine.

This City had also a *Bishop*, of the Dioceſs of *Tyre*: after it came to the *Saracens* and *Turks*, as the rest: and is now called *Saphet*, saith *Postellus*.

Not far from *Sarepta* was scituate that sometime famous City of *Tyre*, whose fleets of ships commanded, and gave the law over all the *Mediterran* Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatness and power, the *Tyrians* erected *Utica*, *Leptis*, and *Carthage* in *Africa*, of which *Virgil*. *Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere Coloni, Carthago.* And *Carthage* was therefore called *Punica quasi Phœnicum*, a *Colony* of the *Phœnicians*. In *Spain* they founded *Gades*, now *Caliz*. In *Italy*, *Nola*: in *Asia* the less *Dromos Achillis*, which City the *Scholiast* of *Apollonius* placeeth neer the River *Phyllis*, in *Bythinia*. Virgil. l. 1. Plin. l. 5. c. 19. Marcelin. l. 22.

It had antiently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*: and so it is written in *Josua* the 19. taking name from the scituation; because built on a high Rock, sharp at one end. The *Latines*, as it seems, knew it by the name of *Sarra*: for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *Ostrum Sarranum*, by which name *Juvenal* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it upon a high hill, whereof many ruins remain to this day; the place being still known by the name of the antient *Tyre*: and because it was a *Colony* of the *Zidonians*, the Prophet *Esay* calleth it the Daughter of *Zidon*; which *Trogus* also confirmeth, though *Berosus* by affinity of name makes *Thiras* the son of *Japhet* to be the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very antient (for so much the Prophet *Esay* also witnesseth, *Is not this your glorious Citie, whose antiquity is of antient days?*) yet that *Thiras* the son of *Japhet* set himself in the bosom of the *Canaanites* who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that Region, I see nothing to persuade me. Gellius l. 4. c. 6. Cap. 23. Cap. 13.

But that new *Tyre* in after-times so renowned, seemeth to be the work of *Agenor*: and of this opinion was *Curtius*: and *Josephus* and *Eusebius* make this City elder than *Solomon*'s Temple 240 years: *Cedrenus* 361. who also addeth, that *Tyrus* the wife of *Agenor*, gave it her name: but of *Agenor* I will speak more at large in the story of their Kings. Justin l. 18. Curt. l. 4. Euseb. in Chron. Joseph. ant. l. 8. cap. 2. Cedren. p. 27.

For strength and for the commodity of the harbour, and the better to receive Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Island 700. paces from the Continent; and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth it in the middest of the Seas, as some read, or as others, in the inner-most part of the Sea, whence he called it *scituate at the entry of the Sea*, as also the same Prophet calleth it, *the Mart of the people for many Isles*: and *Esay*, *a Mart of the Nations*: and so proud, wealthy, and magnificent was this City, as the Prophet *Esay* calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the World. Ezek. 28. 12. 27. vers. 3. Esay 23. 3. 27. 8.

It excelled both in learning, and in manufacture: especially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, saith *Julius Pollux*, was first found out by *Hercules* Dog, who passing along the Sea-coast, and eating of the Fish *Conchilis* or *Purpura*, the

the hair of his lips became of that colour. It worshipped the Idols that *Zidon* did: saving that *Hercules* became their *Patron* in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrians* presented him with a Crown of gold, and other gifts, desiring to remain his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Defendor of their City, and the Ancestor of the *Macedonian* Kings: and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountain of old *Tyre*: where he might perform that ceremony. But this availed not: for *Alexander* was not so superstitious, as ambitious; he desired to enter the Town, which being denied, he, as one whom no peril could fear, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ships as he could, and brought from *Libanus* so great a number of *Cedars*, & so many weighty stones from the old City of *Tyre* adjoyning, as notwithstanding that his materials were often washt away with the strength of the Sea and the Tides, yet he never rested, till he had made a foot-passage from the Continent to the Island: and having once approached their walls, he overtopt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (having filled the body of force with the violent moving spirit of resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the Sword that resisted; after which, he caused 2000. more to be hung up in a rank all alongst the Sea-shore: which execution upon cold bloud he performed (as some Authors affirm) upon the issues of those slaves which had formerly slain all their Masters, taking their Wives, Children, Riches, and power of Government to themselves. This victory of *Alexander* over the *Tyrians*, *Josephus* remembreth: and how *Sanaballat* revolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000. Souldiers: who was the last *Satrapa* or Provincial Governour, which *Darius* seated in *Samaria*: the same who having married his Daughter to *Manasse*, brother to *Jaddas* the high Priest of *Hierusalem*, obtained of *Alexander*, that a Temple might be built on the Mountain *Garizim* over *Samaria*: that the forces of the *Jews* being divided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which Priesthood he bestowed on his son in law *Manasse*, whom the *Jews* oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a *Gentile*: but while *Alexander* besieged *Gaza*, *Sanaballat*, whom *Guil. Tyrius* called *Sanabula*, died.

Joseph. ant. jud. l. 11. c. 8.

De bell. sacr. l. 13. c. 4.

Long before this desolation of *Tyre* by the cruelty of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanasser* the *Assyrian* King: when the growing pride of the *Assyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the rest of *Syria*, became envious of the beauty, riches, and power of that city. He besieged it both on the Land-side, and with threescore ships of war held the Port: to the end that neither any victuals nor any supply of men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with twelve sail scattered that fleet, and took 500. prisoners of the *Assyrians*: notwithstanding, the *Assyrian* continued his resolution, and lay before it by his Lievtenants five years, but with ill success. And this siege *Menander Ephesius*, cited by *Josephus*, made report of in his *Chronicles*, as he found the Story among the *Annals* of the *Tyrians* (which the said *Menander* converted into *Greek*) adding, that *Elulæus*, whom *Tyrius* called *Helisæus*, was then King of *Tyre*, having governed the same six and twenty years. Soon after this repulse of *Salmanasser*; and about 200. years before the victory of *Alexander*, *Nabuchodonosor*, at such time as he destroyed *Hierusalem* with the Temple, came before this City: who indeed gave to *Alexander* the example of that despairful work, of joyning it to the Continent. For *Nabuchodonosor* had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the strength of the Sea, the same cawsey and passage was again broken down, and demolished.

Joseph. ant. lib. 9. c. 14.

Et conte Ap. 1. Guil Tyr. de Bell. Sacr. 13. 14. Joseph ant. lib. 9. c. 15.

Against *Nabuchodonosor*, for many years, the *Tyrians* defended themselves: for so long did those *Babylonians* continue before it, *As every head was made bald, and every shoulder made bare*, saith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Esay* had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proud place. In the end, and after 13. years siege or more, the *Tyrians* despoyled of all their hopes, and remembring over-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, having prepared a convenient number of ships, abandoned their City, transporting with themselvs the ablest of all that remained: and with their wives, children, and portable riches, sayled thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other Maritimate Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: so as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to satisfie so many labours and perils, or any person upon whom to avenge themselves for the loss of so many bodies in that War: It pleased God in recompence thereof (who strengthened this resolution, as in a work of his own) to make *Nabuchodonosor* victorious over the *Egyptians*: and gave him that Kingdom and the spoil thereof, as it were, in wages for his Army. Whereupon Saint *Hierom* noteth, that God leaveth

Ezc. 29 18. Isa. 23. &c.

Ezc. 29. 19

not the good deeds of the Heathen unrewarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attain unto that eternal happiness reserved for his *Servants* and *Saints:* yet such is the boundless goodness of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporal blessings.

Joseph. ant l.10. c. 13. Now of this enterprise of *Nabuchodonosor's* against *Tyre*, prophane Historians have not been silent. For both *Diocles*, and *Philostratus* (as *Josephus* citeth them) the one in his second Book, the other in his *Phœnician* Histories remember it.

After these two great *Vastations* by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*, this City of *Tyre*, repaired and recovered it self again: and continued in great glory about 300. years, even to the coming of our *Saviour Christ:* and after him flourished in the *Christian* Faith neer 600. years: the *Archbishop* whereof gave place to none but to the *Patriarch* of *Hierusalem* onely, who within his own Dioceis had fourteen great Cities, with their Bishops and Suffragans: namely *Caipha*, *Guil. Tyr. bell. sac.* otherwise *Porphiria*, *Acon*, or *Ptolomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Cæsarea Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Byblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthosia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus*, (or *Tortosa*) and *Maraclea*. But in the year 636. it was with the rest of that beautiful Region of *Phœnicia* and *Palestina*, subjected to the cruel and faithless *Saracen:* under the burthen and yoke of whose tyranny it suffered, with the other *Palestine* Cities, 488. years.

Guil. Tyr. 11. Bell: sacr. 17. In the year 1112. it was attempted by *Baldwine* King of *Hierusalem*; but in vain: yet in the year 1124. by *Guaremonde*, *Patriarch* of *Hierusalem*, *Vicegerent* to *Baldwine* the second, with the assistance of the *Venetians*, and their fleet of Gallies, it was again recovered, and subjected to the Kings of *Hierusalem*, and so it remained 165. years.

Finally, in the year 1189. *Saladine* having first taken *Hierusalem*, removed his whole Army, and sate down before *Tyre:* drawing his fleet of Ships and Gallies from *Alexandria* into the Port, this City as then onely remaining in the Christian power.

The Citizens finding themselves reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once with certain rafters of timber, fiered, burnt, and brake the Saracens fleet, and sallyed out resolvedly upon his Army, slew so great numbers of them; and followed their victory with such fury, as that the Saracens forsaking their Trenches and Tents, removed in great disorder and dishonour. Two years after which victory the body of that famous *Frederick Barharossa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the *Christians* enemies over a River unfoordable perished by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and interred in the *Cathedral* Church of *Tyre*, neer unto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origen*, garnished and graven with guilt pillers of Marble, 940. years before therein buried: but in the year 1289. the *Saracens* again attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subject to the *Turks*.

‖. IV.

Of Ptolomais or Acon.

THe third City alongst the coast of the Sea, which the *Asserites* could not obtain, on the South bound of *Asser* was *Acho*, which was the antient name thereof after *Hierome*, though other good Authours affirm, that it took name from *Acon* the brother of *Ptolomie*. *Pliny* calleth it *Ace:* and otherwise the Colony of *Claudius*. It had also the name of *Coth*, or *Cod*, and by *Zeiglerus* it is called *Hactipos*. *Plin. l.5. c.19. In descrip. terr. sanct.*

But lastly, it was intituled *Ptolomais*, after the name of one of the *Egyptian Ptolomies:* which City also, as it is 1 *Mac.* 11. another of the *Ptolomies*, infideliously wrested from his son in law *Alexander*, which called himself the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes:* the same *Alexander* having married *Cleopatra*, daughter of the said *Ptolomie*, not long before. Therein also was *Jonathan Machabæus* treacherously surprised and slain, as it is 1 *Mac.* 12. 48. by the perfidiousnes of *Tryphon*, whom soon after *Antiochus* pursued, as it is in the Story ensuing: and, by like reason, about the same time was the aforesaid *Alexander* in the war against *Demetrius*, one of the sons of *Antiochus* the great, with whom *Ptolomy* joyned, overthrown and treacherously murthered by *Zabdiel* the *Arabian:* to whom he fled for succour: and his head presented unto his father in law *Ptolomie:* who enjoyed not the glory of his victory and treason above three daies, for God struck him by death. *Ptolomeus Philometer.* 1 *Mac.* 1. 10. 1 *Mac.* 11. 18.

For the beauty and strength of this City, this *Alexander* made it his regal seat; two parts of the same being invironed by the Sea, and the Port, for safety and capacity, not inferiour to any other in all that Tract. This City is distant from *Hierusalem* some four and thirty miles: four miles to the North from the Mountain *Carmel*, and as much to the South from *Castrum Lamberti:* from *Tyre*, *Antonius* maketh it two and thirty *Italian* miles. *Ant. Itin.*

miles. In the middest of the City there was a Tower of great strength, sometime the Temple of *Bel-zebub:* and therefore called the *Castle of Flies*, on the top whereof there was mantained a perpetual light like unto that called *Pharus* in *Egypt:* to give comfort in the night to those ships which came neer and sought that part. It had in it a Bishops seat of the Dioceſs of *Tyre*, after it became *Christian:* but in the year 636. (a fatal year to the *Christians* in those parts) it was forced and taken by *Haomarus* the *Saracen.* In the year 1104. it was regained by *Baldwine* the first, by the help of the Gallies of *Genoa:* to whom a third of the revenue was given in recompence. Again, in the year of our Lord God, one thousand one hundred fourscore and seven, *Saladine* King of *Egypt* and *Syria*, became Lord thereof. In the year of Christ, one thousand one hundred ninety and one, by *Richard* King of *England*, and *Philip* King of *France*, it was repossessed and redelivered to the *Christians.* Lastly, in the year 1291. it was by the fury of the *Saracens* besieged with an Army of 150000. entered, sack'd, and utterly demolished: though in some sort afterward reedified, and it is now *Turkish.*

Herold.

G. Tyr. hist. sacr. lib. 10. cap. 28 Herold. l. 1. bell. sacr. tit. 7. & l. 2. c. 2. & alibi.

||. V.

Of the Castle of Saint George.

FIve miles from *Ptolomais* towards the East, is a Castle of St. *George* seated, in which he was born: the Valley adjoyning bearing the same name. And though for the credit of Saint *Georges* killing the Dragon, I leave every man to his own belief: yet I cannot but think, that if the Kings of *England* had not some probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was strange that the Order full of Honour, which *Edward* the third founded, and which his Successors royally have continued, should have born his name, seeing the World had not that scarcity of Saints in those daies, as that the *English* were driven to make such an erection upon a fable, or person feigned. The place is described by *Adricomius* in his description of *Asser*, to have been in the fields of *Libanus*, between the River *Adonis*, and *Zidon:* his own words are these: *Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longè à Beryto, memorant inclytum Christi Militem* D. Georgium, *Regis filiam ab immanissimo Dracone asservâsse: eamque mactata bestia parenti restituisse. In cujus rei memoriam Ecclesia postmodum fuit ædificata; In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called* Cappadocia, *not far from* Berytus, *men say that the famous Knight of Christ, Saint* George, *did rescue the Kings daughter from a huge Dragon: and having killed the beast, delivered the Virgin to her Parent. In memory of which deed a Church was after built there:* Thus far *Adricomius.* His Authors he citeth *Lodovicus Roman, Patric. Navigationum l. 1. c. 3* and *Bridenbach Itin. 5.* The Valley under this Castle sometime called *Asser*, was afterward called the Valley of Saint *George.* If this authority suffice not, we may rather make the Story allegorical, figuring the victory of *Christ*, than except of *George* the *Arrian* Bishop, mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus.*

Broch.

Itin. 4. Of the place and memory of his death. See ch. 9. sect. 2.

||. VI.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

BEtween *Ptolomais* and *Tyre* alongst the Sea-coast, was the strong City of *Acziba*, or *Achazib*, which S. *Hierome* called *Achziph*, and *Josephus Ecdippos*, *Plinie Ecdippa*, one of those which defended it self against the *Asserites. Belforrest* finds *Acziba* and *Sandalium*, or the Castle of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not from whence he had it.

The twelve Searchers of the Land which *Moses* sent from *Cadesbarn*, travelled as far to the North as *Roob*, or *Rechob*, in the Tribe of *Asser*, which *Rechob*, as also *Berothæ*, which by *Ezechiel, cap. 47. ver. 16.* is placed in these North borders, belonging in *Davids* time to the King *Hadarhezer*, as it may be gathered out of the second of *Samuel, chap. 8. ver. 8.* and *chap. 10. ver. 6.* and it defended it self against the *Asserites*, as *Zidon*, *Tyre*, *Achziph*, *Ptolomais*, *Alab*, *Helbah*, and *Aphek* did.

Hieron de Locis Hebr. Jos. Bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 11. Plin. l. 5. c. 19.

This *Aphek* it was, whose wall falling down, slew seven and twenty thousand of *Benhadads* Souldiers, after that a hundred thousand had been slaughtered by the *Israelites*, under the conduct of *Ahab.* Here *Junius* finds that the *Philistims* encamped a little before the battel at *Gilboa*, though in his note upon the first of *Samuel* the 9. & 1. he takes *Aphek* there mentioned (at which battel the Ark was taken) to have been in *Juda.* Of which *Jos.* 15. and 53. & in the second of *Kings* 13. 17. he reads, *Fortiter*, for, *in Aphek.* Where others covert it, *Perentiens Syros in Aphek.*

1 King. 20 29. 1 Sam. 29. 1.

The next place alongst the coast is *Sandalium*, first called *Schandalium* of *Schander*, which we call *Alexander*, for *Alexander Macedon* built it when he besieged *Tyre*: and

set it on a point of Land which extendeth it self into the Sea, between *Acziba* and *Tyre:* which Castle *Baldwine* the first rebuilt and fortified; in the year of *Christ* 1157. when he undertook the recovery of *Tyre.*

Not much above a mile from this Castle, there ariseth that most plentiful Spring of water, which *Solomon* remembreth, called *the Well of living Water:* from whence not only all the fields and plains about *Tyre* are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawn: but the same Spring, which hath not above a bow-shot of ground to travel till it recover the Sea, driveth six great Mills in that short passage, saith *Brochard.*

Cant 4.

Itin. 1.

Jos. 12. 20 Within the Land, and to the East of *Acziba*, and *Sandalium*, standeth *Hosa:* and beyond it, under the Mountains of *Tyre*, the City of *Achsaph*, or *Axab*, or after S. *Hierome*, *Aciſap*, a City of great strength, whose King, amongst the rest, was slain by *Josua*, at the waters of *Merom.*

¶. VII.

Of Thoron, Giscala, and some other places.

FUrther into the Land, towards *Jordan*, was seated the Castle of *Thoron*, which *Hugo de Sancto Abdemare* built on the Eastermost hills of *Tyre*, in the year 1107. thereby to restrain the excursions of the *Saracens*, while they held *Tyre* against the *Christians:* the place adjoyning being very fruitful, and exceeding pleasant. From this Castle the Lords of *Thoron*, famous in the story of the Wars for the recovery of the *Holy Land*, derive their names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappel, dedicated to the blessed *Virgin*, in which *Humfrey* of *Thoron*, Constable to *Baldwine* the 3. King of *Hierusalem*, lieth buried: There were five Castles besides this within the Territory of *Asser:* whereof four are seated almost of equal distance from each other: to wit, *Castrum*, *Lamperti*, *Montfort*, *Indin* (or *Saron*) *Castrum Regium* and *Belfort:* the first neer the Sea under the hills of *Saron*, the next three, to wit, *Indin*, *Montfort*, and *Regium*, stand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brotherhood and fellowship of the *Teutonici*, or *Dutch Knights* (by which they defended themselves, and gave succour to other Christians at such time as the *Saracens* possest the best part of the upper *Galilee*) the chief of which Order was in *Ptolomais Achon.* The first fortress was for beauty and strength called *Belfort*, seated in the high ground upon the River *Naar*, neer the City *Rama:* of which in this Tribe *Jos.* 19. 29. for which the Vulgar reads *Horma:* making the article a part of the word, and mistaking the vowels: from the siege of this Castle of *Belfort*, the great *Saladine* King of *Syria* and *Egypt*, was by the Christians Army raised, and with great loss and dishonour repulsed. *Herold. l.* 2. *c.* 4. *Continuationis, Bell. ac.*

To the East of *Belfort*, is the strong City of *Alab* (or *Achlab*) which S. *Hierome* calleth *Chalab*, one of those that defended themselves against *Asser*, as *Roob* (or *Rechob*) not far thence did.

Towards the South from *Roob* they place *Gabala* (which *Herod* surnamed the *Ascalonite* rebuilt) making it of the Territory of *Chabol*, *Quod Syrorum lingua dispicere significat* (saith *Weishenburg*) so called, because *Hiram* of *Tyre* was ill pleased with those twenty Cities, seated hereabout, which *Solomon* presented unto him in recompence of those provisions sent him for the building of the Temple. Others think this *Chabol* (or *Cabul*) containing a circuit of those twenty Cities given to *Hiram*, to have been without the compass of the Holy Land, though bordering *Asher* on the North side: as it is said, 1 *Reg.* 9. 11. That they were *in Regione limitis:* that is, *in limite Regionis*, in the border of the Countrey: for as it was not lawful, say they, to give to strangers any part of the possessions allotted to the *Israelites:* howsoever, that after *Hiram* had refused them, they were peopled by the *Israelites*, it appears, 2 *Chron.* 8. 14. And it seems they were conquered by *David* from the *Syri Rechobeæ*, whose City *Roob*, or *Rechob*, was in these parts. *Joseph. ant.* 19. 21 & 15. 10. *Jun. annot. in* 1 *Reg.* 9. 11. 2 *Sam.* 10. 6.

Almost of equal distance from the Castle of *Thoron*, they place the Cities of *Giscala*, and *Gadara:* of which *Gadara* is rather to be placed over Jordan: *Giscala* was made famous by *John* the son of *Levi*, who from a mean estate gathering together four hundred Thieves, greatly troubled all the upper *Galilee*, at such time as the *Romans* attempted the conquest of *Judæa:* by whose practice *Josephus*, who then commanded in the upper *Galilee*, was greatly indangered: whereof himself hath written at large, in his second Book of those Wars. This *John* betraying, in all he could, the City of *Giscala* (whereof he was native) to the *Roman State:* and finding a resistance in the City, gave opportunity, during the contention, to the *Tyrians* and *Gadarins*, to surprize it: who at the same time forc't it, and burnt it to the ground: but being by *Josephus* authority rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to *Titus* by composition. They finde also the Cities of *Cana Major*, and * *Cades* (or *Cadessa*) *Cap.* 26. * See *Kedesh* in *Nephthalim* *Matth.* 15. *Mark* 7. *Macca.* 1. 73. *Josephus Antiq.* 13. *c.* 8.

of

of the first was that *Syro-phœnician*, whose Daughter *Christ* delivered of the evil spirit. Neer the other, they say, it was that *Jonathas Machabeus* overthrew the Army of *Demetrius*.

There are, besides these fore-named Cities, within the Tribe of *Asser*, divers others: as on the South border, and near the Sea, *Mesall*, or *Misheall*: within the Land (*a*) *Besara*, (*b*) *Bethdagon*, and *Bethemec*, standing on the South border between *Asher* and *Zabulon*: on the North side joyning to *Syrophœnicia*, is the City of *Hethalon*, or *Chethlon*, the utmost of the *Holy Land* that way: under which, towards the Sea, is *Chali*, and then (*c*) *Enoch*, supposed to be built by *Cain*, and named of his son *Enoch*, but without probability, as I have formerly proved. There are others also besides these, as *Ammon*, or *Chammon*, of which *Jos.* 19. 28. where also we read of *Nehiel*, *Rama*, *Alamelec*, and *Beron*: the Cities of *Alcath*, or *Chelcath*, *Habdon*, and *Rechob*, and *Misheal*, which we have already mentioned, were by the *Asserites* given to the *Levites*. Of others held by the *Canaanites*, mention is made, *Judg.* 1. 30. to which out of *Josua* we may add *Ebron*, *Amhad*, and others, on which no story dependeth; and therefore I will not pester the description with them.

(*a*) Of which *Josephus in vita sua.*
(*b*) Of both which *Jos* 19. 27. *Ezc.* 47. 15.
(*c*) Or *Enosa*, *Joseph. ant. l.* 1. *c.* 4. *Jos.* 21. 30.

§. VIII.

Of the Rivers and Mountains of Asser.

THE Rivers to the North of *Asser*, are *Adonis*, afterward *Canis*, to which *Zeigler* joyneth *Lycus*; *Ptolomy*, *Leantis*: both which fall into the Sea neer *Berytus*: which River of *Leontis*, *Montanus* draws neer unto *Zidon*: finding his head notwithstanding where *Ptolomy* doth, between *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath also a River called *Fons hortorum Libani*, which *Adrichome* out of *Brochard* intituleth *Eleutherus*: for which he also citeth *Pliny*, and the first of *Machabees* the eleventh Chapter; but neither of those authorities prove *Eleutherus* to be in *Asser*: for this River falleth into the Sea at the Isle of *Aradus*: not far from *Balanæa*, witness *Ptolomy*: and therefore *Pinetus* calleth it *Valania*, and *Postellus*, *Velana*; which River boundeth *Phœnicia* on the North-side: to which *Strabo* also agreeth: but this principal River of *Asser*, *Arias Montanus* calleth *Gabatus*. *Christianus Chrot* out of the mouth and papers of *Peter Laicstan* (which *Laicstan* in this our age both viewed and described the Holy Land) calleth the main River *Fons hortorum Libani*: and one of the streams which runneth into it from the North-side, *Naar*, and another from the South-west, *Chabul*: of the city adjoyning of the same name: for *Eleutherus* it cannot be. There is also another River described by *Adrichome*, named *Jepthael*, which I find in no other Author, and for which he citeth *Jos.* 19. but the word [a] *Ghe*, which is added there to *Jepthael*, is not taken for a River, but for a Valley: and for a Valley the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and *Arias Montanus* turn it. There is also found in *Asser* the River of *Belus*, remembred by *Josephus* and *Tacitus*, which is also called *Pagidas*, saith * *Pliny*: out of the sands of this River are made the best Glass, which sometimes the *Zidonians* practised: and now the *Venetians* at *Murana*. *Arias Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch of *Chedumim*, which it cannot be: for *Belus* is known to flow from out the Lake *Cendevia*, as all *Cosmographers*, both Ancient and Modern, and the later Travellers into those parts witness. It is true that the River of *Chison* taketh water from *Chedumim*, but not in that fashion which *Montanus* hath described it: neither doth it find the Sea at *Ptolomais Acon*, according to *Montanus* but farther to the South between *Caiphas* and *Sicaminum*, witness *Zeigler*, *Adrichomius*, and *Schrot*.

Besides these Rivers there are divers famous Springs and Fountains, as that of living waters adjoyning to *Tyre*: and [b] *Maserephot*, or after S. *Hierome*, *Maserephotmaim*, whose Well filled by the flood of the Sea adjoyning (they say) the Inhabitants by seething the water make salt thereof, as at *Nantwitch*.

The Mountains which bound *Asser* on the North, are those of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Cœlosyria*: two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, extend themselves far into the Land Eastward, 400. stadia, or furlongs, according to *Strabo*: for that length he giveth to the Valley of *Cœlosyria*, which those Mountains incluse: but *Pliny* gives them 1500. furlongs in length from the West (where they begin at *Theipsophon*, or *Dei facies*, near *Tripolis* to the Mountains of *Arabia* beyond *Damascus*: where *Anti-Libanus* turneth towards the South. These ledges where they begin to part *Traconitis* and *Basan*, from the Desart *Arabia*, are called *Hermon*: which *Moses* also nameth *Sion*, the *Phœnicians*, *Syrion*; and the *Amorites*, *Sanir*; neither is this any one Mountain apart, but a continuation of Hills: which running farther Southerly, is in the Scriptures called *Galaad*, or *Gilead*: the same being still a part of *Libanus*, as the Prophet

Asia. tab. 4.
Plin. l. 9. Asia. tab. 4. Post Oriboslan & Eleutherum est Tripolis.

[a] The word *Nachal* is ambiguous, either for a Valley or for a River: but this word *Ghe* is alway a valley, as in *Gehinnon* and *Gesemanim*. *Joseph. l.* 2. *Bell. Jud. c.* 3.
* *L.* 5. *c.* 19
In *Jos. c.* 19. *v.* 26. it is called *Sichor*, of which name many understand another stream *Jos.* 13 3. which running by *Petra* of *Arabia*, falleth into the Lake *Sirbonis*, and divideth *Egypt* from the promised Land, wherea. bout they place *Rhinocolura*, for which city *Junius* taketh *Sichor* in that place of *Josua*: but howsoever whether this *Sichor*, *Jos.* 15. 3. be a River or a City, it appears that this name is found both in the North bound of the Holy Land, *Jos.* 19. 26 and in the South bound, *Jos.* 13. 3.
[b] See the marginal note above in the second section of this Paragraph.

Strab. l. 10. *Plin. l.* 5. *c.* 20. *Deut.* 4. 48. *Strab. l.* 10. *Pto. Asiæ tab.* 4. *Suetan. Nig. pag.* 503.

Hieremy

Hieremy proveth: *Galaad tu mihi caput Libani*: noting, that this *Galaad* is the higheſt of thoſe Hills of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knows them by the name of *Traconitæ*: and *Ptolomy* by *Hippus*. *Arius Montanus* calleth theſe Mountains bordering *Aſſer*; *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*, contrary to all other *Coſmographers*, but he giveth no reaſon of his opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops, becauſe (according to *Tacitus*) the higheſt of them are covered with ſnow all the Summer: the *Hebrew* word *Libanos*, (ſaith *Weiſſenburg*) ſignifieth whiteneſs. Others call them by that name of the Frankincence which thoſe Trees yeild: becauſe λιβάνος is alſo the *Greek* word for that Gum.

Niger out of *Aphrodiſeus* affirmeth, that on *Libanus* there falleth a kind of honey dew, which is by the Sun congealed into hard Sugar, which the Inhabitants call *Sacchar*, from whence came the *Latine* word *Saccarum*.

The Rivers which *Libanus* beſtoweth on the neighbour Regions, are, *Chryſorrhoas*, *Jordan*, *Eleutherus*, *Leontes*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *Fons hortorum Libani*, and others.

The reſt of the Mountains of *Aſſer*, are thoſe Hills above *Tyre*, and the Hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitful: but thoſe are but of a low ſtature, compared with *Libanus*: for from *Nebo*, or the Mountain of *Abarim* in *Reuben*, *Moſes* beheld *Libanus* threeſcore miles diſtant.

§. IV.

THE TRIBE OF NEPHTALIM.

¶. I.

Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis, and Abila.

THE next portion of the Land of *Canaan* bordering *Aſher*, was the upper *Galilee*: the greateſt part whereof fell to the lot of *Nephtalim*, the ſon of *Jacob* by *Bilha*, the hand-maid of *Rachel*: who while they abode in *Egypt*, were increaſed to the number of 53400. perſons, able men to bear arms, numbred at Mount *Sinai*: all which leaving their bodies in the Deſarts, there entred the Holy Land of their ſons, 45400. beſides Infants, Women, and Children, under twenty years of age. The Land of *Nephtalim* took beginning on the North part, from the Fountains of *Jordan*, and the Hill of *Libanus* adjoyning, as far South as the Sea of *Galilee*, bounded on the Weſt by *Aſher*, and on the Eaſt and South-Eaſt by *Jordan*.

Guil. Tyrl. Bell. ſacr. l. 9. c. 15. Theod. 4. hiſt. Eccleſ. aſt. Mela. l. 3 c. 9. Juſtin. Geſtel. in itinerar. Joſeph. in plur. locis, Euſeb. 8. Demonſt. Volat. l. 11. f. 243.

On the North-ſide of *Libanus*, and adjoyning to this Territory of *Nephtalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) alſo inhabit, in which Tract, and under *Libanus*, was the city of *Heliopolis*: which the heighth of the Monntains adjoyning ſhadowed from the Sun the better part of the day. *Poſtellus* calls it *Balbec*; *Niger*, *Marbech*; and *Leonclavius*, *Beallebeca*.

Of this name of *Heliopolis*, there are two great cities in *Egypt*: the firſt called *On*, by the *Hebrews*, and the *Chaldæan Paraphraſt*; otherwiſe *Bethſemes*, or after the *Latines*, *Solis oppidum*, or *Domus Solis*; *The City of the Sun*: into which, ſaith *Ulpian*, *Severus* the *Roman Emperour* ſent a *Colony*: the other *Geſtelius* nameth *Dealmarach*: and of this name *Stephanus* alſo findeth a city in *Thrace*, and *Glycas* in *Phrygia*.

There is alſo in the ſame Valley adjoyning to *Nephtalim*, *Chalcis*, and *Abila*. *Chalcis* of whom the region towards *Palmyrena* hath the name of *Chalcidica*, over which *Herod Agrippa*, and *Bernice* the Queen commanded.

Abila alſo gave name to the region adjoyning, of which *Lyſanius* the ſon of *Herod* the elder, became *Tetrarch* or Governour: whereof *Ptolomy* gave it the addition of *Lyſanii*, and called it *Abila Lyſanii*. *Volaterran* names it *Aphila*, of which he notes, that one *Diogenes*, a famous *Sophiſter* was native, who by *Volaterran* is intituled *Apuleius*, not *Abileus*. After that this city of *Abila* or *Aphila*, had received the Chriſtian Faith, *Priſcillinus* became the Biſhop thereof: ſlain afterward by our *Britiſh Maximus* at *Trever*. For diſtinction of this city (if it be not the ſame, as it may be thought to be the ſame) it is to be remembred, that in the Tribe of [a] *Manaſſe*, joyning upon the bounds of the Tribe of *Nephtalim*, there is another city of the ſame name, ſaving that it is written with an (*E*) for an (*I*) and called *Abela*, remembred in the 20. chapter of the ſecond of *Samuel*. The ſame *Joſephus* calls *Abelmachea*, and *Hierome*, *Bethmacha*. In the place of *Samuel*, for diſtinction ſake, it is written *Abel Beth-Mahaca*, (for belike it was the Town of *Mahaca* the wife of *Macir*, the ſon of *Manaſſe*, the father of *Gilead*) in the *Chronicles* it is called *Abel-Majim*. This city *Joab* beſieged, becauſe *Seba* the ſon of *Bichri*, who rebelled againſt *David*, fled thereinto for ſuccour: but a certain wiſe woman of the city perſwading the people to caſt *Seba* his head over the wall, *Joab* retired his Army. The ſame city was afterward taken by the King of *Damaſcus*, *Benadad*: and after a while by *Teglatphalaſar*.

[a] Alſo a third in *Ephraim*, called *Abel-Mechola* and a 4th in *Reuben*, called *Abel-Sittim*, alſo *Abel-Miſraim*, at the Foord of *Jordan*, and (as it ſeems) in the ſame Tribe of *Reuben*, of all which in that which follows: to which alſo we may add *Abel-Mognum*, the name, as ſome think, of a city, otherwiſe called *Bethſhemei*, near the border of the *Philiſtims*, or according to others, of the great ſtone in the border. *1 Sam. 6. 18. Joſeph. ant. l. 7. cap. 10. 2 Sam. 20. 1 King. 15. 2 King. 15*

The

The word *Abel* may be expounded, either to signifie bewailing, or a plain ground; and therefore no marvel that many Towns (with some addition for distinction sake) were thus called: for even of bewailing, many places took name; as *Bochim*, *Judg.* 2. 4. and so doutless * *Abel-Misraim*, *Gen.* 50. 11. and yet *Junius* in his notes upon *Num.* 33. 49. thinks that *Abel-Sittim* was so called, rather by reason of the plain ground there, (to wit, in the Land of *Moab*) and so perhaps *Abel-Meholah* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*: the Town of *Elisha* the Prophet: also *Abel-Vinearum* of the *Ammonites*, whither *Jephta* pursued them.

* And *Abel Magnum.* 1 Sam. 6. 18 *Judg.* 7. 24 & 1 Reg. 19. 15. *Judg.* 11. 35.

||. II.

Of Hazor.

IN the Tribe of *Nephtalim* was that famous City of *Jabin*, in *Josua*'s time called *Asor*, (or after the *Chaldæan Paraphrast*, *Haszor*) by *Josephus*, *Asora*; by *Junius*, * *Chatzor*: which *Laicstan* names *Hesron*; the Regal City, and *Metropolis* of *Canaan*: seated in the West part of *Nephtalim*, towards *Asher*. In this city was that great Rendevous and Assembly of those four and twenty Kings against *Josua*: who being all overthrown, slain, and scattered, this their powerful city was by *Josua* taken and burnt to dust. But in process of time the same being re-built by the *Canaanites*, a second King *Iabin*, 137. years after the death of this first *Iabin*, invaded the *Israelites*: and being ordained of God to punish their Idolatry, he prevailed against them, and held them in a miserable servitude 20. years; till *Debora* the Propheteſs overthrew *Sisera*, *Iabins* Lievtenant, and his Army, near the Mountain *Tabor*. This city *Solomon* restored at such time as he also re-edified *Gezar*, burnt by *Pharao* of *Egypt*, with [c] *Megiddo*, *Bethoron*, and other cities; but about 260. years after, it fell into the hands of *Teglatphalasar*, King of the *Assyrians*. It is now, saith *Adricomius*, called *Antiopia*: it was one of the principal cities of *Decapolis*. There is another city of this name in the Territory of *Benjamin*, seated on the confines of *Ascalon*, called the new *Hazor*, saith [d] *Hierome*.

* Of two other Cities of this name in *Juda*, see c. 9. sect. 1. Of a 4th in *Benjamin*, see that which follows in this place: of a fifth in this Tribe of *Nephtalim*, called *Hen-Chatsor*, we read *Jos.* 19. 27. whereto we may add *Chatsor-Henan*, in the uttermost North-east of *Manasse*, over *Jordan*, *Eze.* 47 *Num.* 34. 8. Also in *Simeon*, *Chatsor-Susima*, of which 1 *Chron.* 4. 31. which also is called *Chatsar Sula*, and *Chatsar-Gaddæ*, and lastly, *Chatsar-Shuleb*, another city of *Simeon*, *fol.* 19. 3. c 1 *King* 9 d *Hieron. loc. Hebr. l.* 4. out of *Neh.* 11. 33. as it seems.

||. III.

Of Cæsarea Philippi.

THere was also on the border, and within the Territory of *Nephtalim*, that renowned city of *Lais*, or *Lajisch*, as *Junius* writes it, or *Leschen*; which city the children of *Dan* (being straitned in their Territory under *Juda*) invaded and mastered; and gave it the name of their own Parent *Dan*: and by that name it is written in *Genes.* 14. at which place *Abraham* surprised *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates, and followed his victory as far as *Sobah*, formerly remembred in the division of *Syria*, otherwise called *Sophena*. And after the possession of the *Danites*, it had the joynt name of *Leschem-Dan*. *Weissenburg* writes it *Lacis*, the *Geneva*, *Laish*; Josephus, *Dana*, Benjamin, *Balina*; Breidenbach, *Belena*: but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of *Belina* to this day: witness *Neubrigensis*, *Tyrius*, *Volaterranus*, *Brochard* the Monk, and *Postellus*: who also taketh this city to be the same, which in *Matth.* 15. 39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magedan*, for which the *Greek* Text hath *Magdala* in that place; and in S. *Mark*, speaking of the same story, *Dalmanutha*. At such time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it seemeth that it was either a free city, of the alliance and confederacy of the *Zidonians*, or else subject unto the Kings thereof; for it is written *Judg.* 18. *And there was none to help, because Lais was far from Zidon: and they had no business with other men*: for it was above thirty English miles from the *Mediterran* Sea, and from *Zidon*.

Judg 18. 27 *Jos.* 19. 47.

Judg. 18.

Chap. 8. 10.

Verse 28.

Plin. l. 5. *c.* 15.

In after-times when these regions became subject to the state of *Rome*, it had the name of *Paneas*, from a Fountain adjoyning so called: and therefore *Ptolomy* calls it *Cæsarea Paniæ*. *Hegesippus* calls it *Parnium*, saith *Weissenburg*: but he had read it in a corrupt copy; for in *Hegesippus*, set out by *Badius*, it is written *Paneum* without an (*R*): and at such time as *Philip* the son of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, became Governour of *Traconitis*, sometime *Basan*: this city was by him amplified and fortified; and both to give memory to his own name, and to flatter *Tyberius Cæsar*, he called it * *Cæsarea Philippi*: and so it became the *Metropolis*, and head city of *Traconitis*, and one of the first cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa* in the succeeding age greatly adorned; by him in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neroniada*. But as nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memory of his impiety: so in S. *Hieroms* time the Citizens remembred their former *Paneas*, and so re-called it, with the Territory adjoyning by the ancient name. Of this City was that woman whom *Christ* healed of a bloody issue, by touching the hem of his garment with a constant Faith: who afterward,

Heg. l. 1. *c.* 35.

* Of another *Cæsaria* (or *Cæsarea*) called *Cæsarea Palestinæ*: see hereafter in the former part of *Manasse*. Of *Diocæsaria*, see *Sepboris* in *Zabulon*. *Euseb. hist. Eccles. l.* 7. *c.* 14. *Niceph. l.* 6. *c.* 25.

ward, as she was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindful of Gods goodness, and no less grateful for the same, as *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* report, caused two *Statues* to be cast in pure Copper: the one representing *Christ, as near as it could be moulded*: the other made like her self, kneeling at his feet, and holding up her hands towards him. These she mounted upon two great Bases or *Pedestals* of the same metal, which she placed by a Fountain near her own house: both which (saith *Eusebius*) remained in their first perfection, even to his own time: which himself had seen, who lived in the reign of *Constantine* the Great. But in the year after Christ 363. that Monster *Julian Apostata*, caused that worthy Monument to be cast down and defaced: setting up the like of his own in the same place: which Image of his was with fire from Heaven broken into fitters: the head, body, and other parts sundered and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time living. The truth of this accident is also confirmed by *Sozomenus Salaminius*, in his fifth Book and twentieth Chapter.

This City built by the *Danites*, was near the joyning together of those two Rivers, which arising from the springs of *Jor* and *Dan*, the two [a] apparent Fountains of *Jordan*, in a soil exceeding fruitful and pleasant: for, as it is written, *Judges* 18. it is a place *which doth want nothing that is in the world.* In the fields belonging to this City it was that S. *Peter* acknowledged Christ to be the Son of God: whereupon it was answered, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram, &c.* After this City received the Christian faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seat: and it ran the same fortune with the rest, for it was after taken and re-taken by the *Saracens*, and *Christians*: under *Fulch* the fourth King of *Hierusalem*, and after the death of *Godfrey* of *Bullion*, the King of *Damascus* wrested it from the *Christians*; and shortly after by them again it was recovered. Lastly, now it remaineth with all that part of the World subjected to the *Turk*.

[a] *Josephus* in the book of the Jewish war, ch. 18. saith, that *Philip* the *Tetrarch* cast chaffe into a Fountain called *Phiala*, distant 120. stadia North east from *Cæsarea*, which chaffe being carried under ground, was cast up again at *Panium* or *Dan*, whereby it is conjectured, that the first Spring of *Jordan* is from this Fountain called *Phiala*, from whence *Jor* and *Dan* receive their waters.

¶. IV.

Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

AMong the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Caphernaum* is not the least: so often remembred by the *Evangelists*. This City had the honour of Christs presence three years: who for that time was a Citizen thereof, in which he first preached and taught the doctrine of our salvation: according to that notable Prophecy of *Esay* 9. *The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwelt in the Land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.*

Caphernaum was seated on *Iordan*, even where it entreth into the Sea of *Galilee*, in an excellent and rich soil: of whose destruction Christ himself prophesied in these words, *And thou Caphernaum which art lifted up unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell, &c.* which shewed the pride and greatness of that City: for it was one of the principal Cities of *Decapolis*, and the *Metropolis* of *Galilee*. And although there were some marks of this Cities magnificence in Saint *Hieroms* time, as himself confesseth; it being then a reasonable Burge or Town: yet those that have since, and long since seen it, as *Brochard*, *Breidenbech*, and *Saliniac* affirm, that it then consisted but of six poor Fishermens houses.

The Region of ten principal Cities, called *Decapolitana*, or *Decapolis*, is in this description often mentioned, and in S. *Matthew*, *Mark* and *Luke* also remembred; but I find no agreement between the *Cosmographers*, what proper limits it had: and so *Pliny* himself confesseth; for *Marius Niger*, speaking from others, bounds it on the North by the Mountain *Casius* in *Casiotis*: and endeth it to the South at *Egypt* and *Arabia*; by which description it imbraceth *Phœnicia*, a part of *Cœlosyria*, all *Palestina*, and *Indæa*.

Pliny also makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, he numbreth four of them to be situated towards *Arabia*: to wit, first these three, *Damascus*, *Opotos*, *Raphana*, then *Philadelphia* (which was first called *Amana*, saith *Stephanus*, or as I ghess, *Amona* rather, because it was the chief City of the *Ammonites*, known by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Ptolo. Philadelphus* gave it this later and new name.) Then *Scythopolis*, sometime *Nisa*, built (as is said) by *Baccus*, in memory of his Nurse, who died therein, anciently known by the name of *Bethsan*; for the sixth he setteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Cœlosyria*, which was also called *Antioch* and *Selensia*:) but it is *Gadara* in *Basan*, which *Pliny* in this place meaneth, seated on an high hill, near the River of *Hieromaix*. This River *Ortelius* takes to be the River *Jaboc*: which bounded *Gad* and *Manasse* over *Jordan*: but he mistaketh it; for *Hieromaix* falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, between *Hippos* and *Gerasa*, whereas *Jaboc* entreth the same Sea betwen *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the seventh he nameth * *Hippos*, or *Hippion*, a City so called of a *Colony* of Horsmen there garrison'd by

Matth. 4. *Mark* 7: *Luke* 8.

Niger. comment. Asiæ 4. *f.* 503. *Plin. l.* 5. *c.* 18.

Opotos a City standing in the Valley of *Cœlosyria*, watered by *Chrysorons*, as *Damascus* is. *Plin. l.* 5.

* *Pliny* hath *Hippion Dion*, for which *Volaterran* reads *Hippidion*. *Ortelius* takes them for two Cities.

by *Herod*, on the East-side of the *Galilean Sea*, described hereafter in the Tribe of *Manasse* over *Jordan*. For the eighth *Pella*, which is also called *Butis*, and *Berenice*, seated in the South border of the Region over *Jordan*, called *Peræa*. For the ninth *Gelasa*, which *Josephus* takes to be *Gerasa*: and *Gerasa* is found in *Cœlosyra* by *Josephus*, *Hegesippus*, and *Stephanus*: but by *Ptolomy* (whom I rather follow) in *Phœnicia*. The tenth and last, *Pliny* nameth *Canatha*, and so doth *Suetonius* and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamala*, but *Hegesippus* rightly *Camala*, a City in the Region of *Basan* over *Jordan*, so called, because those two Hills on which it is seated, have the shape of a Camel. But the Collection of these ten Cities, whereof this Region took name, is better gathered out of *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Saligniac*, which make them to be these; *Cæsarea Philippi*, and *Asor*, before remembred, *Cedes*, *Nephtalim*, *Sephet*, *Corazin*, *Capharnaum*, *Bethsaida*, *Jotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*, or *Bethsan*. For all other Authors disagree herein, and give no reason for their opinion. One place of the *Evangelist* S. *Mathew* makes it manifest, that this Region called *Decapolitana*, was all that Tract between *Zidon*, and the Sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written: *And he departed again from the coasts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came unto the Sea of Galilee, through the middest of the coasts of Decapolis*: so that it was bounded by *Damascus* and *Libanus* on the North: by the *Phœnician* Sea, between *Zidon* and *Ptolomais* on the West: by the Hils of *Gelbo* and *Bethsan* on the South: and by the Mountains *Tracones*, otherwise *Hermon*, *Sanir*, and *Galaad*, on the East: which is from East to West the whole breadth of the Holy Land: and from the North to the South, neer the same distance, which may be each way forty English miles.

§. V.

Of Hamath.

BUt to look back again towards *Libanus*, there is seated neer the foot thereof the City of* *Hammath* or *Chammath*, of which (as they say) the Country adjoyning taketh name: the same which *Josephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathensis*: [a] *Jacobus Zeigler*, *Ituræa. Ituræa Regio tenet borealia tribus Nephthali, per montem Libanum usque Trachones.* The Country of *Ituræa*, saith he, containeth the North parts of the Tribe of *Nepthali*, along the Mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calls *Trachonitis Ituræa*, he mistakes the seat of this Region: and so doth *Mercator*. For indeed were *Ituræa* (which *Hegesippus* calls *Peræa*, and *G. Tyrius*, *Baccar*) the same with *Traconitis*, yet *Traconitis* it self is far more to the East than *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*: for *Traconitis* lieth between *Cæsarea Philippi*, and the Mountains *Trachones*: which the Hebrews call *Gilead*: and this *Hammath* or *Chammath* is seated under *Cæsarea*, towards the Sea West-ward. And it seemeth that this mistaking grew by confounding *Emath* or *Hamath* the great in *Cœlosyria*, beyond the Mountains *Trachones*, which [b] *Hierom* upon *Amos* calls *Antiochia*, with *Hammath* or *Hamath* the lesser in *Phœnicia*, and *Nephtalim*, which he calleth *Epiphania*: for this *Hammath*, or in our Translation *Hamath*, (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*, which 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. is set far from the North border of *Canaan* in *Syria Soba*) is remembred in *Numb.* 34. 8. & *Num.* 13. 22. & in *Ezek.* 47. 16. In the first of which places it bordereth the Land of promise, these being the words: *From Mount Hor you shall point* (that is, direct or draw a line) *untill it come to Hamath*: In the second place thus: *So they went up, and searched out the Land from the Wilderness of Sin, unto Rehob to go to Hamath*: Then in *Ezekiel*; *The West part also shall be the great Sea from the border, till a man come over against Hamath*: that is, the coast of the Sea shall be the West border from the Southermost part of the Holy Land, till you come directly over against *Hamath* Northward: from whence if a line be drawn to the Sea, it will touch the walls of *Zidon*: which is the [c] Northwest corner of the Holy Land. Now that this *Hamath*, or *Hammath*, which *Moses* also made the confine of the Holy Land, is that of *Nephthalim*, both the reference which it hath to the West Sea, and the City of [d] *Rehob* adjoyning, prove it: the

[b] So *Hierome* in his Comment on *Amos* 6. 2. where there is mention of *Hamath* the great, as it seems for distinction from the other in *Nephthalim*, though *Mat Beroaldus*, rejecting *Hierome*, rather follows the opinion of *Zeigler* above mentioned, as indeed it cannot easily be justified that either one or other of these is either *Antiochia* or *Epiphania*, howbeit that the same City which in *Joshua* 19 35. is called *Chammath*, and placed in *Nephthalim*, was also called *Chamath* (whence the word *Hamath* and *Emath*, were framed) may be gathered, partly because the other *Hamath*, 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. for distinction is called *Chamath Tseba*, as this (as it may seem by *Jos.* 21. 32.) was *Chamath-Dor*, and *Chamath Judæ*, as we have noted, 2 *Reg.* 24. Secondly, because *Numbers* 34 8. and also *Ezek* 47 10. *Chamath* in the North side of the Holy Land is placed too neer the West corner, to be that *Chamath Tsoba*: for in the line which should make the North border which begins at the great Sea, they make *Moses* to name never a place, East-ward along all the breadth of the Holy Land until we come to *Hermon* (for so they expound Mount *Hor*. *Num.* 34. 7.) and beyond *Hermon* East-ward in this North side, they make him to name divers Towns, first *Chamath*, then *Tseda*, then *Ziphron*, and lastly, *Chasar henan*, a thing most unlikely: seeing *Israel* had little or nothing East-ward beyond *Hermon*. Therefore we must needs expound *Hor* to be one of the Hills neer *Sidon*, and so those Towns as they are named, to lie in order on the North side of *Asher*, *Nephthalim*, and *Manasses*: and in like manner those in *Ezekiel*, first, *Cheelon*, then *Chamath*, and so in order, *Berotha*, *Sibraim*, *Tsedad*, *Chauran*, *Chasar-henan*.

[c] Of which *Josh.* 19. 35. [d] Which *Rehob*, or *Rechob*, in *Jos.* 19. 28. is placed in *Asher* towards *Zidon*, in the confines of *Nephthalim*.

*The *Septuagint* write it *Ammath*, Hierome *Emath*, Josephus *Amath*: *Jos* 19. 35.

Chammath, *cap.* 21. *ver.* 32. *Chammath-Dor*, in the first of *Chron. cap* 6. *ver* 76. *Chammon*, 2 *Kings* 14. 8. *Chammath-Ichudæ*, as *Junius* reads it, whereas also for further distinction there is added [in Israel] to note, that it was of old belonging to *Juda*, though seated in *Israel*, that is, in the Kingdom of the ten Tribes: the other *Chamath*, being in *Syria Soba*. [a] *Zeigler in Nephtal.*

other *Hamath*, or *Emath* (being far removed, and beyond the fore-named Mountains, which incloſe all thoſe Lands which *Iſrael* ever had poſſeſſion of) is that *Emath*, which is alſo called *Ituræa*, witneſs [e] *Stella* and *Laicſtan*; and not that in *Nephthalim*, where [f] *Jonathas Macchabæus* attended the Army of *Demetrius*, who fled from him, and removed by night,

[e] *Tilemanus, Stella* and *Peter Laicſtan* in their tables of the Holy land.
[f] *Joſ ant.* 13. 8.

For though *Traconitis* be comprehended within *Ituræa* (and therefore it is ſaid to be *finitima Galileæ Gentium*) yet it hath beginning over the Mountains *Traconis*, and ſo it ſtretcheth into the Plains of the Territory of *Ituræa*; whence *Philip* the brother of *Herod* was *Tetrach*, or *Preſident*, both of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*: both which are over *Jordan* towards the Eaſt. But *Chemath* in *Nephtalim*, is on the Weſt ſide of *Jordan* towards the *Mediterran* Sea.

* That it doth properly belong to *Arabia*, the name of *Jethur Iſmaels* ſon, whoſe iſſue ſetled in the *Arabia's*, may in part give witneſs. Alſo the place of the 1 *Chr.* 5. 19. confirms it, where *Jethur* is named among the *Hagarens*, againſt whom the *Reubenites* and *Gadites* made war, and whoſe country they poſſeſt in the time of *Jeroboam*. as their fore-fathers had done in the time of *Saul* after his conqueſt of the *Amalekites*, 1 *Chron* 5. 10. where the country is placed at the Eaſt of *Gilead*.
[a] Of the larger promiſe expreſt, *Deut.* 1. 7 where *Euphrates* is named for one of the bounds: See *chap* 7 *ſect.* 2.
[b] *Hieron. de locis Hebr.*

The Country *Ituræa* was ſo called of *Jethur*, one of the ſons of *Iſmael*; it is placed in the bounds of *Cœloſyria*, and *Arabia* * the Deſart.

The people *Ituræi* were valiant and warlike men, and excellent Archers: Of whom *Virgil:*

Ituræos Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Of Eugh the *Ituræans* bows were made.

This City *Chamath*, or *Hamath* in *Nephtalim*, ſeems to have been as ancient as the other in *Ituræa*, both built by *Amatheus* the eleventh ſon of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *David*, this, or the other had *Tohu* for King, it is not certain; for *Hamath* or *Emath* beyond the Mountains, and *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*, were both neighbours to *Damaſcus*: of whoſe ſubjugation *Tohu* rejoyced, becauſe *Hadadeſer*, whom the *Damaſceni* came to help, was his enemy. This *Tohu* fearing the ſtrength and proſperity of *David*, hearing of his approach towards his Territory, bought his peace with many rich preſents, and with many ancient veſſels of gold, ſilver, and braſs.

But it ſeemeth that *David* in ſuch great ſucceſs would not have had peace with *Tohu*, if he had been King of any place in *Nephtalim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Tſoba*: which City *Solomon* after his Fathers death made himſelf Maſter of, as a part of the lands (*a* in the larger and conditional promiſe) allotted by God to the children of *Iſrael*.

But this *Hammath* of *Nephtalim*, in the end, and after divers mutations and changes, both of name and fortune, being, as it hath been ſaid, poſſeſſed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

While S. *Hierome* lived, it remained a City well peopled, known to the *Syrians* by the name *Amathe*, and to the *Greeks* by *Epiphania*.

§. VI.

Of Reblatha & Rama, and divers other Towns.

IN the border of *Hamath* or *Emath*, towards *Jordan*, ſtandeth the City *Reblatha*, or *Ribla*, watered from the fountain *Daphnis*: which falleth into the Lake of *Merom*. Hereunto was *Zedekias* brought priſoner, after his ſurprize in the fields of *Jericho*: & delivered to *Nebuchodonoſor*: who to be avenged of *Zedekia's* infidelity, beyond the proportion of piety, firſt cauſed the Princes his children to be ſlain in his preſence: and to the end that this miſerable ſpectacle might be the laſt that ever he ſhould behold in this world, and ſo the moſt remembred, he commanded both his eyes preſently to be thruſt out: & binding him in Iron chains, he was led a ſlave to *Babylon*, in which ſtate he ended his life. Of which ſeldom exampled calamity, though not in expreſs words, *Jeremy* the Prophet foretold him in *Hieruſalem* not long before: But *Ezekiel* thus directly ſpeaking in the perſon of God; *I will bring him to Babel, to the Land of the Chaldæans, yet ſhall he not ſee it, though he ſhall die therein.* *Hieron. ſt.* 11, *&c.* *Ezek.* 12. 12.

There are, beſides theſe before remembred, many other ſtrong Cities in *Nephthalim*, as that which is called (*a*) *Cedes*; there are two other of the ſame name, one in (*b*) *Iſſachar*, another in *Juda*, of which *Joſ.* 15. 23. and therefore to diſtinguiſh it, it is known by the addition of (*c*) *Nephtalim*, as *Jud.* 4. It is ſeated on a high hill, whence *Joſ.* 20. 7. *Kedeſh in Galilea in monte Nephtali*: *Joſephus* calls it *Cedeſis*, and in S. *Hieromes* time it was called *Cidiſſus*. *Belforeſt* greatly miſtakes this *Cedes*, and confounds it with *Cades* in the Deſart of *Pharan*.

[a] Or, *Kedib, Joſ.* 19. 37. & 20. 7. & 21. 32. *item Jud.* 4. 6.
[b] 1 *Chron.* 6. 72. which *Joſ.* 19 20. is called *Kiſhion*.
[c] Sometime *Kedeſh* in *Galilee*, 1 *Chro* 6 76. *Joſ.* 12. 22. 2 *Reg.* 15. 29.

After the King thereof, among other of the *Canaanites*, periſhed by the hand of *Joſua*, it was made a City of refuge, and given to the *Levites*. Herein was *Barac* born; who overthrew the Army of the ſecond *Jabin* of *Hazor*, at the Mount *Tabor*. It was ſometime poſſeſt by *Teglatphalaſſer*, when he waſted all *Nephtalim*: afterward by the Romans, and numbred for one of the ten Cities of the *Decapolitan* Region: When it had imbraced the Chriſtian faith, it was honoured with a Biſhops ſeat, but in time it fell with the reſt into the

the power of the *Saracens* and *Turks*, and by them it was demolished.

From *Cedes* some four *Italian* miles towards the South-west, standeth *Sephet*, otherwise *Zephet*, which was also one of the ten *Decapolitan* Cities: a place exceeding strong, and for many years the inexpugnable Fortress of the *Christians*, and afterward of the *Saracens*; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of those Regions, both In-land and Maritimate, neer it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephtalim*, seated Northward neer *Sephet*, this is to be noted, that there are () divers places of this name in *Palæstine*, all scituate on hils: and therefore called *Rama* (*Rama Hebræis excelsum*; *Ramath with the Hebrews is high.*) Also that from this *Rama*, *Jos.* 19.36. they read *Arama*, making the Article (which it hath in the *Hebrew*, as being a name of divers Towns) to be a part of the word: whence casting away the aspiration, they read *Arema*. From *Sephet* towards the West, they place * *Bethsemes*, of which *Jos.* 19.38. which defended it self against *Nephtalim*, *Jud.* 1.33. but paid them tribute. On the other side of *Sephet*, towards the East, was *Bethanath*, who also kept their Citie from the *Nephtalims*.

() See in *Benjamin*, and in *Ephraim*.

* Other Cities there were of this name, (which is as much as *domus solis*) as that in *Juda*, 2 *Kin.* 14. 15. where *Joash* King of the ten Tribes overcame *Amasia* of *Juda*, of which also understand the place, *Jos.* 21.16. & 1 *Sam.* 6. 14. & 2 *Chro.* 29. 18. A third, as it seems was in *Dan.* 1 *Kin* 4.9. which *Jos* 19.41. is written *Hirshemes*, which is as much as *Civitas solis*. *Jud.* 1.31.

Adjoyning to which standeth *Carthan*, (*d*) or *Kiriathajim*, a City of the *Levites*, not far from the Mountain out of which the springs of *Capharnaum* arise, called *Mons Christi*, a place by our Saviour often frequented: as also then when calling his Disciples together, he made choice of twelve, which he called and ordained to be his Apostles or Messengers: of which place, or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the (*e*) *Evangelists*.

Adjoyning to these are *Magdalel*, a place of strength, (*f*) and *Mesaloth*, of which we read, that it was forced by *Bacchides* in the time of the (*g*) *Macchabees*: also (according to *Adrichomius*) one of the two *Berotha's* of *Nephtalim*. For *Adrichomius* maketh two of this name in this Tribe, (*h*) one neer *Chamath* in the North border, of which *Ezek.* 47.6. another (upon a weak conjecture out of *Joseph. ant. l.* 5. *c.* 2.) he therefore placeth in this tract neer the waters of *Merom*; because the Kings that joyned with *Jabin* against *Josua*, which incamped at the waters of *Merom*, *Jos.* 11.5. are by *Josephus* said to have encamped at the City *Berotha* in *Galilee*, not far from *Cedesa superiour*, which is also in *Galilee*: all which may be true of that *Berotha* of which *Ezek.* seeing it is in that *Galilee* which is called the upper *Galilee*, or *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*. The same *Adrichomius* placeth the Region of *Berim* neer *Abela* (of which *Abela*, or *Abel-Beth Mahacah*, we have spoken already) this he doth upon a conjecture touching the place, 2 *Sam* 20. 14. where some read *Abel & Bethmahacah*, *& omnia loca Berim*: but the better reading is, *& omnes Berim*, that is, *with all the Beræi*: for *Shebah* being of *Benjamin* (in which Tribe also there is a City called *Berotha*, or *Beeroth*) drew the men of that City after him.

Adrichomius both here and elsewhere, deceived by the double name, makes two of one: although I deny not but that there was another *Kiriathajim* in *Reuben*, of which *Jos.* 13 9. *e Mark* 3. *Matth.* 10. *Acts* 1. *Matth.* 5.6,7. *f Jos.* 19.38 *g* 1 *Mac* 9 2. *h Barathena Ptolomeo in fine Arabiæ desertæ: Junio eadem cum Berothai una civitatum Hadadezeris*, 2 *Sam.* 8.8. *Jos.* 18.25.

To the North of *Berotha* of *Nephtalim* standeth *Sebarim* under *Libanus*, remembred by *Ezek.* 47. and *Aroseth gentium*, neer the waters of *Merom*, or *Samochonitis*, the City of *Sisara*, Lieutenant of the Army of the second *Jabin*: from whence not far off, towards the Sea of *Galilee*, is *Edrai*, or *Edrehi*, a strong City: besides many others, whereof I find no particular story of importance: as *Ser* in *Jos. c.* 19. *v.* 35. called *Triddim-Tzer*, and named for the first of their fenced Cities: whence they make two Cities, *Assedim* and *Ser*. Then *Adama*, which they call *Edama*: also *Hion*, which they call *Ahion*, of which in the books of *Kings*. Then the strong City of *Cinnereth*, after called *Gennezareth*, whence we read of the Land and Lake of *Gennezareth*, the same Lake which is also called the Sea of *Tiberius*. In the body of the Land they place *Galgala* to the South border: of which * 1 *Mac.* 9.2. also divers others, named *Jos.* 19. as *Ucuca*, or *Chukkok*, *Horem* and *Azanothtabor* (which they place towards the East parts) and out of the same place of *Josua*, *Jerzon*, *Lakkum* *Jepnael*, *Heleb*, and (*k*) *Raccath*; which two last they place neer *Cæsarea Philippi*: To these they add out of *Josua*, *Nekeb*, and *Adami*: for which two *Junius* readeth *Fossa Adamæi*, making it no Town, but a Ditch cast by some of *Adameth*, as it seems; or at least the custody of which March or Limit belonging to the Town. To these out of *Num.* 34. 10. they add *Sephana*, which 1 *Sam.* 30. 21. seems to be called *Sipmoth*. As for *Tichon* and *Helon*, whereof the former they fetch out of *Ezek.* 47. 16. and the latter out of *Jos.* 19.33. it may appear by *Junius* his Translation, that neither are to be taken for Cities: for the former he readeth *Mediana*, and for the later *Quercetum*. The City of (*l*) *Nephthalim*, which they make the native place of *Tobie*, and *Naason* neer unto it, they fetch out of the *Vulgar* Translation, *Tob.* 7.7. but in the *Greek* Text there is no sign, neither of the one nor of the other.

Astroth. Herom Jud. 4. *Lyr. in Jud.* 4. *Jos.* 19 37. 1 *Reg.* 15. 20. 2 *Reg.* 15. 29.

Mat. 6 53. *Luke* 5. 1.

* This place of the *Macchab.* warrants no *Galgala*, or *Gilgal*, in *Nephtali*, but may well be understood of *Gilgal* in *Benjamin*, or in *Manasse*.

k This *Reccath* or *Racath*, *Junius* thinks that it is the same with *Karthan* (one of these being made of the other by transposition of letters) of which *Karthan* we have noted already, that it is also *Kiria thajim*. *l* In the place, 1 *Reg.* 4. it is, which also they bring to prove that there was a City called *Nephtalim*, as is evident by the following Verses: the Tribe of *Nephtalim* is meant, and not any City of that name.

§. V.

THE TRIBE OF ZABULON.

OF *Zabulon*, or *Zebulon*, another of the sons of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were mustered at Mount *Sinai*, 57400. able men, besides women, children, and aged unable persons: all which dying in the Desarts, there entred the *Holy Land* of their issues 65000. fit to bear arms: who inhabited that part of *Canaan*, from *Asher* to the River *Chison* South-ward, and from the Sea of *Galilee* to the *Mediteran* East and West.

The Cities within this Tribe which border *Asher*, are *Sicaminum* on the Sea shore; of which *Joseph. Ant.* 13. *c.* 19. *Debbaset*, of * which *Jos.* 19. 11. *Jekonam*, or *Jockneham* (whose King was (*a*) slain by *Josua*, and the City was given to the *Levites*:) and *Gaba*, after called the City of Horsemen, of a Regiment there garrison'd by *Herod*. Then the City which beareth the name of *Zabulon*, or the *city of men*, exceeding ancient and magnificent, (*b*) burnt to the ground by *Cestius*, Lietvenant of the *Roman* Army. *Adricomius* makes it the birth-City of (*c*) *Elon* Judge of *Israel*, because he is called *Zabulonita*: not marking that in the same place, he is said to be buried at *Ajalon*.

* *Jos.* 12. 22.
a *Jos.* 2. *bel.* 19.
b *Jos.* 2. *bel.* 22.
c *Judg.* 12. 11.

To the East of this City of *Zabulon* is *Cateth*, of which *Jos.* 19. 15. on the border of *Asher*: and beyond it the lesser (*d*) *Cana* of *Galilee*, where Christ converted water into wine: the native City of *Nathaniel*, and, as it is thought of *Simon Zelotes*. Beyond it begin the Mountains of *Zabulon*: and then the City of *Cethron* (in *Zeigler*, *Ghiltron*) which defended it self against *Zabulon*. Then *Bersabe*, which standeth in the partition of the upper and nether *Galilee*, fortified by *Josephus* against the *Romans*. Not far from hence standeth *Shimron* of *Meron*, whose King was slain by *Josua*.

d The greater *Cana* is in the Tribe of *Asher*. *Jos* 22. 2. *Nathaniel* is said to be of *Cana* in *Galilee*. Of *Simon* it may be doubted: for *Angelus Caninius* reads *Mat.* 10. 4. *Simon Cannites*, which word (*Luke* 6.) he thinketh to be expounded by *Zelotes*.

Then *Damna*, or *Dimna*, a City of the *Levites*: then *Noa*, or rather *Neha*, of which *Jos.* 19. 13. Then *Dothan*, or *Dothain*, where *Joseph* found his brethren feeding their flocks: the same wherein *Elizæas*, besieged by the *Syrians*, struck them all blind.

Beyond it, towards the East, they imagine (*e*) *Amthar*, or *Amathar*: then *Remmon* of the *Levites*. The last of the Cities on the North border of *Zabulon* is *Bethsaida*, one of the ten Cities of *Decapolis*, scituate on the *Galilæan* Sea, and watered by the springs of *Capharnaum*, the native City of the Apostles, *Peter*, *Andrew*, and *Philip*. Herein Christ did many miracles, but these people being no less incredulous than the *Capharnaims*, and others, received the same Curse of threatned miseries, as, *Wo be unto thee Bethsaida, &c.*

e The *Hebrew Hammethoar*, (for which the Vulgar hath *Anithar*, *Jos.* 19 13. *Vatablus* expounds, *quæ gyrat*: *Junius* joyns it with the word going before it, & reads *Rimmonemo Methoarum*, *Mat* 8. 11. *Mark* 1. 6. *Luke* 4. 10

Alongst the West border of *Galilee*, towards the South from *Bethsaida*, was the strong Castle of *Magdalum*, the habitation of *Mary Magdalen*, not long since standing.

And beyond it the strong and high seated City of *Jotapata*, fortified by *Josephus* in the *Roman* war: but in the end, after a long siege, surprised by *Vespatian*, who slaughtered many thousand of the Citizens, and held 1200. prisoners, whereof *Josephus* the Historian was one.

The last and greatest of the Cities on that * Sea, and the Lake of *Genezzareth*, within *Zabulon*, was that of *Tiberias*, from whence afterward the *Galilæan* Sea also changed name, and was called the Sea of the City *Tiberias*, so named in the honour of *Tiberius Cæsar*; it was one of the ten Cities, and the *Metropolis* of the Region *Decapolitan*, and the greatest and last of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our Saviour called *Matthew* from the Toll or Custom-house, to be an Apostle; and neer unto it raised the daughter of *Jairus* from death: it was built (as *Josephus* reports) by *Herod* the *Tetrach*, the brother of *Philip*, in the beginning of the raign of *Tiberius Cæsar*, in the most fruitful part of *Galilee*; but in a ground full of *Sepulchres*: *Quam juxta nostras leges* (saith he) *ad septem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet*; *Whereas by our law he should be seven daies held as unclean, who inhabited in such a place*: by which words, and by the whole place of *Josephus* it appears, that this *Tiberias* is not (as some have thought) the same as the old *Cinnereth*, which was seated, not in *Zabulon*, but in *Nephtalim*.

* The names of the chief Cities seated about this sea, or lake, thorow which *Jordan* runneth, were *Capernaum*, *Tyberias*, *Bethsaida*, *Gadara*, *Tarichea*, and they add *Cinnereth*, which in fore-times gave name to the Lake and Conntry. *Matth* 9. *Luke* 5. *Jose. Ant.* 18. 3. *Joseph*, to. 15. *Adrich. in Zab.*

Neer unto this *Tiberias*, at *Emaus*, there were hot baths, where *Vespatian* the Emperour encamped against *Tiberias*. More into the Land toward the South-west, is *Bethulia*, seated on a very high hill, and of great strength, famous by the story of *Holofernes* and *Judith*, such as it is. Neer which standeth *Bethleem* of *Zabulon*: and adjoyning unto it *Capharath*, fortified by *Josephus* against the *Romans*: and *Japha*, an exceeding strong place, afterward forced by *Titus*: who in the entrance, and afterward in fury slew 15000 of the Citizens; and carried away above two thousand prisoners.

Jos in vit. sua. Joseph. 2. *Bel.* 25.

On the South side are the Cities of *Cartha* of the *Levites*, and *Gabara*, of which *Josephus* in his own life, then *Jasie*, according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Jos.* 19. 12.) for he thinks that it is not that *Japha* of which we spake but now out of *Josephus*. *Jideala*, of which *Jos.* 19. 15. *Hierome* calls it *Jadela*: under it

Jos 21. 35. otherwise K. *Sloth Thabor*, as *Junius* thinks upon *Jos.* 19 12. whence 1 *Chro* 6. 77. it is called *Thabor*.

West-

Westward, *Legio*, (afterward a Bishops seat) and the City *Belma*, in ancient times exceeding strong, remembred *Judith* 7.3. otherwise *Chelma*. Between *Legio* and *Nazeret* is the City *Saffa*, or *Saffra*, the birth-city of *Zebedæus*, *Alphæus*, *James* and *John*: Then *Sephoris*, or *Sephora*, according to *Josephus*: *Sephorum* according to *Brochard*: which afterward, saith *Hegesippus*, and *Hierome*, was called *Diocæsarea*, the city of *Joachim* and *Anna*, the Parents of the Virgin *Mary*; it was called by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, and by him, as *Josephus* speaks, made the head and defence of *Galilee*: in another place he saith, *Urbium Galilææarum maximæ Sephoris & Tiberias.* This *Sephoris* greatly vexed *Vespasian* ere he wan it. *Herod Antipas*, when he made it the Regal seat of the nether *Galilee*, and surrounded it with a strong wall, called it *Autocratorida*, which is as much to say as Imperial, saith *Josephus*; and it is now but a Castle called *Zaphet*.

Johan. de Montevilla, c.4. & 20.

Joseph. ant. 18.3 & in vita sua.

To the South-west of this *Sephoris*, or *Diocæsarea*, was that blessed place of *Nazareth*, the city of *Mary* the Mother of *Christ*; in which he himself was conceived: it standeth between Mount *Tabor*, and the *Mediterran Sea.* In this city he abode chiefly four and twenty years, and was therefore called a *Nazarite*, as the *Christians* afterward were for many years. It was erected into an *Archbishoprick* in the following age. Near unto it are the cities *Buria* (afterward well defended against the *Turks*) and *Nahalal*, of which *Ios.* 19.15. and *Iudg.* 1.30. where it is called *Nahalol*: and *Ios.* 21.35. where it is a city of the *Levites*; near the Sea, adjoyning to the River of *Chison* is *Sarid*, noted in *Iosua* for the uttermost of *Zabulon*.

In this Territory of *Zabulon* there are divers small Mountains: but *Tabor* is the most renowned, by the apparition of *Moses* and *Elias*: and by the Transfiguration of *Christ* in the presence of *Peter*, *Iames*, and *Iohn*: unto whom *Moses* and *Elias* appeared; in memory whereof, on the top of the Mountain, the Empress *Helen* built a sumptuous Chappel.

In the chief River of *Zabulon* is *Chison*, which rising out of *Tabor*, runneth with one stream Eastward to the Sea of *Galilee*, and with another stream Westward into the great Sea. This River of *Chison* where it riseth, and so far as it runneth Southward, is called *Chedumim*, or *Cadumim*: and for mine own opinion, I take it to be the same which *Ptolomy* calleth *Chorseus*: though others distinguish them, and set *Chorseus* by *Cæsaria Palestinæ*. There is a second Torrent or Brook that riseth in the Hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the Sea of *Galilee* by *Magdalum*: and the third is a branch of a river rising out of the Fountains of *Caphernaum*, which falleth also into the same Sea, and near *Magdalum*; which Torrent they call *Dotham*, from the name of the city, from which it passeth Eastward to *Bethsaida*, and so joyning with *Jordanis parvus*, which runneth from the Valley of *Jephthael*, which *Josua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*: it endeth in the Sea of *Galilee*.

See *Laistans* Map in *Ortelius* *Jos.* 19.14.

§. VI.

THE TRIBE OF ISSACHAR.

THE next adjoyning Territory to *Zabulon*, to the South and Southwest, was *Issachar*, who inhabited a part of the nether *Galilee*, within *Jordan*: of whom there were increased in *Egypt*, as appeared by their musters at mount *Sinai*, 54400. able and warlike men, who leaving their bodies with the rest in the Desarts, there entred the *Holy Land* 64300.

The first city of this Tribe near the Sea of *Galilee*, was *Tarichea*, distant from *Tiberias* eight English miles, or somewhat more; a city wherein the *Jews* (by the practice of a certain mutinous upstart, *John* the son of *Levi*) took arms against *Josephus* the Historian, then Governour of both *Galilees*. This city was first taken by *Cassius*, and 3000. *Jews* carried thence captive; and afterward with great difficulty by *Vespasian*, who entred it by the Sea-side, having first beaten the *Jews* in a Sea-fight upon the Lake or Sea of *Galilee*: he put to the sword all sorts of people, and of all ages; saving that his fury being quenched with the Rivers of blood running through every street, he reserved the remainder for slaves and bond-men.

Tarichea is *Sunon*.

Next to *Tarichea* is placed *Cession*, or *Cishion* of the *Levites*, and then *Issachar*, remembred in the first of *Kings*, *c.*4.*v.*17. then *Abes*, or *Ebets*, *Ios.* 19.20. and *Remeth*, of which *Ios.* 19.21. otherwise *Ramoth*, 1 *Chron.* 6.37. or *Iarmuth*, *Ios.* 21.19. this also was a city of the *Levites*, from whose Territory the Mountains of *Gilboe* take beginning: and range themselves to the *Mediterran* sea, and towards the West as far as the City of *Iezrael*, between which and *Ramoth*, are the cities of *Bethpheses*, or *Bethpasses*, according to *Zeigler*; and *Enadda*, or *Hen-chadda*, near which *Saul* slew himself: under those, *Aphec*, or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Issachar*: between which and *Suna*, he saith, that the *Philistims* incamped against *Israel*, and afterward against *Saul*: a Land thirsty of blood, for

Jos 21.28. *Kishion*, which 1 *Chr.* 6 72. is called *Kedesh*. *Josua* 19. 1 *Sam.* 4 1. 1 *Sam.* 3.19. 1 *Kings* 20. 26. In the later two places *Junius* makes *Aphec* in *Asher*, according to *Jos.* 19. 30. in the first he placeth it in *Juda*, out of *Jos.* 15. 53.

for herein alſo, ſaith he, the *Syrians* with two and thirty *Reguli* aſſiſting *Benhadad*, incountered *Achab*, and were overthrown and ſlaughtered: to whom the King of *Iſrael* made a moſt memorable anſwer, when *Benhadad* vaunted before the victory: which
1 King. 20. was, *Tell* Benhadad, *Let not him that girdeth his harneſs boaſt himſelf as he that putteth it off*: meaning, that glory followed after victory, but ought not to precede it. In the year following, in the fields, as they ſay, adjoyning to this city, was the ſame vain-glorious *Syrian* utterly broken and diſcomfited by *Achab*: and 100000. footmen of the *Aramites*, or *Syrians*, ſlain: before which overthrow the ſervants and counſellors of *Benhadad* (in deriſion of the God of *Iſrael*) told him, *That the Gods of Iſrael were Gods of the Mountains: and therefore if they fought with them in the*
1 Kings 20. 23. *Plains, they ſhould overcome them.*

Under *Aphec* towards the Sea, they ſet the city of *Eſdrelon*, in the Plains of *Galilee*;
Judith 1. 8 & 7. 3. called alſo the great field of *Eſdrelon*, and *Maggeddo*: in the border whereof are the ruines of *Aphec* to be ſeen, ſaith *Brochard*, and
1 Chron 6. 73. *Breidenbach*. After theſe are the cities of
Joſ. 21. 9. *Caſaloth*, of which 1 *Mac.* 9. 2. *Anem*, or *Hen-Gannim*, of the *Levites*, and *Sceſima*, or *Shabatſima*, the Weſt border of *Iſſachar*, of which *Ioſ.* 19. 22. From hence ranging the Sea coaſt, there is found the Caſtle of *Pilgrims*: a ſtrong Caſtle, invironed with the Sea, ſometime the ſtorehouſe and Magazine of the *Chriſtians*, and built by the Earl of Saint *Giles*, or *Tolouſe*.

From the Caſtle of *Pilgrims*, the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthermoſt ſhore beginneth Mount *Carmel*, not far from the River *Chiſon*, where *Elijah* aſſembled all the Prophets and Prieſts of *Baal*, and prayed King *Achab*, and the people aſſembled, to make trial whether the God of *Iſrael*, or the Idol of *Baal* were to be worſhipped, by laying a ſacrifice without fire on the Altar: which done, the Prieſts of *Baal* prayed, and cut their own fleſh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while *Elijah* in deriſion told them, that their God *was either in purſuit of his enemies, not at leiſure, or perchance aſleep, &c.* but at the prayer of *Elijah* the fire kindled, notwithſtanding that he had cauſed the people to caſt many veſſels of water thereon: by which miracle the people incenſed, ſlew all thoſe Idolaters on the banks of *Chiſon* adjoyning.

At the foot of this Mountain to the North, ſtandeth *Caiphas*, built, as they ſay, by *Caiphas* the high Prieſt. It is alſo known by the name of *Porſina*, and *Porphyria*, ſometime a *Suffragane* Biſhops ſeat. Returning again from the Sea-coaſt towards *Tiberias*, by the banks of *Chiſon*, there are found the city of *Hapharaim*, or *Aphraim*, and the Caſtles of *Mezra* and *Saba*: of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*: and then *Naim* on the River *Chiſon*: a beautiful city while it ſtood, in the Gates whereof *Chriſt* raiſed from death the *Luke* 7. widows onely ſon.

Then *Seon* or *Shion*, named *Ioſ.* 19. between the two Hills of *Hermon*, in *Iſachar*: beyond it ſtandeth *Endor*, famous by reaſon of the Inchantreſs that undertook to raiſe up the body of *Samuel* at the inſtigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it ſtands *Anaharath* and *Rabbith*, named *Ioſ.* 19. *v.* 19, 20. Then *Dabarath*, as it is named, *Ioſ.* 21. 28. or *Dobratha*, as it is named, 1 *Chron.* 6. 71. This city (which ſtretcheth it ſelf over *Chiſon*) was a city of refuge belonging to the *Levites*.

Next to *Dabarath* is *Arbela* ſituate, near the Caves of thoſe two Theeves which ſo greatly moleſted *Galilee* in *Herods* time. It joyneth on one ſide to the Mountain of *Iſachar*, or *Hermon*, and on the other to the * Called *Campus Magnus*. 1 *Mac* 12. 49. and *Harbatha* for *Barabath*. 1 *Mac.* 5. 23. & 9. 2. *Judg.* 6. 1 *Sam.* 31. 1 *King.* 20.
Valley of *Jeſrael*: which Valley continueth it ſelf from *Bethſan*, or *Scythopolis*, the Eaſt border of *Iſachar*, even to the *Mediterran* Sea: two parts whereof are incloſed by the Mountains of *Gilboe* on the South, and by *Hermon* and the River *Chiſon* on the North. In theſe *Plains *Gideon* overthrew the *Midianites*, and herein, they think, *Saul* fought againſt the *Philiſtims*, *Achab* againſt the *Syrians*, and the *Tartars* againſt the *Saracens*.

§. VII.

THE HALF OF THE TRIBE OF *MANASSE*.

¶. I.

Of the bounds of this half Tribe: and of Scythopolis, Salem, Therſa, and others.

THE next Tribe which joyneth it ſelf to *Iſachar* towards the South, is the half of *Manaſſe*, on the Weſt ſide of *Jordan*. *Manaſſes* was the firſt begotten of *Joſeph*, the eleventh ſon of *Jacob*. His mother was an *Egyptian*, the daughter of *Putiphar*, Prieſt and Prince of *Heliopolis*: which *Manaſſes*, with his brother *Ephraim*, the grand-children of *Jacob*, were by adoption numbred amongſt the ſons of *Jacob*, and made up the number of the twelve *Patriarchs*.

Of *Manaſſe* there were increaſed in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 32200. able men: all which being conſumed in the Deſarts, there entred of their iſſues,

52700.

52700. bearing arms. The Territory which fell on this one half of *Manasse*, was bounded by *Jordan* on the East, and *Dora* upon the *Mediterran* Sea on the West, *Jesrael* on the North, and *Machmata* is the South border.

The first and principal City which stood in this Territory was *Bethsan*, sometime *Nysa*, saith *Pliny*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his Nurse there buried, of the same name, which *Solinus* confirms. Afterward when the *Scythians* invaded *Asia* the less, and pierc't into the South, to the uttermost of *Cœlosyria*, they built this City a-new, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the City of *Scythians*, given by the *Greeks*.

Plin. l. 5. c. 18.

These barbarous Northern people constrained the *Jews* to fight against their own Nation and kinred, by whose hands when they had obtained victory, they themselves set on the *Jews* which served them, and slew them all. *Stephanus* makes it the utmost towards the South of *Cœlosyria*: and *Strabo* joyns it to *Galilee*. It is seated between *Jordan* and the Hills of Gilboe, *in aulone ad montes acrabitenæ*, saith *Zeigler*. But I find it in the East part of the Valley of *Jesrael* near *Jordan*: after that *Jordan* strengtheneth it self again into a River, leaving the Sea, or Lake *Genezareth*. Notwithstanding *Montanus* describes it far to the West, and towards the *Mediterran* Sea, near *Endor*, contrary to *Stella*, *Laicstan*, *Adrichome*, and all other the best Authors. This City was the greatest of all those of *Decapolis*: but the children of *Manasse* could not expel the Inhabitants thereof: and therefore called it *Sane*, an enemy, or *Beth-san*, the house of an enemy.

Judg. 1. Jos. 17. de Bell. Jud.

Over the walls of this *Beth-san* the *Philistims* hung the body of *Saul*, and his sons slain at *Gilboe*. It had, while the Christian religion flourished in those parts, an Archbishop, who had nine other Bishops of his Dioceses, numbred by *Tyrius*, in his 14. Book and 12. Chapter: but the same was afterward translated to *Nazareth*. The later travellers in those parts affirm, that there is daily taken out among the rubble and the ruines of that City, goodly pillers, and other pieces of excellent Marble, which witness the stately buildings, and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poor and desolate Village.

Hierom. in Epist. ad Evagr. & in Loc. Heb.

From *Beth-san* keeping the way by *Jordan*, they find an ancient City called *Salem*, which City the ancient Rabbines, saith *Hierome*, do not find to be the same with *Hierusalem*: there being in the time of *Hierome* and since, a town of that name, near *Scythopolis* before remembred, which if the place of Scripture, *Gen.* 13. 18. do not confirm, where the Vulgar readeth *transivitque in Salem urbem Sichemorum*, (for which others read *venit incolumis ad Civitatem Sechemum*, making the word *Shalem* not to be a proper name, but an adjective) yet the place *John* 3. 13. where it is said, that *John* was baptizing in *Ænon* near *Salem*, may somewhat strengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unlikely that this *Salem* of which S. *John* speaketh, is but contracted of *Shahalim*, of which in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, 1 *Sam.* 9. 4. This word *Junius* maketh to be the plural of *Shuhal*: of which we read, 1 *Sam* 13. 17. for as for that which is added out of *Canticles* 6. 12. of *Shulammitis*, as if it had been as much as a Woman of this *Salem* near *Ænon*, it hath no probability.

Not far from thence where they place *Salem*, they find *Bezech* the City of *Adonibezec*, *Josephus* calls it *Bala*: here it was that *Saul* assembled the strength of *Israel* and *Juda*, to the number of 330000. when he meant to relieve *Jabesh Gilead*, against *Naash* the *Ammonite*: who would give them no other conditions of peace, than to suffer their right eyes to be thrust out. Near *Bezech* is the City of *Bethbera*, or rather *Beth-bara*, of which *Judg.* 7. 24. in the story of *Gideon*: and then *Ephra*, or *Hophra*, wherein *Gideon* inhabited: in the border whereof stood an Altar consecrated to *Baal*, which he pulled down and defaced; and near it that stone, on which *Abimelech* the Bastard slew his 70. brothers; a Heathenish cruelty, practised by the *Turk* to this day: and not far hence, between the Village of *Asophon* and *Jordan*, *Ptolomeus Lathurus* overthrew *Alexander* King of the *Jews*, and slaughtered, as *Josephus* numbereth them, 3000. but according to *Timagenes* 50000. after which victory, as *Ptolomy* past by the Villages of the *Jews*, he slew all their women, and caused the young children to be sod in great Caldrons, that the rest of the *Iews* might thereby think that the *Egyptians* were grown to be men-eaters, and strike them with the greater terror.

This City *Bezek*, by the place *Judg* 1. 5. seemeth to have been in *Juda*. *Joseph. ant.* 6. c. 5. 1 *Sam.* c. 11

Jos. l. 13. c. 21. ant.

Towards the West and on the border of *Isachar*, they place the Cities of * *Aner* of the *Levites*, and *Abel-Meholа*, which *Junius*, *Judg.* 7. 22. placeth in *Ephraim*: it was the habitation of *Helisæus* the Prophet, numbred among those places, 1 *Reg.* 4. 12. which were given in charge to *Baana* by *Solomon*, to whose charge also *Tahanac* belonged, a place of great strength, which at the first resisted *Josua*, though their King was afterward hanged, and their City given to the *Levites*.

* This *Aner* *Junius* upon 1 *Chr.* 6. 70 makes to be the same with *Tahanac*, of which *Jos.* 21. 25. *Hierome* names it from *Aner* the Conderate of *Abraham*. *Gen.* 14. 13. *Jos.* 12. 17

In the body of this Territory of *Manasse*, but somewhat nearer *Jordan* than to the *Mediterran*

diterran Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, *Thersa*, whose King was one of those that *Josua* flew: which the Kings of *Israel* used for their Regal seat, till such time as *Samaria* was built. From hence the wife of *Jeroboam* went to *Achia* to enquire of her sons health: who knowing her, though she were disguised, told her of her sons death. 1 *Kings* 14

The second was *Thebes* near *Samaria*, of which name there are both in *Egypt* and *Greece*, of great fame: in the assault of the Tower of this Town, whereinto the Citizens retired, the Bastard *Abimelec* was wounded by a weighty stone, thrown by a woman over the wall, who despairing of his recovery, commanded his Page to slay him outright, because it should not be said that he perished by the stroke of a woman. But others set this City in *Ephraim* near *Sichem*, or *Neapolis*. *Judg.* 9 53, 54.

The third is *Acrabata*, of which the Territory adjoyning is called *Acrabatena*, (one of the ten *Toparchies*, or governments in *Judæa*) for which *Hierome*, 1 *Mac.* 5. reads *Arabathena*: but in the Greek it is *Acrabatine*: *Isidore* calls it *Agrabat*. This City had one of the largest Territories of all *Palæstine* belonging to the Governour thereof. *Josephus* remembreth it often, as in his second book of the Jews wars, *c.* 11. 25, 28. and elsewhere. *Hier. Mac.* 1 *c.* 5.

The difference between a *Tetrarchy* and a *Toparchy*, was, that the first was taken for a Province, and the other for a City with some lesser Territory adjoyning; and a *Tetrarch* is the same with *Prases* in Latine, and *President* in English, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdom; and thereof so called. *Plin. l.* 5. *Pliny* nameth seventeen *Tetrarchies* in *Syria*: the Holy Land had four, and so hath the Kingdom of *Ireland* to this day, *Lemster*, *Ulster*, *Connath*, and *Munster*. *Eusseb in Chron.*

To the South-west of *Acrabata* they place the Cities of *Balaam*, or *Bilham*, and *Gethremmon* of the Levites: but *Junius* out of *Jos.* 21. 25. and 1 *Chron.* 6. 70. gathers that these two are but one; and that *Jibleham*, *Jos.* 16. 11. is another name of the same City.

Then is *Jezael* a Regal City, set at the foot of the Mountains of *Gilboe*, towards the South-west: herein Jezabel, by a false accusation, caused *Naboth* to be stoned, to the end she might possess his Vineyard adjoyning to the City, which *Naboth* refused to sell, because it was his inheritance from his father.

Joram also was cast unburied into the same field: for which his mother *Jezabel* murthered *Naboth*. 2 *Kings* 2.

Toward the Sea from *Jezael* is the City which they call *Gaber*: in whose ascent as *Ahaziah* King of *Juda* fled from *Jehu*, when he had slain *Joram*, he was wounded with the shot of an arrow, of which wound he died at *Maggeddo* adjoyning. The Scripture calls this City of *Gaber*, *Gur*. 2 *Kings* 9. 27.

Then *Adadremmon*, near unto which the good King *Josias* was slain by *Necho* King of *Egypt*, in a war unadvisedly undertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Assyria* against the King thereof, by the commandment of God; whom *Josias* thought to resist in his passage. It was afterward called *Maximianoplis*.

A neighbour City to *Adadremmon* was *Maggeddo*, often remembred in the Scriptures; whose King was slain among the rest by *Josua*: yet they defended their City for a long time against *Manasse*. The River which passeth by the Town, may perhaps be the same which *Ptolomy* calleth *Chorseus*: and not that of which we have spoken in *Zabulon*. For because this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of those that have described the Holy Land, delineate no such River. *Moore* only sets it down in his *Geography* of the twelve Tribes: but the River which passeth by *Maggeddo*, he understandeth to be but a branch, falling thereinto. *Laicstan* and *Schrot* make a great confluence of waters in this place, agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth of *Judges*: *Then fought the Kings of Canaan in Tanaac by the waters of Maggeddo*. But these Authors, and with them *Stella*, give it no other name than the Torrent so called. *Judg.* 1. 5. *Jos.* 12. 17.

But seeing that ancient *Cosmographers* stretch out the bounds of *Phœnicia* even to *Sebaste*, or *Samaria*; and *Strabo* far beyond it on the Sea-coast: And *Josephus* calls *Cæsaria Palæstinæ*, a City of *Phœnicia*: yea, *Laurentius Corvinus* extendeth *Phœnicia* as far as *Geza*: seeing also *Ptolomy* sets down *Chorseus* for the partition of *Phœnicia* and *Judæa*, this river running East and West parallel with *Samaria*: it is very probable that this Torrent called *Maggeddo*, after the name of the City which it watereth, is the same which *Ptolomy* in his fourth Table of *Asia*, calleth *Chorseus*. The later travellers of the Holy Land call *Maggeddo Subimbre* at this day. *Strab. l.* 16. *Joseph. l.* 15 *c.* 13. *Niger.*

||. II.

Of Cesaria Palæstinæ, and some other Towns.

FRom *Maggeddo* toward the West, and near the *Mediterran Sea*, was that glorious City of *Cæsaria Palæstinæ*: first, the Tower of *Straton*: the same which *Pliny* calls *Apollonia*: though *Ptolomy* sets *Apollonia* elsewhere, and toward *Egypt*, between this City and *Joppe*, to which *Vespasian* gave the name of *Flavia*

Flavia Colonia. It was by *Herod* re-built, who therein laboured to exceed all the works in that part of the world. For besides the edifices, which he reared within the Walls, of cut and polish't marbles, the *Theater* and *Amphitheater*, from whence he might look over the Seas far away, with the high and stately Towers and Gates: he forced a Harborow of great capacity, being in former times but an open Bay: and the wind blowing from the Sea, the Merchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their Cables and Anchors. This work he performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that hath not been found in any Kingdom, nor in any age: which, because the Materials were fetcht from far, and the weight of the stones was such, as it exceedeth belief, I have added *Josephus* own words of this work, which are these: *Hanc locorum* *Joseph. l. 15. c. 13.* *in commoditatem correcturus, cerculum portus circumduxit, quantum putaret magnæ classi recipiendæ sufficere: & in viginti ulnarum profundum, prægrandia saxa demisit: quorum pleraque pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, latitudinis verò octodecim, altitudine novempedali: fuerunt quædam etiam majora, minora alia;* To mend this inconvenience of place (saith Josephus) *he compast in a Bay wherein a great Fleet might well ride: and let down great stones twenty fadome deep: whereof some were fifty foot long, eighteen foot broad, and nine foot thick: and some bigger, some lesser.* To this he added an arm or cawsie of two hundred foot long, to break the waves: the rest he strengthened with a stone wall, with divers stately Towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent he called *Drusus*, after the name of *Drusus* the son in law of *Cæsar*: in whose honour he intituled the City it self, *Cæsaria* of *Palæstine*: all which he performed in twelve years time. It was the first of the Eastern Cities that received a Bishop: afterward erected into an Archbishoprick, *Lib. 4. c. 12 bel. sacr.* commanding twenty others under it, saith *Tyrius.*

S. *Hierome* nameth *Theophilus*, *Eusebius*, *Acacius*, *Euzorus*, and *Galasius*, to have been Bishops thereof. In this City was *Cornelius* the Centurion baptised by Saint *Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip* the Apostle. S. *Paul* was herein two years prisoner, under the *President Felix*, unto the time and government of *Porcius Festus*: by whom making his appeal, he was sent to *Cæsar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was passing on to celebrate the *Quinquennalia*, taking delight to be called a god by his flatterers, he was stricken with an Angel unto death, saith *Josephus.*

To the North of *Cesaria* standeth *Dora*, or *Naphoth Dor*, as some read, *Jos.* 1. 2. so called (saith *Adrichomius*) because it joyneth to the Sea, whose King was slain by *Josua*. But *Junius*, for *in Naphoth Dor*, reads *in tractibus Dor*: and so the Vulgar, *in regionibus Dor*, although 1 *Reg.* 4. 11. for the like speech in the Hebrew it readeth *omnis Nephath Dor*: The *Septuagint* in the place of *Josua* call it *Nephith-Dor*, and in the other of the Kings, *Nepha-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Jos.* 12. 23. *Judg.* 1. 27.) may seem to be *Dor*. It was a strong and powerful City, and the fourth in account of those twelve Principalities, or *Sitarchies*, which *Solomon* erected. *Junius* upon *Macc.* 15. 11. placeth this between the Hill *Carmel*, and the mouth of the river *Cherseus*: for so some name the river *Chorseus*, of which we have spoken already.

Into this City, for the strength thereof, *Tryphon* fled from *Antiochus* the son of *Demetrius*, where he was by the same *Antiochus* besieged with 12000. foot-men, and 8000. horse: the same perfidious villain that received 200. talents for the ransom of *Jonathan Macchabæus* (whom he had taken by treachery) and then slew him: and after him slew his own Master, usurping for a while the Kingdom of *Syria*. It had also a Bishops seat of the Dioces of *Cesaria*. *Mac. 1. 13. 15.*

From *Cesaria* towards the South, they place the Cities of *Caphernaum*, *Gabe*, and *Galgal*: for besides that *Capharnaum* famous in the *Evangelists*, they find in these parts near the West Sea, another of the same name. Of *Gabe*, *Hierome in locis Hebraicis*. The famous *Galgal*, or *Gilgal*, was in *Benjamin*: but this *Gilgal*, they say, it was whose King was slain by *Josua*. *Gul. Tyr. de bell. sacr. l. 10. c 6.*

Then *Antipatris*, so called of *Herod*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the *Macchabees*, it was called *Capharsalama*: in the fields whereof *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew a part of the Army of *Nicanor*, Lievtenant to *Demetrius*: an Army drawn into *Judæa* by a traiterous Jew, called *Alcimus*: who contended for the Priest-hood, first under *Bacchides*, and then under *Nicanor*. To this was Saint *Paul* carried prisoner from *Hierusalem*, conducted by 470. souldiers, to defend him from the fury of the Jews. In after-times the Army of *Godfrey* of *Bullion* attempted it in vain: yet was it taken by *Baldwine*. It was honoured in those dayes with a Bishops seat, but it is now a poor Village, called *Assur*, saith *Brochard*. Near unto this City the Prophet *Jonas* was three dayes preserved in the body of a Whale. *Mac. 17. 31*

Into the Land, from *Antipatris* and *Cæsaria*,

ria, standeth *Narbata*, whereof the Territory taketh name: which *Cestius* the *Roman* wasted with fire and sword, because the Jews which dwelt at *Cæsaria* fled thence, and carried with them the Books of *Moses*. Neer unto it is the Mountain of *Abdia*, the Steward of King *Achab*: wherein he hid an hundred Prophets, and fed them: after which he himself is said to have obtained from God the Spirit of Prophecy also.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdom of Phœnicia.

§. I.

The bounds and chief Cities, and Founders, and Name of this Kingdom: and of the invention of Letters ascribed to them.

BEcause these five Tribes, of *Asser*, *Nephtalim*, *Zabulon*, *Issachar*, and the half of *Manasse*, possest the better part of that ancient Kingdom of *Phœnicia*, to wit, of so much as lay to the South part of *Anti-libanus*; I have therefore gathered a brief of those Kings which have governed therein: at least so many of them as time (which devoureth all things) hath left to posterity: and that the rest perished, it is not strange: seeing so many Volumes of excellent learning in so long a race and revolution, and in so many changes of Estates, and Conquest of Heathen Princes have been torn, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this Kingdom, as touching the South parts, are very uncertain: but all *Cosmographers* do in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Casiotis*, ends: most of them bounding it by *Orthosia*, to the North of *Tripolis*. *Ptolomy* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the River *Eleutherus* that falls into the Sea at the Island of *Aradus*, somewhat to the North of *Orthosia*, and stretching from thence alongst the coast of the *Mediterran Sea*, as far as the River of *Chorseus*; which seems to be that which the Jews call the Torrent, or River of *Maggeddo*. *Pliny* extends it further, and comprehends *Joppe* within it: *Corvinus* and *Budæus*, *Joppe* and *Gaza*. *Phœnicia apud priscos appellata* (saith *Budæus*) *quæ nunc Palæstina Syriæ dicitur*; *It was called Phœnicia of old* (saith he) *which now is called Palæstina of Syria*.

Ptol. 4 tab. Asiæ.

Plin l. 5. c. 19.

Strab. l. 16. Bude. de Ass. l. 4.

Strabo comprehends in this Country of *Phœnicia* all the Sea-side of *Judæa*, and *Palestina*, even unto *Pelusium*, the first Port of *Egypt*. On the contrary, *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it up in *Cœlosyria*, which he boundeth not. But for my self, I take a middle course, and like best of *Ptolomies* description, who was seldom deceived in his own art. It had in it these famous Maritimate Cities (besides all those of the Islands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthosia*, *Tripolis*, *Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomais* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Cæsaria Palestinæ*: and by reason of the many Ports and goodly Sea-towns, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Eastern world: and they were absolute Kings of the *Mediterran Sea*.

The ancient Regal Seat of those Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the first son of *Canaan*: and the people then subject to that people were called *Zidonians*; the same state continuing even unto *Josua*'s time. For till then, it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region; afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* also confirmeth in his second Book of *Vandals wars*. But in process of time the City of *Tyre* adjoyning, became the more magnificent: yet, according to the Prophet, it was but a daughter of *Zidon*, and by them first built, and peopled. *Esay 23.*

But after the death of *Moses*, and while *Josua* yet governed *Israel*, *Agenor* an *Egyptian* of *Thebes*, or a *Phœnician* bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his sons *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (say *Cedrenus* and *Curtius*) and built and possest the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*: to wit, the new *Tyrus*, and brought into *Phœnicia* (so called after the name of his second son) the use of Letters: which also *Cadmus* in his pursuit after his sister *Europa*, taught the *Grecians*. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when

when he surprised *Tyre*, had stolne her thence: of which the Poets devised the fable of *Jupiters* transformation into a Bull, by whom that stealth was also supposed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the first King of *Phœnicia*; and finds *Cadmus* his Successor, whom he calleth his grand-child: and it seemeth that *Belus* was the father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: because the successours of *Dido* held that name alwaies in reverence, making it a part of their own, as *Asdrubal*, *Hannibal*: whose memory *Virgil* also toucheth in these Verses.

Hic Regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit,
Implevitq; mero pateram: quam Belus *& omnes*
A Belo *soliti.*

The Queen anon commands the weighty bowl
(Weighty with precious stones and massie gold)
To flow with wine. This *Belus* us'd of old,
And all of *Belus* Line.

Whether this *Belus* were father or grandfather to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it seems to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Ancestor to these *Phœnicians*, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Jupiter Belus*, the son of *Neptune* by *Lybia* the daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the son of *Thelegonus*, according to *Eusebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cecrops* time, saith Saint *Augustine*, *Moses* left *Egypt*: *Agenors* successour living at once with *Josua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the same time into the Territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither do I deny, but that he gave that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his son. But instead of the building of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a Founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nebuchodonosor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true, that *Agenor* was of the same Nation, and brought up in *Egypt*: where he learnt the use of Letters (*Egypt* flourished in all kind of learning in *Moses* time) or were he by Nation an *Egyptian*, yet it is very likely that either he came to save his own Territory; or otherwise to defend the coast of *Canaan* from the *Israelites*: who were by *Moses* led out of *Egypt*, to the great loss and dishonour of that Nation: and by *Joshua* conducted over *Jordan*, to conquer and possess the *Canaanites* Land. For though the *Egyptians*, by reason of the loss which they received by the hand of God in the *Red Sea*, and by the ten plagues cast on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the male children at the same time, could not hinder the *Hebrews* from invading *Canaan* by land: which also they knew had so many powerful Nations to defend it: the *Desarts* inter-jacent, and the strong *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Amorites*, and *Ammonites* their borderers: yet *Egypt* having such Vessels or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in use, did not in all probability neglect to garrison the Sea-coast, or assist *Agenor* with such forces as they had to spare; and which they might perform with the greater facility, in that the *Philistims*, which held the shores of *Canaan* next adjoyning unto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now, as it appeareth by the course of the story, those Cities of *Phœnicia*, which *Agenor* was said to have built (that is, to have fortified and defended against *Josua*, and against the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Josua* called the strong City *Accho*, afterward *Ptolomais*, *Achzib*, and *Dor*) were all that *Phœnicia* had in those daies. *Chap. 19. 29.*

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mighty, especially by Sea, it appears, first by their defence against *Israel*: secondly, by this, that *David* and *Solomon* could not master them, but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Reguli*, defended it self 13. years against a King of Kings, *Nebuchadonosor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the providence of God, seemed unresistable) spent more time in the recovery of *Tyre*, than in the conquest of all the Cities in *Asia*.

Other opinions there are, as that of *Berosus* out of *Josephus*, who conceives that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrus* the son of *Japhet*. And for the Region it self, though *Calisthenes* derive it, *ab arbore dactylorum*; and the Greeks from the word *Phonos*, of slaughter, because the *Phœnicians* slew all that came on their coasts; yet for my self, I take it that *Phœnix* the son of *Agenor* gave it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his son in *Greece*, were the Inventors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute unnecessary.

The *Ethiopians* affirm, that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the first light of all those Arts, Sciences, and civil Policies, which they afterwards profest, and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himself was instructed by the *Lybians*: to wit, from the South and superiour *Egyptians*: from whom those which inhabited neerer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they say, borrowed their Divinity

and Philosophy: and from them the *Greeks*, then barbarous, received Civility. Again, the *Phœnicians* challenge this invention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the *Egyptians* at all; neither do they allow that *Agenor* and his sons were *Africans*; whence *Lucan*,

Lucan. l 5. Phœnices *primi* (*famæ si creditur*) *ausi*
3. *Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.*

Phœnicians first (if fame may credit have)
In rude Characters dar'd our words to grave.

And that *Cadmus* was the son of *Agenor*, and was a *Phœnician*, and not an *Egyptian*, it appeareth by that answer made by *Zeno*; when he in a kind of reproach was called a Stranger, and not a *Phœnician*.

Athen 1. Dipnos. *Si patria est* Phœnix, *quid tum? nam* Cadmus
& ipse
Phœnix; *cui debet* Græcia *docta libros.*

If a *Phœnician* born I am, what then?
Cadmus was so: to whom *Greece* owes
The Books of learned men.

Joseph. contra Appionem. Out of doubt the *Phœnicians* were very ancient: and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Josephus* the Historian confirms a great part of his Antiquities. The *Thracians* again subscribe to none of these reports: but affirm constantly, that the great *Zamolxis* flourished among them: when *Atlas* lived in *Mauritania*: *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*: and *Ochus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, some of the French do not blush to maintain, that the ancient *Gaules* taught the *Greeks* the use of Letters, and other Sciences. And do not we know that our *Bardes* and *Druides* are as ancient as those *Gaules*, and that they sent their sons hither to be by them instructed in all kind of learning?

Lastly, whereas others bestow this invention on *Moses*, the same hath no probability at all; for he lived at such time as Learning and Arts flourished most, both in *Egypt* and *Assyria*, and he himself was brought up in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, from his infancy.

But true it is, that Letters were invented by those excellent Spirits of the first age, and before the general Flood: either by *Seth* or *Enos*, or by whom else God knows; from whom all wisdom and understanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath he given the same invention to divers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other; as well in this as in many other knowledges: for even in *Mexico*, when it was first discovered, there was found written Books after the manner of those *Hieroglyphicks*, anciently used by the *Egyptians*, and other Nations: and so had those *Americans* a kind of Heraldry; and their Princes differing in Arms and Scutchions, like unto those used by the Kings and Nobility of other Nations, *Jura naturalia communia, & generalia, &c.* *Natural laws are common, and general.* *Jurisc.*

§. II.

Of the Kings of Tyre.

BUt whatsoever remaineth of the Story and Kings of *Phœnicia* (the books of *Zeno*, *Sachoniatho*, *Mnaseas*, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the same is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, *Josephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

Agenor lived at once with *Josua*, to whom succeeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of *Canaan*, and so far towards the North as *Aradus*, took the name of *Phœnicia*: what King succeeded *Phœnix* it doth not appear; but at such time as the *Grecians* besieged *Troy*, *Phasis* governed *Phœnicia*.

In *Hieremies* time, and while *Jehojakim* ruled in *Juda*, the *Tyrians* had a King apart: for *Hieremy* speaketh of the Kings of *Zidon*, of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, *&c.* as of several Kings. *Cap. 27. 3.*

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Army wherewith he invaded *Greece*, *Tetramnestus* ruled that part of *Phœnicia* about *Tyre* and *Zidon*: who commanded, as some Writers affirm, *Xerxes* Fleet, or rather, as I suppose, those 300. Gallies, which himself brought to his aid: for at this time it seemeth, that the *Phœnicians* were Tributaries to the *Persian*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and petty Kings in *Hieremies* time, they were subjected by *Nabuchodonosor*; of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, *Hieremie* propheſied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded *Tetramnestus*, remembred by *D. Siculus* in his 14. Book.

Strato, his successor, and King of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependency upon *Darius*, and that his Predecessors had served the East Empire against the *Grecians*. But divers Kings, of whom there is no memory, came between *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were consumed 130. years and somewhat more, between *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* esteemed the more unworthy

of

of reſtitution, becauſe (ſaith *Curtius*) he rather ſubmitted himſelf by the inſtigation of his ſubjects (who foreſaw their utter ruine by reſiſtance) than that he had any diſpoſition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*. Lib 4.

Of this *Strato*, *Athenæus* out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that he was a man of ill living, and moſt voluptuous; alſo that he appointed certain games and prizes for women-dancers, and ſingers, whom he to this end chiefly invited, and aſſembled: that having beheld the moſt beautiful and lively among them, he might recover them for his own uſe and delights. Of the ſtrange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of theſe coaſts, S. *Hierome* and others make mention: who having heard that the *Perſians* were neer him with an Army too weighty for his ſtrength, and finding that he was to hope for little grace, becauſe of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhearing to the *Egyptians*, he determining to kill himſelf, but fainting in the execution, his wife being preſent, wreſted the Sword out of his hand, and ſlew him: which done, ſhe alſo therewith pierced her own body, and died. Athen l. 12. c. 13. Hieron. l. 1. com. Jovin.

After *Alexander* was poſſeſt of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driven thence, he gave the Kingdom to *Hephæſtion* to diſpoſe of: who having received great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whoſe houſe he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to eſtabliſh him therein: but this Citizen, no leſs vertuous than rich, deſired *Hephæſtion* that this honour might be conferred on ſome one of the blood and race of their ancient Kings: and preſented unto him *Balonymus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolominus*, *Juſtine*, *Abdolonius*, and *Plutarch*, *Alynomus*: who at the very hour that he was called to this regal Eſtate, was with his own hands working in his Garden, ſetting herbs and roots, for his relief and ſuſtenance: though otherwiſe a wiſe man, and exceeding juſt.

Theſe were the ancient Kings of *Zidon*: whoſe eſtate being afterwards changed into Popular or *Ariſtocratical*: and by times and turns ſubjected to the Emperours of the Eaſt, there remaineth no further memory of them, than that which is formerly delivered in the Tribe of *Aſſer*.

The Kings of *Tyre*, who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appear: *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian, as is ſaid, had many things wherewith he garniſhed his Antiquities from the *Tyrian Chronicles*: and out of *Joſephus* and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be gathered a deſcent of ſome twenty Kings of the *Tyrians*; but theſe Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Menander Epheſius*, do in no ſort agree in the times of their reigns, nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the firſt King of the *Tyrians*, that *Joſephus* and *Theophilus* remember, whom *Theophilus* calls *Abemalus*: the ſame perchance that the ſon of *Sirach* mentioneth in his forty and ſixth Chapter, ſpeaking of the Princes of the *Tyrians*. Cap. 46.

To this *Abibalus*, *Suron* ſucceeded, if he be not one and the ſame with *Abibalus*. *David* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of *Eupolemus*) conſtrained this *Suron* to pay him Tribute, of whom alſo *David* complaineth, *Pſal.* 83. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4.

Hiram ſucceeded *Suron*, whom *Joſephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* ſometime *Hieronimus*, ſometimes *Hieromus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras*, *Chiram*. He entred into a league with *David*, and ſent him Cedars, with Maſons and Carpenters, to perform his buildings in *Hieruſalem*, after he had beaten thence the *Jebuſites*. The ſame was he that ſo greatly aſſiſted *Solomon*: whom he not only furniſhed with Cedars, and other Materials towards the raiſing of the Temple, and with great ſums of money, but alſo he joyned with him in his enterprize of the Eaſt *India*, and of *Ophir*: and furniſhed *Solomon* with Marriners and Pilots: the *Tyrians* being of all Nations the moſt excellent Navigators: and lent him 120 talents of gold. Of this *Hiram*, there is not onely mention in divers places of Scripture, but in *Joſephus* in his Antiquities the 7. and 8. Chap. 2. & 3. in *Theophilus* his third book, in *Tatianus* his Oration againſt the *Greeks*: and in *Sonaras*, Tome the firſt. This Prince ſeemeth to be very mighty and magnificent, he deſpiſed the 20. Towns which *Solomon* offered him: he defended himſelf againſt that victorious King *David*: and gave his daughter in marriage to *Solomon*, called the *Zidonian*: for whoſe ſake he was contented to worſhip *Aſtaroth*, the Idol of the *Phœnicians*. *Hiram* lived 53. years. 2 Sam. 5. &c. 2 Sam. c. 5 2 Kin. 1. 9 10. 1 Chro. 14. 2 Chr. 2. 8, 9.

Baleaſtartus, whom *Theoph. Antiochenus* calleth *Bazorus*, ſucceeded *Hiram* King of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned 7. years, according to *Joſephus*. 1 Kin. 11. Theoph. 17. years.

Abdaſtartus the eldeſt ſon of *Baleaſtartus*, governed 9. yeares, and lived but 20. years, according to *Joſephus*: but after *Theophilus* he reigned 12. years, and lived 54. who being ſlain by the four ſons of his own Nurſe, the eldeſt of them held the Kingdom 12. years.

Aſtartus brother to *Abdaſtartus*, recovered the Kingdom from this Uſurper, and reigned 12. years.

Aſtarimus, or *Atharimus*, after *Theophilus*, a third Joſeph. 54. Theoph. 58

third brother, followed *Astartus*, and ruled 9. years, and lived in all 54.

Theoph. *Phelles* the fourth son of *Baleastartus*, and brother to the three former Kings, slew *Astarimus*, and reigned 8. moneths, and lived 50. years.

Ithobalus (or *Juthobalus*, in *Theophilus*) son to the third brother *Astarimus*, who was the chief Priest of the *Goddess Astarta*, which was a dignity next unto the King, revenged the death of his father, and slaughtered his *Joseph.* 31 *Theoph.* 12 Uncle *Phelles*: and reigned 32. years; the same which in the first of Kings, chap. 16. is called *Ethbaal*, whose daughter *Jezebel Achab* married.

Badezor, or *Bazor*, the son of *Ithobalus*, or *Ethbaal*, brother to *Jezebel*, succeeded his 1 Kings 16 31. Father, and reigned 6: years, and lived in *Joseph.* 6. years. all 45.

Theoph. 26. *Mettimus* succeeded *Badezor*, and reigned *Joseph.* 9. but 9. years (saith *Josephus*) he had two sons, *Theoph.* 9 *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and two daughters, *Elisa* and *Anna*.

Pygmalion reigned after *Mettimus* his Father 40. years, and lived 56. In the seventh year of whose reign, *Elisa* sailed into *Africa*, and built *Carthage*, 143. years and 8. moneths after the Temple of *Solomon*: which by our accompt was 289. years after *Troy* was taken, and 143. before *Rome*: and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Æneas* and *Dido* must be far out of square. For *Pygmalion*, covetous of *Sicheus* his riches, who had married his sister *Elisa*, slew him traiterously as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we believe *Justin.* l 18 *Justine* and *Virgil*, at the Altar: whereupon *Virgil.* l. *Elisa* fearing to be dispoiled of her husbands treasure, fled by Sea into *Africa*, as aforesaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to pursue, he was by his mothers tears, and by threats from the *Oracle* arrested. *Barca* accompanied his sister, and assisted her, in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him sprang that noble Family of the *Barcæ* in *Africa*, of which race descended many famous Captains, and the great *Hannibal*. *Servius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, because of her man-like acts: others from *Jedidia*, a surname of *Solomon*.

Eluleus succeeded *Pygmalion*, and reigned 36. years: the same that overthrew the Fleet of *Salmanasser*, in the Port of *Tyre*: notwithstanding which he continued his siege before it on the Land side five years, but in vain.

After *Eluleus*, *Ethobales* governed the *Tyrians*, who vaunted himself to be as wise as *Daniel*: and that he knew all secrets (saith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his 28. Chapter: out of whom it was gathered, that this Prince died, or was slain in that long siege of *Nabuchodonosor*: who surrounded and attempted *Tyre* 13. years together, ere he prevailed.

Baal followed *Ethobales*, and reigned 10. years a tributary, perchance, to *Nabuchodonosor*: for after his death, it was governed by divers Judges, succeeding each other: First by *Ecnibalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the Priest, *Mittonus*, and *Gerastus*, who held it among them some 7. years, and odd moneths: after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a King for one year: after him *Merbalus* sent from *Babylon*, 4. years: after him *Irom*, sent thence also, 20. years. In the 17. of whose reign *Cyrus* began to govern *Persia*.

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§. III.

Of Bozius *his conceit, that the Edumæans inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them received and brought into Phœnicia the knowledge of the true God.*

OF the great mutations of this Kingdom and State of the *Tyrians*, mixed with a discourse of divers other Nations, there is one *Bozius* that hath written a Tract at large, intituled, *De ruinis Gentium*. And although the great and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea, in all things under heaven, have proceeded from his ordinance, who onely is unchangeable, and the same for ever; yet whereas the said *Bozius*, inforcing here-hence, that the prosperity and ruine of the *Tyrians* were fruits of their embracing or forsaking the true Religion; to prove this his assertion, supposeth the *Tyrians* to have been *Edumæans*, descended from *Esau*, *Jacobs* brother: first, it can hardly be believed, that *Tyre*, when it flourished most in her ancient glory, was in any sort truly devout and religious. But to this *Boz. de ruin. Gent. l. 5. c. 7.* end (besides the proof which the Scriptures give of *Hirams* good affection when *Solomon* built the Temple) he brings many conjectural arguments; whereof the strongest is their pedigree and descent: it being likely in his opinion, that the posterity of *Esau* received from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Isaac*. That the *Tyrians* were *Edumæans*, he endeavours to shew, partly by weak reasons, painfully strained from some affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than weight: partly by authority. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and others, witness, that the *Tyrians* came from the *Red Sea*, in which there were three Illands, called

Tyrus,

Tyrus, *Aradus*, and *Sidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the Cities of *Phœnicia*. Considering therefore that all the coast of the *Red Sea*, was (in his opinion) under the *Edumæans*: as *Elah* and *Esiongabar*; or under the *Amalekites*, who descended of *Amalec* the Nephew of *Esau*, whose chief City was *Madian*, so called of *Madian* the son of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whose posterity did people it: the consequence appears good (as he takes it) that the *Tyrians* originally were *Edomites*: differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of *Israel*. Hereunto he adds, that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into *Greece* the worship of *Astartis*, the Idol of the *Sidonians*. That the Parents of *Thales* and *Pherecydes* being *Phœnicians*, themselves differed much in their Philosophy from the Idolatrous customs of the *Greeks*. That in *Teman*, a Town of the *Edumæans*, was an University, wherein, as may appear by *Eliphas* the *Temanite*, who disputed with *Job*, Religion was sincerely taught.

Such is the discourse of *Bozius*, who labouring to prove one *Paradox* by another, deserves in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the *Tyrians* were *Edumæans*, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his people: neither is it true that they were *Edumæans* at all. In what Religion *Esau* brought up his children, it is no where found written; but that himself was a profane man, and disavowed by God, the Scriptures in plain terms express. That his Posterity were Idolaters, is directly proved in the 25. Chapter of the second Book of *Chronicles*. That the *Edomites* were perpetual enemies to the house of *Israel*, save only when *David* and some of his race, Kings of *Juda*, held them in subjection, who knows not? or who is ignorant of *Davids* unfriendly behaviour amongst them, when first they were subdued? surely, it was not any argument of Kinred or Alliance between *Tyrus* and Mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held such good correspondence with *David*; even then when *Joab* slew all the males of *Edom*: neither was it for their devotion to God, and good affection to *Israel*, that the *Edomites* were so ill intreated. It seemeth that the piety and ancient wisdom of *Eliphaz* the *Themanite* was then forgotten, and the *Edumæans* punished, for being such as *David* in his own dayes found them. Although indeed the City of *Teman* whence *Eliphaz* came to reason with *Job*, is not that in *Edumæa*, but another of the same name, lying East from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adjoyning to *Hus*, the country of *Job*: and to *Sueh* the City of *Bildad* the *Suhite*; as both such *Chorographers* who best knew those parts, do plainly shew, and the holy Text maketh manifest. For *Job* is said to have exceeded in riches, and *Solomon* in wisdom; all the people of the East; not the Inhabitants of Mount *Seir*, which lay due South from *Palestina*. True it is, that *Eliphaz* the son of *Esau* had a son called *Teman*: but that fathers were wont in those dayes to take name of their sons, I no where find. And *Ismael* also had a son called *Thema*: of whom it is not unlike, that *Theman* in the East had the name: for as much as in the 7. Chapter of the Book of *Judges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, and all they of the East are called *Ismaelites*. And he that well considers how great and strong a Nation *Amalec* was, which durst give battel to the Host of *Israel*, wherein were 600000. able men, will hardly believe that such a people were descended from one of *Esau* his grand-children. For how powerful and numberless must the forces of all *Edom* have been: if one Tribe of them, yea, one Family of a Tribe had been so great? surely Mount Seir and all the Regions adjoyning could not have held them. But we no where find that *Edom* had to do with *Amalec*, or assisted the *Amalekites*, when *Saul* went to root them out. For *Amalec* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it self, if distinct from the *Ismaelites*. The like may be said of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being son to *Abraham* by *Cethura*, doubtless was no *Edomite*. And thus much in general for all the *Seigniory* of the *Red Sea* coast, which *Bozius* imagines the *Edumæans* to have held: if the *Edomites* in after-times held some places, as *Elan* and *Esiongabar* on the *Red Sea* shore, yet in *Moses* time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moses* himself saith, that *Israel* did compass all the borders of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* stood, *Moses* must needs have known it: because he had sojourned long in that Country: and there had left his wife and children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But conjectural Arguments, how probable soever, are needless in so manifest a case. For in the 83. *Psalm*, *Edom*, *Amalec*, and *Tyre*, are named as distinct Nations: yea the *Tyrians* and *Sydonians* being one people, as all good Authors shew, and *Bozius* himself confesseth, were *Canaanites*, as appears, *Gen.* 10. 15. and 19. appointed by God to have been destroyed, and their Lands given to the children of *Aser*, *Jos.* 29. because they were Idolaters, and of the cursed seed of *Canaan*,

not

not Cousins to *Israel*, nor professors of the same Religion. For though *Hiram* said, *Blessed be God that hath sent King David a wise son*: we cannot infer that he was of *Davids* Religion. The *Turk* hath said as much of *Christian* Princes, his confederates. Certain it is, that the *Sydonians* then worshipped *Astaroth*; and drew *Solomon* also to the same Idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* aided *Solomon* in building the Temple, he did it for his own ends, receiving therefore of *Solomon* great provision of Corn and Oyl, and the offer of twenty Towns and Villages in *Galilee*. And if we rightly consider things, it will appear that *Hiram* in all points dealt Merchant-like with *Solomon*. He allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is over pestered, being otherwise apt to yeild silks: as the *Andarine* Silks which come from thence, and other good Commodities: For Corn and Oyl, which he wanted, he gave that which he could well spare to *Solomon*. Also Gold for Land: wherein *Solomon* was the wiser; who having got the Gold first, gave to *Hiram* the worst Villages that he had: with which the *Tyrian* was ill pleased. But it was a necessary policy which inforced *Tyrus* to hold league with *Israel*. For *David* had subdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, even to *Euphrates*: thorow which Countries the *Tyrians* were wont to carry and re-carry their Wares on Camels, to their Fleets on the *Red Sea*, and back again to *Tyrus*: so that *Solomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to pass, could have cut off their Trade.

But the *Israelites* were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to share with the *Tyrians* in their adventures. Yet *Solomon*, as Lord of the Sea-towns which his Father had taken from the *Philistims*, might have greatly distressed the *Tyrians*, and perhaps have brought them even into subjection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no marvel) that *Solomon* rather meant, as a man of peace, to imploy his Fathers Treasure in magnificent Works, than in pursuing the conquest of all *Syria*. Therefore he willingly aided him, and sent him cunning workmen, to increase his delight in goodly Buildings, Imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages between *Solomon* and *Hiram*, are no strong arguments of piety in the *Tyrians*: so those other proofs which *Bozius* frames negatively upon particular examples are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I think, no man knows. It seems to me, that having more cunning than the *Greeks*, and being very ambitious, he would fain have purchased divine honours; which his Daughters, Nephews, and others of his house obtained; but his own many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but single examples: Every salvage Nation hath some wisdom excelleth the Vulgar, even of civil people. Neither did the moral wisdom of these men express any true knowledge of the true God. Onely they made no good mention of the Gods of *Greece*: whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being *Tyrians*, are not known to have taught Idolatry, therefore the *Tyrians* were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Utica*, *Leptis*, *Cadiz*, and all Colonies of the *Tyrians* (of which, I think, the Islands before mentioned in the *Red Sea* to have been, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, even from their first beginnings: therefore the *Tyrians* who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their Idolatry from *Solomons* time on-wards is acknowledged by *Bozius*, who would have us think them to have been formerly a strange kind of devout *Edomites*. In which fancie he is so peremptory, that he stileth men of contrary opinion, *Impios politicos*, as if it were impiety to think, that God (who even among the Heathen, which have not known his Name, doth favour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded moral honesty, with temporal happiness. Doubtless, this doctrine of *Bozius* would better have agreed with *Julian* the *Apostata*, than with *Cyril*. For if the *Assyrians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and all those Nations of the *Gentiles*, did then prosper most, when they drew neerest unto the true Religion: what may be said of the foul Idolatry which grew in *Rome* as fast as *Rome* it self grew: and was enlarged with some new superstition, almost upon every new victory? How few great battels did the *Romans* win, in which they vowed not either a Temple to some new god, or some new honour to one of their old gods? yea, what one Nation, save onely that of the *Jews*, was subdued by them, whose Gods they did not afterward entertain in their City? Onely the true God, which was the God of the *Jews*, they rejected, upbraiding the *Jews* with him, as if he were unworthy of the *Roman* Majesty: shall we hereupon enforce the lewd and foolish conclusion which Heathen Writers used against the Christians in the *Primitive Church*: That such Idolatry had caused the City of

Rome

Rome to flouriſh, and that the decay of thoſe abominations did alſo bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought ſo, if proſperity were a ſign or effect of true Religion. Such is the blind zeal of *Bozius*, who writing againſt thoſe whom he falſly terms impious, gives ſtrength to ſuch as are impious indeed. But ſuch indiſcretion is uſually found among men of his humour; who having once either fooliſhly embraced the dreams of others, or vainly faſhioned in their own brains any ſtrange *Chimera*'s of Divinity, condemn all ſuch in the pride of their zeal, as Atheiſts and Infidels, that are not tranſported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pity it is, that ſuch mad dogs are oftentimes incouraged by thoſe, who having the command of many tongues, when they themſelves cannot touch a man in open and generous oppoſition, will wound him ſecretly by the malicious vertue of an *Hypocrite*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of Ephraim, *and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whoſe head was* Ephraim.

§. I.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of Ephraim.

Pſal. 59. 78 108. Par. 25.

HAving now paſt over *Phœnicia*, we come to the next Territory adjoyning, which is that of *Ephraim*: ſometimes taken *per excellentiam*, for the whole Kingdom of the ten Tribes. *Ephraim* was the ſecond ſon of *Joſeph*, whoſe iſſues when they left *Egypt* were in number 45000. all which dying in the *Deſarts*, (*Joſua* excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their children grown to be able men, 32500. who ſate down on the Weſt ſide of *Jordan*; between *Manaſſe* and *Benjamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Jordan*, and the *Mediterran* Sea, did by the Eaſt and Weſt.

The firſt and chief City which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria*, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, built by *Amris* or *Homri* King thereof, and ſeated on the top of the Mountain *Somron*, which overlooketh all the bottom, and as far as the Sea-coaſt. It was afterward called *Sebaſte*, or *Auguſta*, in honour of *Auguſt. Cæſar*. This City is often remembred in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the firſt building; for as *Brochard* obſerveth, the ruines which yet remain, and which *Brochard* found greater than thoſe of *Hieruſalem*, tell thoſe that behold them, what it was when it ſtood upright: for to this day there are found great ſtore of goodly Marble pillars, with other hewen and carved ſtone in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the ſons of *Hircanus* the high Prieſt: reſtored and built by the firſt *Herod* the ſon of *Antipater*: who to flatter *Cæſar* called it *Sebaſte*. Herein were the Prophets *Heliſæus* and *Abdias* buried: and ſo was *John Baptiſt*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with Grecian Monks.

Near *Samaria* towards the South, is the hill of *Bethel*, and a Town of that name: on the top of which mountain *Jeroboam* erected one of his golden calves, to be worſhipped: with which he ſeduced the *Iſraelites*.

In ſight of this Mountain of *Bethel*, was that ancient City of *Sichem*; after the reſtauration called *Neapolis*, now *Peloſa*, and *Napolaſa*: It was deſtroyed by *Simeon* and *Levi*, in revenge of the raviſhment of their ſiſter *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelec* evened with the ſoil. *Jeroboam* raiſed it up again: and the *Damaſcens* a third time caſt it down. Sichar. Joh. 4. 5. Maborthan. Joſeph. 1. 6. ant. 1.

Under *Sichem* toward the Sea ſtandeth *Pharaton* or *Pirhathon*, on the Mountain *Amalec*, the City of *Abdon* Judge of *Iſrael*. And under it *Bethoron* of the *Levites*, built as it is ſaid by *Sara*, the daughter of *Ephraim*. Near to this City *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew *Seron* and *Lyſias*, Lievtenants to *Antiochus*. This City had *Solomon* formerly repaired and fortified. Judg. 12. 15. 2 King. 13.

Betweeen *Bethoron* and the Sea, ſtandeth *Samir*, of which *Joſ.* 10. and *Saron*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſua*: it is alſo mentioned *Acts* 9. 35. and of this *Saron* the Valley taketh Joſ. 12. 18.

keth name, which beginning at *Cæſarea Paleſtinæ*, extendeth it ſelf alongſt the coaſt as far as *Joppe*, ſaith *Adrichome*: though indeed the name *Sarona* is not particularly given to this Valley, but to every fruitful plain Region; for not onely this Valley is ſo called, to wit, between *Cæſarea* and *Joppæ*, but that alſo between the Mountain *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee*: for ſo S. *Hierome* upon the five and thirtieth Chapter of *Eſay*, interprets the word *Saron*: and ſo doth the ſame Father in his Commentaries upon *Abdia*, read *Saron* for *Aſſaron*: underſtanding thereby a Plaine neer *Lidda*: which *Lidda* in his time was called *Dioſpolis*, or the City of *Jupiter*, one of the *Toparchies* of *Judæa*, the fift in dignity (or the third after *Pliny*) where S. *Peter* (*non ſua, ſed Chriſti virtute*) cured *Æneas*. *Niger* calls all that Region from *Antilibanus* to *Joppe*, *Sarona*. This *Joppe* was burnt to the ground by the *Romans*, thoſe Ravens and ſpoilers of all Eſtates, diſturbers of Common-weales, uſurpers of other Princes Kingdoms; who with no other reſpect led than to amplifie their own glory, troubled the whole world: and themſelves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the moſt and ſavage barbarous Nations.

Acts 6. Luke 23. Niger. com. 4. Aſiæ, fol. 503. 14.

In *Diaſpolis* (ſaith *Wil.* of *Tyre*) was S. *George* beheaded, and buried: in whoſe honour and memory *Juſtinian* the Emperor cauſed a fair Church to be built over his Tombe; theſe be *Tyrius* his words: *Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, & Joppe, per latè patentem planitiem Elutheriam pertranſeuntes, Liddam quæ eſt Dioſpolis, ubi & egregii Martyris* Georgii *uſque hodie Sepulchrum oſtenditur, pervenerunt, ejus Eccleſiam quum ad honorem ejuſdem Martyris, pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum*, Auguſtus Juſtinianus *multo ſtudio & devotione prompta ædificari præceperat, &c. They having left* (ſaith he) *on the right hand, the Sea Towns*, Antipatris *and* Joppe, *paſſing over the great open Plain of* Elutheria, *came to* Lidda, *which is* Dioſpolis: *where the ſumptuous Tomb of the famous Martyr* S. George *is at this day ſhewed; whoſe Church when the godly and Orthodox Prince of the Roman, High and mighty* Juſtinian, *had commanded to be built, with great earneſtneſs and preſent devotion, &c.* Thus far *Tyrius*: by whoſe teſtimony we may conjecture that this S. *George* was not that *Arrian* Biſhop of *Alexandria*; but rather ſome better *Chriſtian*: for this of *Alexandria* was ſlain there in an uprore of the people, and his aſhes caſt into the Sea, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet alſo it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better *Chriſtian* than he is commonly thought: for his words of the Temple of *Genius*, *How long ſhall this Sepulchre ſtand?* occaſioned the uprore of the people againſt him: as fearing leaſt he would give attempt to overthrow that beautiful Temple. This alſo *Marcellinus* reports; who though he ſay that this *Georgius* was alſo deadly hated of the *Chriſtians*, who elſe might have reſcued him: yet he addeth, that his aſhes, with the aſhes of two others, were therefore caſt into the Sea, leſt if their Reliques had been gathered up, Churches ſhould be built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather think that it was not *Georgius*, whoſe name lives in the right honourable order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrius* abovecited witneſſeth to have been buried at *Lidda* or *Dioſpolis*. The ſame alſo is confirmed by *Vitriac.* S. *Hierome* affirms that it was ſometime called *Tigrida*, and while the *Chriſtians* inhabited the *Holy Land*, it had a Biſhop *Suffragan*.

Of this St George ſee more above in this 2. Book, ch. 7 ſect. 3. & 5.

Lib. 2. c. 11

Salig. tom. 6 c. 4.

Neer to *Lidda* or *Diaſpolis* ſtandeth *Ramatha* of the *Levites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward *Rama*, and *Ramula*, the native City of *Joſeph*, which buried the body of *Chriſt*. There are many places which bear this name of *Rama*; one they ſet in the Tribe of *Juda* neer *Thecua* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephtalim*, not far from *Sephet*; a third in *Zabulon*, which they ſay, adjoyneth to *Sephoris*; a fourth, which they make the ſame with *Silo*; and a fifth, which is this *Rama*, in the hills of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* lived, and wherein he is buried.

See in the Tribe of Benjamin, cap. 12. ſect. 1.

1 Sam. 25. 5.

From hence to the North alongſt the coaſt are *Helon*, or *Ajalon* of the *Levites*, of which *1 Chron. 6. Apollonia*, of which *Joſephus* in his Antiquities, and in the wars of the *Jews*. Alſo *Balſaliſa* for which *Junius*, 2 *Reg.* 4. 42. reads *planities Shaliſtæ*) they place hereabout in this Tribe of *Ephraim*; but *Junius* upon 1. *Sam.* 6. where we read of the Land of *Shaliſha*, findeth it in *Benjamin*.

Ant. 13. 21. de bell. Jud. 1. 6.

On the other ſide of the Mountains of *Ephraim* ſtandeth *Goſna*, one of the *Toparchies*, or Cities of government, the ſecond in dignity, of which the Country about it taketh name.

Then *Thamnath-ſarah*, or according to the *Hebrew*, *Thimnath-Serach*: one alſo of the ten *Toparchies*, or *Præſidencies* of *Judæa*, which they call *Thamnitica*, a goodly City, and ſtrong, ſeated on one of the high Hills of *Ephraim*; on the North of the Hill called *Gaas*; which City and Territory *Iſrael* gave unto their Leader *Joſua*; who alſo amplified it with buildings, neer which he was buried. His Sepulchre remained in S. *Hieroms* time, and over it the *Sun* engraven, in memory of that

Judg 2. 9. It is called Thimnath Chores.

Joſ 9 50.

Hieron. in locis Hebr.

that greatest of wonders which God wrought in *Josua's* time.

In the places adjoyning standeth *Adarsa*, or *Adasa*; where *Judas Machabæus* with three thousand Jews overthrew the Army of *Nicanor*, Lievtenant of *Syria*; neer to *Gaser*, or *Gezer*, which *Josua* took, and hung their King; a City of the *Levites*. It was afterward taken by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*; the people all slain, and the City razed; *Solomon* rebuilt it.

Mac. 1. 7. 40.

To the East of this place is the Frontier City of *Jesleti*, of which *Jos.* 16. 3. otherwise *Pelethi*, whence *David* had part of his Prætorian Souldiers, under the charge of *Benaia*. Then that high and famous Mountain and City of *Silo*, whereon the Ark of God was kept so many years, till the *Philistims* got it.

To this they joyn the City of *Machmas*, or *Michmas*: in which *Jonathan Machabæus* inhabited, a place often remembred in the Scriptures. It standeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Hierusalem*: and is now called *Byra*.

See in Benjamin. 1 *Mac.* 9 ult. 1 *Kings* 4. and see *Rama in Benjamin.*

Then the Village of *Naioth* where *Saul* prophesied; and neer it *Ephron*, one of those Cities which *Abijah* recovered from *Jeroboam*; after the great overthrow given him. Then *Kimbtsaim*, of the Levites, of which *Jos.* 21. 22. which *Junius* thinks to be the same with *Jokmeham*, of which 1 *Chro.* 6. 28. As for *Absaloms Baalasor*, which they find hereabout, *Junius* reads it, in the Plain of *Chatzor*; and findes it in the Tribe of *Juda*; as *Jos.* 15. we read of two *Chatzors* in that Tribe; one neer *Kedesh*, *ver.* 23. and the other the same as *Chetzron*, *ver.* 25.

In this Tribe also they find the City of *Mello*; whose Citizens, they say, joyned with the *Sichemites* in making the Bastard *Abimelec* King: adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, *Solomon* raised a Tribute upon the people. But it seems that *Mello*, or *Millo* is a common name of a strong Fort or Cittadel: and so *Junius*, for *domus Millo*, reads *incolæ munitionis*, and for *Solomo ædificavit Millo*, he reads *ædificabat munitionem*, and so the *Septuagint* read it τὴν ἀκρᾶν in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* which *Solomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but another in *Hierusalem*.

Jud. 9. 6. 20. 1 *Reg.* 11. 27. *Vatablus* expounds *Millo* in this place *locum publicum necessarium civibus Jerosolymitanis atque Israelites.*

The other Cities of mark in *Ephraim*, are *Taphuach*, whose King was slain by *Josua*; and *Janoach*, or *Janoah*, spoiled by *Teglatphalassar*: *Pekah* then governing *Israel*, with divers others, but of no great fame. The Mountains of *Ephraim* sometime signifie the greatest part of the Land of the sons of *Joseph*, on the West of *Jordan*: several parts whereof are the Hill of *Samrom*, or *Samaria*, 1 *Reg.* 16. 24. * the Hill of *Gahas*, *Judg.* 2. 9. the Hill of *Tsalmon*, or *Salmon*, *Judg.* 9. 48. the Hills of the Region of *Tsuph*, or *Tsophim*, *Judg.* 9. 5. where *Rama-Tsophim* stood, which was the City of *Samuel*.

2 *King.* 15 29. *Jos.* 17. 15, 16.

The great plenty of fruitful Vines upon the sides of the Mountains, was the occasion that *Jacob* in the spirit of prophecy, *Gen.* 49. 22. compared *Josephs* two branches, *Ephraim* and *Manasse*, to the branches of a fruitful Vine planted by the Well side, and spreading her (*a*) Daughter branches along the Wall: which Allegory also *Ezek.* 22. in his Lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the ten Tribes, whose head was *Ephraim*) prosecutes: as also in his Lamentation for *Juda*, he followeth the other Allegory of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 49. 9. comparing *Juda* to a Lion. Upon the top of one of the highest of these Hills of *Ephraim*, which overlooketh all the Plains on both sides of *Jordan*, they find the Castle called *Dok*: which they make to be the same with *Dagon*, of which *Josep.* 1. *bell. Jud.* 2. in which Castle, as it is 1 *Mac.* 16. *Ptolomy* most traiterously at a banquet, slew *Simon Macchabæus* his father-in-law.

Among the Rivers of this Tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gaas*, remembred in the second of *Samuel*, *c.* 23. *v.* 30. where though *Junius* read, *Hiddai ex una vallium Gahasi*: yet the Vulgar and *Vatablus* read *Giddai*, of the river of *Gaas*. Also in this Tribe they place the river of *Carith*, by which the Prophet *Elias* abode during the great drought: where he was (*b*) fed with the Ravens: and after that the River was dried up, he travelled (by the Spirit of God guided) towards *Sidon*: where he was relieved by the poor widdow of *Zarepta*, whose dead son he revived, and increased her pittance of Meal and Oil: whereby she sustained her life.

* Also the hill of *Phineas*, where *Eleazar* the high Priest the son of *Aaron* was buried, *Jos* 24. 33 And the two tops of Hills, *Gerizzim*, where the blessings, and *Hebal*, where the cursings were to be read to the people: of which *Deut.* 11. 27. & *Jos.* 8

a It seemeth that *Jacob* in this prophesie the rather useth the word *Daughters* for *branches*, thereby the more plainly to signifie *Colonies* which in the *Hebrew* phrase are called *Daughters* of the *Metropolis*: as in *Josua*, and elsewhere often.

b 1 *Reg.* 17. 6. & *chap.* 17.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes, from Jeroboam *to* Achab.

OF the first Kings of *Israel* I omit in this place to speak, and reserve it to the Catalogue of the Kings of *Juda*: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the division from *Juda* and *Benjamin*, now it followeth to speak. The first of these Kings *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat*, an *Ephrathite*, of *Zereda*, who being a man of strength and courage, was by *Solomon* made overseer of the buildings of the Munition in *Hierusalem*, for as much as belonged to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasse*: and so many

of them as wrought in thoſe works. During which time, as he went to *Hieruſalem*, he encountered the Prophet *Ahijah:* who made him know that he was by God deſtined to be King of *Iſrael*, and to command ten of the twelve tribes. After this, fearing that thoſe things might come to *Solomons* knowledge, he fled into *Egypt* to *Shiſhak*, whom *Euſebius* calleth *Oſochores*, whoſe Daughter he married: the Predeceſſor of which *Shiſhak* (if not the ſame) did likewiſe entertain *Adad* the *Edumæan*, when he was carried young into *Egypt* from the fury of *David*, and his Captain *Joab*; which *Adad* the King of *Egypt* married to his Wives ſiſter *Taphnes*; uſing both him and *Jeroboam* as inſtruments to ſhake the Kingdom of *Judæa*, that himſelf might the eaſilier ſpoil it, as he did: for in the fifth year of *Rehoboam*, *Shiſhak* ſack't the City of *Hieruſalem*, and carried thence all the treaſure of *David* and *Solomon*, and all the ſpoils which *David* took from *Adadezor* of *Soba*, with the preſents of *Tohu*, King of *Hamath*, which were of an ineſtimable value. 1 King. 14.

This *Jeroboam* after the death of *Solomon* became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to govern the *Iſraelites*, and from a mean man exalted to that State: yet preferring the policies of the world before the ſervice and honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes under his rule ſhould repair to *Hieruſalem* to do their uſual Sacrifices, they might be drawn from him by degrees) he erected two golden Calves, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worſhip (an imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, ſaith S. *Ambroſe*, or rather of *Aarons* Calf in *Horeb*:) further he made election of his Prieſts out of the baſeſt and unlearned people. This King made his chief Seat and Palace at *Sichem:* He deſpiſed the warning of the *Judæan* Prophet, whom *Joſephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycas Joel:* his hand thereafter withered, and was again reſtored: but continuing in his Idolatry, and hardened, upon occaſion that the Prophet returning, was ſlain by a Lion; *Ahijah* makes him know that God purpoſed to root out his poſterity.

Ambroſe upon the firſt chapter of the Epiſtle to the Romans

1 King. 11 12, &c. He was afterward overthrown by *Abia* King of *Juda*, and died after he had governed two and twenty years; whom *Nadab* his ſon ſucceeded: who in the ſecond year of his reign, together with all the race of *Jeroboam*, was ſlain, and rooted out by *Baaſha*, who reigned in his ſtead: ſo *Nadab* lived King but two years.

Baaſha the ſon of *Ahijah*, the third King after the partition, made war with *Aſa* King of *Juda:* he ſeated himſelf in *Therſa:* and fortified *Rama* againſt *Juda*, to reſtrain their excurſions. Hereupon *Aſa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damaſcus* againſt him, who invaded *Nepthalim*, and deſtroyed many places therein: the mean while *Aſa* carried away the materials, with which *Baaſha* intended to fortifie *Rama:* but being an Idolater, he was threatned by *Jehu* the Prophet, that it ſhould befall his race, as it did to *Jeroboam:* which afterward came to paſs: He ruled four and twenty years, and died. 1 King. 15 & 16.

To *Baaſha* ſucceeded *Ela* his ſon, who at a feaſt at his Palace of *Therſa*, was in his cups ſlain by *Zambris*, after he had reigned two years: and in him the propheſie of *Jehu* was fulfilled.

Zambris ſucceeded *Ela*, and aſſumed the name of a King ſeven daies; but *Ambris* in revenge of the Kings murder, ſet upon *Zambris*, or *Zimri*, and incloſed him in *Therſa*, and inforc't him to burn himſelf. 1 King. 16

Ambris or *Homri* ſucceeded *Ela*, and tranſferred the Regal ſeat from *Therſa* to *Samaria:* which be bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambris* was alſo an Idolater no leſs impious than the reſt: and therefore ſubjected to *Tabremmon* King of *Syria*, the father of *Benhadad*, according to *Euſebius*, *Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras:* but how this ſhould ſtand, I do not well conceive; ſeeing *Benhadad* the ſon of *Tabremmon* was invited by *Aſa* King of *Juda*, to aſſail *Baaſha* King of *Iſrael*, the father of *Ela*, who forewent *Ambris*. This *Ambris* reigned twelve years, ſix in *Therſa*, and ſix in *Samaria*, and left two children, *Achab* and *Athalia*. 1 King. 16 1 King. 15.

§. III.

Of Achab *and his Succeſſors, with the captivity of the ten Tribes.*

Achab, or *Ahab* ſucceeded *Omri*, who not onely upheld the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, borrowed of the *Egyptians:* but he married *Jezabel* the *Zidonian:* and as *Jeroboam* followed the Religion of his *Egyptian* Wife: ſo did *Achab* of his *Zidonian:* and erected an Altar and a Grove to *Baal* in *Samaria*. He ſuffered *Jezabel* to kill the Prophets of the moſt high God. God ſent famine on the land of *Iſrael*. *Achab* met *Elias*: *Elias* prevailed in the trial of the ſacrifice, and killed the falſe Prophets; and afterward flieth for fear of *Jezabel*.

Benhadad not long after beſieged *Samaria*: & taken by *Achab*, was by him ſet at liberty: for which, the Prophet (whom *Glycas* calleth *Michæas*)

Michæas) reproveth him: afterward he caused *Naboth* by a false accusation to be stoned. Then joyning with *Josaphat* in the war for the recovery of *Ramoth*, he was slain, as *Michæas* had foretold him.

He had three sons named in the Scripture, *Ochozias*, *Joram*, and *Joas*: besides seventy other sons by sundry wives and concubines.

Ochozias succeeded his father *Achab*. The *Moabites* fell from his obedience: he bruised himself by a fall: and sent for counsel to *Beelzebub* the god of *Acharon*. *Eliah* the Prophet meeteth the Messenger on the way: and misliking that *Ochozias* sought help from that dead Idol, asked the Messenger, if there were not a God in *Israel*? *Ochozias* sendeth two Captains, and with each 50. souldiers, to bring *Eliah* unto him, both which with their Attendants were consumed with fire. The third Captain besought mercy at *Eliah's* hands, and he spared him, and went with him to the King, avowing it to the King that he must then die; which came to pass in the second year of his reign.

Beelzebub was the same with *Belus* and *Pluto*, saith *Viginere* upon *Levi.* 2 *Kings* 1.

Joram, the brother of *Ochozias* by *Jezabel*, succeeded: He allured *Josaphat* King of *Juda*, and the King of *Edom* to assist him against the *Moabites*, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20000. sheep. The three Kings wanted water for themselves and their horses in the Deserts. The Prophet *Elisha* causeth the ditches to flow. The *Moabites* are overthrown: their King flieth to *Kirharaseth*, and being besieged, according to some Expositors, burnt his son on the walls as a sacrifice, whereat the three Kings, moved with compassion, returned and left *Moab*, wasting and spoiling that Region. Others, as it seems with better reason, understand the Text to speak of the son of the King of *Edom*, whom they suppose in this irruption to have been taken prisoner by the *Moabites*, and that the King of *Moab* shewed him over the walls, threatning, unless the siege were dissolved, that he would offer him in sacrifice to his gods. Whereupon the King of *Edom* besought those of *Juda* and *Israel* to break off the siege for the safety of his son: which when the other Kings refused to yield unto, and that *Moab*, according to his former threatning, had burnt the King of *Edoms* son upon the Rampire, that all the Assailants might discern it, the King of *Edom* being by this sad spectacle inraged, forsook the party of the other Kings, for want of whose assistance the siege was broken up.

2 *Kings* 3.

After this the King of *Aram* sent to *Joram*, to heal *Naaman* the Captain of his Army of the Leprosie. The answer of *Joram* was, *Am I God to kill, and to give life, that he doth send to heal a man of his Leprosie*: adding, that the *Aramite* sought but matter of quarrel against him. *Elisha* hearing thereof, willed the King to send *Naaman* to him; promising that he should know that there was a Prophet in *Israel*: and so *Naaman* was healed by washing himself seven times in *Jordan*. *Elisha* refused the gifts of *Naaman*; but his servant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof: from whence the sellers of spiritual gifts are called *Gehazites*, as the buyers are *Simonians*, of *Simon Magus*. 2 *King* 1.5

Afterward *Benhadad* King of *Aram*, or *Damascus*, having heard that this Prophet did discover to the King of *Israel* whatsoever the *Aramite* consulted in his secretest counsel, sent a troop of horse to take *Elisha*: all whom *Elisha* struck blind, and brought them captives into *Samaria*: *Joram* then asked leave of the Prophet to slay them, *Elisha* forbade him to harm them: but caused them to be fed, and sent back to their own Prince in safety.

The King of *Aram*, notwithstanding these benefits, did again attempt *Samaria*, and brought the Citizens to extream famine. *Joram* imputeth the cause thereof to the Prophet *Elisha*. *Elisha* by prayer caused a noise of Chariots and Armour to sound in the air, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the siege. An act of great admiration, as the same is written in the second of *Kings*. After this, when *Azael* obtained the Kingdom of *Syria* by the death of his Master, *Joram* entring upon his frontier, took *Ramoth-Gilead*: in which war he received divers wounds, and returned to *Jezreel* to be cured. But whilest he lay there, *Jehu* (who commanding the Army of *Joram* in *Gilead*, was anointed King by one of the children of the Prophets sent by *Elisha*) surprised and slew both him and all that belonged unto him, rooting out the whole posterity of *Ahab*. 2 *Kings* 7.

Jehu, who reigned after *Jehoram*, destroyed not onely the race of his fore-goers, but also their religion; for which he received a promise from God, That his seed should occupy the Throne unto the fourth generation. Yet he upheld the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, for which he was plagued with grievous war, wherein he was beaten by *Hazael* the *Aramite*, who spoiled all the Countries to the East of *Jordan*: in which war he was slain, saith *Cedrenus*; whereof the Scriptures are silent. *Jehu* reigned 28. years. Pag 86.

Joachaz, or *Jehoachaz* the son of *Jehu* succeeded his father, whom *Azael* and his son *Benhadad* 2 *King.* 13.

Benhadad often invaded, and in the end ſubjected, leaving him onely 50. horſe, 20. chariots, and 10000. foot: and, as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like duſt beaten into powder. *Joachaz* reigned 17. years.

After *Joachaz*, *Joas* his ſon governed *Iſrael*, who when he repaired to *Eliſha* the Prophet as he lay on his death-bed, the Prophet promiſed him three victories over the *Aramites*: and firſt commanded him to lay his hand on his bow, and *Eliſha* covered the Kings hands with his, and bad him open the window Weſtward (which was toward *Damaſcus*) and then ſhoot an arrow thence out. He again willed him to beat the ground with his arrows, who ſmote it thrice, and ceaſed: The Prophet then told him, that he ſhould have ſmitten five or ſix times, and then he ſhould have had ſo many victories over the *Aramites* as he gave ſtrokes. And ſo it ſucceeded with *Joas*, who overthrew the *Aramites* in three battels, and recovered the Cities and Territory from *Benhadad* the ſon of *Azael*, which his father
2 *Kings* 14 *Joachaz* had loſt. He alſo overthrew *Amazia* King of *Juda*, who provoked him to make the war, whereupon he entred *Hieruſalem*, and ſacked it with the Temple. This *Joas* reigned ſixteen years, and died; in whoſe time alſo the Prophet *Eliſha* exchanged this life for a better.

Jeroboam the third from *Jehu*, followed *Joas* his father, an Idolater, as his predeceſſors; but he recovered all the reſt of the lands belonging to *Iſrael*, from *Hamath* which is near *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and reigned one and forty years.

Zacharias the fifth and laſt of the houſe of *Jehu*, ſlain by *Shallum* his vaſſal, who reigned in his ſtead, governed ſix moneths. *Shallum* held the Kingdom but one moneth, being ſlaughtered by *Menahem* of the *Gadites*.

Menahem, who took revenge of *Shallum*,
2 *King.* 16. 19. uſed great cruelty to thoſe that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of thoſe that were with child. This *Menahem* being invaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with ten thouſand talents of ſilver, which he exacted by a Tribute of fifty ſhekels from every man of wealth in *Iſrael*. *Menahem* governed twenty years.

Pekahiah, or *Phaceia*, or after *Zonaras*, *Phaceſia* ſucceeded, and after he had ruled
1 *Kings* 15. 29. two years, he was ſlain by *Phaca*, or *Pekah* the Commander of his Army, who reigned in his place. In this *Pekah*'s time, *Phulaſſer*, or *Tiglat-Phylaſſer* invaded the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, and won *Jion*, *Abel-Bethmaacah*, *Janoach*, *Kedeſh*, *Hazor*, and *Gilead*, with all the Cities of *Galilee*, carrying them captives into *Aſſyria*: he was drawn in by *Achaz* King of *Judæa*, againſt *Pekah* and *Rezin*, the laſt of the *Adades*. For *Achas* being waſted by *Pekah* of *Iſrael*, and by *Rezin* of *Damaſcus*, did a third time borrow the Church-riches, and therewith ingaged the *Aſſyrian*, who firſt ſuppreſſed that Monarchy of *Syria* and *Damaſcus*, and then of *Iſrael*: and this inviting of the great *Aſſyrian*, was the utter ruine of both States, of *Iſrael*, and of *Judæa*. *Pekah* reigned 20. years.

Then *Hoſhea*, or *Oſea*, who ſlew *Pekah*, became the vaſſal of *Salmanaſſer*; but hoping to ſhake off the *Aſſyrian* yoak, he ſought aid from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebicus* King of *Egypt*: which being known to the *Aſſyrian*, he caſt him into priſon, beſieged *Samaria*, and maſtered it: carried the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Nineve* in *Aſſyria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other Eaſtern Regions, and there diſperſed them: and re-planted *Samaria* with divers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cuthæ* (inhabiting about *Cutha*, a River in *Perſia*, or rather in *Arabia Deſerta*) and with the people *Catanei* bounding upon *Syria*, and with thoſe of *Sepharvajim* (a people of *Sephar* in *Meſopotamia* upon *Euphrates*, of whoſe conqueſt *Senacherib* vaunteth) alſo with thoſe of *Ava*, which were of the ancient *Avins*, who inhabited the Land of the *Philiſtims* in *Abrahams* time, dwelling near unto *Gaza*, whom the *Caphtorims* rooted out: and at this time they were of *Arabia* the *Deſart*, called *Havæi*, willing to return to their ancient ſeats. To theſe he added thoſe of *Chamath*, or *Ituræa*, the ancient enemies of the *Iſraelites*, and ſometime the Vaſſals of the *Adads* of *Damaſcus*, which ſo often afflicted them. And thus did this *Aſſyrian* adviſe himſelf better than the *Romans* did. For after *Titus* and *Veſpaſian* had waſted the Cities of *Judæa* and *Hieruſalem*, they carried the people away captive: but left no others in their places, but a very few ſimple labourers, beſides their own thin Garriſons, which ſoon decayed; and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who never could be driven thence again to this day.

And this tranſmigration, plantation, and diſplantation, happened in the year of the world, 3292. the ſixth year of *Ezekiah* King of *Juda*: and the ninth of *Hoſea* the laſt King of *Iſrael*.

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

1.	*Jeroboam*	Reigned	22 Years.	10.	*Jehu*	Reigned	28 Years.
2.	*Nadab*		2 Years.	11.	*Joachaz*		17 Years.
3.	*Baasha*		24 Years.	12.	*Joas*		16 Years.
4.	*Ela*		20 Years.	13.	*Jeroboam*		41 Years.
5.	*Zambris*		7 Dayes.	14.	*Zacharias*		6 Moneths.
6.	*Omri*		11 Years.	15.	*Shallum*		1 Moneth.
7.	*Achab*		22 Years.	16.	*Menahem*		10 Years.
8.	*Ochozias*		2 Years.	17.	*Pakahia*		2 Years.
9.	*Joram*		12 Years.	18.	*Phaca*		20 Years.
				19.	*Hoſea*		9 Years, about whoſe time Writers differ.

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Juda, Reuben, Gad, *and the other half of* Manaſſe.

§. I.

Of Dan, *whereof Joppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and other Towns.*

NOw following the coaſt of the *Mediterran Sea*, that portion of Land aſſigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, joyneth to *Ephraim*, whereof I ſpake laſt: of which Family there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 62700. fighting men, all which leaving their bodies with the reſt in the Deſarts, there entred the Holy Land of their ſons 66400. bearing arms. The firſt famous City in this Tribe on the Sea-coaſt was *Joppe*, or *Japho*, as in the 19. of *Joſua*: one of the moſt ancient of the world, and the moſt famous of others on that coaſt, becauſe it was the Port of *Hieruſalem*. From hence *Jonas* imbarked himſelf when he fled from the ſervice of God towards *Tharſis* in *Cilicia*. In the time of the *Macchabees* this City received many changes: and while *Judas Macchabæus* governed the Jews, the *Syrians* that were garriſon'd in *Joppe*, having their Fleet in the Port, invited 200. principal Citizens aboard them, and caſt them all into the Sea: which *Judas* revenged by firing their Fleet, and putting the companies which ſought to eſcape to the ſword.

Ver. 46.

Mac. 2, 12.

It was twice taken by the *Romans*, and by *Ceſtius* the Lievtenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the year of Chriſt, 1250. *Lodowick* the French King gave it new Wals and Towers: It is now the *Turks*, and called *Jaffa*. There are certain Rocks in that Port, whereunto it is reported, that *Andromeda* was faſtned with chains: and from thence delivered from the Sea-monſter by *Perſeus*. This fable (for ſo I take it) is confirmed by *Joſephus*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*. *Marcus Scaurus* during his office of Ædileſhip, ſhewed the bones of this Monſter to the people of *Rome*. S. *Hierome* upon *Jonas* ſpeaks of it indifferently.

Lib. 3. 1. 17. de bel. Jud. Solin. c. 47. Plin. l. 5. cap. 9.

The next unto *Joppe* was *Jamnia*, where *Judas Macchabæus* burnt the reſt of the *Syrian* Fleet: the fire and flame whereof was ſeen at *Hieruſalem*, 240. furlongs off. It had ſometime a Biſhops ſeat, ſaith *Will.* of *Tyre*; but there is no ſign of it at this time, that ſuch a place there was.

2 Mac. 12. de bel. ſacr.

After *Jamnia* is the City of *Geth*, or *Gath*, ſometime *Anthedon*, ſaith *Volateran*. And ſo *Montanus* ſeems to underſtand it. For he ſets it next to *Egypt*, of all the *Philiſtim* Cities, and in the place of *Anthedon*. But *Volateran* gives neither reaſon nor authority for his opinion; for *Ptolomy* ſets *Anthedon* far to the South of *Joppe*: and *Geth* was the firſt and not the laſt (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the *Philiſtims*: and about ſixteen miles from *Joppe*: where S. *Hierome* in his time found a great Village of the ſame name. It was ſometime the habitation and Seminary of the *Anakims*, ſtrong and Giant-like men, whom *Joſua* could not expel, nor the *Danites* after him, nor any of the *Iſraelites*, till *Davids* time: who ſlew *Goliath*, as his Captains did divers others not much inferiour in ſtrength and ſtature unto *Goliath*.

F. 244.

Hierom. in Michæam.

Roboam

Roboam the ſon of *Solomon* rebuilt *Geth*: *Ozias* the ſon of *Amazia* deſtroyed it again. It was alſo laid waſte by *Azael* King of *Syria*. *Fulke* the fourth King of *Hieruſalem*, built a Caſtle in the ſame place out of the old ruines. Whether this *Geth* was the ſame that *Will.* of *Tyre* in the Holy war calls *Ibilin*, I much doubt: the errour growing by taking *Geth* for *Anthedon*.

Lib 21. *c.* 18.

Not far from *Geth* or *Gath* ſtandeth *Beth-ſemes*, or the houſe of the Sun. In the fields adjoyning to this City (as is thought) was the Ark of God brought by a yoak of two Kine, turned looſe by the *Philiſtims*: and the *Bethſemites* preſuming to look therein, there were ſlain of the Elders ſeventy, and of the people fifty thouſand, by the ordinance of God. After which ſlaughter, and the great lamentation of the people, it was called the great * *Abel*, ſaith S. *Hierome*. *Benedictus Theologus* findes three other Cities of this name; one in (*a*) *Nephtalim*: another in *Juda*: and another in *Iſſachar*. *Hierome* findes a fifth in *Benjamin*.

1 *Sam.* 6. 18.

* Or rather not the City it ſelf, but the great ſtone in the field upon which ſtone the Philiſtims ſet the Ark, the change being eaſie from *Eben*, or *Aben*, which ſignifieth a ſtone, to *Abel* which ſignifieth mourning.

Keeping the Sea-coaſt, the ſtrong City of *Accaron* offereth it ſelf, ſometime one of the five *Satrapies*, or Governments of the *Philiſtims*. S. *Hierome* makes it the ſame with *Cæſariæ Paleſtinæ*. *Pliny* confounds it with *Apollonia*: It was one of thoſe that defended it ſelf againſt the *Danites* and *Idumæans*. It worſhipped *Beel-zebub*, the god of Hornets or Flies. To which Idol it was that *Ahaziah* King of *Iſrael* ſent to enquire of his health: whoſe meſſengers *Eliah* meeting by the way, cauſed them to return with a ſorrowful anſwer to their Maſter. This City is remembred in many places of Scripture.

a See in *Neph. c.* 7. *ſect* 4. ‖ 6. 2 *King.* 1.

Chriſtianus Schrot placeth *Azotus* next to *Geth*, and then *Accaron* or *Ekron*. This *Azotus* or *Aſdod*, was alſo an habitation of the *Anakims*, whom *Joſua* (*b*) failed to deſtroy, though he once poſſeſt their City. Herein ſtood a ſumptuous Temple, dedicated to the (*c*) Idol *Dagon*: the ſame Idol whith fell twice to the ground of it ſelf, after the *Ark* of God was by the *Philiſtims* carried into their Temple: and in the ſecond fall, it was utterly broken and defaced. Neer it was that famous (*d*) *Judas Macchabæus* ſlain by *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* the Lievtenants of *Demetrius*. Afterward it was taken by *Jonathas*: and the reſt of the Citizens being put to the ſword, all that fled into the Temple of *Dagon*, were with their Idol therein conſumed with fire: neer which alſo he overthrew *Apollonius*.

but was beſieged by *Pſammetichus*, the father of *Pharao Necho* for 29. yeers together, whence *Jer.* 25. 20. ſpeaks of the reſidue of *Aſdod*, to wit, the greateſt part having periſhed in this ſiege.

b 1 *Sam.* 5. 4. d 1 *Macc* 9. 1 *Macc.* 10. *Joſ.* 19. 41. *Jud.* 13 25. *&c.* *cap.* 18. 2.

Gabinius the Roman rebuilt it. It had a Biſhops ſeat while Chriſtianity flouriſhed in thoſe parts. But in S. *Hieroms* time it was yet a fair Village. And this was the laſt of the Sea-Towns within the Tribe of *Dan*.

The Cities which are within the Land Eaſtward from *Azotus*, and beyond the Fountain of *Æthiopia*, wherein *Philip* the Apoſtle baptized the Eunuch, are *Iſorah*, or *Sarxa*, and *Eſthaol*, and between them *Caſtra Danis* neer *Hebron*: though this place where *Sampſon* was born, may ſeem by the words, *Judg.* 18. 12. to be in the Tribe of *Judah*, as the other alſo were bordering Towns between *Dan* and *Juda*.

After theſe within the bounds of *Juda*, but belonging to the *Danites*, they find *Gedor*, or as it is 1 *Mac.* 15. *Cedron*, which *Cendebæus* the Lievtenant of *Antiochus* fortified againſt the *Jews*, and neer which himſelf was by the *Macchabees* overthrown.

1 *Mac.* 15. 16.

Then *Modin* the Native City of the *Macchabees*: and wherein they were buried, on whoſe Sepulchre the ſeven Marble Pillars, which were erected of that heighth, as they ſerved for a mark to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of yeers after their firſt ſetting up, as *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* witneſs.

There are beſides theſe the City of *Cariathiarim*, that is, the City of the woods: ſeated in the border of *Juda*, *Benjamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the Ark of God remained twenty yeers in the houſe of *Aminadab*: till ſuch time as *David* carried it thence to *Hieruſalem*. Of this place (as they ſay) was *Zacharias* the ſon of *Barachias*, or *Jehoiada*, who was ſlain between the Temple and the Altar: alſo *Urias*, whom *Joachim* King of *Hieruſalem* ſlaughtered, as we find in *Jeremy*. Many other places which they place in this Tribe, rather, as I take it, upon preſumption than warrant, I omit: as that of *Caſpin* taken with great ſlaughter by *Judas Macchabæus*: and *Lechis*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſua*, in which alſo *Amaziah* was ſlain: The ſame which *Senacherib* took, *Ezekias* reigning in *Juda*.

Alias Cariath-baal & Baal, or Baalpharaſim. 1 *Sam.* 7. 1. & 2 *Sam.* 6. 2. 2 *Chron.* 24. 22. *Mat.* 23. 33. *Jer.* 26. 20. 2 *Mac.* 12. 13. *Joſ.* 12. 11. 2 *Reg.* 14. 19.

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, ſee in *Joſua c.* 19. from the *ver.* 41. where alſo it is added, that the *Danites* portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore that they invaded *Leſhem*, and inhabited it: which City, after amplified by *Philip*, the brother of *Herod Antipas*, was called *Cæſarea Philippi*, as before, and made the *Metropolis* of *Ituræa*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coaſts this *Philip* was *Tetrach*: but of this City ſee more in *Nephtalim*. In this Tribe there are no Mountains of fame.

It hath two Rivers or Torrents: the Norther-moſt riſeth out of the Mountains of *Juda*: and paſſing by *Modin*, falleth into the Sea by *Sachrona*. The other hath the name

of

Hieron. in Esai. & Micheam 1. Broch. Breid. Jud. 16. 4.

of *Sorek* or *Sored*, whose banks are plentiful of Vines which have no seeds or stones: the wine they yield is red, of excellent colour, taste, and savour, &c. In this Valley of *Sorek*, so called from the River, inhabited *Dalila* whom *Sampson* loved.

§. II.
THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

THe Tribe of *Simeon* takes up the rest of the Sea-coast of *Canaan*, to the border of *Egypt*: who being the second son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were increased of that Family while they abode in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 59300. able men, all which ending their lives in the *Desarts*, there entred the Land of Promise of their issues 22200. bearing arms, who were *in part mixed with *Juda*, and in part severed, inhabiting a small Territory on the Sea-coast, belonging to *Edumæa*, of which the first City adjoyning to *Dan*, was *Ascalon*.

* And therefore no marvel that divers places named *Jos.* 15. in the large portion of *Juda*, be reckoned in this Tribe: see *Jos.* 19. v. 1. and 9. where thus much is expressly noted *Vola. Geog. l. 111. f. 244.*

The *Reguli*, or petty Kings thereof, were called *Ascalonitæ*: of which *Volatteran* out of *Xanthus*, in the History of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Ascalus* were the sons of *Hymenæus*: and that *Ascalus* being imployed by *Aciamus* King of the *Lydians*, with an Army in *Syria*, falling in love with a young Woman of that Country, built this City, and called it after his own name: The same hath *Nicolaus* in his History, saith *Volatteran*.

Diodorus Siculus in his third Book remembreth a Lake neer *Ascaion*, wherein there hath been a Temple dedicated to *Derceto*, the Goddess of the *Syrians*; having the face of a Woman, and the body of a Fish: who, as I have said before in the story of *Ninus*, was the mother of *Semiramis*, feigned to be cast into this Lake, and fed and relieved by Doves. And therefore was the Dove worshipped both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tibullus* the Poet:

Alba Palæstino sancta Columba Syro.

The white Dove is for holy held in *Syria Palestine.*

Vol. ut supra.

It was one of the chiefest and strongest Cities of the *Philistims*. It bred many learned men (saith *Volatteran*, as *Antiachus*, *Sosus*, *Cygnus*, *Dorotheus* the Historian, and *Artemidorus*, who wrote the story of *Bithynia*.

In *Ascalon*, as some say, was that wicked *Herod* born, that seeking after our Saviour, caused all the Male-children of two years old and under to be slain. In the Christian times it had a Bishop, and after that, when it was by the *Saladine* defaced, *Richard* King of *England*, while he made war in the *Holy Land*, gave it a new Wall and many buildings. *Ejus murus cum* Saladinus *diruisset*, Richardus *Anglorum Rex instauravit*, saith *Adrichomæus*.

Adrich. in Trib. Simeon.

In *Davids* time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the *Philistims*: for he nameth *Gath* and *Ascalon* onely, when he lamenteth the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*: not speaking of the other three. *Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it not in the streets of Ascalon*: It is now called *Scalone*. *Gabinius* restored it as he did *Azotus* and *Gaza*.

2 Sam. 1.

Next to *Ascalon* stood *Gaza*, or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrews* call *Hazza*, the *Syrians*, *Azan*, of *Azonus* (as they say) the son of *Hercules*. Other profane writers affirm, that it was built by *Jupiter*. *Pomp. Mela* gives the building thereof to *Cambyses* the *Persian*; because belike he re-built it, and *Gaza* in the *Persian* tongue is as much to say, as Treasure. This *Gaza* was the first of the five *Satrapies* of the *Philistims*, and the South bound of the land of *Canaan* towards *Egypt*. But this City was far more ancient than *Cambyses*, as it is proved by many Scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*: but the strength of the *Anakims* put him from it. At such time as *Alexander Macedon* invaded the Empire of *Persia*, it received a Garrison for *Darius*: in despight whereof it was by the *Macedonians* after a long siege demolished, and was called *Gaza* of the *Desart*.

Vol. l. 11.

Steph. de urb. Jud. 16. 16.

1 Kings 6. & alib. Jose. 13. ant. 19.

Alexander Janeus King of the *Jews* surprised it, and slew five hundred Senators in the Temple of *Apollo*, which fled thither for Sanctuary: but this *Gaza* was not set up in the same place again, to wit, on the foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had overturned, but somewhat neerer the Sea side: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Town of great account in the time of the *Machabees*, and gave many wounds to the *Jews*, till it was forst by *Simon*: of which he made so great account, as that he purposed to reside therein himself, and in his absence left *John* his Son and Successour to be Governour. In *Brochard* his time it was still a goodly City, and known by the name of *Gazara*.

Mac. 1 15. Broch. Itin. 7.

At the very out-let of the River of *Besor*, standeth *Majoma* the Port of *Gaza*: to which the priviledge of a City was given by the great *Constantine*, and the place called *Constance*, after the name of the Emperours Son. But *Julian* the *Apostata* soon after favouring the *Gazeans*, made it subject unto them, and commanded it to be called *Gaza maritima*.

Hist. trip. l. 6. c. 4. Niceph. 10. hist. cap. 4.

Jos. 13. an. 19 21. On the other side of *Besor* standeth *Anthedon*, defaced by *Alexander Janneus*, restored by *Herod*, and called *Agrippias*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the favorite of *Augustus*.

Then *Raphia*, where *Philopater* overthrew the great *Antiochus*: and beyond it *Rhinocura*, whose Torrent is known in the Scriptures by the name of * *the Torrent of Egypt*, till the *Septuagint* converted it *Rinocura*: to difference it, *Es.*27. 12. giving the name of the City to the Torrent that watereth it. *Pliny* calls it *Rhinocolura*: and *Josephus Rhinocorura*: (a) *Epiphanius* reports it as a Tradition, that at this place the world was divided by lot, between the three Sons of *Noah*.

Jos 13. ant 19, 21. 14, &c. * *Junius* calls it *Vallis Egypti*, the name of the stream seems to be *Sichor*. See in *Asser*, c. 7. sect. 3. ll 8. in the margent.

Within the Land, and upon the River of *Besor* they place *Gerar*: which the Scripture placeth between *Kadesh* and *Shur*, *Gen.*20.1. That it was neer to the Wilderness of *Beersheba*, it appears *Gen.* 20.31. and therefore no marvel that as elsewhere *Beer-sheba*, so sometime *Gerar*, be made the South bound of *Canaan*. It was of old a distinct Kingdom from the *Philistim Satrapies*: the Kings by one common name were called *Abimelechs*; S. *Hierome* saith that afterwards it was called *Regio salutaris*, *the healthy Country*: so that it was no marvel that *Abraham* and *Isaac* lived much in those parts. Of King *Asa's* conquest of the Cities about *Gerar*, see 2 *Chron.*14.14.

(a) *Epiph. tom* 2 *in resul Manich & in Ancorato.* *Gen* 10 19

1 *Sam.*30. More within the Land was *Siceleg*, or *Tsiglak*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*, when *David* in his flying from *Saul* to the *Philistims* had left his carriages there, but *David* followed them over the River of *Besor*, and put them to the slaughter, and recovered the prey.

*Josep.*10, 11, 12. Next *Dabir* sometime *Cariath-Sepher*, a City of Letters, the University, as they say, or *Academy* of old *Palæstine*. In Saint *Hierom's* time, it seems, it had the name of *Daema*: *Jos.*15.49. it is called *Urbs Sannæ*: from the name, as it seems, of some of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Urbs Arbahi*. For even hence also were these Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by *Othoniel*, incouraged by *Caleb's* promise of his Daughter in marriage: but that *Josua* and the Hoast of *Israel* were at the surprise, it appears *Jos.*10. 39. This City *Jos* 21.15. is named among those which out of *Simeon* and *Juda* were given to the *Levites*. And hence it seems they attribute it to this Tribe.

Jos 11.21.

Besides these, there are many others in the Tribe of *Simeon*, but of less fame, as *Hajin*, of which *Jos.*19.7. which also *Jos.*21.16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the *Levites*, given out of the portion of *Juda* and *Simeon*, (for which *Junius* thinks *Hasham* is named 1 *Chron.*6.59. though * in the place of *Josua* these two are distinguished) also *Tholad*, so named 1 *Chro.*4.29 for which *Jos.*19.4. we have *Eltholad*. *Chatzar-Susa*, so named, *Jos.*19.5. for which *Jos.*15. we have *Chatzar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in signification: for *Gadda* is *Turma*, and *Susa Equitatus*.

* And also 1 *Chron.* 4. 31.

In the same places of *Josua* and of the *Chronicles*, *Chorma* is named, which they think to be the same with that of which *Num.*14.45. to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* pursued the *Israelites*: But that *Chorma* cannot be in *Simeon*, nor within the Mountains of *Edumæa*. For *Israel* fled not that way: but back again to the Camp, which lay to the South of *Edumæa*, in the *Desart*. *Deut.*1.

The same places also name *Beersheba* in this Tribe: so called of the Oath between *Abraham* and *Abimelec*: neer unto which *Hagar* wandered with her son *Ismael*. It was also called the City of *Isaac*, because he dwelt long there. While the *Christians* held the *Holy Land*, they laboured much to strengthen this place, standing on the border of the *Arabian* Desart, and in the South bound of *Canaan*. It hath now the name of *Gibelin*. The other Cities of *Simeon* which are named in the places of *Josua*, and of the *Chronicles* above noted, because they help us nothing in story, I omit them. In the time of *Ezekia* King of *Juda*, certain of this Tribe being strengthened in his own Territories, passed to * *Gedor*, as it is 1 *Chron.* 4. 39. (the same place which *Jos.*15.36. is called *Gedera* and *Gederothaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the issue of *Cham*: where they seated themselves: as also five hundred others of this Tribe, destroyed the Reliques of *Amalec* in the Mountains of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places. *Gen.*21.31

* As it seems in the Land of *Juda*. See in the first Paragraph of this Chapter in the Cities of *Dan*.

The Mountains within this Tribe are few, and that of *Sampson* the chiefest: unto which he carried the Gate-post of *Gaza*. The Rivers are, *Besor*, and the *Torrent* of *Egypt*, called *Shichar*, as is noted in *Asser*. *Jud* 16.3

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF JUDA.

OF *Juda*, the fourth son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Egypt* 74600. all which (*Caleb* excepted) perished in the *Desarts*. And of their sons there entred the Land of *Canaan* 76500. bearing arms. Agreeable to the greatness of this number was the greatest Territory given, called afterward *Judæa*: within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to *Dan* and *Simeon* included. And many Cities named in those

those Tribes, did first, as they say, belong unto the Children of *Juda*: who had a kind of Soveraignty over them: as *Succoth*, *Cartathiarim*, *Lachis*, *Bethsemes*, *Tsiglag*, *Beersheba*, and others. The multitude of people within this small Province (if it be meted by that ground given to this Tribe only) were incredible, if the witnesse of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when *David* numbred the people, they were found five hundred thousand fighting men.

The Cities of *Juda* were many. But I will remember the chiefest of them: beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which standeth in the entrance of *Judæa* from *Idumæa*: whose King first surprized the *Israelites* as they passed by the border of *Canaan* towards *Moab*, and took from them some spoyls, and many prisoners: who being afterward overthrown by the *Israelites*, the sons of *Keni*, the Kinsmen of *Moses*, obtained a possession in that Territory: who before the coming of the *Israelites*, dwelt between *Madian* and *Amalek*.

Num 21.3. *Jos.* 11.14. *Jud.* 1.16.

Num. 34.4. *Deut.* 8.15.

Following this Frontier towards *Idumæa* and the South, *Ascensus Scorpionis*, or *Acrabbim* is placed: the next to *Arad*: so called because of Scorpions, which are said to be in that place: from which name of *Acrabbim*, *Hierome* thinks that the name of the *Toparchie*, called *Acrabathena*, was denominated: of which we have spoken in *Manasses*. On the South side also of *Judæa* they place the Cities of *Jagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Asna*, *Jethnam*, and *Assor*, or *Chatsor*, most of them Frontier Towns.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places so called: one besides this in the body of *Juda*, of which the *Desart* and Forrest adjoyning took name: where *David* hid himself from *Saul*. After these are the Cities of *Esron*, *Adar*, *Karkah*, and *Ascemona*, or *Hatsmon*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idumæa* towards the North, we find the Cities of *Danna*, *Shemah*, *Amam*, the other *Asor*, or *Chatsor*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Sochoes*: of all which see *Jos.* 15. also *Carioth*, by *Jos.* 15.25. called *Kerioth*: whence *Judas* the Traitor was called *Is-carioth*, as it were a man of *Carioth*. Then *Hetham*, the abode of *Sampson*, which *Rehoboam* re-edified. Beyond these, towards the North border, and towards *Elutheropolis*, is the City of *Jethar*, or *Jathir*, belonging to the Levites. In Saint *Hierom's* time it was called *Jethira*: and inhabited altogether with *Christians*: neer unto this City was that remarkable battel fought between *Asa* King of *Juda*, and *Zara* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithstanding beaten and put to flight: *Asa* following the victory as far as *Gerar*, which at the same time he recovered.

Jud. 15.8. *1 Chro.* 11.6 *Jun.* out of the 1 *Chro.* 4.31 notes that this *Hetham*, though it were within the bounds of *Juda*, belonged to *Simeon*. *Jos.* 15.48. *Hieron. in loc. Hebr.*

Not far from *Jether* standeth *Jarmuth*, whose King was slain by *Josua*, and the City overturned. Next unto it is *Maresa* the Native City of the Prophet *Michæa*: between it and *Odolla*, *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew *Gorgias*, and sent thence ten thousand *Dragmas* of silver to be offered for sacrifice.

2 *Macc.* 12. 35.

Odolla, or *Hadullam* it self, was an ancient and magnificent City, taken by *Josua*, and the King thereof slain. *Jonathan Macchabæus* beautified it greatly. Then *Ceila*, or *Keila*, afterward *Echela*, where *David* sometime hid himself: and which afterward he delivered from the assaults of the *Philistims*: neer which the Prophet *Abacuc* was buried: whose monument remained, and was seen by S. *Hierome*.

Gen 38. 1. *Jos.* 12. 15. 1 *Sam.* 23.1

Neer it is *Hebron*, sometime called *the City of Arbah*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Coriatharbe*: the reason of this name they give, as if it signified the City of four: because the four Patriarchs, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried, but of *Adam* it is but supposed: and it is plain by the places, *Jos.* 14. 14. and 15. 13. and 20. 11. that *Arbah* here doth not signifie four, but that it was the name of the Father of the Giants, called *Anakim*, whose son as it seems *Anak* was: and *Achiman*, *Sheshai*, and *Talmai*, (whom *Caleb* expelled, *Jos.* 15.) were the sons of *Anak*, *Num.* 13.23. The name of *Anak* signifieth *Torquem*, a chain worn for ornament; and it seems that this *Anak*, inriched by the spoils which himself and his father got, wore a chain of gold, and so got this name: and leaving the custome to his posterity, left also the name: so that in *Latine* the name of *Anakim* may not amiss be expounded by *Torquati*.

The City *Hebron* was one of the ancientest Cities of *Canaan*, built seven yeers before *Tsoan*, or *Tanis*, in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chief City of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part given, to wit, the Villages adjoyning, and the rest to the Levites. It had a Bishop in the *Christian* times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the mother of *Constantine*.

Not far hence they find *Eleutheropolis*, or the free City, remembred often by Saint *Hierome*. Then *Eglon*, whose King *Dabir* associated with the other four Kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of *Hierusalem*, *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, and *Lachis*, besieging the *Gibeonites*, were by *Josua* utterly overthrown. From hence the next City of fame was *Emaus*, afterward *Nicopolis*, one of the Cities of Go-

vernment or *Præſidencies* of *Judæa*. In ſight of this City, *Judas Macchabæus* (after he had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gave a third overthrow to *Gorgias*, Lievtenant to *Antiochus*.

Joſ 10 11. *Macc.* 1. 3. *Euſeb. in Chron Broch. Iſtin.* 6. In the yeer 1301. it was overturned by an earthquake, ſaith *Euſebius*. In the Chriſtian times it had a Biſhops ſeat of the Dioceſs of *Cæſarea* of *Paleſtine*.

From *Emaus* toward the Weſt Sea, there are the Cities of *Nahama*, *Bethdagon*, and *Gader*, or *Gedera*, or *Gederothaima*, of which, and of *Gederoth*, * *Joſ.* 15. 36. and 41. Then *Azecha*, to which *Joſua* followed the ſlaughter of the five Kings before named, a City of great ſtrength in the Valley of (a) *Terebinth*, or *Turpentine*, as the *Vulgar* readeth, 1 *Sam.* 17. 2. whence (as it ſeems) they ſeat it neer unto *Soco*, and unto *Lebna* of the Levites. It revolted from the ſubjection of the *Jews* while *Joram* the ſon of *Joſaphat* ruled in *Hieruſalem*: And next unto this ſtandeth *Maceda*, which *Joſua* utterly diſ-peopled.

* Alſo 1 *Chro.* 4. 39. as is above remembred in the Trite of *Simron*. (a) *Junius*, for *in Valle Terebinthi*, hath *in Valle querceti*. *Vatablus* keeps the *Hebrew*, reading *in Valle Elah*.

On the other ſide of *Emaus* towards the Eaſt ſtandeth *Bethſur*, otherwiſe *Bethſora*, and *Bethſor*: one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſought for places in all *Juda*. It is ſeated on a high Hill; and therefore called *Bethſur* (*the houſe on the Rock*, or *of ſtrength*.) It was fortified by *Roboam*, and afterward by *Judas Macchabæus*. *Lyſias* forc't it: and *Antiochus Eutapor* by famine, *Jonathas* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified againſt the *Syrian* Kings.

Joſ 15. *ant.* 9. *Macc.* 1. 6.

Gen. 35 48 *Bethleem* is the next unto it within ſix miles of *Hieruſalem*, otherwiſe *Lehem*: ſometime *Ephrata*; which name, they ſay, it had of *Calebs* wife, when as it is ſo called by *Moſes* before *Caleb* was famous in thoſe parts, *Gen.* 38. 16. Of this City was *Abeſſan*, or *Ibſan* Judge of *Iſrael* after *Jephtah*, famous for the thirty ſons and thirty daughters begotten by him. *Elimelec* was alſo a *Bethlemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* ſojourned in *Moab* during the famine of *Juda* in the time of the Judges, with whom *Ruth* the daughter-in-law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethleem*: and married *Booz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Iſſai*, of whom *David*. It had alſo the honour to be the native City of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*; and therefore ſhall the memory thereof never end.

Ruth 1.

Hieron. in com. ſuper. Mat. c. 2. *Matth.* 2. 1. *Amos* 1. 1. 1 *Macc.* 6. 32. *Joſ. ant.* 12. c. 14. 1 *Macc.* 6. 36. In *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was alſo a City of the ſame name: and therefore was this of our Saviour called *Bethleem Juda*.

From *Bethleem* ſome four or five mile ſtandeth *Thecua*, the City of *Amos* the Prophet: and to this place adjoyning is the City of *Bethzacaria*, in the way between *Bethſura* and *Hieruſalem*: on whoſe Hils adjoyning, the glorious guilt ſhields of *Antiochus* ſhined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the *Jews*. The City of * *Bezek* was alſo neer unto *Bethleem*, which *Adoni-Bezec* commanded; who had during his reign tortur'd 70. Kings, by cutting off the joynts of their Fingers and Toes; and made them gather bread under his Table: but at length the ſame end befell himſelf by the ſons of *Juda*, after they had taken him priſoner.

* See in *Manaſſe* c. 7. ſect. 7. || 1. *Jud.* 1. 6, 7

The reſt of the Cities in this part (moſt of them of no great eſtimation) we may paſs by, until we come to the magnificent Caſtle of *Herodium*, which *Herod* erected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200. Marble ſteps, exceeding beautiful and ſtrong. And towards the *Dead Sea*, and adjoyning to the *Deſart* of *Jeruel*, between it and *Tekoa*, is that *Clivaus floridus*, where, in the time of *Jehoſaphat*, the *Jews* ſtood and lookt on the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, maſſacring one another, when they had purpoſed to joyn againſt *Juda*: neer which place is the Valley of bleſſing, where the *Jews* the fourth day after, ſolemnly came and bleſſed God for ſo ſtrange a deliverance.

Joſ. 14. *ant.* 22. 2 *Chro* 20. 16 & 26.

Now the Cities of *Juda* which border the *Dead Sea*, are theſe; *Aduran* beautified by *Roboam*: and *Tſohar*, which the *Vulgar* calleth * *Segor*: ſo called, becauſe *Lot* in his prayer for it, urged that it was but a little one: whence it was called *Tſohar*, which ſignifieth a little one: when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen.* 14. 2. In the *Romans* time it had a Garriſon, and was called (as they ſay) *Pannier*: in *Hierom's* time, *Balexona*. Then *Engaddi*, or *Hen-gaddi*, firſt *Aſaſonthamar*: neer unto which are the Gardens of *Balſamum*, the beſt that the world had called *Opobalſamum*: the moſt part of all which Trees *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt* ſent for out of *Judæa*, and *Herod*, who either feared or loved *Anthony* her Husband, cauſed them to be rooted up, and preſented unto her: which ſhe re-planted neer *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. This City was firſt taken by *Chedorlaomer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the moſt remarkable Cities of *Judæa*; and one of the Preſidencies thereof.

2 *Chro.* 11. * Some call it *Baſeliſa* and *Vitula conſternans*. See in *Gad*, c. 10. *ſect.* 5. *poſt principium in Haroher*, *Gen.* 19. 20 *Hieron. in Oſe. Hebr. Chaſaſonthamar*. 2 *Chro.* 20. 2. *Gen.* 14. 7.

The reſt of the Cities are many in the Inland, and among them *Jeſrael*: not that which was the City of *Naboth*, of which already; but another of the ſame name, the City of *Achinoan*, the wife of *David*, the mother of that *Ammon* whom *Abſalom* ſlew: alſo, as ſome think, the City of *Amaſa*, *Abſaloms* Lievtenant, and the Commander of his Army. But this ſeemeth to be an errour grounded upon the neerneſs of the words *Iſrael* and *Jeſrael*: and becauſe the 2 *Sam.* 17. 25.

1 *Reg.* 21. 2 *Sam.* 17. 25.

25. *Amasa*'s father is called an *Israelite*, who in the first of the *Chron.* 2. 17. is called an *Ismaelite*: indeed the *Hebrew* Orthography sheweth that *Amasa*'s father is not said to be of the City *Jesrael*, but an *Israelite* in Religion, though otherwise an *Ismaelite*.

In this Tribe there were many high Hils and Mountains: as those of *Engaddi* upon the *Dead Sea*: and the Mountains of *Juda*, which begin to rise by *Emaus*, and end neer *Taphna*, and these part *Juda* from *Dan* and *Simeon*. Of others which stand single, there is that of *Hebron*, at the foot whereof was that Oak of *Mamre*, where the three Angels appeared to *Abraham*; which Saint *Hierome* calleth a Fir-tree, and saith, That it stood till the time of *Constantine* the younger. There is also that Mountain called *Collis Achillæ*, on the South of *Ziph*: on the top whereof the great *Herod*, incloſing the old Castle, erected by *Jonathan Macchabæus*, and called *Massada*, garnished it with twenty seven high and strong Towers: and therein left Armour and Furniture for an hundred thousand men; being, as it seemeth a place unaccessable, and of incomparable strength.

Hierom. in loc. Heb. & quæst Hebr. Jos. 14. Ant. c. 20.

In the Valley afterward called the *Dead Sea*, or the Lake *Asphaltitis*, this Country had four Cities, *Adama*, *Sodom*, *Seboim*, and *Gomorra*, destroyed with fire from Heaven for their unnatural sins.

§. IV.
THE TRIBE OF REUBEN, and his Borderers.

¶. I.
The seats and bounds of Midian, Moab, *and* Ammon, *part whereof the* Reubenites *wan from* Sehon *King of* Hesbon.

ON the other side of the *Dead Sea*, *Reuben* the eldest of *Jacobs* sons inhabited: of whose children there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 46000. who dying with the rest in the Desarts, there remained to possess the Land promised 43700. bearing arms. But before we speak of these, or the rest that inhabited the East side of *Jordan*, something of their borderers: to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whose Land in our Writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first we are to remember, that out of *Abraham*'s kindred came mighty Families: as by *Isaac* and *Jacob* the Nation called *Israel*, and afterward *Jews*: by *Esau*, or *Edom*, the *Idumæans*: by *Ismael*, the eldest Son of *Abraham*, the *Ismaelites*: and by *Ketura*, his last wife, the *Midianites*. And again, by *Lot*, *Abraham*'s brothers son, those two valiant Nations of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*: all which being but strangers in the Land of *Canaan* (formerly possest by the *Canaanites*; and by the Families of them descended) these issues and alliance of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whose children were bred in *Egypt*, inhabited the frontier places adjoyning.

Esau and his sons held *Idumæa*, which bounded *Canaan* on the South, *Ismael* took from the South-east part of the *Dead Sea*; stretching his possession over all *Arabia Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the *Desart*, as far as the River of *Tygris*, from *Sur* to *Havilah*.

Moab took the rest of the coast of the *Dead Sea*, leaving a part to *Midian*, and passing over *Arnon*, inhabited the Plains between *Jordan* and the Hils of *Abarim*, or *Arnon*, as far North as *Essebon*, or *Chesbon*.

Ammon sate down on the North-east side of *Arnon*, and possest the Tract from *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*, both within the Mountains of *Gilhead*, and without them as far forth as *Aroer*, though in *Moses* time he had nothing left him in all that Valley: for the *Amorites* had thrust him over the River of *Jaboc*, as they had done *Moab* over *Arnon*. As these Nations compassed sundry parts of *Canaan*, so the border between the River of *Jaboc* and *Damascus*, was held by the *Amorites* themselves, with other mixt Nations: all which Territory on the East side of *Jordan*, and on the East side of the *Dead Sea*, was granted by *Moses* to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half *Manasse*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was first possest by the *Emims*, a Nation of Giants weakned and broken by *Chedorlaomer*, after repulsed by the *Moabites*, as before remembred. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the Territory and ancient possession of the *Zamzummims*, or *Zutæi*, who were also beaten at the same time by *Chedorlaomer*, *Amraphel*, and the rest: and by them an easie way of conquest was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Jos. 13. *Num.* 21. 24. *Gen.* 14.

Now where it is written, that *Arnon* was the border of *Moab*, the same is to be understood according to the time when *Moses* wrote. For then had *Sehon* or his Ancestor beaten the *Moabites* out of the plain Countries, between *Abarim* and *Jordan*, and driven them from *Hesbon* over *Arnon*; and this hapned not long before *Moses* arrival upon that border, when *Vaheb* governed the *Moabites*. For he that ruled *Moab* when *Moses* past *Arnon*, was not the son of *Vaheb*, but his name was *Balac*, the son of *Zippor*. And it may

may be that those Kings were elective, as the *Edumæans* anciently were.

Now, all that part of *Moab*, between *Arnon* and *Jordan*, as far North as *Esebon*, was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Israel* arrived there out of *Egypt*, it was in the possession of *Sehon*, of the race of *Canaan* by *Amorews*: and therefore did *Jephtah* the Judge of *Israel* justly defend the regaining of those Countries against the claim of the *Ammonites*: because (as he alledged) *Moses* found them in the possession of the *Amorites*, and not in the hands of *Moab*, or *Ammon*: who (saith *Jephtah*) had 300. years time to recover them, and did not: whence he inferreth, that they ought not to claim them now. *Judg.* 11.

And lest any should marvel why the *Ammonites* in *Jephtahs* time should make claim to these Countries: whereas *Moses* in the place *Num.* 21.*v.*26. rather accounts them to have been the ancient possession of the *Moabites*, than of the *Ammonites*: it is to be noted, that *Deut.* 3. 11. when it is said that the Iron bed of *Og* was to be seen at *Rabbath*, the chief City of the *Ammonites*, it is also signified, that much of the Land of *Og*, which the *Israelites* possessed, was by him or his Ancestors got from the *Ammonites*, as much of *Sehons* was from the *Moabites*.

Jos 13.25. *Junius* notes that the one half of the land of *Hammon*, which in this place of *Josua* is said to have been given to the *Gadites*, was taken first from the *Ammonites* by *Sehon*: but the place, *Deut.* 2.11. proves that as well *Og*, as *Sehon* had gotten lands out of the hands of the *Ammonites*.

And as the *Canaanite* Nations were seated so confusedly together, that it was hard to distinguish them; so also were the sons of *Moab* and *Ammon*, *Madian*, *Amalec*, and *Ismael*. Yet the reason seemeth plain enough why *Ammon* commanded in chief, in *Jephtah's* time; for sometime the one Nation, sometime the other of all those borderers acquired the Soveraignty: and again, that one part of the Land which *Gad* held, namely, within the Mountains of *Galaad*, or *Gilehad*, and as far South as *Aroer*, belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking advantage of the time, they then sought how to recover it again. Yet at such time as *Moses* overthrew *Sehon* at *Jahaz*, the *Ammonites* had lost to the *Amorites* all that part of their possession which lay about *Aroer*, and between it and *Jaboc*: *Sehon* and *Og*, two Kings of the *Amorites*, having displanted both *Moab* and *Ammon* of all within the Mountains. For it is written in *Numb.* 21.24. that *Israel* conquered the Land of *Sehon* from *Arnon* unto *Jaboc*, *even unto the children of Ammon*: so as at this time the River of *Jaboc* was the South bound of *Ammon* within the Mountains, when as anciently they had also possessions over *Jaboc*, which at length the *Gadites* possest, as in the thirteenth Chapter of *Josua*, verse twenty five, it appears.

¶. II.

Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.

THE chief Cities belonging to *Reuben* were these, *Kedemoth*, for which the Vulgar, without any shew of warrant, readeth *Jethson*. The Vulgar or *Hierome* followed the *Septuagint*, those two Verses, 36. and 37. in *Jos.* 22. being wanting in the old Hebrew Copies, and the *Septuagint* read *Kedson* for *Kedmoth*, which *Kedson* by writing slipt into *Jethson*. *Jos* 21.37.

This City which they gave to the Levites, imparts her name to the Desart adjoyning: from whence *Moses* sent his Embassage to *Sehon*. In the same place of *Josua*, where this *Kedemoth* is mentioned, the Vulgar for *Betser & villa ejus*, reads *Bosor in solitudine Misor*, without any ground from the Hebrew: whence *Adrichomius* makes a Town called *Misor*, in the border between *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemoth*, near the *Dead Sea* (for the Country between being Mountainous, hath few Cities) they place two Towns of note, *Lasa* or *Leshash*, of which *Genesis* 10.*ver.*19. The Greeks call it *Callirhoe*: near which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and sweet water; all which soon after their rising, being joyned in one stream, do make a very wholsome Bath, especially for all contraction of sinews: to which *Herod* the elder, when he was desperate of all other help, repaired, but in vain. Others say, that these Springs arise out of the Hills of *Machærus*, in this Tribe. The like fountains are found in the *Pyrenyes*, and in *Peru*, called *the Baths of the Inga's*, or *Kings*. The other Town is *Machærus*, the next between *Lasa* and *Jordan:* of all that part of the world the strongest In-land City and Castle, standing upon a Mountain every way unaccessible. It was first fortified by *Alexander Jannæus*, who made it a frontier against the *Arabians*: but it was demolished by *Gabinius* in the war with *Aristobulus*, saith *Josephus*. It was thither (saith *Josephus*) that *Herod* sent *John Baptist*, and wherein he was slain: his Army soon after being utterly overthrown by *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, and himself after this murther never prospering. Not far from *Machærus* was *Bosor*, or *Bozra*, a town of refuge, and belonging to the Levites, and near it *Livias* upon *Jordan*, which *Herod* built in honour of *Livia*, the mother of *Tiberius Cæsar*.

Deut. 2.16. It was a marginal note out *Deut.* 3. where the *Sept.* kept the word *Misor*, signifying a plain, which after crept into the Text. *Jos.* 17.*ant.* *c.* 9. & *Hieron. in quæst. Heb. in Gen.* *Acosta l.* 3. *Jos. ant.* 13. *cap.* 24. & 14.*ant. c* 10 & *alibi.* *Joseph. bel. Jud l.* 7. *c.* 25.

Deut. 4 43. *Jos.* 20. 8. *Euseb. in Chron. Hier. in loc. hab.*

To the North of *Livias* is *Setim*, or *Sittim*: where the children of *Israel* imbraced the daughters of *Midian*, or *Moab*: and where *Phineas* *Num.* 25.1.

Phineas pierced the body of *Zimri* and *Cosbi* with his spear, bringing due vengeance upon them when they were in the midst of their sin; and from hence *Josua* sent the discoverers to view *Jericho*, staying here until he went over *Jordan*. As for the Torrent *Setim*, which in this place *Adrichomius* dreams of, reading *Joel* 3. 18. *irrigabit torrentem Setim*: The Vulgar hath *torrentem spinarum*: and *Junius*, *vallem Cedrorum*: expounding it not for any particular place in *Canaan*: but for the Church, in which the just being placed, grow as the cedars, *Psal.* 92. 13.

Jos. 13. 1.

The plain Country hereabout, by *Moses* called, *The plains of Moab*, where he expounded the book of *Deuteronomy* to the people a little before his death, is in the beginning of the same book precisely bounded by *Moses*. On the South it had the great Desart of *Paran*, where they had long wandred. On the East it had *Chatseroth*, and *Dizahab* (of which two, the former is that *Gazorus*, of which *Ptolomy* in *Palestina*: the later was a Tract belonging to the *Nabathæi* in *Arabia Petræa*, where was * *Mezahab*, of which, *Gen.* 36. 39.) by the Geographers called *Medava*, and *Medaba*. On the West it had *Jordan*, and on the North it had *Laban* (in *Junius* edition, by the fault of the Print, *Lamban*, *Deut.* 1. 1.) the same which the Geographers call *Libias*: and some confound it with *Livias*, of which even now we spake.

Deut. 34. 1.

* The same as it seems which *Num.* 21. 30. is called *Medeba*, whence we read of the plains of *Medeba*, *Jos.* 13. 9. 16. of which also we read in the wars of *David* against *Hanun* the *Ammonite*, 1 *Chron.* 19. 7. Also 1 *Mac.* 9. 36. *Isa.* 16. 2. See before *ch.* 5. *sect.* 7.

Also on the same North side towards the confines of *Cœlosyria*, it had *Theophel*: whereabout sometime *Pella* of *Cœlosyria* stood: which was in the Region of *Decapolis*; and, as *Stephanus* saith, was sometime called *Butis*. It is also noted in *Moses* to be over against or near unto *Suph*, for which the Vulgar hath the *Red Sea*, as also *Num.* 21. 14. it translateth the word *Suphah* in like manner: whereas in this place of *Deuteronomy* there is no addition of any word in the Hebrew to signifie the Sea: and yet the Scripture, when this word is so to be taken, useth the addition of *Mara*, thereby to distinguish it from the Region of *Suph*, or *Suphah*: which doubtless was about these plains of *Moab* towards the *Dead Sea*: where the Country being full of reeds, was therefore thus called: as also the *Red Sea* was called *Mare Suph*, for like reason.

The place in these large plains of *Moab* where *Moses* made those divine exhortations, some say was *Bethabara*, where *John* baptized, which in the story of *Gideon* is called *Beth-bara*. *Josephus* sayes it was where after the City *Abila* stood, near *Jordan*, in a place set with Palm-trees: which sure was the same as *Abel-sittim* in the plains of *Moab*, *Num.* 33. 49. (that some call *Abel-sathaim*, and *Bel-sathim*) which is reckoned by *Moses* in that place of *Numbers* for the 42. and last place of the *Israelites* incamping in the time of *Moses*: This place is also called *Sittim*: which word if we should interpret, we should rather bring it from Cedars than from Thorns, with *Adrichomius* and others. It was the wood of which the Ark of the Tabernacle was made.

John 1. 28. *Judg.* 7. 24. *Joseph. ant.* 4. 7.

Num. 15. 1. *Exo.* 25. 10

Toward the East of these plains of *Moab*, they place the Cities *Nebo*, *Baal-Meon*, *Sibma*, and *Hesbon* the chief City of *Sehon*, and *Elhalel*, and *Kiriathaima* the seat of the Giants *Emim*. Of the two first of these *Moses* seems to give a note that the names were to be changed, because they tasted of the *Moabites* * Idolatry. For *Nebo* (in stead of which, *Junius*, *Esa.* 46. 1. reads *Deus vaticinus*) was the name of their Idol-Oracle, and *Baal-meon*, is *the habitation of Baal*. Of the same Idol was the Hill *Nebo* in these parts denominated: from whose top, which the common Translators call *Phasgah*, *Moses* before his death saw all the land of *Canaan* beyond *Jordan*. In which story *Junius* doth not take *Phasgah*, or *Pisgah* for any proper name: but for an appellative, signifying a Hill: and so also *Vatablus* in some places, as *Num.* 21. 20. where he noteth, that some call *Pisgah* that top which looketh to *Jericho*, and *Hair* as it looketh to *Moab*, which opinion may be somewhat strengthened by the name of a City of *Reuben*, mentioned *Jos.* 13. 20. called *Ashdoth-Pisga*, which is as much as *decursus Pisgæ*: to wit, where the waters did run down from *Pisga*. In the same place of *Josua* there is also named *Beth-Peor*, as belonging to *Reuben*: so called from the Hill *Peor*: from whence also *Baal* the Idol was called *Baal-Peor*; which they say, was the same as *Priapus*: the chief place of whose worship seems to have been *Bamoth-Baal*, of which also *Jos.* 13. in the Cities of *Reuben*: for which, *Num.* 22. 41. they read, *the high places of Baal* (for so the word signifieth) to which place *Balaak* first brought *Balaam* to curse the *Israelites*.

Num 31 37 *Gen.* 14. 5. *Num.* 32.

* *Exod.* 23. 13. *Nomen deorum alienorum ne recordaminine audiatur in ore tuo.* Psal 26 4. *Non assumpturus Jum nomina eorum in labiis meis:* Hos. 2. 17. *Amovebo nomina Baalimorum ab ore ejus:* what name they used for *Nebo* it doth not appear: but *Baal-meon* it seems they named sometime *Bajith* as *Esa* 15. 2 and sometime *Beth-meon*, *Esay* 48. 23.

||. III.

Of divers places bordering Reuben, *belonging to* Midian, Moab, *or* Edom.

THere were besides these, divers places of note over *Arnon*, which adjoyned to *Reuben*: amongst which they place *Gallim*, the City of *Phalti*: to whom *Saul* gave his daughter *Michol* from *David*: but *Junius* thinks this Town to be in *Benjamin*: gathering so much out of *Esa.* 10. 29. where it

1 *Sam.* 25. *ult.*

is named among the Cities of *Benjamin*. With better reason perhaps out of *Num.* 21. 19. we may say that *Mathana* and *Nahaliel* were in those confines of *Reuben*: through which places the *Israelites* past after they had left the Well, called *Beer*: Then *Deblathaim*, which the Prophet *Hieremy* threatneth with the rest of the Cities of *Moab*.

Hierem. 48

Madian also is found in these parts, the chief City of the *Madianites* in *Moab*: but not that *Midian*, or *Madian* by the *Red Sea*, wherein *Jethro* inhabited. For of the *Madianites* there were two Nations, of which these of *Moab* became Idolaters, and received an exceeding overthrow by a Regiment of twelve thousand *Israelites*, sent by *Moses* out of the Plains of *Moab*: at such time as *Israel* began to accompany their Daughters: their five Kings with *Balaam* the Soothsayer, were then slain, and their Regal City with the rest destroyed. The other *Madianites*, over whom *Jethro* was Prince or Priest, forgat not the God of *Abraham* their Ancestor; but relieved and assisted the *Israelites* in their painful travels through the Desarts: and were in all that passage their guides. In the South border of *Moab* adjoyning to *Edom*, and sometime reckoned as the chief City of *Edom*, there is that *Petra*, which in the Scriptures is called *Selah*, which is as much as *rupes*, or *petra*. It was also called *Joctheel*, as appears by the place, 2 *Kings* 14. It was built (saith *Josephus*) by *Recem*, one of those five Kings of the *Madianites*: slain as before is said: after whom it was called *Recem*. Now, they say, it is called *Crac*, and *Mozera*. The Soldans of *Egypt*, for the exceeding strength thereof, kept therein all their treasures of *Egypt* and *Arabia*: of which it is the first and strongest City: the same perhaps which *Pliny* and *Strabo* call *Nabathea*, whence also the Province adjoyning took name: which name seems to have been taken at first from *Nabajoth*, the son of *Abraham* by *Kethura*. For *Nabathea* is no where understood for all *Arabia Petræa* (at least where it is not mis-understood) but it is that Province which neighboureth *Judæa*. For *Pharan* inhabited by *Ismael*, whose people *Ptolomy* calleth *Pharanites*, in stead of *Ismaelites*, and all those Territories of the *Cusites*, *Madianites*, *Amalekites*, *Hsmaelites*, *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*, the Lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Hus*, *Sin*, and of *Cg* King of *Basan*, were parts of *Arabia Petræa*: though it be also true, that some part of *Arabia* the Desart belonged to the *Amalekites*, and *Ismaelites*: all which Nations the Scriptures in the first of *Chronicles* the fifth, calls *Hagarens*, of *Hagar*.

Esay 16. 1. 1 Kings 14 7.

Lib. 4 ant. 7.

1 Chron. 5. 19 & 20.

This City *Petra*, *Scaurus* besieged with the *Roman* Army, and finding the place in shew impregnable, he was content, by the perswasion of *Antipater*, to take a composition of money, and to quit it. Yet *Amasias* King of *Juda* (after he had slaughtered ten thousand of the *Arabians* in the valley called *Salinarum*) wan also this City. S. *Hierome* findes *Ruth* the *Moabite* to be natural of this City. In the mean time, when the *Christians* held the Kingdom of *Hierusalem*, it had a Latine Bishop, having before been under the *Greek Church*. It is seated not far from *Hor*, where *Aaron* died, and on the other side towards the North is the River of *Zared*, or *Zered*, by which *Moses* encamped in the 38. station. *Adrichomius* describeth the waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his Map of *Reuben*, not far hence, and between *Zared* and *Arnon*: and so he doth the Valley of *Save*: but the waters of *Nimra*, or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it seems *Adrichomius* writ *Nemrim*) refresh the plains of *Moab*: and the confluence of those waters of *Nimra* are in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Save* also cannot be found in this place, that is, to the South of *Arnon*, and under *Midian*. For after *Abraham* returned from the pursuit of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Princes, the King of *Sodom* met him in the Valley of *Save*, or *Saveh*, which is the Kings *Dale*, where *Absolom* set up his Monument, as it seems, not far from *Hierusalem*. And at the same time *Melchisedec* King of *Salem* also encountred him. But *Abraham* coming from the North, and *Melchisedec* inhabiting, either neer *Bethsan*, otherwise *Scythopolis*, in the half Tribe of *Manasse*, or in *Hierusalem* (both places lying to the West of *Jordan*) could not encounter each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Save*, which was also called *the Kings Dale*, could not be in these parts.

Wil. Tyr. 20. bel. sacr.

Num. 21. Deut. 2. 13

Num. 32. 3. Jos. 13. 27 Esay 15. 1.

* So *Junius* reads for the Hebrew, *Haraboth* every where, and so also the edition of *Vatablus*, *Deut* 3. 17 though *Deut.* 4. 44. it hath *mare solitudinis*, as also 2 *Reg.* 14. 25. the reason of this name seems to be because it joyns to the plains of *Moab*, which are called *Harboth Moab*, *Deut.* 34. 1. as also we have *Cesuloth* in *Harbath*, that is, in the plains, to wit, of *Zabulon*, 1 *Mac.* 9. 2. whence *Adrichomius* imagines a city in *Zabulon*, called *Araba*.

||. IV.

Of the Dead Sea.

NOw because the Sea of *Sodom*, or the *Dead Sea*, called also the Lake of *Asphaltitis*, and the Salt sea (in distinction from the Sea of *Tiberias*, which was fresh water) also the sea of the Wilderness, or rather the sea * of the Plains, is often remembred in the Scriptures, and in this story also, therefore I think it not impertinent to speak somewhat thereof. For it is like unto the *Caspian* sea, which hath no out-let, or disburthening. The length of this Lake *Josephus* makes 180. furlongs (which make 22. miles and a half of ours) and about 150. in bredth, which make 18. of our miles, and somewhat more. *Pliny* makes

makes it a great deal leſs: but thoſe that have of late years ſeen this ſea, did account it (ſaith a *Weiſſenburg*) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirty of ours) in length: and two and a half of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea, *Tacitus* maketh this report: *Lacus eſt in immenſo ambitu, ſpecie maris, ſapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis peſtifer: neque vento impellitur, neque piſces aut ſuitas aquis volucres patitur, incertum unde ſuperjecta ut ſolido feruntur, periti, imperitique nandi perinde attolluntur, &c. That it is very great, and (as it were) a ſea of a corrupt taſte: of ſmell infectious, and peſtilent to the borderers: it is neither moved nor raiſed by the winde, nor indureth fiſh to live in it, or fowl to ſwim in it. Thoſe things that are caſt into it, and the unskilfull of ſwiming, as well as the skilfull, are born up by the water.* At one time of the year caſteth it up *Bitumen*: the art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things) hath alſo taught. It is uſed in the trimming of ſhips, and the like buſineſſes.

(a) *Deſcr. ter. Sanct.*

And then of the Land, he ſpeaketh in this ſort: *The fields not far from this Lake, which were ſometime fruitfull, and adorned with great Cities, were burnt with lightning; of which the ruines remain, the ground looking with a ſad face, as having loſt her fruitfulneſs; for whatſoever doth either grow, or is ſet thereon, be it fruits or flowers, when they come to ripeneſs, having nothing within them, but moulder into aſhes:* Thus far *Tacitus*. And it is found by experience, that thoſe Pomegranates, and other Apples or Oranges, which do ſtill grow on the banks of this curſed Lake, do look fair, and are of good colour on the outſide, but being cut, have nothing but duſt within. Of the *Bitumen* which this Lake caſteth up, it was by the *Greeks* called *Aſphaltitis*. *Veſpaſian* deſirous to be ſatisfied of theſe reports, went of purpoſe to ſee this Lake, and cauſed certain Captives to be caſt into it, who were not onely unskilfull in ſwiming, but had their hands alſo bound behind them, yet notwithſtanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not ſink.

§. V.

Of the Kings of Moab, *much of whoſe Countrey within Arnon* Reuben *poſſeſt.*

OF the Kings of *Moab*, whoſe Countrey (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* poſſeſt (though not taken from *Moab*, but from *Sehon* the *Amorite*) few are known. *Junius* in the 21. of *Num. v.* 14. nameth *Vaheb*, which ſeems to be the Anceſtor or Predeceſſor of *Balac*, the ſon of *Zippor*: which *Balac* ſent for *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael*. For fearing to contend with *Moſes* by arms, by the examples of *Sehon*, and *Og*, he hoped by the help of *Balaams* curſings or inchantments, to take from them all ſtrength and courage, and to caſt on them ſome peſtilent diſeaſes. And though *Balaam* at the firſt, moved by the ſpirit of God bleſt *Iſrael*, contrary to the hope and deſire of *Moab*: yet being deſirous in ſome ſort to ſatisfie him, and to do him ſervice, he adviſed *Moab* to ſend *Madianitiſh* women among the *Iſraelites*: hoping by them, as by fit inſtruments of miſchief, to draw them to the Idolatry of the *Heathen*, but in the end, he received the reward of his falling from God, and of his evil counſell, and was ſlain among the reſt of the Princes of *Midian*. *Num* 21. 21, 23, 24. *Joſ* 24.

After theſe times the Kings of the *Moabites* are not named: ſaving that we find in the firſt of *Chronicles* the fourth, that *Jokim*, and the men of *Chozeba*, and *Joaſh*, and *Sareph*, all being of the iſſue of *Juda*, ſometime had the Dominion in *Moab*: but as it is written in the ſame Verſe, *Theſe alſo are antient things*: to wit, as ſome expound it, the particulars of theſe mens governments are no where extant or remaining, or as others, *hæc prius fuere*, theſe Families of *Juda* were once thus famous: but now their poſterity chooſe rather to abide in *Babylon*, and be Clay-workers to the King there. *Ver.* 22.

Then we find *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who with the help of *Ammon* and *Amalec* maſtered *Iſrael*, and commanded them 18 years: which *Eglon*, *Ehud* ſlew in his own houſe, and afterward 1000. of his Nation. What name the King of *Moab* had unto whom *David* fled fearing *Saul*, it doth not appear: or whether it were the ſame againſt whom *Saul* made war, it is not manifeſt, for neither are named. But in reſpect that this *Moabite* was an enemy to *Saul*, he received *David*, and relieved him; knowing that *Saul* ſought his life. *Judges* 3. *1 Sam* 22. *1 Sam.* 14.

After this, *David* himſelf entred the Region of *Moab*, but not likely in the ſame Kings time: for he ſlaughtered two parts of the people, and made the third part tributary: whereupon it was ſaid of *David*, *Moab is my waſh-pot, over Edom will I caſt my ſhooe*: meaning, that he would reduce them to ſuch an abjection, and appoint them for baſe ſervices: and that he would tread down the *Idumæans*. *2 Sam* 8. *1 Chro.* 18. *Pſ* 60. 10.

The next King after *Davids* time of the *Moabites*, whoſe name liveth, was *Meſha*, who falling from *Juda*, (perhaps in remembrance of the ſeverity of *David*) faſtened himſelf

2 Kings 3. to the Kings of *Israel*, and paid tribute to *Ahab*, 100000. Lambs, and 200000. Rams with the wooll: who revolting again from *Israel* after the death of *Ahab*, was invaded by *Jehoram*, with whom joyned the Kings of *Juda* and *Idumæa:* and being by these three Kings prest and broken, he fled to *Kir-hareseth*, as is elsewhere shewed. There is also mention made of the *Moabites* without the Kings name; when that Nation, assisted by the *Ammonites* and *Idumæans*, invaded *Jehoshaphat:* and by reason of some private quarrels among themselves, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* set upon the *Idumæans*, and slaughtered them: and then one against another, 2 Chro 20. so as *Jehoshaphat* had a notorious victory over them all, without either blood or wound. Also in the time of *Hieremy* the Prophet, there was a King of *Moab* which is not named, which was after *Mesha* of *Moab* many descents: for *Mesha* lived with *Jehoram*, and Hierem. 7. this *Moabite* in *Zedekia*'s time, fourteen Kings of *Juda* coming between, who wasted three hundred and odd years.

§. V.

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of Ammon.

THE Territory adjoyning to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad:* whereof all that part which joyned to the Mountains, was sometime in the possession of the *Ammonites*, as far to the South as *Aroer*. Of the children of Gen. 30. *Gad*, the seventh son of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the Num. 1. 31. hand-maid of *Lea*, there parted out of *Egypt*, Jos. 13. and died in the *Desarts*, 45550. and of their sons there entred the Land promised, 45000. bearng Arms: for the half Tribe of *Manasse*, the River of *Jaboc* divided them: from *Reuben*, the Cities of *Hesbon*, *Elhele*, and *Aphec*.

Esay 15. Deut. 2. The chief City of *Gad* was *Aroer*, which they make to be the same with *Ar*, or *Rabbath Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the learned *Junius* attending diligently to those words of *Moses*, *Deut.* 2.36. *Ab Haroheto, quæ est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & civitate ipsa quæ est in flumine: Where the City in the River is distinguished from the City upon the bank of the River*, as also in like manner, (*Jos.* c. 12. *v.* 2. and *c.* 13. 9.) thinketh that *Haroher*, which doubtless belonged to the *Gadites* (as *Numb.* 32.34. it is said that they built it) was indeed seated neer *Har* of the *Moabites*, but divers from it. For that *Har* was never possest by *Moses*, it is plain *Deuteronomy* 2. 9. where God forbidding *Moses* to touch it, saith he hath given *Har* for an inheritance to the sons of *Lot*. Now that this City, which in divers places is said to be within, and in the middle of the River of *Arnon* (and so distinguished from *Haroher*, which is said in the same places to be on the bank of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the *Moabites*, the same *Junius* proveth out of *Numbers*, *ch.* 21. *v.* 15. where *Arnon* is said to be divided into divers streams, where or among which *Har* is seated: And the same is confirmed by the place of *Jos.* 13. *ver.* 25. where *Haroher* is said to be seated before *Rabbah:* which *Rabbah*, as it seems, cannot be the *Rabbah* of the *Ammonites* (for they seat not *Haroher* neer it, nor in sight of it) and therefore by *Rabbah* here, we must understand *Rabbah* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Ar*, or *Har:* and so we must needs distinguish it from *Haroher*. And as for **Har*, (which also gave the name to the coast adjoyning) it seems it continued in the possession of the *Moabites*, after they had once expelled the Giant-like people called *Emims*, first weakned by *Chedorlaomer* and his Associates: but *Haroher* by the enterchange of times suffered many ancient changes, as being won from the *Moabites* by *Sehon*, and from him by the *Israelites*, and from them, as it seems in the story of *Jephta*, by the *Ammonites:* and from the *Ammonites* again by the *Israelites* under the conduct of *Jephta*.

* *Deut.* 2. 9. Out of which place the words *Num.* 21. 28. are to be expounded not that the City of *Hor*, but the coast adjoyning was wasted by *Sehon*. *Gen.* 14. 5. *Judg.* 11. 35.

S. *Hieroms* time the greatest part of this City perished by an earth-quake, as also *Zoar*, in which *Lot* saved himself in the destruction of *Sodom*, seated not far hence; which, they say was therefore called *Vitula consternans*, because as a wanton tumbling heifer, she was thrice overthrown with earth-quakes: for which cause also *Hierome* seems to think that this *Zoar* was called *Salissa*, or *Bal-Salissa*, as if *Baal* had been a remainder of the old name *Balah*, or *Belah*, (of which *Gen.* 14. 2. and *Salisha*, which hath a signification of the *ternary number*, had alluded to the three earth-quakes.

Hier: in epitap. Paul. & in quæst. & loc. Hebr. see *Junius* his annotations upon 1 *Sam.* 9 2. where he makes *Shalisha* a plain countrey in *Benjamin*, and the same with *Bal-shalisha*, 2 Reg. 4. 42 where he expounds *Bal*, or *Baal* to be as much as *planities*.

Brochard takes *Haroher* to be *Petra*, but erroneously, as before it is noted; seeing that *Petra* was in the South border of *Moab* adjoyning to *Edom*, whereas *Haroher* is in the North-East border. Between *Haroher* and *Jordan* they seat *Dibon*, which is attributed to the *Gadites*, because they are said to have built it, *Num.* 32.34. though *Jos.* 13. *v.* 17. it is said that *Moses* gave it to the *Reubenites*. Of this City among the rest of *Moab*, both *Esay* and *Hieremy* prophesied, that it should perish, and the Lakes about it run with the blood of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village neer *Arnon* in S. *Hierom's* time.

Keeping the banks of *Arnon*, one of the next Cities of fame to *Aroer*, was *Bethnimrah*, of which *Esay* prophesied, *That the wa-* Esay 15.

ters

Hier. 48. *ters thereof should be dried up: and all the vale of Moab withered.* Not far from *Bethnimrah* in this Tribe, *Adrichomius* placeth *Jogbeha* and *Nobach*, or *Nobe:* of both which we read in the story of *Gideon:* and that *Jogbeha* was in *Gad*, built by the *Gadites*, it appears, *Numbers* 32. 35. and therefore *Nobach* also must needs be in these parts; but whether in *Gad* or *Manasse* it is not certain: only that it was anciently called *Kenath*, *Moses* witnesseth. *Nobach* also (saith he) *went and took Kenath with her Towns, and called it Nobach of his own name*, where because the Verses precedent speak of the *Manassites*, and because it is not likely that *Moses* would have severed this seat of the *Gadites* from the rest, of which he spake before, *ver.* 34.35,36. therefore it may seem that this * *Nobach* was in that part of *Manasse* which was in the East of *Jordan*, though *Adrichomius* place it in *Gad*. For whereas he supposeth it to be the same with *Nob*, which *Saul* destroyed, of this we shall speak (*a*) in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. And as for that *Karkor*, where *Zebah* and *Zalmunnah* rested themselves in their flight from *Gideon*, to which place *Gideon* marched through this *Nobach* and *Jogbeha*, though some place it in *Gad*, and make it the same with *Kir-chares*, of which *Esay* 15. and 2 *Reg.* 3. 25. yet there can be no certainty that it was in *Gad*: and if it be the same with *Kir-chares*, it is certain, that it was still a principal City held by the *Moabites*, and not in the Tribe of *Gad*.

Esay 15. 21 Judg 8. 11.

Num. 32. 35.

* Num. 21. 30. It is called *Nophah*, and placed in the border of the Kingdom of *Sehon* towards *Basan*, and therefore it is not altogether unprobable that it was in *Gad*.

(a) *Chap.* 12 *sect.* 1.

Judg. 8. 10 Num. 32. 34,35.

In the body of this Tribe of *Gad* they place *Hataroth*: of which name the Scripture witnesseth that two Cities were builded by the *Gadites*; the former simply called *Hataroth*, the later *Hatroth-Sophan*: for which later the vulgar makes two Cities, *Roth* and *Shophan*: the name *Hataroth*, is as much as *Coronæ*.

In the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon*, together with *Bethnimra* of which we have spoken, *Jos.* 13.27. nameth *Beth-haram* and *Succoth*: the former, *Numb.* 32.36. (where it is called *Beth-haram*) together with *Bethnimra*, is said to have been built by the *Gadites*, which (perhaps the rather, because in *Josua* it is called *Beth-haram*) some take to be *Betaramptha*, of which (*b*) *Josephus* after by *Herod* called *Julias*. But whether this *Betaramptha* were corrupted from *Beth-haram*, or from *Beth-Aramatha* (of which *Aramatha* there is mention in (*c*) *Josephus*) or from *Beth-Remphan* (of which *Remphan*, an Idol of those Countries, we read, *Acts* 7.43. and to which *Junius* refers the name of the City *Rephan*, 1 *Mac.* 37.) of this question it were hard to resolve. But touching *Julias* (according to *Josephus*, sometime *Bataramptha*) the same *Josephus* placeth in the Region of *Peræa*, beyond *Jordan*, which *Regio Peræa*, as the Greek word signifieth, is no more than *Regio ulterior*, *the Country beyond the River*; and therefore they which labour to set down the bounds of this *Peræa*, take more pains than needs. Fourteen Villages this *Julias* had belonging unto it, according to *Josephus*. He makes it to have been built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Julias*, in honour of the adoption of *Livia Augustus* his wife, into the *Julian* Family: by which adoption she was called *Julia*. Another *Julias*, he saith was built by *Philip* the brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, which, he saith, is the same as *Bethsaida*.

(b) *Jos.* 1. *ant.* 18. c. 3.

(c) L. 7. *ant.* c. 7. *ubi Græcus codex legit* Ἀραμαθα *Latinus Rabatha, Metropolis Hamathitarum.*

Ant. 20. 11

Upon the Sea of *Galilee*, near to *Julias* in *Peræa*, (that is, in the Region over *Jordan*) they find *Vetezobra*, as it is called in *Josephus*, for *Beth-ezob*, which is as much as *domus hissopi*. Of a noble woman of this City, which for safeguard in the time of War with the *Romans*, came with many others into *Hierusalem*, and was there besieged. *Josephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable History; how for hunger she eat her own child, with other tragicall accidents hereupon ensuing.

Jos. ant. 18. 3. & Bel. Judg. 2. 8.

Joseph de Bell. Judg. l. 7. c. 8.

Of *Succoth* (which we said *Jos.* 13. is placed with *Ben-haran*, in the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon*) it is plain by the story of *Gideon* that it is near unto *Jordan*: where it is said, that as he was past *Jordan* with his three hundred, weary in the pursuit of *Zebah* and *Zalmunnah*, he requested relief of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gideons* return were by him tortured, as it seems under a threshing-Car or *Tribulum*, between which and their flesh he put Thorns to teare their flesh as they were prest and trod under the *Tribulum* and after which sort also *David* used some of the *Ammonites*, though not with Thorns, but with Iron teeth of the *Tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which signifieth such Tabernacles as were made in haste, either for Men or Cattel, *Moses*, *Gen.* 33. 17. witnesseth that the original of the name was from such harbours, which *Jacob* in his return from *Mesopotamia* built in that place: as also the place beyond the *Red Sea*, where the children of *Israel*, as they came from *Rameses* in *Egypt*, had their first Station, was upon like reason called *Succoth*: because there they set up their first Tabernacles or Tents: which they used after for forty years in the Wilderness. In remembrance whereof the Feast of *Succoth*, or Tabernacles, was instituted.

Judg. 8. 5.

2 Sam 12. 31.

Exod. 12. 37.

Lev. 23. 43.

Other four Cities of *Gad* are named, *Josua* 21.38. *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, *Machanaiim*, *Chesbon*, and *Jahzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* given to the Levites, of which *Jahzer*, as *Chesbon*, or *Hesbon* was a chief City of *Sehon*, whence *Num.* 32.1. his Country is called the Land of *Jahzer*. It was taken by *Moses*, having first sent spies to view it. In the first of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilead*. In latter times (as it may be gathered by the Prophecy of *Esay* touching *Moab*) it was possessed by the *Moabites*: to which place of *Esay*, also *Hieremy* in a like prophecy alludes. It was at length regained (but as it seems from the *Ammonites*) by *Judas Macchabæus*: as it is 1 *Mac.* 5. 8. where *Junius* out of *Josephus*, reads, *Jahzer*, though the *Greek* hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer*, or *Gezer* (as he gathereth out of *Jos.* 16. 3. and 8. and *Jud.* 1. 29.) was far from these Countries of *Sehon*, seated in the West border of *Ephraim*, not possessed by the *Israelites*, until *Solomons* time, for whom the King of *Egypt* wan it from the *Canaanite*, and gave it him as a Dowry with his Daughter.

Num. 22. 32. 1 *Chron.* 27. 31. *Esay* 6. 8. *Hirem.* 48. 32.

Of *Chesbon* it may be marvelled that in the place of *Josua*, and 1 *Chron.* 6. 81. it should be said to have been given to the *Levites* by the *Gadites*, seeing *Jos.* 13. 17. it is reckoned for a principal City of the *Reubenites*: *Adrichomius*, and such as little trouble themselves with such scruples, finding *Casbon*, 1 *Mac.* 5. 36. among the Cities of *Gilead*, taken by *Judas Macchabæus*, makes two Cities of one: as if this *Casbon* had been the *Chesbon* of *Gad*, and that of *Reuben* distinct from it: but the better reconciliation is, That it being a bordering City, between *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gave their part to the *Levites*, for so also it seems that in like reason *Dibon* is said in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another given to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanaiim*, which word signifieth a double Army, we read *Gen.* 32. 2. that it was therefore so called, because the Angels of God in that place met *Jacob* in manner of another Hoast or company, to joyn with his for his defence: as also *Luke* 2. 13. we read of a multitude of the Hoast of Heaven, which appeared to the Shepherds, at the time of our Saviours birth: and so unto the godly King *Oswald* of *Northumberland*, when he was soon after to joyn battel with the *Pagan Penda* of middle-*England*, *Beda* reports, that the like comfort appeared: whence the field where the Battel was fought, in the North parts of *England*, is called *Heaven-field*. In this City of *Machanaiim*, *David* abode during the rebellion of *Absalom*: and the same, for the strength thereof, *Abner* chose for the seat of *Ishbosheth*, during the war between *David* and the house of *Saul*.

Of the fourth Town, which was *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, we read often in the Scripture, for the recovering of which, King *Achab* lost his life. *Junius* thinks that *Ramatha Mitspa*, of which *Jos.* 13. 26. was this *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Jacob* sware one to the other, as it was called *Gilead*, which is as much as a witnessing heap, because of the heap of stones which *Laban* and his sons left for a monument; so also that it was called *Mitspah*, which signifieth over-looking (because there they called God to over-see, and be witness to their Covenant) it is plain by the place, *Gen.* 31. 49. That in these parts there was not onely a Town, but likewise a Region called *Mitspa*, it appears *Jos.* 11. 3. where we read of the *Chivites* under *Hermon*, in the Country of *Mitspa*, *the Town of *Mitspa*, as it seems both by this place, and in the eighth verse following, being not in the Hill Country, but in the Valley. But seeing that *Jephta* the Judge of *Israel*, who after he came home from *Tob* (whither his brethren had driven him) dwelt in the Town of *Mitspa*, who doubtless was of the Tribe of *Manasse*, and thence at first expelled by his brethren, it may seem that they do not well, which place this Town of *Mitspa* rather in *Gad* than in *Manasse*. By *Judas Macchabæus* this Town of *Mitspa* (whether in *Gad* or in *Manasse*) was utterly spoiled and burnt, and the Males of it slain: for it was then possest of the *Ammonites*.

*Of other towns of this name, see in the Tribe of Benjamin.

Jud. 11. 34. 1 *Mac.* 5. 35.

Between *Succoth* (of which we have spoken) and the River *Jaboc*, was that *Peniel*, or *Penuel*, which name signifieth *Locum faciei Dei*; *A place where the face of God was seen*: so called for memory of the Angels appearing to *Jacob*, and wrestling with him there: the churlishness of which City, in refusing to relieve *Gideon*, was the cause that in his return he overthrew their Tower, and slew the chief Aldermen thereof. To these places of the *Gadites*, they add *Rogelim*, the City of that great and faithful subject *Barzillai*, as it seems, not far from *Nahanaima*, where he sustained King *David*, during *Absaloms* rebellion. To these they add the Town of *Gaddi*, *Arnon*, and *Alimis*, of vvhich *Gaddi*, being in *Hebrew* no more than *Gaddita*, is ignorantly made the name of a place. *Arnon* also no where appears to be the name of a Town, but still of a River. *Alimis Adrichomius* frames of ἐν Αλέμοις, 1 *Mac.* 5.26. so that the name should rather be *Alema*, but *Junius* out of *Josephus* reads *Mallæ*, for this in *Alimis*: and

Gen. 32. 36. *Jud.* 8. 17. 2 *Sam.* 19. 33. *Deut.* 3. 14 *Jos.* 12. 5.

and understanding *Mallæ* to be put for *Millo*, and to be as much as *Munitio* (as we have shewed touching the *Millo* of the *Sechemites*) he takes this *Mallæ* to be *Mitspa Moabitarum*, of which 1 *Sam.* 22.3. As for that *Mageth* which *Adrichomius* finds in this Tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Mahacath*, which *Moses* notes to be as far as the furthest of *Manasses*, out of the bounds of this Tribe. So also *Dathema*, of which 1 *Mac.* 5. 10. (which *Junius* takes to be (*b*) *Rithma*, of which *Num.* 33. 18. a place of strength in the Territory of the *Ammonites*) and in like manner *Minnith*, and *Abel vincarum*, though by some they be attributed to the *Gadites*, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two last we read in *Jephta's* pursuit of the *Ammonites*: seated, as it seems by that place of the Book of *Judges*, the former of them in the South border, and the other of them in the East border, both far removed from the *Gadites*. But the chief City of the *Ammonites* was nearer, and not far from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the Scriptures sometimes *Rabbath*, as *Deut.* 3. 11. but more often *Rabba*. It is supposed to be that * *Philadelphia* which *Ptolomy* finds in *Cœlosyria*. *Hierome* and *Calistus*, in *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the *Ammonites*: but, as it seems, never possest by the *Israelites*, after the overthrow of *Og*, but left to the *Ammonites*: whereupon at length it became the Regal seat of the *Ammonites*, but of old it was the possession of the *Zamzummims*: which is as much to say, as men for all manner of craft and wickedness infamous. The same were also called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recovered much of that which the *Ammonites* had got from his Ancestors: who having been first beaten by the *Assyrians*, and their assistants (as the *Emims* in *Moab*, and the *Horims* in *Seir* had been) were afterward the easier conquered by the *Ammonites*, as the *Emims* were by *Moab*, and the *Horims* by the *Idumæans*. Yet did the races of *Emoreus*, of whom these Giants were descended, contend with the Conquerors for their ancient inheritance: and as *Sehon* of *Hesbon* had dispossest *Moab*, so had *Og* of *Basan* the *Ammonites*, and between them recovered the best part of all the Valley, between the Mountains and *Jordan*. For this *Og* was also master of *Rabba*, or *Philadelphia*: And in the possession of the one or of the other of these two *Moses* and *Israel*, found all those Cities and Countries which were given to *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manasse*. So that though it were 450. years since that these *Zamzummims*, or *Raphaims*, were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: but having these two Kings of one kinred, and both valiant and undertaking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon*, both *Amorites*, they recovered again much of their lost possessions, and thrust the sons of *Lot* over the Mountains, and into the Desarts. And as the Kings or Captains of *Persia* and *Assyria* (remembred in the 14. of *Genesis*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*; so by that great conquest which *Moses* had over those two *Amorites*, *Og* and *Sehon*, did the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* take opportunity to look back again into those Plains; and when the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and *Manassites*, forsook the worship of the living God, and became loathful and licentious; they taking the advantage, invaded them, and cast them out of their possessions: and were sometime their Masters, sometime their Tributaries, as they pleased or displeased God: and according to the wisdom and vertue of their Commanders.

In this City of *Rabba*, was the Iron bed of *Og* found, nine cubits of length, and four of breadth. *Deut.* 3. The City was taken in *Davids* time, and the Inhabitants slain with great severity, and by divers torments. At the first assault thereof *Urias* was shot to death, having been, by direction from *David*, appointed to be imployed in the leading of an assault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the Army perished: and wherein *David* so displeased God, as his affairs had ill success afterward, even to his dying day. From hence had *David* the weighty and rich Crown of Gold, which the Kings of *Ammon* wore: or which, as some expound it, was used to be put on the head of their Idol, weighing a talent, which is 60. pound weight, after the common talent. *2 Sam.* 12. In the time of Christians it had a Metropolitan Bishop, and under him twelve others. *Wil. Tyr. Bel. sacr* 13. c. 22. *Pto.*

The mountains which are described within this Tribe, and that of *Manasse*, with a part of *Reuben*, are those that *Ptolomy* calleth *the hills of Hippus*, a City of *Cœlosyria*: and *Strabo*, * *Trachones*: the same which continue from near *Damascus*, unto the *Desarts* of *Moab*: and receive divers names, as commonly Mountains do, which neighbour and bound divers Countries: for from the South part, as far Northwards as *Astaroth*, the chief City of *Og*, they are called *Galaad*, or *Gilead*; from thence Northward they are known by the name of *Hermon*, for so *Moses* calleth them: The *Sidonians* name them *Shirion*, but the *Amorites*, *Shenir*, others, *Seir*: of which name all those hills also were called, which part *Judæa* and *Idumæa*: and lastly, they are called *Libanus*,

Strab. l. 6. * τραχὼν is *locus asper & salebrosus*: whence it appears, that *Trachonites regio*, in these parts was properly the hill-countrey. *Deut.* 3. 9.

(*b*) The letters D and R in the *Hebrew* are very like, so that one is oft mistaken for another, and sometime without mistaking one is put for another, as for *Rodanim.* 1 *Chron.* 1. we have *Dodanim.* *Gen.* 10.4

* Other names of this City, according to *Stephanus* were *Ammana* and *Astarte*: but in this latter perhaps he mistook, which might seem to be the same *Astaroth*, one of the chief Cities of *Og*, of which in that which remaineth to be spoken of; *Manasse Adrichomius* says, it was also called *Urbs aquarum*, because of the river *Jabok's* winding about it; but in the place 2 *Sam.* 27. whence he gathers this opinion, *Junius* reads *in tercepi ab urbe aquam*, if we must read with others, *cepi ut urbem aquarum*, yet it cannot be taken of *Rabba* it self, but of some other Fort adjoyning, *Gen.* 14.

Hiterem.22 *Libanus*, for so the Prophet *Hieremy* makes them all one, calling the high Mountains of *Galaad*, the head of *Libanus*.

These Mountains are very fruitful, and full of good pastures, and have many Trees which yeild *Balsamum*, and many other medicinable drugs. The Rivers of this Tribe are the waters of *Nimrah*, and *Dibon*, and the River *Jaboc*: others do also fancy another River, which rising out of the Rocks of *Arnon*, falleth into *Jordan*.

Hier. 8. & 9

§. VI.

Of the Ammonites, part of whose Territories the Gadites wan from Og, *the King of Basan.*

THis Tribe of *Gad* possest half the Country of the *Ammonites*, who together with the *Moabites*, held that part of *Arabia Petræa* called *Nabathea*, as well within as without the Mountains of *Gilead*: though at this time when the *Gadites* wan it, it was in the possession of *Sehon* and *Og*, *Amorites*: and therefore *Moses* did not expel the *Ammonites*, but the *Amorites*, who had thrust the issues of *Lot* over the Mountains *Trachones*, or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Othoniel* the first Judge of *Israel*, the *Ammonites* joyned with the *Moabites* against the *Hebrews*, and so continued long. *Jephta* Judge of *Israel* had a great conquest over one of the Kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Samuel* they were at peace with them again.

Jud. 10.

Afterward we find that cruel King of the *Ammonites*, called *Nahas*, who besieging *Jabes Gilead*, gave them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right eyes. The reason why he tendred so hard a composition, was (besides this desire to bring shame upon *Israel*) because those *Gileadites* using to carry a Target on their left arms, which could not but shadow their left eyes, should by losing their right, be utterly disabled to defend themselves: but *Saul* came to their rescue, and delivered them from that danger. This *Nahas*, as it may seem, became the confederate of *David*, having friended him in *Saul*'s time, though *Josephus* thinks that this *Nahas* was slain in the battel, when *Saul* raised the siege of *Jabes*, who affirmeth that there were three Kings of the *Moabites* of that name.

1 Sam. 11.

Joseph. l 6. Ant. c. 5. &c.

2 Sam. 10 4. 18.

Hanun succeeded *Nahas*: to whom when *David* sent to congratulate his establishment, and to confirm the former friendship which he had with his father, he most contemptuously and proudly cut off the Ambassadours garments to the knees, and shaved the half of their beards. But afterward, notwithstanding the aids received from the *Aramites*, subject to *Adadezer*, and from the *Reguli* of *Rehob*, and *Maacah*, and from *Istob*, yet all those *Arabians*, together with the *Ammonites*, were overturned: their chief City of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*, was taken; the Crown which weighed a talent of gold, was set on *David*'s head; all such as were prisoners, *David* executed with strange severity; for with saws and harrows he tare them in pieces, and cast the rest into lime-kills. *Josaphat* governing *Juda*, they assisted the *Moabites* their neighbours against him, and perished together. *Ozias* made them Tributaries, and they were again by *Jotham* inforc't to continue that tribute, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley: which the *Ammonites* continued two years.

Istob, that is, the men of *Thob*: *Thob* is a small Territory under *Amnon* hills. *Rehob* is another between *Hamor* and *Sidon*, in the North bound of *Canaan*, *Num.* 13. 22 of which see in the tribe of *Asser*.

Hier. 40. & 41. 2 Chro. 20. 1 Chro 36. 2 Chro. 26.

The fifth King of the *Ammonites*, of whose name we read, was *Baalis* the confederate of *Zedekia*: after whose taking by *Nabuchodonosor*, *Baalis* sent *Ismael*, of the blood of the Kings of *Juda*, to slay *Gedaliah*, who served *Nabuchodonosor*.

§. VII.

Of the other half of Manasse.

THe rest of the Land of *Gilead*, and of the Kingdom of *Og* in *Basan*, with the land of *Hus* and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein also were part of the small Territories of **Batania*, *Gaulonitis*, *Gessuri*, *Machati*, and *Auranitis*) was given to the half Tribe of *Manasse* over *Jordan*; of which those three later Provinces defended themselves against them for many ages. But *Batania Ptolomy* setteth farther off, and to the North-East, as a skirt of *Arabia* the *Desart*: and all those other Provinces before named with *Petræa*, and *Ituræa*, he nameth but as part of *Cœlosyria*; as far South as *Rabba*, or *Philadelphia*: likewise all the rest which belonged to *Gad*, and *Reuben*, saving the Land near the *Dead Sea*, he makes a part of *Arabia Petræa*: for many of these small Kingdoms take not much more ground than the country of *Kent*.

* Another territory adjoyning to *Manasse*, whose limits were confounded with some of these, was that *Thisbitis* the country of *Elias*, as it is 1 *Kings* 16. 1. and of *Tobias*, *Tob.* 1. 2. It lay on the East to the tribe of *Neph.* on the right hand of it, as in *Tob.* 1 2. and was possest by Colonies of the *Israelites* in the time of *Saul*, after his victory over the *Amalekites* and *Ismaelites* in those parts as it is gathered out

Basan, or, after the *Septuagint*, *Basanitis*, stretcheth it self from the River of *Jaboc* to the (a) *Machati* and *Gessuri*: and from the Mountains to *Jordan*, a Region exceeding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of Cattel. It had also the goodliest woods of all that part of the world: especially of oaks, which bare mast (of which the

of 1 *Chr.* 5. 10. whence it appears, that it was part of *Ituræa*, of which *c.* 7. *sect.* 4 || 5. & 6. (a) So they call them of *Mahacath*, of which *Mahacath* somewhat hath been spoken toward the end of the fifth *Paragraph* of this Chapter, see the 1 *Mac.* 5. 26. and *Deut.* 3. 14. and *Jos.* 12. 5.

Prophet

Prophet *Zacharias*; *Howle, O ye oaks of Basan*) and by reason hereof they bred so many swine, as (*b*) 2000. in one herd were carried headlong into the Sea, by the unclean spirits which *Christ* had cast out of one of the *Gadarens*. It had in it 60. Cities walled and defenced: all which, after *Og* and his sons were slain, *Jair*, descended of *Manasse*, conquered, and called the Country after his own name, *Avoth Jair*, or the Cities of *Jair*.

b Mar. 5. 13.

The principal Cities of this half Tribe (for I will omit the rest) are these, *Pella*, sometimes (*c*) *Butis*, otherwise *Berenice*; by *Seleucus* King of *Syria*, it is said to have been called *Pella*, after the name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*: in which both *Philip* the Father, and his Son, *Alexander* the great, were born. It was taken, and in part demolished by *Alexander Jannæus*, King of the *Jews*, because it refused to obey the *Jews* laws: but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the Government of *Syria*. It is now but a Village, saith *Niger*. *Carnaim*, by the River of *Jaboc*, taken by (*d*) *Judas Macchabæus*: where he set on fire the (*e*) Temple of their Idols: together with all those that fled thereunto for Sanctuary; and neer it they place the Castle of *Carnion*, of which 2 *Macc.* 12. 22. Then the strong City of (*f*) *Ephron* neer *Jordan*: which refusing to yeeld passage to (*g*) *Judas Macchabæus*, was forced by him by assault, and taken and burnt with great slaughter.

c Anciently, as it seems, it was called Tephel. See above in the bounds of *Moab*, in this Chapter, Sect. 4. §. 2.

d 1 Mac. 5.

e Jos. 12. ant. 12.

f 1 Mac. 5.

g 2 Mac. 12. 27.

Jabes Gilead, or *Jabesus*, was another of the Cities of this half Tribe, which being besieged by *Nahas* (*h*) King of the *Ammonites*, was delivered by *Saul*, as is (*i*) elsewhere mentioned. In memory whereof these Citizens (*k*) recovered, embalmed and buried the bodies of *Saul* and his sons: which hung despightfully over the walls of *Bethsan*, or *Scythopolis*. (*l*) *Gaddara*, or *Gadara*, is next to be named, seated by *Pliny* on a Hill neer the River *Hieromiace*, which River *Ortelius* seems to think to be *Jaboc*. At the foot of the Hill there spring forth also hot baths, as at *Machærus*. *Alexander Jannæus* after ten moneths siege, wan it, and subverted it. *Pompey* restored it: and *Gabinius* (*m*) made it one of the five Courts of Justice in *Palestine*. *Hierusalem* being the first, *Gadara* the second, *Emath*, or *Amathus* the third, *Hierico* and *Sephora* in *Galilee*, the fourth and fifth. The Citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of *Herod*, surnamed *Ascalonita*, accused him to *Julius Cæsar* of many crimes: but perceiving that they could not prevail, and that *Herod* was highly favoured of *Cæsar*, fearing the terrible (*n*) revenge of *Herod*, they slew themselves: some by strangling, others by leaping over high Towers, others by drowning themselves.

h 1 Sam. 11.

i Jos. 6. ant. 5.

k 1 Sam 31

l 1 Chro. 10

m Jos. 14. ant. 13.

n Jos. 15. ant. 13.

To the East of *Gadara* they place *Sebei* (*o*) in which, *Jos. ant.* 5. 13. saith, *Jephtha* was buried: whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Jud.* 12. 7. *Sepultus est in Civitate sua Gilehad*, (for *in una Civitatum Gilehad*) imagine *Gilehad* to be the name of a City, and to be the same with *Sebei*. In like manner following the Vulgar, 1 *Macc.* 5. 26. where it readeth *Casphor* for *Chesbon*; the same *Adrichomius* imagineth it to be *ampla & firma Gilehaditarum Civitas*: so of one City *Heshon*, or *Chesbon*, which they call *Essebon*, the chief City of *Sehon*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, he imagineth two more: This *Casphor* in *Manasses*, and a City in *Gad* which he calleth *Casbon*, of which we have admonished the Reader heretofore. Of *Gamala* (so called, because the Hill on which it stood, was in fashion like the back of a Cammel) which *Josephus* placeth not far from *Gadara*, in the lower *Gaulanitis* over against *Tarichea*, which is on the West side of the Sea or Lake of *Tiberias*, see this *Josephus* in the fourth book of the Jewish war: where he describes the place by nature to be almost invincible: and in the story of the siege, shewes how *Vespasian* with much danger of his own person, entring it, was at first repulsed, with other very memorable accidents: and how at length, after the coming of *Titus* when it was taken, many leaping down the rocks with their wives and children, to the number of five thousand, thus perished: besides four thousand slain by the *Romans*: so that none escaped, save only two women that hid themselves.

o Of Mitspa in Gilehad the city of Jephta; see in the Tribe of *Gad*.

c p. 1. & 3.

About four miles West from *Gadara*, and as much East from *Tiberias* (which is on the other side of the Lake) *Josephus* placeth *Hippus*, or *Hippene*, whence *Ptolomy* gives the names to the Hils that compass the Plains in which it standeth: so that it may seem to have been of no small note. It is seated far from the hill Country: on the East of the Lake, as also *Pliny* noteth, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 15. It was restored by *Pompey*: after by *Augustus* added to *Herod*'s Tetrarchy: it was wasted by the *Jews*, in the beginning of their rebellion: when by many massacres of their Nation, they were inraged against their borderers.

In vita sua.

Jos. b. l. Jud. l. 2. c. 19.

The next City of note, but of more ancient fame, is *Edrehi*, or *Edrai*, wherein *Og* King of *Basan* chiefly abode, when *Moses* and *Israel* invaded him: and neer unto this his Regal City, it was that he lost the battel and his life. It stood in S. *Hierom*'s time: and had the name of *Adar*, or *Adara*. Not far from these Towns neer *Jordan*, in this Valley, stood *Gerassa*, or *Gergessa*, inhabited by the

Of another *Edrehi* in *Niphtali*, see *Jos.* 19 37 *Deut.* 3. 1. & 10. *Item Jos.* 13. 31.

the *Gergeſites*, deſcended of the fifth ſon of *Canaan*. Of theſe *Gergeſites* we read, *Mat.* 8. 28. that *Chriſt* coming from the other ſide of the Lake of *Tiberias*, landed in their coaſts: where caſting the Devils out of the poſſeſſed, he permitted them to enter into the herd of Hoggs: in which ſtory, for *Gergeſites*, or *Gergeſins*, S. *Luke* and S. *Marke* have *Gaderens*: not as if theſe were all one (for *Gergeſſa*, or *Geraſſa* is a diſtinct Town in theſe parts from *Gadara*) but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities neighbours, either might well be named in this ſtory. This City received many changes and calamities: of which *Joſephus* hath often mention. For beſides other adventures, it was taken by *L. Annius*, Lievtenant to *Veſpaſian*: and 1000. of the ableſt young men put to the ſword, and the City burnt. In the yeer 1120. it was rebuilt by *Baldwine* King of *Damaſcus*: and in the ſame year recovered by *Baldwine de Burgo* King of *Jeruſalem*: and by him utterly razed. Neer unto *Geraſa* is the Village of *Magedan*, or, after the *Syriack*, *Magedu*, or, after the *Greek*, *Magdala*, where the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees* deſired of our Saviour a ſign from Heaven: the ſame place, or ſome adjoyning to it, which S. *Mark* calleth *Dalmanutha*. By the circumſtances of which ſtory it appears that this coaſt lay between the Lake of *Tiberias* and the Country of *Decapolis*. *Brochard* makes both theſe places to be one; and finds it to be *Phiale*, the fountain of *Jordan*, according to *Joſephus*: but this *Phiale* is too far from the Sea of *Galilee*, and from *Bethſaida*, to be either *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha*. For as it appears by the ſtory, not far hence, towards the North, was the *Deſart* of *Bethſaida*, where *Chriſt* filled 5000. people with the five barley loaves and two fiſhes.

Mat. 8 28. *Mark* 5. *Luke* 8. *Mark* 15. *Mark* 8. *Broch. itin.* 2. Of this *Phiale* ſee in *Neph.* c. 7. ſect. 4 ll. 3. *Matt.* 14. *Mark* 6. *Luke* 9. *John* 6.

On the North of this *Bethſaida*, they place *Julias*, not that which was built by *Herod*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the Region *Trachonitis* towards the South. It was ſometime a Village, and not long after the birth of *Chriſt*, it was compaſſed with a wall by *Philip* the *Tetrach* of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*: and after the name of *Julia*, the wife of *Tiberias*, called *Julias*, as hath been further ſpoken in the Tribe of *Gad*: where it was noted that *Joſephus* makes this *Julias* to be the ſame as *Bethſaida*. Upon the Eaſt ſide of the ſame Lake of *Tiberias* ſtands *Corozaim*, or *Corazim*, of which *Chriſt in Matthew*; *Woe be unto thee Corazim.*

Joſep. 18. *ant.* 3. & *alibi.*

But the principal City of all theſe in ancient time was *Aſteroth*: ſometime peopled with the Giants *Raphaim*: and therefore the Countrey adjoyning called the Land of Giants, of whoſe race was *Og* King of *Baſan*. In *Geneſis* this City is called *Aſteroth* of *Carnaim*, whence 1 *Mac.* 5. 26. it is called ſimply *Carnaim*, as *Joſ.* 13. 21. it is called *Aſteroth*, without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word *Carnaim* ſignifieth a pair of Horns, which agree well with the name of their Idol *Aſteroth*, which was the image of a ſheep, as it is elſewhere noted, that *Aſteroth* in *Deuteronomy* ſignifieth ſheep. Others, from the ambiguity of the Hebrew take *Karnaim* to have been the name of the people which inhabited this City: and expound it *heroes* * *radiantes*. For of old the *Raphæi* which inhabited this City (*Gen.* 14. 5.) were Giant-like men, as appears by comparing the words *Deut.* 3. 11. *Og. ex reſiduo gigantum*, with the words *Joſ.* 13. 12. *Og ex reliquiis Raphæorum*: but if the *Karnaim* (or *Carnajim*) were theſe *Raphæi*, the word would not have been in the dual number: neither would *Moſes* in the places of *Geneſis* have ſaid the *Raphæi* in *Aſteroth* of the *Karnaim*, but either the *Raphæi* in *Aſteroth* of the *Raphæi*, or ſome other way fitteſt for perſpicuity: for this naming of both thus in the ſame clauſe, diſtinguiſheth one from the other.

Gen. 14. 5. See *chap* 7. *ſect.* 3. ll. 2. * Becauſe horn when it is poliſhed, ſhineth: hence it is that the Verb of this Noun is ſometime *Lucere*: as it were *cornutum eſſe*: whereupon the *Vulgar*, *Exo* 34. 19 reading *cornutum corneam*, or *lucidam faciem*, gave occaſion to the fabulous Painters to paint *Moſes* with Horns. *Judith.* 1. 8.

Not far from *Aſteroth*, *Adricomius* out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbachius* placeth *Cedar* in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, four miles from *Corazin*. This City (ſaith he) is remembred in the *Canticles*, and in the book of *Judith*, and there are that of this City underſtand *David* in his 120. *Pſalm*: and here the Sepulchre of *Job* is yet to be ſeen, ſaith *Breidenbach*.

1 *Cant.* 5.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is ſo that the Greek hath *Galaad* in ſtead of the word *Cedar*, which the Vulgar doth uſe in that place of *Judith*, and joyneth *Carmel* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles* and the 120. *Pſalm* do rather prove that *Cedar* was not hereabout, than any way help *Adricomius*. For that they ſpeak of *Scenitæ Cedareni*, it is apparent, and as evident by the place in the *Canticles*, that they were *de colores*, much more than any under the Climates of the Land of *Canaan*: whence *Junius* out of *Lampridius* and *Pliny* placeth them in *Arabia Petræa*, far from theſe parts. Touching the Sepulchre of *Job*, it is certain that the *Arabians* and *Saracens* (holding thoſe places) fain many things to abuſe the *Chriſtians*, and to get mony. Further, it may well be affirmed, that many (if not all) the hiſtorical circumſtances of *Job* are ſo obſcure, that we ſhould rather by finding his Country ſeek to get ſome knowledge of him, than by any preſumptions founded upon him, infer what his Countrey was, and build unto him a City by conjecture.

Rup. Lyran Oleaſt. in Gen. Bel. in Cont. lib. 1. de ver. Dei S Am ſup. Ep. ad Rom. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 28. c. 4. Chryſ. Hom. 2. De patientia Job. Greg. com. in Job.

Of

Of *Job* himself, whether he was the same *Jobab* remembred in the 36. of *Genesis*, descended from *Esau* King also of *Idumæa*, though *Rupertus*, *Lyranus*, *Oleaster*, and *Bellarmine* are of another opinion, yet Saint *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostome*, and *Gregorie*, with *Athanasius*, *Hippolitus*, *Irenæus*, *Eusebius Emissenus*, *Apollinaris*, *Eustachius*, and other cited by S. *Hierome* in his 126. Epist. to *Evagrius*, take him for the same.

For *ou* and *au* are often changed one into the other: whence they used *Austis* for *Oustis*, &c. Hence also by *Junius* and others it is called *Ausanitis*, & so as it seems they read it in the *Septuagint*, *Jun.* in *Gen.* 10. 23.

The Land of *Huts* or *Hus*, wherein *Job* dwelt, is from the Greek Ους, which the *Septuagint* use for the word *Huts*, translated by the Vulgar sometimes *Hus*, as *Job* 1.1. sometime *Austitis*, as *Hierem.* 25.20. This Land is placed by *Junius* between *Palæstine* and *Cœlosyria*, besides *Chamatha* (or *Hamatha*) under *Palmyrene*, in the Countrey called by *Ptolomy Trachonitis*, or *Bathanæa*, the bounds of which Countries are confounded with *Basan* in this half Tribe of *Manasses*. And that this Land of *Hus* was thus seated, it may in part be gathered out of the place of *Jer.* 25.20. where he reckons the *Hushites* among the promiscuous borders of the *Israelites*, whom he therfore calleth promiscuous, or *miscelaniam turbam*, because their bounds were not only joyned but confounded, and their *Seigniories* mingled one with the other: but of this place the words of *Hieremy*, *Lam.* 4. 21. speaking of the same Prophecy, of which he speaketh in the 25. Chapter, must needs be expounded, as *Junius* reads them, distinguishing the Land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O filia Edomi, O quæ habitas in terra Hutzi*; *O daughter of Edom, O thou which dwellest in the Land of Hus.* Now because the Vulgar doth not so distinguish, but readeth, *Filia Edom quæ habitas in terra Hus*; *Daughter of Edom which dwellest in the land of Hus*: Hence, as it seems, some of the learned have thought that *Job* was an *Edomite*, as we have said, and King of *Edom*, which if they understand by it *Idumæa*, or *Edom*, so called in *Moses* time, they are greatly mistaken, making this *Land* of *Hus* to be in *Idumæa*. For it is very probable that *Esau*, when he first parted from *Jacob*, did not seat himself in *Edom*, or *Seir*, which lieth on the South border of *Judæa*, but inhabited *Seir* far to the East of *Jordan*, and held part of those Mountains, otherwise called *Galaad*, and *Hermon*, which by corruption the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites*, *Shenir*, for *Seir*; and from this his habitation did *Esau* incounter *Jacob*, when he returned out of *Mesopotamia*, who passed by the very border of *Esau* his abiding. It is true, that at such time as *Moses* wandered in the *Desarts*, that the posterity of *Esau* inhabited *Seir* to the South of *Judæa*: for it is like that the *Amorites*, who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did also drive the *Edomites* out of those parts, who thence-forward seated themselves to the South of *Judæa*, bordering the *Desart Paran*, and stretched their habitations over the *Desarts* as far as *Hor* where *Aaron* died.

Deut. 3. 9.

Now for this *Hus*, which gave the name to a part of the Land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the son of *Aram*, as *Junius* thinks in his note upon *Gen.* 10. 23. or rather *Hus* the son of *Nachor*, *Abrahams* brother, the question is doubtful. For my part I rather encline to think, that it was *Hus* the son of *Nachor*: partly because these Families of *Aram* seem long before to have been lost: and partly because in *Job* 32. 2. *Elihu* the fourth of *Jobs* friends, which seems to be of *Jobs* own Country, is called a *Buzite*, of *Buz* the brother of *Hus*, the son of *Nachor*: as also *Jer.* 25. in the same continuation (though some other Nations named between) where *Hus* is spoken of, there *Buz* is also named. Neither doth it hinder our conjecture, that in the place of *Job* 32. *Elihu* the *Buzite* is said to be of the Family of *Ram*: (which *Junius* expounds to be as much as of the Family of *Aram*) for that by his *Aram* we are not to understand *Aram* the son of *Sem*, *Junius* himself maketh it plain, both in his annotation upon the beginning of his book, where he saith, that one of *Jobs* friends (which must needs be this *Elihu*) was of the posterity of *Nachor* (as also in this place he confesseth so much expressly) and in as much as he readeth not *è Familia Aram*, or *Ram*, but *è Fimilia Syriæ*; like as elsewhere *Laban*, who sprung of *Nachor*, is called a *Syrian*.

Whence the *Septuagint* call him *ex regione Austitide.*

As for the other three of *Jobs* friends (of whom by this note of *Elihu* his being of the *Syrian* Family, or of the Family of *Nachor*) it is implyed that they were of other kindreds, as also by the *Septuagints* addition, that this *Elihu* was of the Land of *Hus*, or *Austitis*, it is implyed that they thought only *Elihu* to have been of *Jobs* own Country. See *Sixtus Senensis.*

Franciscus Brochard the *Monk*, in his description of the *Holy Land* in the journy from *Acon* Eastward, findeth *Suetha*, and *Theman* on the East of the Sea of *Galilee*: both very near to the Land of *Hus*: whereof the one may seem to have denominated *Bildad* the *Shuchite*; the other *Eliphaz* the *Themanite*: two of the three friends of *Job*, of the which *Job* 2. 11. But *Junius* thinks that the *Shuchites* were inhabitants of *Arabia the Desart*, descended of *Shuach* the son of *Abraham* and *Ketura*: of whom *Gen.* 25. 2. perhaps, saith he, the same whom *Pliny* calls *Saccæi*. So also he thinketh the *Themanites*, of whom

Eliphaz was, to have been of *Arabia the Desart*: and *Eliphaz* himself to have been of the posterity of *Theman* the son of *Eliphaz*, which was the son of *Esau*. And so also *Nahamah*, whence *Tsophar* the third of *Job*'s friends (which in this place of *Job*. 2. 11. are mentioned) is by the same learned Expositor, thought either to be named of *Thimnah* by transposition of letters (which *Thimnah*, *Gen.* 36. 40. is named among the sons of *Esau*, that gave denomination to the places where they were seated) or else to be the same *Nahamah*, which *Jos.* 15. 41. is reckoned for a City of *Juda* in the border, as he thinks, of *Edom*. And yet I deny not but that near the Land of *Hus*, in *Basan*, as it seems, in the Tribe of *Manasses*, there is a Region which (at least) in later times was called *Suitis*, or of some like name. For this is evident by the History of *Will. Tyrius*, which reports of a Fort in this Region of *Suita*, or *Suites* (as he cals it diversly) of exceeding great strength and use for the retaining of the whole Country: which, in the time of *Baldwine* the second King of *Hierusalem*, was with great digging through rocks recovered by the *Christians*; having not long before been lost, to the great disadvantage of the Country, while it was in the hands of the *Saracens*. The situation of this Fort is by *Tyrius* described to be sixteen miles from the City *Tiberias*, on the East of *Jordan*: by *Adrichomius* four miles North-ward from the place where *Jordan* enters the Lake *Tiberias* at *Corazin*.

De bel. sacr. lib. 22. c. 15. & 21.

Other Cities of this part of *Manasses* named in the Scripture, are these: *Golan*, *Gehesthera*, *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the coming of the *Israelites* was called *Nobach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, we have spoken by occasion among the Cities of *Gad*. The other two were given to the *Levites*, and *Golan* made one of the Cities of refuge: from which *Golan* we have both *Gaulanitis superior* and *inferior*, oft in *Josephus*. *Behesthera* is accounted the chief City of *Basan* by some, but the Writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Betser*, or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence *Hierome* hath *Arga*, a name of a City placed by some about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Josua*) which make the Lake *Samachonitis*, as *Josephus* cals it. This Lake, being as it were in the midst between *Cæsarea Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which, as through the Lake of *Tiberias*, *Jordan* runneth, boundeth part of this half Tribe on the West. When the snow of *Libanus* melteth, it is very large, saith *Brochard*: otherwise more contract, leaving the marish ground on both sides, for Lions and other wilde beasts, which harbour in the shrubs that plentifully grow there.

Jos. 21. 27 *Deut.* 4 43.

Adjoyning to this Lake in this Country of *Manasses*, *Josephus* names two places of strength, fortified by himself in the beginning of the *Jews* rebellion: *Seleucia* the one, and *Sogane* the other. In the North side of this half Tribe of *Manasse*, and in the North-East, the Scripture nameth divers bordering places towards *Damascus*, as *Tsedad*, *Chauram*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, lying in a line drawn from the West; of which three Cities we read, *Ezek.* 47. 15. with which also agrees the place, *Num.* 34. 8. where for *Chauram* between *Tsedad*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, *Ziphron* is named. From this *Chauram* is the name of *Auranitis Regio*, in *Josephus* and *Tyrius*, whose bounds (as also the bounds of *Gessur* and *Mahacath*, or *Macati*, which were likewise borderers to *Manasses* towards the North-East) are unknown: only that *Gessur* was of might, it appears in that *David* married *Mahaca* the daughter of *Thalmay* King of *Gessur*: by whom he had the most beautiful, but wicked and unfortunate *Absalom*.

1 *Chron.* 3. 2.

CHAP. XI.

The History of the Syrians, *the chief Borderers of the* Israelites *that dwelt on the East of* Jordan.

§. I.

Of the City of Damascus, *and the divers Fortunes thereof.*

Damascus of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in beauty, antiquity, and riches, and was therefore called the City of joy or gladness, and the House of pleasure; and is not only remembred in many places of Scripture, but by the best Historians and Cosmographers. The *Hebrews*, saith *Josephus*, think it to have been built by *Hus* the son of *Aram*: of which opinion S. *Hierome* upon *Esay* seemeth to be: though in his Hebrew questions he affirmeth, that it was founded by *Damascus* the son of

Joseph l. 1. c. 14.

Is Esa 17. Gen. 15.2. of *Eliezer*, *Abraham*'s Steward; a thing very unlikely, seeing the City was formerly known by that name, as appears by *Abraham*'s calling this his Steward *Eliezer* of *Damasco*. *David* was the first that subjected it to the Kingdom of *Juda*, after the overthrow of *Adadezer* their King; but in *Solomon*'s time, *Rezon* recovered it again, though he had no title at all or right to that Principality: but *David* having overthrown *Hadadezer* King of *Sophena* (otherwise *Syria Soba*, or *Zoba*) *Razon* or *Rezon*, with the remainder of that broken Army, invaded *Damascena*, and possest *Damascus* it self, and became an enemy to *Solomon* all his life.

1 King 11 40.

The next King of *Damascus* was *Adad* the *Edomite*, who flying into *Egypt* from *David* and *Joab*, when they slew all the males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the King of *Egypts* Wives sister: of whom *Taphnes* in *Egypt* was so called. This *Adad* returning again, became an enemy to *Solomon* all his life, and (as some Writers affirm) invaded *Damascus*, and thrust *Rezon* thence-out. In the Line of *Adad* that Kingdom continued nine descents (as hereafter may be shewed in the Catalogue of those Kings of *Syria*) to whom the *Assyrians*, and then the *Grecians* succeeded. This City was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the Rivers of *Abanah*, and *Pharpar*: whereof one of them, prophane Writers call *Chrysorrhoas*, the golden River. *Junius* takes it for *Adonis*. The Country adjoyning is very fruitful of excellent Wines and Wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very strong Castle, built as it seems by the *Florentines*, after it became Christian: the Lillies being found cut in many Marbles in that Citadel. Against this City the Prophets *Amos*, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and *Zacharias*, prophesied that it should be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heap of stones. In the time of the last *Rezon*, and tenth King of the *Damascens*, *Teglatphalasser*, invited by *Achaz* King of *Juda*, carried away the naturals of *Damascus* into the East: leaving of his own Nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the *Babylonians*, saith *Hierome* upon *Esay*: which thing was performed by *Salmanasser*, according to *Junius* in his note upon that place, five years after the Prophecy. In time it was restored by the *Macedonians*, and the *Ptolomies*; but long after, when *Syria* fell into the hands of the *Romanes*, it was taken by *Metellus*, and *Lollius*. In the time of the Christians it had an Archbishop: Saint *Hierome* living, as he affirmeth upon the *Acts*, it was the *Metropolis* of the *Saracens*: being taken by *Haomer* their King from the *Romanes*, in the year of our redemption 636. and in the year 1147. *Conrad* the third, Emperour of *Rome*, *Lewis* King of *France*, *Baldwine* the third King of *Hierusalem*, *Henry* Duke of *Austria*, brother to *Conrad*, *Frederick Barbarossa* afterward Emperour, *Theoderick* Earl of *Flaunders*, and other Princes assembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the sea-coast, determined to recover *Damascus*: but being betrayed by the *Syrians*, they failed of the enterprize.

1 King. 11 Herold. l. 6. bell. sacr. l. 3. 8. 10. & 17. 49. & 9. 2 King 16 Esay 17. Jos. ant. 4. Onuphrius in chron. Vitric. 46. Wil. Tyr. bell sacr. lib. 17. c. 1. 23. 4 5.

In the year 1262. *Halon* the *Tartar* incompast it, and having formerly taken the King, brought him under the Wals, and threatned extreme torture unto him, except the Citizens rendred the place: but they refusing it, the King was torn asunder before them, and in fine the City taken, *Agab* the son of *Halon* was by his father made King thereof. Herold bel. sacr. 4. c. 14

In the year 1400. *Tamberlain* Emperour of the *Parthians*, invaded that Region, and besieged the City with an Army of 1200000. (if the number be not mistaken.) He entred it, and put all to the sword, filling the ditch with his prisoners; those that retired into the Castle, which seemed a place impregnable, he overtopped with another Castle adjoyning: he forbare the demolishing of the City, in respect of the beauty of the Church, garnished with forty Gates, or sumptuous Porches. It had within it 9000. Lanterns of Gold and Silver: but while he invaded *Egypt*, they again surprized *Damascus*. Lastly, in his return after three moneths siege, he forc't it: the *Mahometans* prostrating themselves with their Priests, desired mercy. But *Tamberlain* commanding them to enter the Church, he burnt them and it to the number of 30000. and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their houses, knew them not by the foundations. And as a Trophee of his victory, he raised three Towers with great art, builded with the heads of those whom he had slaughtered. After this, it was restored and re-possest by the *Soldane* of *Egypt* with a Garrison of *Mammalukes*: And in the year 1517. *Selimus* Emperour of the *Turks* wrested it out of the hands of the *Egyptians*: in whose possession it now remaineth inhabited with Mahometans and Christians of all neighbouring Nations. Herold. l. 6. c. 4.

§. II.

Of the first Kings of Damascus, *and of the growing up of their power.*

NOw be it that *Damascus* were founded by *Hus* the son of *Aram*, or by *Damascus*

the son of *Eliezer Abraham*'s steward, we find no relation of their Kings, or Commonwealth till *Davids* time. For it stood without the bounds of *Canaan:* and therefore neglected by *Moses*, *Josua*, and the *Judges*, as impertinent to that Story. But were it so that it had some *Reguli*, or petty Kings over it, as all the Cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as *David* overthrew *Adadezer* Prince of *Sophena*, or *Syria Zoba:* the same Nation which *Pliny* calleth *Nubæi*, inhabiting between *Batania* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to understand the story of those *Syrian* Princes, whom soon after the Kings of *Damascus* made their vassals, the Reader may inform himself, That on the North-East parts of the Holy Land, there were three chief Principallities, whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly vexed or disturbed the State or Commonwealth of *Israel*, namely, *Damascus*, or *Aram*, *Sophena*, or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Chamath Zoba*; of which these were the Princes in *David*'s and *Solomon*'s times: *Razon*, or *Rezon* of *Damascus*, *Adadezer* of *Syria*, *Zoba*, and *Tohu* of *Chamath*. But it seemeth, that *Damascus* was one of the Cities subject to *Adadezer* when *David* invaded him, though when *Saul* made war against *Zoba*, *Damascus* was not named. And as *Josephus* affirmeth, the leader of those succours, which were levied and sent to *Hadad-Hezer* from *Damascus*, had the name of *Adad:* who was in that battel slain with 22000. *Aramites* of *Damascus:* whereof, as of the overthrow of *Adadezer*, *Rezon* the Commander of his Army, taking advantage, made himself King of *Damascus*, *Adadezer*, and *Adad* of *Damascus* being both slain. About the same time *Toku* King of *Chamath*, or *Ituræa*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *Adadezer* was utterly overthrown, sendeth for peace to *David*, and presenteth him with rich gifts: but *in dolo*, saith S. *Hierome*; it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the West of *Damascus*, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited: but they for the most part were in league and peace with the *Judæans* and *Israelites*. But to return to the Kings of *Syria*, I mean of *Syria* as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing *Damascena*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Ituræa*; to which I may add *Geshur*, because it is so accounted in the second of *Sam.* 15. as joyning in the Territory to *Damascus* (for *Syria* at large is far greater, of which *Palæstina* it self is but a Province, as I have noted in the beginning of this Tract:) It is not a greed among the Historians of former times, nor of our later Writers, who was the first of those *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damascus*.

Plin. l. 6. c. 28.

1 Sam. 14 47.

3082.

2 Sam. 8.

1 King 11

Some account *Rezon*, others *Adad* of *Idumæa:* of whom it is written in the first of *Kings*, that *David* having invaded that Region, and left *Joab* there to destroy all the male children thereof: *Adad* of the Kings seed fled into *Egypt*; and was there married to *Taphnes* the Queens sister, as before; who hearing of *David*'s death, and of the death of his Captain *Joab* (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he turned again: and, as *Bunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expel *Rezon* out of *Damascus*, and was the first of the *Syrian* Kings. To me it seemeth otherwise. For, as I take it, *Adadezer*, the son of *Rehob*, whom *Saul* invaded, was the Founder of that Principallity: and the first of *Adads*, who forsaking his fathers name, as he grew powerful, took upon him the stile of *Adad*, the great god of the *Assyrians*, saith *Macrobius*, which signified Oneness of Unity. I also find a City called *Adada*, in the same part of *Syria:* of which whether these Princes took the name, or gave it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-ezer*, *Ben-adad*, *El-adad* were the same in name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli* adjoyned. And that *Adadezer* was of greatest power, it appeareth first, because it is against him, that *David* undertook the war: Secondly, because he levied 22000. *Aramites* out of the Territory of *Damascus:* as out of his proper Dominions: for had the *Damascens* had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would have given us his name: Thirdly, because *Syria Zoba*, of the most of which *Adadezer* was King, was an exceeding large Territory, and contained of *Arabia* the *Desart* as far as to *Euphrates*, according to *Pliny:* and the greatest part of *Arabia Petræa*, according to *Niger*. Whosoever was the first, whether *Adadezer*, or *Adad* of *Idumæa*, *Rezon* was the second: *Who was an enemy to Israel all the dayes of Solomon.* Besides the evil that *Adad* did, the evil that *Hadad* did, seemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of *Idumæa*, lately returned out of *Egypt:* to wit, 23. years after he was carried thither.

2 Sam 8. & 12.

1 Sam. 14. 47.

Plin. l. 6 c. 18.

1 King 11

The third King of *Damascus*, and of *Zobah* both, was *Hezion*; to *Hezion* succeded *Tabremmum*, or *Tabrimmum*; to him *Benhadad*, as is proved in the first of Kings: For *Asa* King of *Juda* the son of *Abiam*, the son of *Roboam*, the son of *Solomon*, being vexed and invaded by *Baasha*, the successour of *Nadab*, the son of *Jeroboam*, sent to *Benhadab* the son of *Tabrimmon*, the son of *Hezion*, King of *Aram*, that dwelt at *Damascus*, to invade *Israel* (while *Baasha* sought to fortifie *Rama* against *Asa:*

1 Kings 15. 18.

Asa: thereby to block him up, that he should not enter into any of the territories of *Israel)* who according to the desire of *Asa*, having received his presents, willingly invaded the Country of *Nephtalim*, and took divers Cities, and spoyls thence: *Asa* in the mean while carrying away all the Materials, which *Baasha* had brought to fortifie *Rama* withal, and converted them to his own use.

1 Kin. 15. 18. This *Benhadads* Father *Tabremmon* was in league with *Asa*: and so was his Father *Hezion*: for *Asa* requireth the continuance of that friendship from *Benhadad*, his son: though it seemeth that the gold and silver sent him out of the Temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this *Tabremmon* invaded *Israel*, before the enterprize of his son *Benhadad*, it is conjectured. For *Benhadad* when he was prisoner with *Achab*, spake as followeth: *The Cities which my father took from thy father, I will restore, and thou shalt make streets or Keepers of the borders for thee in Damascus: as my Father did in Samaria.* And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the argument it self were of much importance) because *Tabremmon* was father indeed to *Benhadad* which invaded *Baasha*, at the request of *Asa*: But this *Benhadad* that twice entred upon *Achab*, and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the son of *Benhadad*, the first of that name, the confederate of *Asa* and *Abiam*, as before, than the son of *Tabremmon*. For between the invasion of *Benhadad* the first, in *Baasha*'s time, and the siege of *Samaria*, and the overthrow of *Benhadad* by *Achab*, there past 49 years, as may be gathered out of the reigns of the Kings of *Israel*. So that if we allow 30. years of age to *Benhadad*, when he invaded *Baasha*, and after that 49. years ere he was taken by *Achab*, which make eighty lacking one, it is unlikely that *Benhadad* at such an age should make war. Besides all this, the first *Benhadad* came with no such pomp; but the second *Benhadad* vaunteth, that he was followed with 32. Kings: and therefore I resolve, that *Benhadad* the son of *Tebremmon* invaded *Baasha* and *Omri*; and *Benhadad* the second invaded *Achab*, at whose hands this *Benhadad* received two notorious overthrows: the first

1 Kin. 20. at *Samaria*, by a sally of 700. *Israelites*: the second at *Aphec*, where, with the like number in effect, the *Israelites* slaughtered 200000. of the *Aramites*; besides 27000. which were crush't by the fall of the wall of *Aphec*. And this *Benhadad*, *Achab* again setteth at liberty: to whom he rendreth those Towns that his father had taken from the Predecessour of *Achab*, but being returned, he refused to render *Ramoth Gilead*, a frontier Town, and of great importance. Now three years after (for so long the league lasted) *Ramoth* not being delivered, *Achab* invaded *Gilead*, and besieged the City, being assisted by *Josaphat*. The *Aramites* came to succour and fight: in which *Achab* is wounded, and dieth that night. After this, *Benhadad* sendeth the Commander of his forces, called *Naaman*, to *Joram* the son of *Achab* to be healed of the leprosie, and though *Elizeus* had healed him, yet he picked a quarrell against *Joram*: and when *Joram*, by *Elizeus* his intelligence had escaped his plot, he sent men and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is aforesaid. After *Benhadad* besieged *Samaria* again, and being terrified thence from Heaven, he departed home, and sickneth, and sendeth *Azael* with great gifts to *Elizeus*, to know his estate if he might live. *Azael* returning, smothereth him. *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad Adar*, and the son of *Adar*: *Amos* and *Hieremy* mention the Towers of *Benhadad*. *Josephus* writeth that *Benhadad* and his successour *Azael* were worshipped for Gods by the *Syrians* to his time, for the sumptuous Temples which they built in *Damascus*. The *Syrians* also boasted much of their antiquity, ignorant, saith he, that scarce yet 1100. years are compleat since their wars with the *Israelites*.

1 Kin. 22. 3227. 3232. 2 Kin 5. 2 Kin. 6. 2 Kin. 6. 2 Kin. 7. 3234. Amo. 1. Jer. 49. ant. l. 8. c. 8

Hazael or *Azael*, the first King of the race of the *Adads* of *Damascus*, was annointed by *Elisha*, or *Elizeus*, when he was sent by *Benhadad* to the Prophet, to know whether *Benhadad* should recover his present sickness: He waged war with *Joram*, who received divers wounds at the encounter at *Ramoth* in *Gilead*: from whence returning to be cured at *Jesreel*, he and the King of *Juda*, *Ahaziah* or *Ochozias*, are slain by *Jehu*, as before is said. After the death of *Joram*, *Azael* continued war against *Jehu*, and wasted *Gilead*, and all those portions of *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manasse*, over *Jordan*. He then invaded *Juda*, and took *Gath*; but by gifts from *Joas* he was averted from attempting *Hierusalem*: for he presented him all the *hallowed things which* Jehosaphat, Jehoram, *and* Ahaziah *his fathers, Kings of* Juda, *had dedicated, and which he himself had dedicated; and all the gold which was found in the treasures of the Lord, and in the Kings house*. This was the second time that the Temple was spoiled to please the *Adads* of *Damascus*. For *Asa* did present *Benhadad* with those treasures, when he invited him to war upon *Baasha* King of *Israel*. And notwithstanding this composition between *Joas* and *Azael*, yet a part of his Army spoiled the other Provinces of *Judæa*, and slaughtered many principal persons. Lastly,

2 Reg. 12. 17. 2 Reg. 12. 1 Reg. 15. 2 Reg. 13. 7.

Azael

Azael vexed *Joahaz* the son of *Jehu*, and brought him to that extremity, as he left him bnt fifty Horse-men, ten Chariots, and ten thousand Foot-men of all his people.

§. III.

Of the later Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.

2 Reg. 13. Joſ. ant. c. 9. After *Hazael*, *Benhadad* the second, or rather the third of that name, the son of *Hazael*, reigned in *Damascus*: who fought against *Israel* with ill success: for *Joas* King of *Israel*, the son of the unhappy *Joachaz*, as he was foretold by *Elisha* the Prophet, beat *Benhadad* in three several battels: and he lost all those Cities to *Israel*, which his father *Hazael* had taken violently from *Joachaz*.

Joſ ant. l. 7. c. 6. After this *Benhadad* the son of *Hazael*, there succeeded three others by the same name, of whom the Stories are lost, onely *Nicholaus Damascenus* cited by *Josephus*, makes mention of them: and in one of these Kings times it was that *Jeroboam* the second, the son of *Joas*, recovered *Damascus* it self to *Juda*, saith the *Geneva*, but better in *Junius*, *Utque recuperabat Damascum, & Chamatham Jehudæ pro Israele*; that is, *And how he recovered for Israel, Damascus and Chamatha of Judæa*; for these Cities sometimes conquered by *David*, did of right belong to the Tribe of *Juda*. 1 Kin. 14. 28.

And it is likely, that this conquest upon the *Adads* was performed: the first of these three *Adads* then living, of whom there is no Story. For when as *Jehoas* the King of the ten Tribes had thrice overcome the *Syrians* in the time of *Benhadad* the son of *Hazael*, and had recovered the Cities which *Hazael* had won from *Israel*; and so left his Kingdom to his son *Joroboam* the second; it seemeth that this *Jeroboam* without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enterprize, instantly followed his fathers good fortune, and invaded *Damascus*.

Razin, or *Rezin*, after *Josephus*, *Rases*; after *Zonaras*, *Raason* the tenth *Adad*, making league with *Pekah*, or *Phacas* King of *Israel*, against *Achaz* King of *Juda*; both carry away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege *Achaz* in *Hierusalem*: but in vain. Then *Adad* alone invadeth *Elath*, and beating out the Jews, maketh it a Colony of *Syrians*. Wherefore *Achab* brought *Teglatphalassar* against *Razin*, who took him and beheaded him, and won *Damascus*: with whom ended the line of the *Adads*, and the Kingdom of *Damascus*: the *Assyrians* becoming masters both of that and *Israel*. These 2 Kin. 16. 5. 5. Esay 7. Joſ. ant. l. 9 c. 11.

Adads, as they reigned in order are thus reckoned:

1 *Adadezer* the son of *Rehob*.
2 *Rezin* the son of *Eliadad*, or *Razin*.
3 *Hezion*.
4 *Tabremmon*.
5 *Benhadad*, who invaded *Baasha*.
6 *Benhadad* the second, taken prisoner by *Achab*.
7 *Hazael*, whom *Elisha* foretold with tears of his advancement; the same who overthrew *Joram* King of *Israel* at *Ramoth Gilead*. And that there was a second *Hazael* which preceded *Benhadad* the third, it is not improbable, because that *Hazael* which took *Geth*, and compounded the war with *Joas*, made the Expedition thirty years, and perchance more, after the first *Hazael* which stifled his master *Benhadad*, and had slain *Joram* the son of *Achab* King of *Israel*. For *Joas* began to reign in the 7. year of *Jehu* King of *Israel*; and after he had reigned 23. years, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long we know not) it is said that *Hazael* took *Geth*, and turned his face towards *Jerusalem*. It is also some proof that *Hazael* that took *Geth*, was not the same with *Hazael* that murdered *Benhadad*, because he could not at that time be of good years, being as it seemeth, the second person in the Kingdom, and Commander of *Benhadads* men of war. To this *Hazael* (be he the first or second) succeeded.
8 *Benhadad*, the third, whom *Joash* King of *Israel* thrice overthrew.
9 *Resin*, or *Rezin*, the last, who joyned with *Pekah* King of *Israel*, against *Juda*, at which time *Achaz* King of *Juda* waged for his defence *Teglatphalasser*.

Now between *Benhadad* the third, and *Rezin* the last, *Nicolaus Damascenus* finds three other Kings of the *Adads*, which make twelve in all.

For the rest of the Princes of *Syria*, which were but *Reguli*, as those of *Emath*, and *Gessur*, we find that *Tohu* was King of *Emath*, or *Camath*, in *Davids* time, to whom he sent his son *Joram* with presents, after *Davids* victory against *Adadezer*. Also *Senacherib* speaketh of a King of *Emath*, but names him not. 2 Sam. 8. 9. Esay 37.

§. IV.

Of Other lesser Kingdoms of the Syrians, which being brought under the Assyrians, never recovered themselves again.

OF *Gessur* we find two Kings named; to wit, *Talmai*, and his Father *Ammihur*: to *Talmai*, whose Daughter *David* married,

it

it was that *Absalom* fled, who was his maternal Grandfather. Of the Kings of *Sephena*, or *Syria*, *Soba*, or *Cœlosyria*, there are two named, *Rehob*, or *Rechob*, the Father of *Adadezer*, and *Adadezer* himself; and it is plain that after his death the seat of the Kings of *Soba* was transferred to *Damascus*, a City better fitting their greatness. After *Rezin* became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of these Kings of *Syria* (which became so potent, and joyned *Soba*, *Damascus*, *Emath*, and the *Desart* of *Arabia*, with other Provinces into one, under *Rezin* the second of the *Adads*) as it began with *David*, so it ended at once with the Kingdom of *Israel*. For *Ahaz* King of *Juda* waged the *Assyrian Teglatphalassar* against *Pekah* King of *Israel*, and against *Rezin* the last King of *Damascus*: which *Teglath* first invaded *Damascena*, and the Region of *Soba*, and took *Damascus* it self, and did put to death *Rezin* the last, carrying the Inhabitants captive. This was the second time that the *Assyrians* attempted *Israel*. For first *Phul Belochus* entred the borders thereof (*Menahem* governing *Israel*) who stopt the enterprise of *Phul* with a thousand talents of silver: for this *Phul Belochus*, whose pedigree we will examine hereafter, being scarce warm, as yet, in his seat at *Babylon*, which he, with the help of his companion *Arbaces*, had wrested from *Sardanapalus*: having besides this King of *Syria* in his way, who seemed to be a great and strong Prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the King of *Israel* for that present time. But his son *Teglath* following the purpose of his father *Belochus*, and finding so excellent an occasion, as the war begun between *Israel* and *Judah*, *Pekah* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being also wrapt in that war, and wasted in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* King of *Juda*, his impreſt and entertainment. So, first attempting *Damascus*, which lay in his path towards *Israel*, he carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great ease possest himself of the Cities of *Nephtalim*; leading with him a great part of the people captive. And his son *Salmanasser*, whom *Ptolemy* called *Nabonasser*, after the revolt of *Hosea*, forced *Samaria*, and rent that Kingdom asunder. So as the line and race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* supplanted, the race and Monarchy of the *Syrian Adads* in *Rezin*, whom *Teglath* slaughtered; the Kingdom of *Israel* in *Hosea*, whom *Salmanasser* overturned; happened near about a time: that of *Ninus* in the daies of *Belochus*, and the other two in the daies of *Teglatphalasser*, and *Salmanasser* his son. For *Sardanapalus* perished, *Osia* ruling *Juda*; and the other two Kingdoms were dissolved, *Achaz* yet living.

Lastly, the Kingdom of *Juda* it self, being attempted by *Senacherib*, the son of *Salmanasser*, in vain, and preserved for the time by God miraculously, was at length utterly overturned. *Hierusalem* and the Temple burnt 132. years after the captivity of *Israel* and *Samaria*: the destruction of *Israel* being in the ninth year of *Hosea*: that of *Juda* in the eleventh of *Zedechia*. Now the Emperours of *Assyria* and *Babylon* held also the Kingdom of *Syria*, from the eighth year of *Salmanasser*; to the last of *Baltassar*, whom *Herodotus* calleth *Labynitus*: in all about 200. years. After these the *Persians* from *Cyrus* to *Darius* their last King, held *Syria* about 200. years. 3603. 3811.

Then *Alexander Macedon* took this among other Provinces of the *Persian* Empire, and his successors the *Selucidæ* reigned therein, till it became subject unto the power of the *Romans*, from whom it was wrested long after by the *Saracens*, and remaineth now in possession of the *Turk*, as shall be shewed in due place. Thus much of the Nations bordering upon the *Israelites*, with whom they had most to do, both in war and peace, being the onely people, whose History in those ancient times carried an assured face of Truth.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tribe of Benjamin, and of Hierusalem.

§. I.

Of divers memorable places in the Tribe of Benjamin, *whereof Hiericho, Gilgal, Mitspa, Bethel, Rama, Gobah, and Gibha.*

OF the Tribe of *Benjamin*, the twelfth and youngest son of *Jacob*, whom he had by *Rachel*, there were mustered at Mount *Sinia* 35000. able bodies: all which perishing in the *Desarts*, there entred the *Holy Land* of their issues 45600. fit to bear Arms: and these had their Territory on this side *Jordan*, between *Juda* and *Ephraim*: The Cities

1 Chron. 8. 12. Cities within this Tribe neareſt *Jordan*, are *Lod*, *Hadid*, and *Ono*: of which, *Lod* and *Ono* were built by *Shemed* a *Benjamite*: they were all three re-inhabited with *Benjamites*, after the return out of Captivity, as is mentioned, *Nehem.* 11. 35. and *Eſd.* 2. 35. where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Ono*, makes beſides *Hadid* in *Nehemia*, a City called *Lodhadid*: This *Hadid* or *Chadid* was rebuilt by *Simon Macchabæus*. Mac. 12. 38

Samarim, or *Tſemaraim*, named of *Tſemary* one of the ſons of *Canaan*, was another of their Cities: and further into the Land ſtandeth *Jericho*, one of the Toparchies and the laſt of *Juda*, ſeated in a moſt fruitful Valley, adorned with many Palm-trees: and therefore elſewhere called the City of Palms. From the time of *Joſua*, who utterly deſtroyed it, it lay waſte untill the time of *Achad*: in whoſe daies *Chiel* of *Bethel* laid the new foundation of it, in the loſs of *Abiram* his eldeſt ſon, and built the gates of it in the loſs of his youngeſt ſon *Segub*: according to the curſe of *Joſua*: in which and other reſpects, *Hoſ.* 12. 14. calleth *Joſua* a Prophet. In after-times it was deſtroyed by *Veſpaſian*, and re-built by *Adrian*. 1 Kings 16. 34. Joſ. 6. 19.

To the South-eaſt of *Jericho* ſtood * *Halmon* of the Levites, of which *Joſ.* 21. 18. To the South *Betharaba*, of which *Joſ. c.* 15. and *c.* 18. Then that *Gilgal* of which there is ſo much mention in the Scripture, where *Joſua* firſt ate of the fruits of the land, circumciſed all thoſe born in the *Deſarts*, and celebrated the Paſſeover. * 1 Chro. 6. 60. This *Halmon* is called *Halemeth*, whence they make a new City *Almath*, as if this Tribe had given five Cities to the *Levites*.

The reaſon of the name, or rather a memorable application of the Etymology of this name (for it ſeems by the place, *Deut.* 11. 30. that the name was known before the coming of the *Iſraelites* into *Canaan*) is noted *Joſ* 5. 9. *Ob devolutionem probri Ægyptiaci*, becauſe their fore-skins (the people being there circumciſed) were tumbled down the Hill: which from thence was called *Collis præputiorum*. This *Gilgal* was alſo called *Geliloth*, as appears by comparing the places, *Joſ.* 15. 7. and 18. 17. for it was in the borders of *Jordan*, of which *Joſ.* 22. 13. and *Geliloth* ſignifieth borders. It ſtood (though in ſome diſtance) directly Eaſtward, over againſt the two Hills *Garazim* and *Hebal*: upon the one of which the bleſſings, and on the other the curſings were to be read to the people, both being the Mountains of *Ephraim*. Further, for the ſituation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mitſpa* of *Benjamin* (of which alſo we read oft in the Scripture) were ſeated about the midſt of the length of the land of *Canaan*: for which reaſon (*a*) *Samuel* choſe theſe two places, to either of which he came yearly to give judgement to the *Iſraelites*; of which two, *Gilgal* (as is ſaid) was near *Jordan* on the Eaſt ſide of this Tribe and *Mitſpa* near the Weſt Sea, towards the land of the *Philiſtims*. Deut. 11. 30. (*a*) 1 Sam. 7. 15.

The third place, which is named with theſe two, whither alſo *Samuel* uſed yearly to come, is [b] *Bethel*: which alſo was ſeated in this Tribe of *Benjamin*. But to return to *Gilgal*, which was the firſt place where the *Ark* reſided, after they paſt over *Jordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kiriath-Jeharim*, and at length to *Hieruſalem*) here in *Gilgal* it was that *Joſua* pitched up the 12. ſtones, which were taken out of the channel of *Jordan*, when it was dry, that the *Iſraelites* might paſs over it: by which Story, as it is ſet down *Joſ.* 4. it appears, that the ſame day that they paſſed over *Jordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the ſame *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitſpa*, whither *Samuel* came yearly to give judgment, there alſo were often the greateſt meetings held: as that for the revenge of the Levites wife againſt *Gibha*, and the *Benjamites*, *Joſ.* 20. 1. and another againſt the *Philiſtims*, 1 *Sam.* 7. 12. Thither alſo *Judas Macchabæus* gathered the *Jews* (when *Hieruſalem* was poſſeſt by the *Heathen*) as it is 1 *Mac.* 3. 47. in which place this reaſon of their meeting is added; *Quia locus orationi fuerat Mitſpæ anteà Iſraeli*. Touching this *Mitſpa*, to avoid confuſion, it is to be remembred, that the Scriptures mention four places of this name: *Mitſpa* of *Juda*, of which *Joſ.* 15. 38. (*c*) *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, of which we have ſpoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Mitſpa* of the *Moabites*, where *David* for a while held himſelf, commending his Parents to the King of *Moab*, 1 *Sam.* 22. 3. and laſtly, this chief *Mitſpa* of the *Benjamites*. And as in this place the chief meetings were held both before *Hieruſalem* was recovered from the *Jebuſites*, and alſo in the time of the *Macchabees* (as we have ſaid) when *Hieruſalem* was held by the wicked under *Antiochus*, ſo alſo in the time of *Hieremy*, after the deſtruction of the Temple by the *Chaldees*, *Gedaliah* whom *Nabuchodonoſor* left in *Jewry*, as Governour over thoſe that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: until (to the great hurt of the *Jews*) he was ſlain by the treaſon of *Iſmael*, one of the royal blood of *Juda*, as it is *Jerem.* 41. b *Junius* in this place, for *Bethel* reads *Domum Dei fortis*, and interprets it *Kireath-jearim*, where the *Ark* abode. For (ſaith he) by the Law, *Exo.* 23. 17. the greateſt meetings in their annual feaſts were to be where the *Ark* was, but this place doth not ſpeak of feſtival, but of judicial meetings: and beſides the Prieſts did uſe to bring the *Ark* to their great meetings, whereſoever they were, as appears 1 *Sam.* 12. 11. & 14. 18. neither is it eaſie to expound *Bethel* otherwiſe than for the City *Bethel*: though *Junius* alſo take it for the place where the *Ark* was, 1 *Sam.* 10. 3. (*c*) It was no other than this *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, of which *Joſ.* 11. 8. as appears by that which is added, *Verſus orientem*, for *Joſua* notes the three quarters, North, Weſt, and Eaſt, to which he followed the *Canaanites*, though *Adrichomius* and others out of this place imagine a *Mitſpa* or *Moſpha* (as they write it) in the Tribe of *Aſſer*.

Neer

Neer unto this *Mitspa*, the Scripture mentioneth *Bethcar*, after called *Aben-Hezer*, that is, the Stone of help: where *Samuel* pitched up the Pillar or Stone, for a Trophey against the *Philistims*.

Touching *Bethel*, which (as it seems) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chief meetings for the ministring of Justice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the issue of *Joseph* (though it belonged to the portion of *Benjamin*, as it is *Nehem.* 11. 31. and *Jos.* 18. 22.) and how another City called *Luz* (*d*) near adjoyning to it, was built by the man of the City which shewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is *Jud.* 1. and of the occasion of the name from *Jacob's* vision: and how *Jereboam*, by erecting one of his calves here, of *Bethel* (which signifieth the house of God) made it (*e*) *Beth-aven*, that is, the house of Vanity, *Hos.* 4. 15. and 10. 5. as also other memorable things of this place, they are so well known out of the Histories of the Scripture, that we may well pass them over.

(d) 1 *Sam.* 7. 11. *Jos.* 16. 1.

(e) Borrowing the name of a neighbour town in the confines of the Kingdom of *Juda* and *Israel* between *Hai* and *Bethel*, *Jos* 7. 2. and 18. 12.

The Territory of *Bethel*, which at the first belonged to the Kingdom of the ten Tribes, from the time of the great victory of *Abia* against *Jeroboam*, of which 2 *Chron.* 13. was taken from them, and adjoyned to the Kingdom of *Juda*: and so it continued, as appears by the Story of *Josias*: which performed the Prophecies against the altar of *Bethel*, 2 *Reg.* 23. whence those coasts 1 *Macc.* 11. 34. are called *Apherema*, which *Greek* word signifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the ten Tribes. It was one of the three *Seigniories*, or *Perfectures* which *Demetrius* in his Epistle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Dition* of the *Jews*, out of the *Samaritan Country*. A part of it, as appears 2 *Chron.* 13. 19. was *Hephrain*, which *Jos.* 18. 23. is called *Hophram*, belonging to this Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Not far from this *Bethel*, in this Tribe, we find three other Cities, often mentioned in the Scriptures, *Rama*, *Gidha*, and *Geba*. Of the name *Rama*, (*f*) it is noted already, in the description of *Ephraim*, that there were many Towns so called, because of their high situation. But whereas they find out *Rama* in the Tribe of *Juda* (as it seems, because *Matt.* 2. it appears that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and also out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* make *Silo* to have been called *Rama*, and find yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; these three have no warrant in the Scripture. Of *Rama* in the Tribe of *Asser*, as it seems, we have testimony, *Jos.* 19. 29. and of another in *Nephthalim*, *Jos.* 19. 36. of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in Mount *Ephraim*, 1 *Sam.* 25. 1. which more often is called (*g*) *Ramatha*, and 1 *Sam.* 1. 1. *Ramathaim Tsophim*: for which the *Septuagint* have *Aramathaim-sophim*, taking the Article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they think *Joseph* of *Aramathæa*, *Matt.* 27. 57. was denominated.

(f) See cap. 9. sect. 2.

(g) Of this *Ramatha* I understand the place 1 *Macc.* 11. 34. where it is named for one of the three *Prafectures* which *Demetrius* yeelds to the *Jews* out of the country of *Samaria*: this lying toward the East to *Jericho*, and *Lydda* the West, and *Apherema* (of which even now we speak) lying in the midst between the two other. A sixth it there was in the Tribe of *Simeon* toward the South, which *Jos.* 19. 8. is called *Ramath* of the South, and otherwise *Baalath-beer*.

Of a fourth *Rama* we read, 2 *Reg.* 8. 29. which is *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. The first, which is most often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Benjamin*, seated, as we said, near *Bethel* the uttermost South-border of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes: for which cause *Baasha* in the time of *Asa* King of *Juda*, fortified it, to hinder those that did fly from him to *Asa*. Of this *Rama*, or *Ramatha*, I should rather think *Joseph* was; that buried *Christ*: because it was nearer to *Hierusalem*, and after the Captivity belonged to *Judæa*, as it appears, *Esd.* 2. 26. wherein that it is joyned with *Geba*, it is plain that he speaketh of that *Rama* with whose stones (after *Baasha* had ceased to build it) *Asa* (as it is 1 *Reg.* 25. 22.) built *Gebah* adjoyning to it: both being in *Benjamin*. And as *Rama* was the South-border of the ten Tribes, so was *Gebah* the North-border of the Kingdom of *Juda*: whence 2 *Reg.* 23. 8. we reade that *Josiah* through all his Kingdom, even from *Gebah*, which was the North-border, to *Beer-sheba*, which was the South-border, destroyed the places of Idolatry.

(h) *Gibba* in construction, that is, Governing a genitive case, is *Gibbath*: whence the *Vulgar* out of the *Septuagint* read *Jos.* 24. 33. *Gibbath Phinees*: for which *Junius* hath *Collis Phineas* (for this word is oft-times an Appellative signifying a Hill) but *Adrichomius* taking notice of this, builds his City *Gebaath* upon this Text, and placeth it in *Benjamin*, when as the words adjoyned, note that this Hill was in the Mountains of *Ephraim*.

The third City *Gibha*, which was the City of *Saul* (the wickedness of which City in the time of the *Judges* had almost utterly rooted out this Tribe) *Adrichomius* confounds with *Gebah*, making one of two (as they are evidently distinguished, *Esay.* 10. 27.) of which word (*h*) *Gibha*, in another from *Gibbath*, he imagineth *Gibbaath*, another City in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinity of this City also to *Rama* of *Benjamin* appears, *Jud.* 19. 13. where the *Levite* vvith his Wife, not able to reach to *Rama*, took up his lodging at *Gibha*. By that place of 1 *Sam.* 22. 6. it seems that there was in this *Gibha* some Tower or *Citadel* called *Rama*: where *Junius* reads *in excelso*, for *in Rama*: but it may be that the name of the Kings Palace in this City, was *Rama*: as it seems that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chief place where *Samuel* with the *Colledge* of *Prophets* abode, was *Najoth*. The great City of *Hai* overthrown by *Josua*, which *Jos.* 7. 2. is placed neer *Beth-aven*, upon the East of *Bethel*,

was in this Tribe, as is proved, *Neh.* 7. 10.30. though it be not named by *Joſ. c.* 18. for it was burned by him and laid deſolate, as it is *Joſ.* 8. 28. *'In ſolitudinem, in tumulum perpetuum.* Another City of chief note is reckoned *Joſ.* 18.25. In this Tribe was *Gibhon*, the chief City of the *Hevites:* whoſe cunning to bind the *Iſraelites* by oath to ſave their lives, is ſet down, *Joſ.* 9. whence they were reckoned among the * *Nethinæi*, or *Proſelites*, and were bound to certain publick ſervices in the houſe of God: which oath of ſaving theſe *Gebeonites*, broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God puniſhed by a famine, 2 *Sam.* 21. 1. This *Gibeon*, or *Gibhon* with *Almon* and *Jebah* (of both which we have ſpoken) and with *Hanothoth* the natal place of *Hieremy* the Prophet, were ſaid *Joſ.*21.28. to be given to the *Levites* by the *Benjamites.* Near to this *Hanothoth* was *Nob*, as appears, 1 *Reg.*2.26. where *Abiathar* the Prieſt, which was of *Nob* before it was deſtroyed by *Saul*, is ſent to his grounds at *Hanothoth.* It is reckoned in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *Neh.* 9. 31. and though in the time of *Saul* the reſiding place of the *Ark* was at *Kireath-jeharim:* yet by the lamentable tragedy of bloud-ſhed, which *Saul* raiſed in this place (as it is ſet down 1 *Sam.* 21. and 22.) in the judgement of *Junius*, it is proved that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

* The word *Nethinim*, or *Nethinæi*, is as much as *dati* (as it were *a Deo dati*) or as *Junius* expounds it, *deditii:* it is uſed 1 *Chro* 9 2. and in *Eſdras* and *Nehemias* often.

Micmas alſo in this Tribe, *Nehem.* 9. 31. was a place of fame, of which *Eſay.* 10. 28. where alſo he nameth *Gallim*, and *Migrom* in this Tribe. In *Micmas Saul* had his Camp, 1 *Sam.* 13. 2. (when he left *Gibha* to *Jonathan*) and there alſo was *Jonathan Maccabæus* his abode, 1 *Macc.* 9. 73. Of *Giſcala* in *Galilee Joſephus* makes often mention, but of any here in *Benjamin*, which they make the natal place of Saint *Paul*, whence (they ſay) when it was taken by the *Romans*, he ſailed with his parents to *Tharſis*, of this I find no good warrant. Other places of leſs importance I omit, and come to the City of *Hieruſalem*, and the Princes and Governours of this City: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, whence *Joſ.* 18. 28. it is named among the Cities of *Benjamin.*

§. II.

Of divers memorable things concerning Hieruſalem.

AT what time *Hieruſalem* was built (which afterward became the Princeſs of all Cities) it doth not appear. Some there are who imagine that *Melchiſedec* was the Founder thereof in *Abraham*'s time. But, * according to others, that City out of which *Melchiſedec* encountred *Abraham* (in his return from the overthrow of the *Aſſyrian* and *Perſian* Kings or Captains, when *Lot* was made priſoner) ſtandeth by the River of *Jordan*, in the half Tribe of *Manaſſe* bordering *Zabulon*, which was alſo called *Salem*, and by the Greeks *Solima.* * See in the hither half of *Manaſſe.*

Hieruſalem (whenſoever, or by whomſoever built) was a principal City in *Joſua* his time: yet not ſo renowned as *Hazor* the *Metropolis* (in thoſe dayes and before) of all the *Canaanites.* *Adonizedek* (whom *Joſua* ſlew) was then King of *Hieruſalem.* That it was belonging to the *Jebuſites* it is manifeſt: for how long ſoever they held it before *Moſes* time, they were Maſters and Lords thereof almoſt 400. years after him: even till *David* wan it: and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Jebuſæi* (the children of *Jebuſæus* the ſon of *Canaan*) built; after whom it was called *Jebus.* And ſo much did that Nation rely on the ſtrength of the place, as when *David* attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blind, and impotent people ſhould defend it. 2 *Sam.* 5. 6

David, after he had by Gods aſſiſtance poſſeſt it, and turned out the *Jebuſites*, gave it an exceeding great increaſe of circuit; ſtrengthened it with a Citadel or Caſtle: and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings: changing the name from *Jebuſſalem*, the City of the *Jebuſites*, to *Hieruſalem*, which the Greeks call *Hieroſolima.* After *David*'s time *Solomon* amplified, beautified and ſtrengthened it exceedingly. For beſides the work of the Temple, which was no leſs admirable than renowned among all Nations, the Palaces, Gates, and Wals, could not any where in the world be exampled: and beſides, that it had 150000. Inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60. foot depth, cut out of the very rock: and 250. foot of breadth: whereof the like hath ſeldome been heard of, either ſince or before. *Joſ. cont. Ap. l.* 1. *Strab. geog. l.* 16.

After the death of *Solomon*, and that the Kingdom of the *Jews* was cut aſunder, *Shiſhac* King of *Egypt*, and his Predeceſſor, having bred up for that purpoſe *Adad* the *Idumæan*, and *Jeroboam Solomon*'s ſervant; and both married to *Egyptians:* the State by the one diſturbed, by the other broken: *Shiſhac* firſt invaded the Territory of *Juda*, entred *Hieruſalem*, and ſack't it, and became Maſter not only of the riches of *Solomon*, but of all thoſe ſpoyls which *David* had gotten from *Adadezer*, *Tohu*, the *Ammonites*, and other Nations. It was again ſack't, and a part of the wall thrown down by *Joas* King of *Iſrael*; 2 *Chro.* 12. 2 *King.* 14

while

2 King. 16 while *Amasia* the twelfth King thereof governed *Juda*.

Not long after, *Achas* the fifteenth King of *Juda* impoverished the Temple, and presented *Teglatphalasser* with the treasures thereof. And *Manasses* the son of *Ezekiah*, the son of *Achaz*, by the vaunts made by *Ezekiah*, to the Embassadors of *Merodach*, lost the remain, and the very bottom of their treasures. It was again spoyled by the *Babylonians*, *Joakim* then reigning. But this ungrateful, Idolatrous and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by these Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but persisting in all kind of impiety, filling the City even to the mouth with innocent bloud, God raised up that great *Babylonian* King *Nebuchodonosor*, as his scourge and revenger, who making this glorious City and Temple, with all the Palaces therein, and the Wals and Towers which embraced them, even and level with the dust, carried away the spoyls with the Princes and people, and crusht them with the heavy yoak of bondage and servitude full seventy years, insomuch as *Sion* was not only become as a torn and plowed-up field, *Hierusalem* an heap of stones, and rubble, the Mountain of the Temple as a grove, or wood of thorns and briars, but (as *Hierome* speaketh) even the birds of the Ayre scorned to flie over it, or the beasts to tread on that defiled soil.

1 Chron. 5. 26. 2 King 25. 2 King. 19. 2 Par. 18. Mich. 3. Hier. 25. 26. 29.

Then 70. years being expired, according to the Prophecy of *Daniel*, and the *Jews* by the grace of *Cyrus* returned: the Temple was again built, though with interruption and difficulty enough: and the City meanly inhabited, and without Wals or other defences, for some 60. and odd years, till *Nehemia* by the favour of *Artaxerxes* re-built them. Then again was the Temple and City spoyled by *Bagoses*, or *Vagoses*, the Lievtenant of *Artaxerxes*: after by * *Ptolomæus* the first; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and again by *Apollonius* his Lievtenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed, though *Crassus* in his *Parthian* expedition took as much as he could of that which *Pompey* spared.

Hier. tom 3 trad Heb. Neh 12. 34. &c.

* The first of the Egyptian Kings after *Alexander Macedon*, who dissembling his Religion, came up to *Hierusalem* to offer sacrifice. *Jos.* 12. *ant.* 1.

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious Tyrants, were commonly recompenced by the industry or bounty of good Princes, the voluntary contribution of the people, and the liberality of strangers. Before the captivity, the people of the Land, through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repair the Temple of *Solomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolomæus Lagi* to the second Temple, was requited by the bounty of his son *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*. The mischief wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes* and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were sent to *Hierusalem* out of other Nations. Finally, all the losses, which either the City or Temple had endured, might well seem forgotten in the reign of *Herod*, that usurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the City, new built the Temple, and with many sumptuous works did so adorn them, that he left them far more stately and glorious than they had been in the dayes of *Solomon*.

M T C. pro Scylla.

§. III.

Of the destruction of Hierusalem *by the* Romanes.

IN this flourishing estate it was at the coming of our *Saviour Christ Jesus*: and after his death and ascension, it so continued about fourty years. But then did *Titus* the *Romane*, being stirred up by God to be the revenger of *Christ* his death, and to punish the *Jews* sinful ingratitude, incompasse it with a *Romane* Army, and became Lord thereof. He began the siege at such time as the *Jews* from all parts were come up to the celebration of the *Passeover*: so as the City was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all sorts: and no manner of provision or store for any such multitudes. An extreme famine, with the civil dissension, oppresst them within the Wals; a forcible enemy assailed them without. The *Idumæans* also, who lay in wait for the destruction of the *Jews* Kingdom, thrust themselves into the City, of purpose to betray it: who also burnt the Temple, when *Nabuchodonosor* took it. And to be short, there perished of all sorts, from the first besieging, to the consummation of the victory, eleven hundred thousand souls: and the City was so beaten down and demolished, as those which came afterward to see the desolation thereof, could hardly believe that there had been any such place or habitation. Only the three *Herodian* Towers, (works most magnificent, and overtopping the rest) were spared, as well for lodgings for the *Romane* Garrisons, as that thereby their victory might be the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and state remaining, after ages might judge what the rest were; and their honour be the greater and more shining, that thereover became victorious.

1 Esd. 4. 45.

After this, such *Jews* as were scattered here and there in *Judæa*, and other Provinces,

began again to inhabit some part of the City; and by degrees to re-build it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and Tributaries to the *Roman* State: but after 65. years, when they again offered to revolt and rebel, *Ælius Adrianus* the Emperour slaughtered many thousands of them, and overturned those three *Herodian* Towers, with all the rest, making it good which Christ himself had foretold; *That there should not stand one stone upon another* of that ungrateful City. Afterward, when his fury was appeased, and the prophecy accomplished, he took one part without the Wall, wherein stood *Mount Calvary*, *and the Sepulchre of Christ*, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, he again made it a City of great capacity, and called it after his own name, *Ælia Capitolia*. In the gate toward *Bethel*, he caused a Sow to be cut in Marble, and set it in the front thereof, which he did in despight of the *Jews* Nation: making an Edict, that they should not from thence-forth ever enter into the City, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place over-topping it.

Guil. Tyr. bell. sacr. l. 14. c. 12. But the Christian Religion flourishing in *Palæstina*, it was inhabited at length by all Nations, and especially by Christians; and so it continued 500. years.

Onuphrius Chron. It was afterward in the 636. year after Christ, taken by the *Egyptian Saracens*, who held it 400. and odd years.

In the year 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey* of *Buillon*, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of the *Saracens*; which *Godfrey*, *Guil. Tyr. l. 8. c. 5. 18. 19. &c.* when he was elected King thereof, refused to be crowned with a Crown of Gold, because Christ, for whom he fought, was therein crowned with thorns. After this recovery, it remained under the Successours of *Godfrey* fourscore and eight years: till in the year 1197. it was regained by *Saladine* of *Egypt*: and lastly, in the year 1517. in the time of *Selim*, the *Turks* cast out the *Egyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzumbarec*, or the Holy City. Neither was it *Jerusalem* alone that had so often times been beaten down and made desolate, but all the great Cities of the World have with their Inhabitants, in several times and ages, suffered the same shipwrack. And it hath been Gods just will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to punish the impiety of men, by famine, by the sword, by fire, and by slavery; but he hath revenged himself of the very places they possest; of the wals and buildings, yea, of the soil and the beasts that fed thereon.

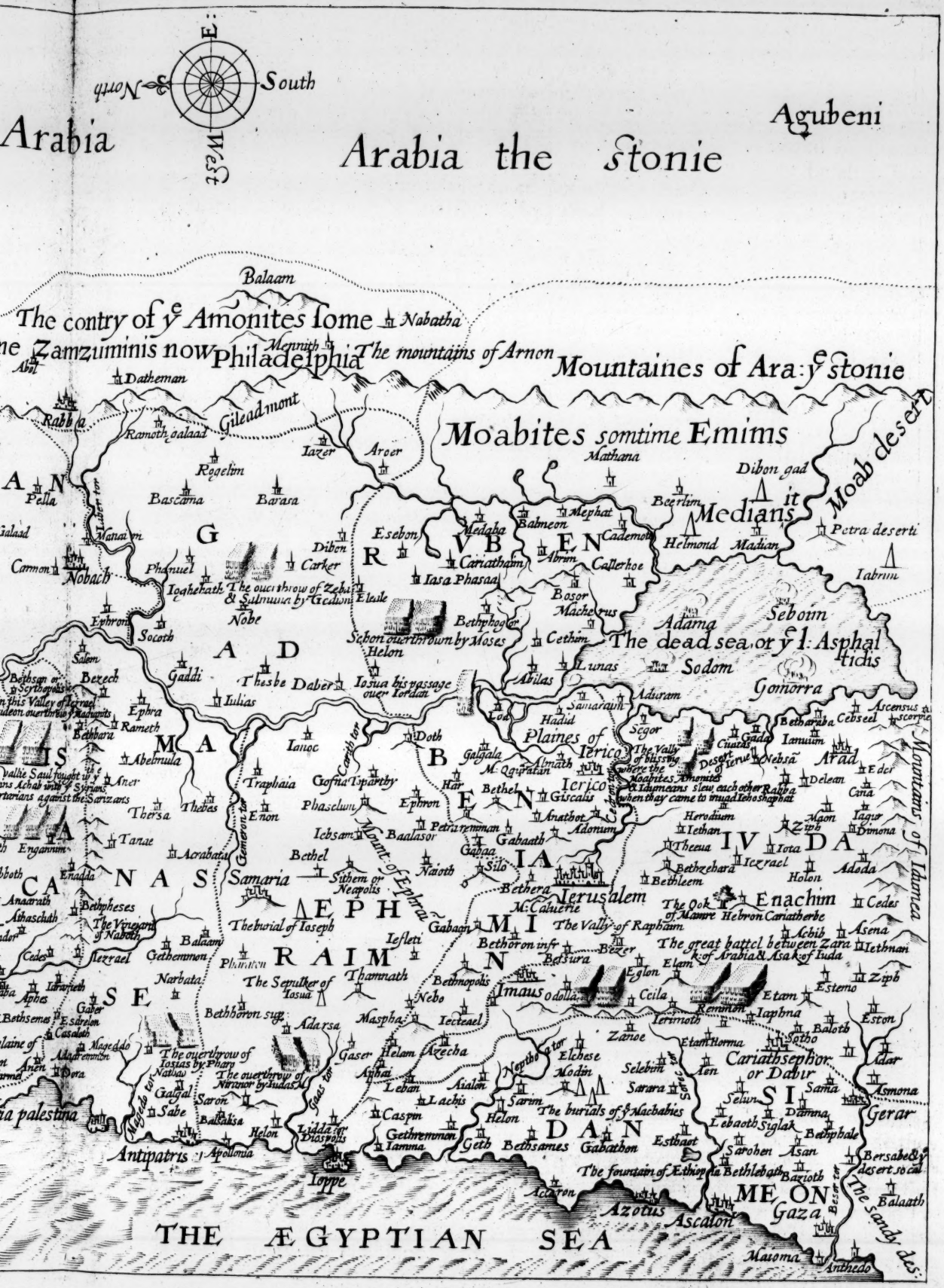
For, even that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect lost all her fertility and fruitfulness; witness the many hundreds of thousands which it fed in the dayes of the Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*: it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding stony and barren. It also pleased God, not onely to consume with fire from Heaven the Cities of the *Sodomites*; but the very soil it self hath felt, and doth feel the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beasts that belonged to *Amalec*, no not any small number of them to be sacrificed to himself: neither was it enough that *Achan* himself was stoned, but that his moveables were so consumed and brought to ashes.

§. IV.

Of the vain and malicious reports of Heathen Writers, touching the ancient Jews.

OF the original of the *Jews*, prophane Writers have conceived diversly and injuriously. *Quintilian* speaks infamously of them, and of their Leader; who (saith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Egyptians*. Others affirm, that while *Isis* governed *Egypt*, the people were so increased, as *Jerosolymus* and *Judas* led thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions: which might be meant by *Moses* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moses* was accidental, because he was taken up and saved out of the waters. But *Justine*, of all other most malicious, doth *Justin. l. 36* derive the *Jews* from the *Syrian* Kings; of whom, *Damascus*, saith he, was the first: and to him succeeded *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *Israel*. He again supposeth (somewhat contrary to himself) that *Israel* had ten sons, among whom he divided the land of *Juda*; so called of *Judas* his eldest, who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sons of *Israel* he calleth *Joseph*: who being brought up in *Egypt*, became learned in Magical Arts, and in the interpretation of Dreams, and signs prodigious; and this *Joseph* (saith he) was father to *Moses*: who with the rest, by reason of their foul diseases, and lest they should infect others, were banished *Egypt*. Further, he telleth how these men thus banished, when in the Desarts they suffered extream thirst and famine, and therein found relief the seventh day, for this cause ever after observed the seventh day, and kept it Holy; making it a law among themselves, which afterward became a branch of their Religion. He addeth also, that they might not marry

Saccæa
The desert Arab
Agræi
Saue or Saba from whens the Sabeans spoyled Iob
Alsadamus mons
Paimerina
Soba of Adadezer
Betach
Berathy
Carath
Emath or Ituria of Tohu
Adrach
Thesbe of Elias & Tobit
The mountains Saner
Cedar
Casphor
Eanum Baal
Syria da masci
Hermon
Gaulon
Bathanea
Asteroth
Gallaad
Gessur
Bosra
Asteroth Carnaim
Themon
Raphaim
Edrai
Gamala
Catzerhenan
Phiale fons
Gessuri regio
Baldwyn the 2. ouerthroweth the Damasens
Hus. the textories of Iob
The ouerthrow of Oge by Moses
Iabes Galaad
Damascus
The toure
Machati
of Libanus
MANASSES
Sueta
Enganman
Pella
Carmon
Helon
Recath
Philippi
Raconitis
Bethsaida desert
Cesaria
Dan
Keblata
Magedon
Gerasa
Gadara
Hoba
Chalchis
Sephama
Galilee superior
The sea of Galile
Corozaim
Ior
Abelbathmahachi
Daphnes
Capernaum
Magdalum
Tiberias
Tarichea
Hippos
Abila
Augustus temple
Sibarim
The ouerthrow of Iabin king of Asor by Iosua
Magdalel
Mons Chris
Bethsaida
Heliopolis
Beroth
NEPTA:
Masaloth
Carham
Remmon
ZA
Libanus
Haroseth
Chamath
Amethdor
Assedim
LIM
Bethanat
Sephet
Methoru
Iafia
Iatapata
Asor
Bethlem
Cartha
The ouerthrow of the Dumasens by Baldwyn
Naara ter
Roobe
Chahul
Bethsemes
Gabara
Dothaim
Bethulia
Nahlel
Chaly
Alab
Iephthaeli
Noe
BV
Legio
The ouerthrow of Iabin
Belma
Aphec
Abdon
Cadumim
Dabarth
Enganim
Cunagal
Belfort
Beritus
AS-
OR
Bethemee
Damna
Gabatha
Rabboth
Giscala
Georgia
Semeron
M. Tabor
Tabor
Anaarath
Achzaph
Thorom
Saron ter
Bersabe
Saffa
Athaschah
Alath
Hethacer
Rama
Regnim cast.
Cethron
LON
Endor
Buria
Seon
Sidon
Sarepta
Helba
Tyre Antiq
Indi
Nazaret
Sephor
Sarid
Ceder
Nain
Laimath
Saren
Memnoi Sepulcre
Gaba
Zabulon
Iesra
Saba
Aphes
Monfort
Acziba
Sandalium
Tyre
Messal
Aphraim
Bethsemes
THE
PHOENICIAN
Cyprus
Castrum lamperti
Sica
Debleseth
The great plaine of
Caiphas
Esdrelon
Anen
Ptolemais Acon
Carmel
Cast of Pilgrimes
Cæsaria palestina
SYRIAN OR MEDITERAN
SEA
W. Hole.


E:
North
South
West
Arabia
Agubeni
Arabia the stonie
Balaam
The contry of ye Amonites Iome
Nabatha
ne Zamzuminis now
Philadelphia
Mennith
The mountains of Arnon
Mountaines of Ara: ye stonie
Abil
Datheman
Rabbath
Ramoth galaad
Gileadmont
Moabites somtime Emims
Iazer
Aroer
Mathana
Dibon gad
Moab desert
Regelim
Pella
Bascama
Barasa
Beerlim
Medians
Petra deserti
Esebon
Medaba
Balmeon
Mephat
Cademoth
Helmond
Madian
Iabrim
Dibon
Carker
Cariathaim
Abrim
Callirhoe
Carmon
Nobach
Phanuel
Iogbehath
The ouerthrow of Zeba & Sulmunna by Gedeon
Iasa
Phasaal
Bosor
Machærus
Nobe
Ephron
Socoth
Bethphogor
Sichon ouerthrown by Moses
Helon
Cethim
Adama
Seboim
The dead sea or ye Asphaltidis
Salem
Gaddi
Thesbe
Daber
Iosua his passage ouer Iordan
Abilas
Lunas
Sodom
Gomorra
Bethsan or Scythopolis
Berech
Iulias
Aduram
Ascensus scorpionum
Ephra
Rameth
Samarayn
Hadid
Plaines of Iericho
Scgor
Cebseel
Bethbaru
Doth
Galgala
Almath
M. Quarantan
The Vally of blessing where the Moabites Ammonites & Idumeans slew each other when they came to inuad Iehoshaphat
Ianuim
Arad
Abelmula
Ianoc
Traphaia
Gofna
Iparthy
Har
Bethel
Iericho
Giscalis
Desert of Ierue
Nebsã
Delean
Eder
Cana
Aner
Thersa
Thebes
Enon
Phaselum
Ephron
Arathot
Herodium
Iethan
Maon
Iagur
Dimona
Tanae
Petra remman
Baalasor
Adonim
Gabaath
Gabaa
Zeph
Acrabatta
Bethel
Samaria
Sithem or Neapolis
Naioth
Silo
Bethzehara
Icrrael
Iota
Holon
Adoda
Enadda
Bethpheses
Ierusalem
The Oak of Mamre Hebron Cariatherbe
Enachim
Cedes
Anaarath
Athasciuth
The Vineyard of Naboth
The burial of Ioseph
M: Caluerie
The Vally of Raphaim
Achib
Asena
Balaam
Iesleti
Bethoron infr
Bezer
The great battel between Zara k: of Arabia & Asa k: of Iuda
Iezrael
Gethemmon
Pharaton
Bersura
Iethman
Narbata
The Sepulcher of Iosua
Thamnath
Bethanopolis
Imaus odolla
Eglon
Ceila
Remmon
Etam
Esteno
Zeph
Ibrarjeth
Aphes
Gaber
Bethsemes
Esdrelon
Casaloth
Bethboron sup
Adarsa
Maspha
Nebo
Iecteeel
Zanoe
Iarmoth
Iaphna
Baloth
Eston
Etam Horma
Sotho
Cariathsephor or Dabir
Adar
Megeddo
Aner
Dora
The ouerthrow of Iosias by Pharao Nathao
The ouerthrow of Nicanor by Iudas
Gaser
Helam
Azecha
Elchese
Selebim
Aen
Asmona
Gaal
Saron
Sabe
Leban
Aialon
Modin
Sarara
Selun
Damna
Gerar
Lachis
Sarim
The burials of ye Machabies
Lebaoth
Siglak
Bethphale
Caspin
Helon
Gethremmon
Iamma
Geth
Bethsames
Gabathon
Esthaol
Sarohen
Asan
Bersabee & ye desert so cal
Antipatris
Apollonia
Lidda or Diospolis
The fountain of Ethiopia
Bethlebath
Barioth
Ioppe
Accaron
Azotus
Ascalon
Gaza
Besor tor
The sandy des:
Balaath
THE ÆGYPTIAN SEA
Maioma
Anthedo

marry out of their own Tribes, leſt diſcovering their uncleanneſs, they might alſo be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the *Egyptians*. Theſe and the like fables hath *Juſtine*.

Cornelius Tacitus doth as groſly belie them, in affirming, that in the inmoſt Oratory of their Temple, they had the golden head of an Aſs, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himſelf, having in the fifth book of his own Hiſtory truly confeſſed of the *Jews*, that they worſhipped one onely God: and thought it moſt prophane to repreſent the *Deity* by any material figure, by the ſhape of a man, or any other creature: and they had therefore in their Temples no Image or Repreſentation, no not ſo much as in any City by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, in *Stephanus*; who alſo makes *Judas* with *Idumæa*, the firſt parents of the *Jews*.

Cited by *Stephanus* in *Judæa*.

Claudius Iolaus draws them from *Judæus*, whoſe parents were *Sparton* and *Thebis*; whence it came, that the *Spartans* or *Lacedæmonians* challenged kinred of the *Hebrews*: but they did it as deſcended of *Abraham*, ſaith *Joſephus*. Some of theſe reports ſeem to have been gathered out of divine letters, though wreſted and perverted, according to the cuſtom of the Heathen. For ſo have they obſcured and altered the Story of the Creation, of Paradiſe, of the Flood; and given new names to the children of *Adam* in the firſt age, to *Noah* and his ſons in the ſecond: and ſo to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, *Moſes*, and the reſt of the Fathers, and Leaders of the *Hebrews*: all which feignings, as touching the *Jews* and their originals, *Joſephus* againſt *Appion*, and *Tertullian* have ſufficiently anſwered. For that the *Hebrews* were the children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth: and ſo *Chaldæans* originally, taking name either of *Heber*, the ſon of *Sale*, or elſe (ſaith *Montanus*) of wandring, as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the Greek *Grammarian*, derive the *Hebrews*, or *Jews*, from *Arabon*; having miſtaken the name of *Abraham*, who was the ſon of *Heber*, in the ſixth deſcent. Their ancient names were firſt changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*: for after *Jacob*, otherwiſe *Iſrael*, the chief part were called *Iſrael*, another part after *Eſau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at length the remnant of *Jacob*, being moſt of the Tribe of *Juda*, honoured the name of *Judas*, the ſon of *Jacob*, and became *Judæans*, or *Jews*: as alſo for a time in the name of *Ephraim* the ſon of *Joſeph*, the chief of the Patriarchs of the ten Tribes, the reſt of the ten Tribes were comprehended: but were firſt rooted out when the Kingdom of *Iſrael* fell. The *Judæans* continued their names, though they ſuffered the ſame ſervitude not long after, under *Nabuchodonoſor*.

Ten in *Apol*.

Caleb. f 63.

The government which this Nation under-went, was firſt paternal: which continued till they ſerved the *Egyptians*. They were ſecondly ruled by their Captains and Leaders, *Moſes* and *Joſua*, by a policy Divine. Thirdly, they ſubjected themſelves to Judges. Fourthly, they deſired a King, and had *Saul* for the firſt: Of whom, and his Succeſſours, before we intreat, we are firſt to ſpeak of their government under Judges, after the death of *Joſua*: with ſomewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about theſe times.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the death of Joſua, *to the War of* Troy: *which was about the time of* Jephtha.

§. I.

Of the Inter-regnum *after* Joſua's *death: and of* Othoniel.

WHen *Joſua* was now dead, who with the advice of the 70. Elders, and the high Prieſt, held authority over the people, and ordered that Common-weal: it pleaſed God to direct the Tribe of *Juda* (in whom the Kingdom was afterward eſtabliſhed) to undertake the War againſt the *Canaanites*, over whom (with Gods favour, and the aſſiſtance of *Simeon*) they became victorious.

In the firſt attempt which they made, they not onely ſlew ten thouſand, but made *Adonibezek* priſoner: the greateſt and cruelleſt Commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizites*. This tyrants cruelty, as elſewhere hath been ſignified, they returned in the ſame kind upon his own head: and ſo by the torments which he now felt in his own perſon (before

(before no otherwise known unto him but by his malicious imagination) made him confess and acknowledge Gods judgments against himself.

The Tribes of *Juda* and *Simeon* did also master and possess during this *Inter-regnum* (or as some think, before the death of *Josua*) the Cities of *Azotus*, *Askolon*, *Ekron*, and *Hierusalem*, which they burnt, and the *Jebusites* after re-edified. They took also the Cities of *Hebron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriathsepher*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Horma*. And although it be not set down in expres words that any one person commanded in chief over the people, as *Moses* and *Josua* did: yet it seemeth that *Caleb* was of greatest authority among them: and that he, with the advice of *Phinees*, directed and ordered their wars. For if any think that they proceeded without a Chief, the good success which followed their undertakings, witnesseth the contrary. And it was *Caleb*, even while *Josua* governed, as appears, *Jos.* 10. 39. that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the rest of the Captains: for the performance of which enterprise, he promised his daughter *Achsah*: which he performed to *Othoniel* his younger brother after the conquest: whose behaviour in that service was such, as (next unto the ordinance of God) it gave him the greatest reputation among them, and may be esteemed the second cause of his preferment and election for their first Judge soon after. But while those of *Juda* made war with their borderers, from whom they onely recovered the mountainous Countries (for they could not drive out the Inhabitants of the Vallies, *because they had Chariots of Iron.*) The rest of the Tribes sought also to enlarge and establish their own Territories. In which war they laboured with variable success: for as the house of *Joseph* recovered *Bethel*, or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, so did the *Amorites* recover from *Dan* all the plain Countries, and forc't them to save themselves in the Mountains. And now the *Israelites*, unmindful of Gods benefits, and how often he had miraculously a-fore-time defended them, and made them victorious over their enemies (the Elders being also consumed, who better advised them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not only joyn themselves in marriage with the Heathen Nations: but (that which was more detestable) they served the Idols of *Baal*, and *Asteroth*, with other the dead gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the Lord God, whom they had provoked with their Idolatry, deliver them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Mesopotamia*, whom *Chusan Rishathaim* at that time commanded.

Judg 1.19

Judg. 1. 25

Judg. 1. 30

But after they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight years, it pleased him to have compassion on his people, and to raise up *Othoniel* to be their Judge and Leader: who by God assisted, delivered his brethren from oppression, and inforced the *Aramites* to return into their own Desarts, and into *Mesopotamia* adjoyning: after which the *Israelites* had peace fourty years, during all the time of *Othoniels* government. This *Othoniel* is thought by *Tostatus*, to have been the younger brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the book of *Judges*, he is twice called *Othoniel*, the son of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger brother. Others do rather interpret those words [*Calebs* younger brother] as if they signified the meanest of his kinred. Indeed it is not likely that *Calebs* Daughter should marry with her own Uncle; yet it follows not therefore that *Othoniel* should have been the meanest of the kinred. Wherefore we may better think that he was the Nephew of *Caleb*, (as some learned men expound it) and as the very words of Scripture seem to enforce. For *Caleb* was the son of *Jephunneth*, and *Othoniel* the son of *Cenas*, *Calebs* younger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his younger brothers son; to whom it was not onely lawful, but commendable to marry with his Cousin German *Calebs* Daughter.

Judg. 3. 10.

2608.

2648.

How long it was from the death of *Josua*, to the government of *Othoniel*, it cannot be found: but it seems to have been no short time. For many wars were made in that space against the people of the Land. *Laish* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the best Writers are of opinion, that between the times of *Josua* and *Othoniel*, that civil war brake out between the *Benjamites* and the rest of *Israel*, for the forcing to death of the *Levites* Wife. For it is written, that in those dayes there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes. And as *Juda* led the people against the *Canaanites*, during the *Inter-regnum*, so was he commanded to do against *Benjamin*, even by the Lord God, whose direction they craved, as wanting a Judge to appoint what should be done; which sheweth it to have been when *Josua* was dead, and before the government of *Othoniel*, especially considering, that all other times wherein they wanted Governours, were spent under such oppression of strangers, as would have given them no leave to have attempted such a civil war, if their power had been as great, as it was in the managing of this action; wherein they so weakened the body of their estate, by effusion of blood, that in many ages they

Judg. 17. & 18. & 19.

they could not bring into the field ſuch numbers as formerly they had muſtered againſt their bordering enemies.

§. II.

Of the memorable things of this age in other Nations: and of the difficulty in the computation of times.

THere lived in this age of *Othoniel*, *Pandon*, or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the fifth King of *Athens*; who began to rule in the twentieth year of *Othoniel*, and governed forty years. He was father to *Erictheus*: his daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, ſo greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus alſo about this time obtained *Thebes*: of whoſe daughter *Semele* was born *Dionyſius*, or *Liber Pater*: under whom *Linus* the Muſician lived. In his time alſo the Cities of *Melus*, *Paphus*, and *Tharſus* were built.

Ida and *Dactylus* flouriſhed in this age, who are ſaid to have found out the uſe of Iron: but *Geneſis* hath taught us the contrary, and that *Tubalcain* long before wrought cunningly both in Iron and Braſs. Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zethus* governed *Thebes*: whom divers Chronologers find in *Ehuds* time. But S. *Auguſtine* making a repetition of thoſe fables, which were deviſed among the *Grecians* and other Nations, during the government of the Judges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whoſe parentage there is as little agreement. *Vives* upon the thirteenth Chapter of S. *Auguſtine de Civit. Dei*, and the eighteenth book, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progeny, where he that deſires his pedigree may find it. *Lactantius* and *Euſebius* make him native of *Attica*: and the ſon of *Eleuſius* King of *Eleuſina*: which *Eleuſius* by careful induſtry had fed the people of that Territory in the time of a great famine. This, when upon the like occaſion *Triptolemus* could not perform, fearing the fury of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kind of Galley or long Boat, which carried in her Prow a graven or carved Serpent; who becauſe he made exceeding great ſpeed to return and to relieve his people with Corn from ſome neighbour Nation: it was feigned by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the air.

Gen. 4. 22. Whence came the name of *Vulcan* by *Apharesis* of the two firſt letters.

Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 13.

Whether the times of theſe Kings, which lived together with *Othoniel*, and after him, with the reſt of the Judges and Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, be preciſely ſet down, I cannot avow; for the *Chronologers*, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars; to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore I deſire to be excuſed, if in theſe compariſons I erre with others of better judgment. For whether *Euſebius* and all that follow him, or his oppoſites (who make themſelves ſo converſant with theſe ancient Kings, and with the very year when they began to rule) have hit the mark of time, of all other the fartheſt off and moſt defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. Firſt, becauſe the Authors themſelves, from whom the ancienteſt Chronologers have borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their own works, but conjecture. Secondly, becauſe their own diſagreement and contention in thoſe elder dayes, with that of our own age among the labourers in times, is ſuch, as no man among them hath yet ſo edified any mans underſtanding, ſave his own; but that he is greatly diſtracted, after what pattern to erect his buildings.

This diſagreement is found not onely in the reigns of Heathen Kings and Princes; but even in the computation of thoſe times which the indiſputable authority of holy Scripture hath ſummed up, as in that of *Abrahams* birth; and after in the times of the Judges and the oppreſſions of *Iſrael*; in the times from the egreſſion to the building of *Solomon's* Temple, in the Perſian Empire, the ſeventy Weeks, and in what not? Whereſoever the account of times may ſuffer examination, the arguments are oppoſite, and contentions are ſuch, as for ought that I ſee, men have ſought by ſo many wayes to uncover the Sun, that the days thereby are made more dark, and the clouds more condenſed than before: I can therefore give no other warrant, than other men have done in theſe computations: and therefore that ſuch and ſuch Kings and Kingdoms took beginning in this or that year, I avow it no otherwiſe than as a borrowed knowledge, or at leaſt as a private opinion: which I ſubmit to better judgments. *Nam in priſcis rebus veritas non ad unguem quærenda*; *In ancient things we are not to require an exact narration of the truth*, ſayes *Diodore*.

§. III.

Of Ehuds *time, and of* Proſerpina, Orithya, Tereus, Tantalus, Tytius, Admetus, *and others that lived about theſe times.*

AFter the death of *Othoniel*, when *Iſrael* fell back to their former Idolatry, God incouraged *Moab* to invade and ſuppreſs them: to perform which, he joyned the forces

forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* unto his own, and so (as all kind of misery readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawn his help from, thereby to make them feel the difference between his grace and his displeasure) these Heathen neighbouring Nations had an easie conquest over *Israel*, whom God himself exposed to those perils, within which they were so speedily folded up. In this miserable estate they continued full eighteen years under *Eglon* King of the *Moabites* and his confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his ears from their crying repentance: but raised up *Ehud* the son of *Gera* to deliver them: by which weak man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the justness of his quarrel, and fearing that the *Israelites* were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of those valiant Nations, he resolved to attempt upon the person of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguish, he assured himself of the following victory: especially giving his Nation no time to re-establish their government, or to choose a King to command and direct them in the Wars. According to which resolution, *Ehud* went on as an Embassadour to *Eglon*, loaden with presents from the *Israelites*, as to appease him, and obtaining private access, upon the pretence of some secret to be revealed, he pierc't his body with a Poniard, made of purpose with a double edge: and shutting the doors of his closet upon him, escaped.

It may seem, that being confident of his good success, he had prepared the strength of *Israel* in readiness. For suddenly after his return, he did re-pass *Jordan*, and invading the Territory of *Moab*, overthrew their Army, consisting of 10000. able and strong men: whereof not any one escaped. After which victory, and that *Samgar* his Successor had miraculously slain 600. *Philistims* with an Ox goad: the Land and People of *Israel* lived in peace unto the end of fourscore years from the death of *Othoniel*, which term expired in the Worlds year 2691.

In the dayes of *Ehud*, *Naomi*, with *Elimelech* her husband, and with her two sons, travelled into *Moab*, and so the story of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourscore years which are given to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* King of the *Molossians*, otherwise *Pluto*, stole *Proserpina*, as she walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hipponium* in *Sicilia*: or (according to *Pausanias*) by the River *Cephisus*, which elsewhere he calleth *Chemer*, if he mean not two distinct Rivers. This stealth being made known to *Pyrithous*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theseus* joyned themselves, they agreed together to recover her: but *Pluto*, or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had (as they say) a very huge Dog, which fastened on *Pyrithous*, and tare him in pieces, and had also worried *Theseus*, but that *Hercules* speedily rescued him, and by strength took and mastered the Dog *Cerberus*: whereof grew the fable of *Hercules* his delivering *Theseus* out of Hell. But *Zezes*, as I take it, hath written this story somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyrithous*, saith he, attempted to steal *Proserpina* Daughter to *Aidonius*, King of the *Molossians*, who had *Ceres* to Wife, the mother of *Proserpina*: *Proserpina* being a general name also for all fair women. This purpose of theirs being known to *Aidonius*, *Theseus* and *Pyrithous* were both taken; and because *Pyrithous* was the principal in this conspiracy, and *Theseus* drawn on by a kind of affection or inforcement, the one was given for food to *Aidonius* his great Dog *Cerberus*, the other held prisoner, till *Hercules*, by the instigation of *Eurisitheus*, delivered him by strong hand. The *Molossi*, which *Stephanus* writes with a single (*s*) were a people of *Epirus*, inhabiting near the Mountains of *Pindus*: of which Mountains *Oeta* is one of the most famous, where *Hercules* burnt himself. The River of *Acheron* (which the Poets describe to be in Hell) riseth out of the same Hills. There is another Nation of the *Molossi* in *Thessali*: but these are neighbours to the *Cassiopæi*, saith *Plutarch* in his Greek questions.

The rape of *Orithya*, the daughter of *Erytheus*, King of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The Poets ascribe this rape to the North-wind, because *Thrace* is situate North from *Athens*. In this time also *Tereus* ravished *Philomela*, of which the fable was devised of her conversion into a Nightingale. For *Tereus* having married her sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to see her sister, forced her in her passage, and withall cut out her tongue, that she might not complain; perswading *Progne* his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way: all which her brother-in-laws mercileſs behaviour towards her, *Philomela* expressed by her needle upon cloath, and sent unto *Progne*. In revenge whereof, *Progne* caused her onely son *Itys* to be cut in pieces, and set before *Tereus* her husband, so drest as it appeared to be some other ordinary food: of which when he had eaten his fill, she caused his head, hands and feet, to be presented unto him: and then fled away with such speed towards *Athens*,

Paus. in An.

Athens, where her Father *Pandion* yet lived, as the Poets feigned, that ſhe was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* finds to be *Daulis*, in *Phocis*: and the Tomb of *Tereus*, *Pauſanias* hath built near the Rocks *Mergi*, in the Territory of *Athens*. By which, as alſo by the name *Daulis*, where theſe things are ſuppoſed to have been done (whence alſo *Philomela* is called *Daulias ales*) it appears that it is true, which *Theucydides* notes by way of digreſſion in his *Peloponneſian* War, That this *Tereus* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odryſæ*, (as the Poets call him *Odryſius*) but that *Phocis* a Country in *Greece* not far from *Attica*, a City whereof is called *Daulia*, was in *Pandions* time inhabited by *Thracians*, of which this *Tereus* was King: whence *Pandion*, to have amity with his neighbours, made him his ſon-in-law: as it is good to believe, ſaith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens* made that alliance with a neighbour King, from vvhom he might have ſuccour, rather than vvith any *Tereus*, that ſhould have held the Kingdom of *Odryſæ*, vvhich vvas greatly diſtant from thence. The occaſion that the Poets choſe a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may ſeem to have been, partly becauſe, as *Pauſanias* ſayes, *Daulide nec nidificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Hirundines*; as if a Swallow, remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and her ſiſter, did for ever after hate that place.

Lib. 9. Pauſ. in Att.

Thucyd l. 2.

Near this time *Melampus* (who is ſaid to have underſtood the voices of Birds and Beaſts) flouriſhed, being alſo eſteemed for an excellent Phyſician. He reſtored to their former health the Daughters of *Prætus* King of the *Argives*, who (as the Poets pleaſe) were made mad by *Juno*: and thinking themſelves to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to be conſtrained to the Plough: for in thoſe Countries where the ground was light, they did uſe often to plough with Kine.

Pauſ. l. 1. Homer. Odyſ. 11.

Pauſ.

In the ſeven and fortieth year of *Ehud*, *Tros* began to reign in *Dardania*, and gave it his own name; about which time *Phemone* the chief Prieſt of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, deviſed the Heroical Verſe,

Of the ſame date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*: whom *Euſebius* makes King of *Phrygia*: and alſo of that part of which the people were anciently *Mæones*. Of *Tantalus* was deviſed the fable that ſome Poets have applied to the paſſion of love: and ſome to the covetous that dare not injoy his riches. *Euſebius* calls this *Tantalus* the ſon of *Jupiter*, by the Nimph *Pleta*: *Diaconus* and *Didymus* in *Zezes*, give him another mother. He was ſaid to be the ſon of *Jupiter*, as ſome will have it; becauſe he had that Planet in his aſcendent, betokening Wiſdom and Riches. It is ſaid, that when he made a feaſt to the gods, having nothing more precious, he cauſed his own ſon to be ſlain and dreſt to the banquet: of whom *Ceres* ate part of one of the ſhoulders; whereby was ſignified, that thoſe men which ſeek after Divine knowledge, prefer nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their own children, of all elſe the moſt deareſt. And where it was deviſed, that he had alwayes Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet ſuffered the torment of hunger and thirſt, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reaſon of his riches) in all delicacy of the world, yet his mind being otherwiſe, and to higher deſires tranſported, he enjoyed no pleaſure at all by the reſt. Of whom *Ovid*:

Euſeb. præp Evan. l. 2. Zezer. hiſt. 10. chil. 5.

Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat.
Tantalus, *hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*

Here *Tantalus* in water ſeeks for water, and doth miſs.
The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This puniſhment, they ſay, was inflicted upon him, for that he diſcovered the ſecrets of the gods: that is, becauſe he taught wiſdom and vertue to mortal men: which ſtory *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly expreſt in Verſe. Others expound this fable otherwiſe, and ſay, That *Tantalus*, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirſty of more abundance, was never ſatisfied. Of whom *Horace* againſt covetouſneſs.

Tantalus *à labiis ſitiens fugientia captat*
Flumina; quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

The thirſting *Tantalus* doth catch at ſtreams that from him flee.
Why laugheſt thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceive, where it is feigned of *Tantalus*, that he gave the *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* of the gods, to vain and unworthy men, that he was therefore by them in that ſort puniſhed. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*:

Immortalitatem quod furatus,
Coetaneis convivis.
Nectar Ambroſiamque dedit.

Becauſe that ſtealing immortality,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* give
To gueſts of his own age, to make them live.

Whereby it was meant, that the ſecrets of Divinity ought not to be imparted to the unpure Vulgar. For as the cleaneſt meats in a foul ſtomack, are therein corrupted, ſo the moſt high and reſerved myſteries are often perverted by an unclean and defiled mind.

Mark 4.11 *To you it is given* (ſaith *Chriſt* in *Mark*) *to know the myſtery of the Kingdom of God, but unto them that are without, all things be done in Parables.* So it is ſaid of him, that *he expounded all things to his Diſciples apart.* And therefore doth *Gregory Nazianzene* infer upon a place of S. *Paul: Quod ſi* Paulo *licuiſſet effari ea, quorum ipſi cognitionem cœlum tertium & uſque ad illud progreſſio ſuppeditavit, fortaſſe de Deo, nobis aliquid amplius conſtaret*; *If* Paul *might have uttered the things, the knowledge whereof the third Heavens, and his going thither, did bring unto him, peradventure we might know ſomewhat more of God.*

Mark 4.34 Greg in Orat. de recta ratione diſp. de Deo. 2 Cor. 12.

Pythagoras, ſaith *Revelin*, thought it not the part of a wiſe man, *Aſino lyram exponere, aut myſteria, quæ ita reciperet, ut Sus tubam, & fidem graculus, & unguenta Scarabæus: quare ſilentium indixit diſcipulis, nè vulgo divinorum arcana patefacerent, quæ meditando facilius quàm loquendo apprehendantur*; *To ſet an Aſs to a Harp, or to learn myſteries: which he would handle as a Swine doth a Trumpet, or a Jay a Viol, or Scarabies, and unclean flies ſoveraign ointment. Wherefore he commanded ſilence to his Diſciples, that they ſhould not diſcloſe divine myſteries to the common ſort, which are eaſier learned by meditation than by babling.* And therefore did the *Egyptians* communicate their myſteries among their Prieſts in certain *Hieroglyphick* letters, to the end that their ſecrets might be hidden from the Vulgar: and that they might beſtow the more time in the contemplation of their covered meanings.

But to proceed with the contemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ehud*, with him it is alſo ſaid, that *Tytius* lived, whom *Apollo* ſlew, becauſe he ſought to force his mother *Latona*: *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tytius* was the ſon of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloved of *Jupiter*, to avoid *Juno*'s revenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where ſhe was delivered of *Tytius*: whoſe Mother dying, and himſelf therein nouriſhed, he was therefore called the ſon of the earth. *Pauſanias* ſpeaking of the grave of this Giant, affirms, that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of his ſtature out of *Homer*:

Porrectúſque novem Tytius *per jugera terra.*
Aſſiduas atro viſcere paſcit aves. Hom. Od. 11.

Nine furlongs ſtretcht lies *Tytius*, who for his wicked deeds,
The hungry Birds with his renewing liver daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; That *Apollo* killing this cruel and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a City in *Phocis*, it was feigned by the Poets, to the terrour of others, That he was ſtill eaten in Hell by birds, and yet ſtill lived, and had his fleſh renewed.

Admetus, King of *Theſſaly*, lived alſo in this age, whom it is ſaid that *Apollo* firſt ſerved as a Herd-man, and afterward, for his excellent wit, was by him advanced; but having ſlain *Hyacinthus*, he croſt the *Helleſpont*, and fled into *Phrygia*: where, together with *Neptune*, he was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in brick, for building of the walls of *Troy*, not by making the bricks leap into their places by playing on his Harp: according to him in *Ovid*, which ſaith:

Ilion *aſpicies, firmataque turribus altis*
Mœnia, Apollineæ *ſtructa canore lyræ.*

Strong *Ilion* thou ſhalt ſee with walls and towers high,
Built with the harp of wiſe *Apollo*'s Harmony.

Thus the Poets: but others, that he laboured with his hands, as hired in this work. And that he alſo laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megariens* witneſs, ſaith *Pauſanias*. Pauſ. in Att.

In theſe dayes alſo of *Ehud*, or (as ſome find it) in the dayes of *Deborah*, lived *Perſeus*, the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Danae*, by whoſe Souldiers (as they ſailed out of *Peloponneſus*, to ſeek their adventure on *Africa* ſide) *Meduſa*, the Daughter and Succeſſor of *Phorcus*, being weakly accompanied as ſhe hunted, near the Lake *Tritan*, was ſurpriſed and ſlain: whoſe beauty, when *Perſeus* beheld, he cauſed her head to be imbalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the beauty whereof was ſuch, and ſo much admired, and the beholders ſo aſtoniſhed which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, That all that looked on *Meduſa*'s head, were turned into ſtones.

Triton a Lake of *Africa*, which *Pliny* calleth *Pallantias*. *Didym. in pereg. Hiſt.*

Cecrops, the ſecond of that name, and 7. King of *Athens*, and *Acriſius* the 13. or, after *Euſebius*,

Euſeb. in Chron. *Euſebius*, the 14. King of the *Argives*, began alſo their reigns, as it is ſaid, in the time of this Judge: of which the firſt ruled 40. years, and the ſecond 31. years. Alſo *Bellerophon* lived in this age, being the ſon of *Glaucus*, the ſon of *Siſyphus*: who inticed by *Antea*, or *Sthenobia*, the wife of *Prætus* of the *Argives*, to accompany her, but refuſing it, ſhe accuſed him to her huſband, that he offered to force her: whereupon *Prætus* ſent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about ſome affairs of weight, between him and his ſon-in-law *Jobates*: giving ſecret order to *Jobates* to diſpatch him: but *Jobates* thinking it diſhonourable to lay violent hands on him, imployed him againſt *Chimæra*, a Monſter vomiting, or breathing fire. Now the gods (as the report is) pittying his innocency, ſent him the winged Horſe, *Pegaſus*, ſprung up of the blood of *Meduſa*, formerly ſlain by the ſouldiers of *Perſeus* in *Africa*, to tranſport him; a horſe that none other could maſter or bridle but *Minerva*: upon which beaſt *Bellerophon* overcame *Chimæra*: and performed the other ſervices given him in charge: which done, as he returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambuſh to have ſlain him: but being victorious alſo over all thoſe, he arrived to *Jobates* in ſafety: whom *Jobates* for his eminent vertues honoured, firſt with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdom: after which he grew ſo inſolent, as he attempted to flie up to heaven upon his *Pegaſus*: whoſe pride *Jupiter* diſdaining, cauſed one of his ſtinging flies ſo to vex *Pegaſus*, as he caſt off *Bellerophon* from his back, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blind; of which burthen *Pegaſus* being diſcharged (as the fable goeth) flew back to heaven: and being fed in *Jupiters* own ſtable, *Aurora* begg'd him of *Jupiter* to ride on before the Sun. This tale is diverſly expounded; as firſt by ſome, That it pleaſeth God to relieve men in their innocent and undeſerved adverſity, and to caſt down thoſe which are too high minded: according to that which is ſaid of *Bellerophon*: that when he was expoſed to extream hazard, or rather certain death, he found both deliverance and honour: but waxing overproud and preſumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was again thrown down into the extremity of ſorrow, and ever-during miſery. Secondly by others, That under the name of *Chimæra*, was meant a cruel Pyrat of the *Lycians*, whoſe ſhip had in her prow a Lyon, a Goat in the mid-ſhip, and a Dragon in the ſtearn, of which three beaſts this Monſter *Chimæra* was ſaid to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* purſued with a kind of Galley, of ſuch ſwiftneſs, that it was called the flying Horſe: to whom the invention of ſayls (the wings of a ſhip) are alſo attributed. Many other expoſitions are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not unlikely, that *Chimæra* was the name of a ſhip, for ſo *Virgil* calleth one of the greateſt ſhips of *Æneas*.

Plutar. in claris mulier.

L. 5. Æneid. Homer in hym. ad Apoll.

Ion alſo, from whom the *Athenians* (being ignorant of the antiquity of their parent *Javan*) derive their name of *Iones*, is ſaid to have been about *Ehuds* time: *Homer* calls them *Jaones*, which hath a near reſemblance to the word *Javan*. Perhaps it might be ſo that *Ion* himſelf took name from *Javan*: it being a cuſtom obſervable in the Hiſtories of all times, to revive the ancient name of a fore-father, in ſome the principal of his iſſue.

The invaſion of *India* by *Liber-Pater*, is by ſome reported as done in this age: but S. *Auguſtine* makes him far more ancient: placing him between the coming out of *Egypt*, and the death of *Joſua*.

Lib. 18 c. 12: de ci. dei. l. 18. c. 15.

About the end of the 80. years, aſcribed to *Ehud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops* flouriſhed: who gave name to *Peloponneſus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.

§. IV.

Of Deborah *and her Contemporaries.*

AFter *Iſrael* had lived in peace and plenty to the end of theſe 80. years, they again began to forget the giver of all goodneſs, and many of thoſe being worn out, which were witneſſes of the former miſery, and of Gods deliverance by *Ehud*; and after him by *Samgar*; the reſt began to return to their former neglect of Gods commandments. For as Plenty and Peace are the parents of idle ſecurity; ſo is ſecurity as fruitful in begetting and bringing forth both danger and ſubverſion: of which, all eſtates in the world have taſted by interchange of times. Therefore when their ſins were again ripe for puniſhment, *Jabin* King of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, invaded the territory of *Iſrael*; and having in his ſervice 900. iron Chariots, beſides the reſt of his forces, he held them in ſubjection twenty years, till it pleaſed God to raiſe up *Deborah*, the Propheteſs, who incouraged *Barac* to levy a force out of *Nepthalim*, and *Zabulon*, to incounter the *Canaanites*. That the men of *Nepthalim* were more forward than the reſt in this action, it may ſeem to have proceeded partly from the authority that *Barac* had

among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievance, which in them was more sensible than in others, because *Hazor* and *Haroseth* the chief holds of *Jabin*, were in *Nepthalim*. So in the dayes of *Jeptha* the *Gileadites* took the greatest care, because the *Ammonites*, with whom the War was, presled most upon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliver *Israel* from the *Moabites*: and by the counsel and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoak of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Sisera* by *Jael* the *Kenites* wife: so was it his will at other times, to work the like great things by the weakest means. For the mighty *Assyrian Nabuchodonosor*, who was a King of Kings, and resistless, he overthrew by his own imaginations, the causers of his brutish melancholy: and changed his matchless pride into the base humility of a Beast. And to approve that he is the Lord of all power, he sometime punisheth by invisible strength, as when he slaughtered the Army of *Senacherib* by his Angel, or as he did the *Egyptians* in *Moses* time: sometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharaoh* by the waves of the Sea; and the *Canaanites* by hail-stones in the time of *Josua*: sometimes by the ministery of men, as when he overthrew the four Kings of the East, *Chedorlaomer*, and his companions, by the household servants of *Abraham*. He caused the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* to set upon their own confederate the Army of the *Edomites*; and having slain them, to kill one another in the
2 Chro 20. sight of *Jehosaphat*: and of the like to these a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Propheteſs speak unto *Barac* in these words: *But this*
Judg. 49. *journey that thou takest, shall not be for thine honour, for the Lord shall sell* Sisera *into the hands of a Woman.* In which victory all the strength of the *Canaanite Jabin* fell to the ground, even to the last man: in the end of which War it seemeth that *Jabin* himself also perished, as appeareth by the last Verse of the fourth of *Judges*.

After all which, *Deborah* giveth thanks to God, and after the acknowledgement of all his powerfulness, and great mercies, she sheweth the weak estate whereinto *Israel* was brought for their Idolatry by the *Canaanites*, and other bordering Nations, in these
Jud. 5. v. 18. words: *Was there a shield or spear seen among forty thousand of Israel?* She also sheweth how the *Israelites* were severed and amazed,
verſ. 17. some of them confined over *Jordan*, and durst not joyn themselves to the rest; as those of *Reuben* in *Gilead*: that the *Asherites* kept the Sea-coast, and forsook their habitations towards the Land; and the children of *Dan*, who neighboured the Sea, crept into their ships for safety, shewing thereby that all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. She then cursed the Inhabitants of *Meroz*, who dwelling near the place of the battel (belike fearing the success) came not out to assist *Israel*, and then blesseth *Jael* the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who nailed *Sisera* in her Tent: shewing the ancient affection of that race to the *Israelites*. For though the Family of *Heber* were inforced in that miserable time of subjection, to hold correspondency with *Jabin* the *Canaanite*, yet when occasion offered them means, they witnessed their love and faith to their ancient Friends. Lastly, she derideth the Mother of *Sisera* who promised her Son the victory in her own hopes: and fancied to her self, and described the spoils both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, she directeth her praise and thanks to God onely victorious.

From the beginning of *Jabins* oppression to the end of that peace, which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchased unto *Israel*, there passed 40. years. In which time the Kingdom of *Argos*, which had continued 544. years, was translated to *Mycænæ*: The translation of this Kingdom, *Vives* out of *Pausanias* writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Lynceus* succeeded in *Argos*, after whom the Children of *Abas* the son of *Lynceus* divided the Kingdom: of which *Acrisius* being eldest, held *Argos* it self: *Prætus* his brother possest *Ephyra*, or *Corinth*, and *Tirynthos*, and other Cities, with all the Territory towards the Sea: there being many Monuments in *Tirynthos*, which witness *Prætus* possession, saith *Pausanias*. *Pau. in Corinthiacis.*

Now *Acrisius* was foretold by an Oracle, that he should be slain by the son of his Daughter *Danae*: whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompany her. But the Lady being exceeding fair, it is fained that *Jupiter* turned himself into a golden shower: which falling into her lap, begat her with child: the meaning whereof was, that some Kings son, or other worthy man, corrupted her Keepers with gold, and enjoyed her, of whom *Perseus* was born; who when he grew to mans estate, either by chance (saith *Ctesias*) or in shewing his grand-father the invention of the *discus*, or leaden ball, slew him unwillingly. After this, *Perseus*, to avoid the infamy of *Patricide* in *Argos*, changed Kingdomes with his Uncle *Prætus*: and built *Mycænæ*. This imprisonment of *Danae*, *Sophocles* reporteth otherwise: and that she

was

was incloſed in a brazen vault under the Kings Hall with her Nurſe and Keepers. Upon this cloſe cuſtody *Horace* hath this witty obſervation:

Incluſam Danaen *turris ahenea,*
Robuſtæque fores, & vigilum canum
Triſtes excubiæ munierant ſatis
Nocturnis ab adulteris:

Si non Acriſium *Virginis abditæ*
Cuſtodem pavidum, Jupiter *&* Venus
Riſiſſent, fore enim tutum iter & patens
Converſo in pretium Deo.

Aurem per medios ire ſatellites,
Et perrumpere amat ſaxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo.

The brazen tower with doors cloſe barr'd,
And watchful bandogs frightful guard,
Kept ſafe the maidenhead
Of *Danae* from ſecret love:
Till ſmiling *Venus*, and wiſe *Jove*
Beguil'd her Fathers dread.
For chang'd into a golden ſhowre,
The god into her lap did poure
Himſelf, and took his pleaſure.
Through guards and ſtony vvals to break,
The thunder-bolt is far more weak,
Than is a golden treaſure.

The firſt Kings of the Argives *were theſe.*

Inachus the firſt King, who began to reign in the firſt year of *Jacob*, and the 61. of *Iſaac:* from which time, to the end of *Sthenelus*, *Caſtor* miſreckoneth 400. years. This Kingdom before the tranſlation, *Euſebius* accounteth to have ſtood 544. years, others but at 417. *Io* was the daughter of this *Inachus:* vvhom the *Egyptians* called *Iſis*.

Phoroneus,	*Sthenelus*,
Apis,	*Danaus*,
Argus,	*Lynceus*,
Piraſus,	*Abas*,
Phorbas,	*Acriſius*,
Triopas,	*Pelops*.
Crotopus,	

After the tranſlation to *Mycenæ*, *Mar. Scotus* finds theſe Kings:

Perſeus,	*Euryſtheus*,
Sthenelus,	

Atreus and *Thyeſtes*. } The ſons of *Pelops* by *Hippodamia*: *Atreus* by *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*.

Agamemnon,	*Tiſamenus*,
Ægyſthus,	*Penthilus* and
Oreſtes,	*Cometes*.

Of theſe Kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leave out the two firſt, and the laſt, beginning with *Euryſtheus:* and ending with *Penthilus*. In *Tiſamenus* time the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponeſus:* of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of *Barac* and *Debora*, vvere *Midas*, vvho reigned in *Phrygia:* and *Ilus*, vvho built *Ilium:* vvith others mentioned in our *Chronological* Table, as Contemporaries vvith *Debora*.

§. V.

Of Gideon, *and of* Dædalus, Sphinx, Minos, *and others that lived in this Age.*

Debora and *Barac* being dead, the *Midianites*, aſſiſted by the *Amalekites*, infeſted *Iſrael*. For when, under a Judge, who had held them in the fear of the Lord, they had enjoyed any quiet or proſperity: The Judge was no ſooner dead, than they turned to their former impious Idolatry. Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did ſo maſter them in a ſhort time (the hand of God being withheld from their defence) as to ſave themſelves, they crept into caves of the mountains, and other the like places of hardeſt acceſs: their enemies poſſeſſing all the plains and fruitful vallies: and in harveſt time, by themſelves, and the multitude of their cattel, deſtroying all that grew up: covering the fields as thick as graſſhoppers: vvhich ſervitude laſted ſeven years. *Jud. 6.*

Then the Lord by his Angel ſtirred up *Gideon* the ſon of *Joaſh*, afterward called *Jerubbaal*: vvhoſe fear and unvvillingneſs, and how it pleaſed God to hearten him in his enterprize, it is both largely and preciſely ſet down in the holy Scriptures: as alſo how it pleaſed God by a few ſelect perſons, namely 300. out of 32000. men, to make them know that he onely vvas the Lord of Hoſts. Each of theſe 300. by *Gideons* appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, inſtruments of more terrour than force, vvith vvhich he gave the great Army of their enemies an alarum: vvho hearing ſo loud a noiſe, and ſeeing (at the crack of ſo many pitchers broken) ſo many lights about them, eſteeming the Army of *Iſrael* to be infinite, and ſtrucken vvith a ſudden fear, they all fled vvithout a ſtroke ſtricken, and vvere ſlaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made priſoners and ſlain. *Jud. 6. v. 5.* *Jud. c. 6. & 7.*

slain. In his return the *Ephramites* began to quarrel with *Gideon*, because he made war without their assistance, being then greedy of glory, the victory being gotten: who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterprize) would no doubt have held themselves happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appeasing them with a mild answer, followed after the enemy, in which pursuit being tyred with travel, and weary even with the slaughtering of his enemies, he desired relief from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end, that (his men being refreshed) he might over-take the other two Kings of the *Midianites*: which had saved themselves by flight. For they were four Princes of the Nations, which had invaded and wasted *Israel*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Seeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*; which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of *Succoth*, sought the like relief from the Inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like sort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatned therefore the revenge, vvhich in his return from the prosecution of the other two Princes, he performed: to vvit, that he vvould tear the flesh of those of *Succoth* vvith thorns and briars, and destroy the Inhabitants and City of *Penuel*. Novv vvhy the people of these two Cities should refuse relief to their brethren the *Israelites*, especially after so great a victory: if I may presume to make conjecture, it seems likely, first, that those Cities set over *Jordan*, and in the vvay of all invasions, to be made by the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Midianites*, into *Israel*, had either made their own peace with those Nations, and were not spoyled by them; or else they knowing that *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* were escaped with a great part of their Army, might fear their revenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men: as it is not rare to find of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow the war, that both envy and maligne others, if they perform any praise-worthy actions, for the honour and safety of their own Country, though themselves may be assured to bear a part of the smart of contrary success. And such malicious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Country should suffer hazzard and want, than that such men as they mislike, should be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

Now *Gideon*, how or whereſoever it were that he refreshed himself and his weary and hungry Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunity, and pursued his former victory to the uttermost: and finding *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* in *Karkor* (suspecting no further attempt upon them) he again surprized them, and slaughtered those 15000. remaining: having put to the sword in the former attempt 120000. and withall he took *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* prisoners: whom because themselves had executed *Gidion*'s brethren before at *Tabor*, he caused them both to be slain: or (as it is written) at their own request slew them with his own hands, his Son whom he first commanded to do it, refusing it; and in his return from the consummation of this marvellous victory, he took revenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiving no offence committed against him, either by strangers, or by his brethren the *Israelites*. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his own children found soon after his death, according to that which hath been said before. The debts of cruelty and mercy are never left unsatisfied: for as he slew the 70. Elders of *Succoth*, with great and unusual torments, so were his own 70. sons, all but one, murthered by his own bastard *Abimelec*: The like *Analogy* is observed by the *Rabbines*, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought upon the *Egyptians*, who having caused the male children of the *Hebrews* to be slain, others of them to be cast into the River and drowned: God rewarded them even with the like measure, destroying their own first-born by his *Angel*, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his Army in the Red Sea. And hereof a world of examples might be given both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

In the end so much did the people reverence *Gideon* in the present for his victory, and there own deliverance, as they offered him the Soveraignty over them, and to establish him in the Government; which he refused, answering; *I will not reign over you, neither shall my childe reign over you, but the Lord shall, &c.* *Judg.* 8. 13. But he desired the people that they would bestow on him the golden ear-rings which every man had gotten. For the *Ismaelites*, neighbours, and mixt with the *Midianites*, used to wear them: the weight of all which was a thousand and seven hundred shekles of gold, which makes of ours 2380. *li.* if we follow the account of the shekle vulgar. And because he converted that gold into an *Ephod*, a garment of gold, blew silk, purple, scarlet, and fine linen, belonging to the High Priest only, and set up the same in his own City of *Ophra* or *Ephra*, which drew *Israel* to Idolatry, the *Exod.* 28. *Judg.* 8. 28.

same

A place in *Bethan*, as it is thought *Jud* 8. 10.

ſame was the deſtruction of *Gideon* and his houſe.

There was another kind of *Ephod* beſides this of the High Prieſts, which the Levites uſed, and ſo did *David* when he danced before the *Ark:* and *Samuel* while he was yet young, which was made of linnen only.

Now if any man demand how it was poſſible for *Gideon* with 300. men to deſtroy 120000. of their enemies, and afterward 15000. which remained, we may remember, that although *Gideon* with 300. gave the firſt alarm, and put the *Midianites* in rout and diſorder; yet all the reſt of the Army came in to the ſlaughter, and purſuit: for it is written; *That the men of Iſrael being gathered together out of Nephtaly, and out of Aſher, and out of Manaſſe, purſued after the Midianites:* for this Army *Gideon* left in Tents behind him, when he went down to view the Army of his enemies, who with the noiſe of his 300. trumpets came after him to the execution. *Judg.7.23*

There lived with *Gideon*, *Ægeus*, the ſon of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athens: Euryſtheus* King of *Mycenæ: Atreus* and *Thyeſtes* the ſons of *Pelops*, who bare dominion over a great part of *Peloponneſus*, and after the death of *Euryſtheus*, the Kingdom of *Mycenæ* fell into the hand of *Atreus*. This is that *Atreus*, who holding his brother in jealouſie, as an attempter, both of his Wife and Crown, ſlew the children of *Thyeſtes*, and cauſing their fleſh to be dreſt, did therewith feaſt their father. But this cruelty was not unrevenged. For both *Atreus* and his ſon *Agamemnon* was ſlain by a baſe ſon of *Thyeſtes*, yea the grand children, and all the linage of *Atreus* died by the ſame ſword.

In *Gideon*'s time alſo thoſe things were ſuppoſed to have been done, which are written of *Dædalus* and *Icarus*. *Dædalus*, they ſay, having ſlain his Nephew *Attalus*, fled to *Minos*, King of *Crete*, for ſuccour; where for his excellent workmanſhip he was greatly eſteemed, having made for *Minos* a *Labyrinth*, like unto that of *Egypt*. Afterward he was ſaid to have framed an artificial Cow for *Paſiphae* the Queen, that ſhe, being in love with a fair Bull, might by putting her ſelf into the Cow, ſatisfie her luſt; a thing no leſs unnatural than incredible, had not that ſhameleſs Emperour *Domitian* exhibited the like beaſtly ſpectacle openly before the people of *Rome*, in his *Amphitheater*; of purpoſe, as may ſeem, to verifie the old Fable. For ſo it appears by thoſe Verſes of *Martial*, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable ſhew, as a goodly Pageant, in thoſe vicious times.

Junctam Paſiphaen Dicteo credite Tauro
Vidimus, accepit fabula priſca fidem.
Neceſe miratur Cæſar, longæva vetuſtas
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.

But concerning that which is reported of *Paſiphae*, *Servius* makes a leſs unhoneſt conſtruction of it, thinking that *Dædalus* was of her counſel, and her Pandar for the enticeing of a Secretary of *Minos* called *Taurus*, which ſignifieth a Bull, who begat her with childe; and that ſhe being delivered of two ſons, the one reſembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Minos*, it was feigned that ſhe was delivered of the Monſter *Minotaur*, half a Man, and half a Bull. But this practice being diſcovered, and *Dædalus* appointed to be ſlain, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* King of *Sicil:* in which paſſage he made ſuch expedition, as it was feigned that he faſhioned wings for himſelf and his ſon to tranſport them. For whereas *Minos* purſued him with boats which had oares only, *Dædalus* framed ſails both for his own boat, and for his ſons, by which he out-went thoſe that had him in chaſe. Upon which new invention, *Icarus* bearing himſelf over-bold, was over-born and drowned.

It is alſo written of *Dædalus*, that he made Images that could move themſelves, and go, becauſe he carved them with legs, arms, and hands; whereas thoſe that preceded him, could only preſent the body and head of thoſe men, whom they carried to counterfeit, and yet the workmanſhip was eſteemed very rare. But *Plutarch*, who had ſeen ſome of thoſe that were called the Images of *Dædalus*, found them exceeding rude.

With *Gideon* alſo flouriſhed *Linus* the *Theban*, the ſon of *Apollo*, and *Terpſichore*, who inſtructed *Thamaris*, *Orphæus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the Creation, of the Sun and Moons courſe, and of the generation of living Creatures, but in the end he was ſlain by *Hercules* his Scholar with his own Harp. *Herind.* *Plut Pauſ. l. 9.*

Again, in this age thoſe things ſpoken of *Sphinx*, and *Oedipus*, are thought to have been performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by ſea and land, was by the *Corinthians* Army, led by *Oedipus*, overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles, to thoſe whom ſhe maſtered, was meant by the rocky and unacceſſible Mountain near *Thebes*, which ſhe defended; and by *Oedipus* diſſolving her probleme, his victory over her. She was painted with wings, becauſe exceeding ſwift, and with the body of a Lion, for her cruelty. But that which *Palæphatus* reports of *Sphinx*, were more probable, *Strab. l. 9.*

bable, did not the time disprove it, for he calls her an *Amazonite*, and the wife of *Cadmus*: who when by her help he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the sister of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despightful part, with her own troop she held the Mountain by *Thebes*, from whence she continued a sharp war upon the *Thebans*, till by *Oedipus* overthrown. About this time did *Minos* thrust his brother out of *Crete*, and held sharp war with the *Megarians* and *Athenians*, because his son *Androgeus* was slain by them. He possest himself of *Megara*, by the treason of *Scylla*, daughter of *Nisus* the King. He was long Master of the Sea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of delivering him every year seven of their sons: which tribute *Theseus* released, as shall be shewed, when I come to the time of the next Judge *Thola*. In the end he was slain at *Camerinus* or *Camicus* in *Sicilia*, by *Cocalus* the King, while he pursued *Dædalus*: and was esteemed by some to be the first Law-giver to those Islands.

Arist pol. l. 1.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Antæus* the Giant, who was said to have 60. and odd cubits of length, which though *Plutarch* doth confirm, reporting that there was such a body found by *Sertorius* the *Roman*, in *Lybia*, where *Hercules* slew *Antæus*: yet for my self I think it but a loud lie. That *Antæus* was of great strength, and a cunning wrestler, *Eusebius* affirmeth: and because he cast so many men to the ground, he was feigned to be the son of the earth. *Pliny* saith, that he inhabited near the Gardens *Hesperides* in *Mauritania*. St. *Augustine* affirms, that this *Hercules* was not of *Greece*, but of *Lybia*: and the *Hydra* also which he overcame, *Plato* expoundeth to be a subtle Sophister.

Euseb. in Chro.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 12. Euseb in in Chro.

§. VI.

Of the Expedition of the Argonauts.

ABout the eleventh year of *Gideon*, was the famous expedition of the *Argonauts* of which many fabulous discourses have been written, the sum of which is this:

Pelias the son of *Neptune*, brother by the mothers side to *Æson*, who was *Jasons* father, reigning in *Jolcos* a Town of *Thessaly*, was warned by the *Oracle* of *Apollo* to take heed of him that wore but one shoe. This *Pelias* afterward sacrificing to *Neptune*, invited *Jason* to him, who coming hastily, lost one shoe in passing over a brook: whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what course he would take (supposing he were able) against one of whom an Oracle should advise him to take heed? to which question when *Jason* had briefly answered, that he would send him to *Colchos* to fetch the golden Fleece, *Pelias* immediately commanded him to undertake that service. Therefore *Jason* prepared for the voyage, having a ship built by *Argus* the son of *Phryxus*, by the counsel of *Pallas*: wherein he procured all the bravest men of *Greece* to sail with him: as *Typhis* the Master of the ship, *Orpheus* the famous Poet, *Castor* and *Pollux* the sons of *Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Peleus* sons of *Æacus*, and fathers of *Ajax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged sons of *Boreas*, *Amphiaraus* the great Soothsayer, *Meleager* of *Calidon*, that slew the great wild Boar, *Ascalaphus* and *Jalmenus*, or *Almenus*, the sons of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the last war of *Troy*, *Laërtes* the father of *Ulysses*, *Atalanta* a warlike Virgin, *Idas* and *Lynceus* the sons of *Apharеus*, who afterwards in fight with *Castor* and *Pollux*, slew *Castor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were slain themselves: *Lynceus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Jupiter* with lightning.

These and many other went with *Jason* in the ship *Argo*: in whose Prow was a table of the Beech of *Dodona*, which could speak. They arrived first at *Lemnos*; the women of which *Island*, having slain all the males, purposing to lead an *Amazonian* life, were nevertheless contented to take their pleasure of the *Argonauts*. Hence they came to the Country about *Cyzicus*: where dwelt a people called *Doliones*: over whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*, who entertained them friendly; but it so fell out, that loosing thence by night, they were driven by contrary winds back into his Port, neither knowing that it was the same Haven, nor being known by the *Doliones* to be the same men: but rather taken for some of their bordering enemies: by which means they fell to blows, insomuch that the *Argonauts* slew the most part of the *Doliones*, together with their King *Cyzicus*: which when by day-light they perceived, with many tears they solemnized his funeral. Then departed they again, and arrived shortly in *Mysia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the son of *Elates*, who went to seek *Hylas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was ravished by the *Nymphs*.

Polyphemus built a Town in *Mysia* called *Cios*, wherein he reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*. From *Mysia* the *Argonauts* sailed into *Bythinia*, which then was peopled by the *Bebrysses*, the ancient Inhabitants of the Country, over whom *Amycus* the son

of

of *Neptune* vvas then King. He being a ſtrong man, compelled all ſtrangers to fight vvith him at vvhorlbats, in vvhich kind of fight he had ſlain many, and vvas now himſelf ſlain by *Pollux*. The *Bebryces* in revenge of his death flew all upon *Pollux*, but his companions reſcued him, vvith great ſlaughter of the people. They ſailed from hence to *Salmydeſus* a Town in *Thrace* (ſomewhat out of their vvay) wherein *Phineus* a South-ſayer dwelt, vvho vvas blind, and vexed vvith the *Harpies*. The *Harpies* vvere ſaid to be a kind of Birds vvhich had the faces of women, and foul long claws, very filthy creatures, vvhich vvhen the table vvas furniſhed for *Phineus*, came flying in, and devouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did ſo defile the reſt, that they could not be endured. When therefore the *Argonauts* craved his advice and direction for their voyage: You ſhall do vvell (quoth he) firſt of all to deliver me from the *Harpies*, and then afterwards to ask my counſel. Whereupon they cauſed the table to be covered, and meat ſet on; vvhich vvas no ſooner ſet down, than that preſently in came the *Harpies*, and played their accuſtomed pranks: vvhen *Zetes* and *Calais* the vvinged young men ſaw this, they drew their ſwords, and purſued them through the air: Some ſay, that both the *Harpies* and the young men died of wearineſs in the fight, and purſuit. But *Apollonius* ſaith, that the *Harpies* did covenant with the youths, to do no more harm to *Phineus*, and were thereupon diſmiſſed. For this good turn, *Phineus* gave them informations of the way, and advertiſed them withall of the dangerous Rocks, called *Symplegades*, which by force of windes running together, did ſhut up the paſſage; wherefore he willed them to put a Pigeon before them in the paſſage: and if that paſſed ſafe, then to adventure after her; if not, then by no means to hazzard themſelves in vain. They did ſo, and perceiving that the Pigeon had onely loſt a piece of her tayle, they obſerved the next opening of the Rocks, and then rowing with all their might, paſſed through ſafe, onely the end of their Poop was bruiſed.

From thence forward (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* have ſtood ſtill, for the gods, ſay they, had decreed that after the paſſage of a ſhip, they ſhould be fixed. Thence the *Argonauts* came to the *Mariandyni*, a people inhabited about the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the King entertained them courteouſly, Here *Idmon* a Southſayer of their company was ſlain by a wild Boar, alſo here *Typhis* dyed: and *Ancæus* undertook to ſteare the ſhip. So they paſſed by the River *Thermodon*, and Mount *Caucaſus*, and came to the River *Phaſis*, which runs through the land of *Colchos*. When they were entred the haven, *Jaſon* went to *Æetes* the King of *Colchos*, and told him the Commandment of *Pelias*, and cauſe of his coming, deſiring him to deliver the golden Fleece; which *Æetes*, as the Fable goeth, promiſed to do, if he alone would yoak together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, ſowe Dragons teeth, vvhich *Minerva* had given to him, being part of thoſe which *Cadmus* did ſowe at *Thebes*. Theſe Bulls were great and fierce and breathed out fire: *Vulcan* had given them to *Æetes*.

Whileſt *Jaſon* was in a great perplexity about this task, *Medæa* the daughter of *Æetes* fell into a moſt vehement love of him, ſo far forth, that being excellent in *Magique*, ſhe came privily to him, promiſing her help if he would aſſure her of his marriage. To this *Jaſon* agreed, and confirmed his promiſe by oath. Then gave ſhe to him a medicine wherewith ſhe bade him to anoint both his body and his armour, which would preſerve him from their violence: further ſhe told him, that armed men would riſe out of the ground, from the teeth which he ſhould ſowe, and ſet upon him. To remedy which inconvenience, ſhe bade him throw ſtones amongſt them as ſoon as they came up thick, whereupon they would fall together to blows, in ſuch wiſe that he might eaſily ſlay them. *Jaſon* followed her counſel; whereto when the event had anſwered, he again demanded the Fleece. But *Æetes* was ſo far from approving ſuch his deſire, that he deviſed how to deſtroy the *Argonauts*, and burn their ſhip; which *Medæa* perceiving, went to *Jaſon*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung on an Oak in the Grove of *Mars*, where, they ſay it was kept by a Dragon that never ſlept. This Dragon was by the Magick of *Medæa* caſt into a ſleep: ſo taking away the Golden Fleece, ſhe went with *Jaſon* into the ſhip *Argo*; having with her, her brother *Abſyrtus*.

Æetes underſtanding the practices of *Medæa*, provided to purſue the ſhip, whom when *Medæa* perceived to be at hand, ſhe ſlew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, ſhe ſcattered his limbs in divers places; of which *Æetes* finding ſome, was fain to ſeek out the reſt, and ſuffer his daughter to paſs: the parts of his ſon he buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the *Greek*

word ſignifieth *Diviſion*. Afterwards he ſent many of his ſubjects to ſeek the ſhip *Argo*, threatning that if they brought not back *Medæa*, they ſhould ſuffer in her ſtead. In the mean while the *Argonauts* were driven about the Seas, and were come to the River *Eridanus*: which is *Po* in *Italy*.

Jupiter, offended with the ſlaughter of *Abſyrtus*, vexed them with a great tempeſt, and carried them they knew not whether; when they came to the Iſlands *Abſyrtides*, there the ſhip *Argo*, (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) ſpake to them and ſaid, that the anger of *Jupiter* ſhould not ceaſe, till they came to *Auſonia*, and were cleanſed by *Circe*, from the murder of *Abſyrtus*. Now they thereupon ſailing between the coaſts of *Lybia* and *Gallia*, and paſſing through the Sea of *Sardinia*, and alongſt the coaſts of *Hetruria*, came to the Iſle of *Æea*, wherein *Circe* dwelt, who cleanſed them. Thence they ſailed by the coaſt of the *Syrens*, who ſang to allure them into danger: but *Orpheus* on the other ſide ſang ſo well, that he ſtayed them. Onely *Butes* ſwam out unto them, whom *Venus* raviſhed, and carried to *Lylibæum* in *Sicily* to dwell.

Having paſt the *Syrens*, they came between *Scylla* and *Carybdis*, and the ſtragling Rocks, which ſeemed to caſt out great ſtore of flames and ſmoak. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, conveyed them ſafe through at the appointment of *Juno*. So they coaſted *Sicilie*, where the Beeves of the Sun were, and touched at *Corcyra*, the Iſland of the *Phæaces*, where King *Alcinous* reigned. Mean while the men of *Colchos*, that had been ſent by *Ætes* in queſt of the ſhip *Argo*, hearing no news of it, and fearing his anger, if they fulfilled not his will, betook themſelves to new habitations: Some of them dwelt in the Mountains of *Corcyre*, others in the Iſlands of *Abſyrtides*, and ſome coming to the *Phæaces*, there found the ſhip *Argo*, and demanded *Medæa* of *Alcinous*: whereto *Alcinous* made anſwer, that if ſhe were not *Jaſons* wife, they ſhould have her; but if ſhe were already married, he would not take her from her husband. *Arete*, the wife of *Alcinous*, hearing this, married them: wherefore they of *Colchos*, not daring to return home, ſtayed with the *Phæaces*, ſo the *Argonauts* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Iſland *Minos* reigned, who had a man of braſs given to him (as ſome of the Fablers ſay) by *Vulcan*. This man had one vein in his body reaching from the neck to the heel, the end whereof was cloſed up with a brazen naile; his name was *Talus*, his cuſtome was to run thrice a day about the Iſland for the defence of it. When he ſaw the ſhip *Argo* paſs by, he threw ſtones at it, but *Medæa* with her Magick deſtroyed him. Some ſay that ſhe ſlew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that promiſing to make him immortal, ſhe drew out the naile that ſtopt his vein, by which means all his blood ran out, and he died: others there are that ſay he was ſlain by *Pæan*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heel. From hence the *Argonauts* ſailed to *Ægina*, where they were fain to fight for freſh water. And laſtly, from *Ægina* they ſailed by *Eubæa* and *Locris*, home to *Jolcos*, where they arrived, having ſpent four whole months in the expedition.

Some there are that by this journey of *Jaſon*, underſtand the miſtery of the Philoſophers ſtone, called the golden Fleece, to which alſo, other ſuper-fine *Chymiſts* draw the twelve labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinks, that by the golden Fleece was meant a golden book of Parchment, which is of ſheep-skin, and therefore called golden, becauſe it was taught therein how other metals might be tranſmuted. Others would ſignifie by *Jaſon*, Wiſdom, and Moderation, which overcometh all perils: but that which is moſt probable, is the opinion of *Dercilus*, that the ſtory of ſuch a paſſage was true, and that *Jaſon* with the reſt went indeed to rob *Colchos*, to which they might arrive by boat. For not far from *Caucaſus* there are certain ſteep falling torrents which waſh down many grains of Gold, as in many other parts of the World; and the people there inhabiting uſe to ſet many fleeces of wool in thoſe deſcents of waters, in which the grains of gold remain, and the water paſſed thorow, which *Strabo* witneſſeth to be true. The many rocks, ſtraits, ſands, and currents, in the paſſage between *Greece* and the bottom of *Pontus*, are Poetically converted into thoſe fiery Bulls, the armed men riſing out of the ground, the Dragon caſt aſleep, and the like. The man of braſs, the *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Charibdis*, were other hazzards and adventures which they fell into in the *Mediteran Sea*, diſguiſed, as the reſt, by *Orpheus*, under Poetical morals: all which *Homer* afterward uſed (the man of braſs excepted) in the deſcription of *Ulyſſes* his travels on the ſame In-land ſeas.

Of

§. VII.

of Abimelech, Tholan, *and* Jair, *and of the* Lapythæ, *and of* Theseus, Hippolytus, *&c.*

AFter the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech* his base son, begotten on a Concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembring what offers had been made to his father by the people, who desired to make him and his their perpetual Princes; and, as it seemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his fathers religious modesty) that some of his brethren might take on them the Soveraignty, practised with the Inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was native) to make election of himself; who being easily moved with the glory, to have a King of their own, readily condescended: and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed seventy pieces of silver
Judg.9.41 of their Idoll *Baalberith*, with which treasure he hired a company of loose and desperate vagabonds, to assist his first detestable enterprise, to wit, the slaughter of his seventy brethren, the sons of *Gideon*, begotten on his Wives, of which he had many; of all which none escaped but *Jotham*
Verse 5. the youngest, who hid himself from his present fury: all which he executed on one stone; a cruelty exceeding all that hath been written of in any age. Such is humane ambition, a monster that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whose revenges are without date, and for everlasting) neither hath it respect to nature, which laboureth the preservation of every being: but it rageth also against her, though garnished with beauty which never dieth, and with love that hath no end. All other passions and affections, by which the souls of men are tormented, are by their contraries often-times resisted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth every vice, and is it self the child and darling of *Satan*, looketh onely towards the ends by it self set down, forgetting nothing (how fearfull and inhumane soever) which may serve it: remembring nothing, whatsoever justice, piety, right or religion can offer and alledge on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the error or weakness of the undertakers, and rather praiseth the adventure, than feareth the like success. It was the first sin that the World had, and began in *Angels*: for which they were cast into Hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man, and therefore no part of his natural corruption. The punishment also preceded his creation, yet hath the Devil, which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practise the other, as befitting every age, and mans condition.

Jotham, the youngest of *Gideons* sons, having escaped the present peril, sought by his best perswasions to alienate the *Sechemites* from the assisting of this mercilesse Tyrant, letting them know, that those which were vertuous, and whom reason and religion had taught the safe and happy estate of moderate subjection, had refused to receive as unlawful, what others had no power to give, without direction from the King of Kings: who from the beginning (as to his own peculiar people) had appointed them by whom and how to be governed. This he taught them by the Olive, which contented it self with its Fatness, the Figge-tree with its sweetness, and the Vine with the good juice it had: the Bramble onely, who was most base, cut down all the rest, and accepted the Soveraignty. He also fore-told them by a Prophetical spirit, what should befall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the Bramble, and consume the Cedars of *Libanon*.

Now (as it is an easie matter to call those men back whom rage without right led on) *Gaal* the son of *Ebed* withdrew the Citizens of *Sechem* from the Service of *Abimelech*: who therefore after some assaults entred the place, and mastered it; and in conclusion fired the Town, wherein their Idoll *Baalberith* was worshipped, and put all the people of all sorts to the slaughter. Lastly, in the assault of the Castle or Tower of *Tebet*, himself was wounded in the head with a stone thrown over the wall by a woman; and finding himself mortally bruised, he commanded his own Page to pierce his body, thereby to avoid the dishonour of being slain by so feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* usurped the Government the *Lapithæ* and *Centaurs* made war against the *Thebans*. These Nations were descended of *Apollo*, and were the first in those parts that devised to manage horses, to bridle and to sit them: insomuch, as when they first came down from the Mountains of *Pindus*, into the plains, those which had never seen horsmen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horses; so did the *Mexicans*, when *Ferdinando Cortes* the *Spaniard* first invaded that Empire. *Palæphatus, l. 1. de incredibil.*

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Thola* of *Issachar* governed *Israel* 23. years, and after him

him *Jair* the *Gileadite* 22. years, who seems to be descended of *Jair* the son of *Manasse*, who in *Moses* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the same after his own name, *Havoth Jair*. For to this *Jair* there remained thirty of those Cities which his Ancestor had recovered from the *Amorites*. Of these Judges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument, that during all their times *Israel* lived without disturbance, and in peace.

Deut 3. 14. *Num.* 12. 41. *Jud.* 10.

When *Jair* judged *Israel*, *Priamus* began to reign in *Troy*, who at such time as *Hercules* sacked *Ilium*, was carried away captive with his sister *Hesione* into *Greece*, and being afterward redeemed for ransome, he re-built and greatly strengthened and adorned *Troy*; and so far enlarged his Dominions, as he became the supreme Lord in effect of all *Asia* the less. He married *Hecuba* the Daughter of *Cisseus* King of *Thrace*, and had in all (saith *Cicero*) fifty sons, whereof seventeen by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recover his Aunt *Hesione*, took *Helena* the Wife of *Menelaus*, the cause of the war which followed.

2091. *In Tusc.*

Theseus the tenth King of *Athens*, began likewise to reign in the beginning of *Jair*: some Writers call him the son of *Neptune* and *Æthra*: but *Plutarch* in the Story of his life, finds him begotten by *Ægeus*, of whom the *Grecian* Sea between it and *Asia* the less took name. For when *Minos* had mastered the *Athenians*, so far as he forc'd them to pay him seven of their sons every year for tribute, whom he inclosed within a *Labyrinth*, to be devoured by the Monster *Minotaur*: because belike the sons of *Taurus*, which he begat on *Pasiphae* the Queen, had the charge of them: among these seven *Theseus* thrust himself, not doubting by his valour to deliver the rest, and to free the Countrey of that slavery occasioned for the death of *Androgeas*, *Minos* his son.

And having possest himself of *Ariadnes* affection, who was *Minos* daughter, he received from her a bottom of thred, by which he conducted himself through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the *Labyrinth*, made in all like that of the City of *Crocodiles* in *Egypt*; by means whereof having slain *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to return. But whereas his father *Ægeus* had given order, that if he came back with victory and in safety, he should use a white sail in sign thereof, and not that mournful black sail under which they left the port of *Athens*: This instruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Ægeus* descrying the ship of *Theseus* with a black sail, did cast himself over the Rocks down into the Sea, afterward called of his name *Ægeum*.

One of the first famous acts of *Theseus*, was the killing of *Scyron*, who kept a passage between *Megara* and the *Peloponnesian Isthmos*, and threw all whom he mastered into the Sea, from the high Rocks. Afterward he did the like to *Cercyon*, by wrestling, who used by that art to kill others. He also rid the Country of *Procrustes*, who used to bend down the strong limbs of two trees, and fastned by cords such as he took, part of them to one, and part to the other bough, and by the springing up tare them asunder. So did he root out *Periphetes* and other mischievous thieves and murtherers. He overthrew the Army of the *Amazones*, who after many victories and vastations, entred the Territory of *Atheus*. *Theseus* having taken their Queen *Hippolita* prisoner, begat on her *Hippolitus*; with whom afterward his mother-in-law *Phædra*, falling in love, and he refusing to abuse his fathers bed, *Phædra* perswaded *Theseus*, that his son offered to force her: after which it is feigned, that *Theseus* besought *Neptune* to revenge this wrong of his sons by some violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of advantage, sent out his Sea-Calves, as *Hippolitus* passed by the Sea-shore, and so affrighted his horses, as casting the Coach over, he was (by being intangled therein) torn in pieces. Which miserable and undeserved destiny, when *Phædra* had heard of, she strangled her self. After which it is feigned, that *Diana* intreated *Æsculapius* to set *Hippolitus* his pieces together, and to restore him to life: which done, because he was chaste, she led him with her into *Italy*, to accompany her in her hunting, and field sports.

It is probable that *Hippolitus*, when his father sought his life, thinking to escape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and did receive many wounds in forcing his passage and escape; which wounds *Æsculapius*, to wit, some skilful Physician, or Chirurgion, healed again: after which he passed into *Italy*, where he lived with *Diana*, that is, the life of a Hunter, in which he most delighted. But of those ancient prophane Stories *Plutarch* saith well, that as *Cosmographers* in their descriptions of the World, where they find many vast places whereof they know nothing, fill the same with strange Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, and with *Mathematical* lines; so do the *Grecian* Historians and Poets imbroder and intermixe the Tales of ancient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous discourses. True it is, that *Theseus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom he made

made his pattern, and was the first that gathered the *Athenians*, from being dispersed in thin and ragged Villages: in recompence whereof, and for devising them Laws to live under, and in order, he was by the beggarly, mutable, and ungrateful multitude, in the end banished. Some say, *per Ostraciſmum*, by the Law of Lots, or names written on shels, which was a device of his own.

He stole *Helen* (as they say) when she was fifty years old, from *Aphidna*, which City *Castor* and *Pollux* overturned, when they followed after *Theseus* to recover their sister. *Erasistratus* and *Pausanias* write, that *Theseus* begot her with child at *Argos*, where she erected a Temple to *Lucina*: but her age makes that Tale unlikely to be true, and so doth *Ovid*, *Non tamen ex facto fructum tulit ille petitum, &c.* The rape *Eusebius* finds in the first of *Jair*, who governed *Israel* twenty two years, to whom succeeded *Jephta* or *Jepte*, six years, to whom *Ibzan*, who ruled seven years, and then *Habdon* eight years: in whose time was the fall of *Troy*. So, as if *Theseus* had a child by her in the first of *Jair*, (at which time we must count her no less than fifteen years old: for the women did not commonly begin so young as they do now) she was then at least two and fifty years old at the destruction of *Troy*: and when she was stollen by *Paris*, eight and thirty: but herein the *Chronologers* do not agree. Yet *Eusebius* and *Bunting*, with *Halicarnaceſseus*, do in effect consent, that the City was entred and burnt in the first year of *Demophoon* King of *Athens*, the Successour of *Mneſtheus*, the Successour of *Theseus*, seventeen daies before the *Summer Tropick*; and that about the eleventh of *September* following, the *Trojans* crost the *Helleſpont* into *Thrace*, and wintered there, and in the next spring that they navigated into *Sicilia*, where wintering the second year, the next Summer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lavinium*. But S. *Auguſtine* hath otherwise, That when *Polyphides* governed *Sicyon*; *Mneſtheus*, *Athens*; *Tantanes*, *Aſſyria*; *Habdon*, *Iſrael*; then *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*, transporting with him in twenty ships the remainder of the *Trojans*: but the difference is not great; and hereof more at large in the story of *Troy* at hand.

Strab li. 9. Pauſ. in Cor.

Epiſt. Helen.

Jud. 10. 3.

Bunt Chro. Euſeb. Chron. Hal. l 1.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18 c. 19.

In *Sicyonia*, *Phæstus* the two and twentieth King, reigned eight years, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His succeſsours, *Adraſtus*, who reigned four years, and *Polyphides*, who reigned thirteen, are accounted to the time of *Jair*; so is also *Mneſtheus* King of *Athens* and *Atreus*, who held a great part of *Peloponneſus*. In *Aſſyria*, during the government of these two peaceable Judges, *Mitreus*, and after him *Tantanes* reigned. In *Egypt*, *Amenophis*, the son of *Rameſes*, and afterwards *Annemanes*.

§. VIII.

Of the war of Thebes, *which was in this age.*

IN this age was the War of *Thebes*, the most ancient that ever Greek Poet or Historian wrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly against the *Peripateticks*) that the World had a beginning, urgeth them with this objection:

——Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Rerumque & mundi, ſemperque æterna fuêre,
Cur ſupra bellum Thebanum, & funera Trojæ,
Non alias alii quoque res cecinere Poetæ?

If all this World had no original,
But things have ever been as now they are:
Before the siege of *Thebes*, or *Troys* last fall,
Why did no Poet sing some elder War?

It is true, that in these times *Greece* was very salvage, the Inhabitants being often chaced from place to place, by the Captains of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whereon he dwelt his own, longer than he could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourse they used little; neither did they plant many trees, or sow more corn than was necessary for their sustenance. Money they had little or none; for it is thought that the name of money was not heard of in *Greece*, when *Homer* did write, who measures the value of Gold and Brass: by the worth in cattel: saying, that the golden Armour of *Glaucus* was worth an hundred Beeves; and the Copper Armour of *Diomedes* worth nine.

Roberries by land and sea were common and without shame, and to steal horses or kine was the usual exercise of their great men. Their Towns were not many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Mycenæ* the principal City in *Peloponneſus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the rest were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancy, and though in some small Towns of that half Isle of *Peloponneſus*, the Inhabitants might have enjoyed quietness within their

their narrow bounds; as likewiſe did the *Athenians*, becauſe their Country was ſo barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the Land in general was very rude, it will eaſily appear to ſuch as conſider what *Thucidydes* the greateſt of their Hiſtorians hath written to this effect, in the Preface to his Hiſtory. Wherefore, as in theſe later times, idle *Chroniclers* uſe when the want good matter, to fill whole Books with reports of great Froſts, or dry Summers, and other ſuch things which no man cares to reade; ſo did they who ſpake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember only the great Flouds which were in the times of *Ogyges* and *Deucalion:* or elſe rehearſe Fables of men changed into Birds, of ſtrange Monſters, of adultery committed by their gods, and the mighty men which they begat, without writing ought that ſavoured of humanity before the time of the war of *Thebes:* the brief whereof is this.

Oedipus the ſon of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, having been caſt forth when he was an Infant, becauſe an *Oracle* foretold what evil ſhould come to paſs by him, did afterwards in a narrow paſſage, contending for the way, ſlay his own Father, not knowing either then or long after, vvho he vvas. Afterward he became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queen *Jocaſta*, called by *Homer*, *Epicaſte:* on vvhom, not knowing her to be his mother, he begat two ſons, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But vvhen in proceſs of time, finding out by good circumſtances, vvho vvere his Parents, he underſtood the grievous murther and inceſt he had committed, he tore out his own eyes for grief, and left the City. His Wife (and Mother) did hang her ſelf. Some ſay, that *Oedipus* having his eyes pulled out, vvas expelled *Thebes*, bitterly curſing his ſons, becauſe they ſuffered their father to be caſt out of the Town, and aided him not. Howſoever it were, his two Sons made this agreement, that the one of them ſhould reign one year, and the other another year, and ſo by courſe rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill obſerved. For when *Polynices* had after a years government reſigned the Kingdom to his brother: or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the firſt year, he refuſed to give over the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fled unto *Argos*, where *Adraſtus* the ſon of *Talaus* then reigned, unto whoſe Palace coming by night, he was driven to ſeek lodging in an out-houſe, on the back-ſide.

Hom Odyſſ. 11.

There he met with *Tydeus* the ſon of *Oeneus*, who was fled from *Calydon:* with whom ſtriving about their lodging, he fell to blowes. *Adraſtus* hearing the noiſe came forth and took up the quarrel. At which time perceiving in the ſhield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices* a Lion, he remembred an old Oracle by which he was adviſed to give his two Daughters in marriage to a Lion and a Bore: and accordingly he did beſtow his Daughter *Argia* upon *Tydeus*, and *Deipyle* upon *Polynices*, promiſing to reſtore them both to their Countries. To this purpoſe levying an Army, and aſſembling as many valiant Captains as he could draw to follow him, he was deſirous among others to carry *Amphiaraus* the ſon of *Oicleus* a great Soothſayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphyaraus*, who is ſaid to have fore-ſeen all things, knowing well that none of the Captains ſhould eſcape, ſave only *Adraſtus*, did both utterly refuſe to be one in that expedition, and perſwaded others to ſtay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the Wife of *Amphyaraus*, offering unto her a very fair Bracelet, upon condition that ſhe ſhould cauſe her Husband to aſſiſt him. The Soothſayer knowing what ſhould work his deſtiny, forbade his Wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the Bracelet was in her eye ſo precious a Jewel, that ſhe could not refuſe it. Therefore whereas a great controverſie between *Amphyaraus* and *Adraſtus*, was by way of compromiſe put unto the deciſion of *Eriphyle*, either of them being bound by ſolemn oath to ſtand to her appointment: ſhe ordered the matter ſo, as a Woman ſhould that did love a Bracelet better than her Husband. He now finding that it was far more eaſie to foreſee then avoid deſtiny, ſought for ſuch comfort as revenge might afford him, giving in charge unto his ſons, that when they came to full age, they ſhould kill their Mother, and make ſtrong war upon the *Thebanes*.

Now had *Adraſtus* aſſembled all his forces, of which, the ſeven chief Leaders were himſelf, *Amphiaraus*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (in ſtead of whom ſome name *Meciſteus*) all *Argives*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Ætolian*, and *Parthenopeus* the *Arcadian*, ſon of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the Army came to the *Nemæan* Wood, they met a Woman, whom they deſired to help them to ſome Water; ſhe having a Childe in her arms, laid it down, and led the *Argives* to a Spring: but ere ſhe returned, a Serpent had ſlain the Childe. This Woman was *Hypſipyle* the Daughter of *Thoas* the

the *Lemnian*, whom ſhe would have ſaved when the Woman of the Iſle ſlew all the Males by conſpiracy, intending to lead an *Amazonian* life. For ſuch her Piety the *Lemnian* Wives did ſell her to *Pyrats*, and the *Pyrats* to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Countrey about *Nemæa*, whoſe young ſon *Opheltes*, or *Archemorus* ſhe did nurſe, and loſt, as is ſhewed before. When upon the Childs death ſhe hid her ſelf for fear of her Maſter, *Amphiaraus* told her Sons where they ſhould find her: and the *Argives* did both kill the Serpent which had ſlain the Child, and in memory of the chance, did inſtitute ſolemn funeral games, called *Nemæan*, wherein *Adraſtus* wan the prize with his ſwift horſe *Areon*, *Tydeus* with the whorlbars, *Amphiaraus* at running and quoiting, *Polynices* at wreſtling, *Parthenopæus* at ſhooting, and one *Laodocus* in darting. This was the firſt inſtitution of the *Nemæan* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are, who think that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheltus* a *Lacedemonian*. Some ſay by *Hercules*, when he had ſlain the *Nemæan* Lion: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here ſet down.

From *Nemæa* the *Argives* marched onwards, arrived at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them ſent Embaſſadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Covenants between him and *Polynices*. This meſſage was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was throughly reſolved to hold what he had, as long as he could: which *Tydeus* perceiving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to try what mettle was in the *Thebanes*, he made many challenges, and obtained victory in all of them, not without much envy and malice of the people, who laid fifty men in ambuſh to intercept him at his return to the army, of which fifty he ſlew all but one, whom he ſent back to the City as a Reporter and Witneſs of his Valour. When the *Argives* underſtood how reſolved *Eteocles* was, they preſented themſelves before the City, and encamped round about it. *Thebes* is ſaid to have had at that time ſeven gates, which belike ſtood not far aſunder, ſeeing that the *Argives* (who afterward when they were very far ſtronger, could ſcarce muſter up more thouſands than *Thebes* had gates) did compaſs the Town, *Adraſtus* quartered before the Gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygean*, *Tydeus* before *Crenis*, *Amphiaraus* at *Proëtis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchais*, *Parthenopæus* at *Electa*, and *Polynices* at *Hypſiſta*. In the mean ſeaſon, *Eteocles* having armed his men, and appointed Commanders unto them, took advice of *Tireſias* the Soothſayer, who promiſed Victory to the *Thebans*, if *Menæcius* the ſon of *Creon*, a principal man of the City, would vow himſelf to be ſlain in honour of *Mars* the god of War. So full of malice and pride is the Devil, and ſo envious at his Creators glory, that he not only challengeth honour due to God alone, as oblations and ſacrifice withal Divine worſhip, but commandeth us to offer our ſelves and our children unto him, when he hath ſufficiently clouded mens underſtanding, and bewitched their Wils with ignorance and blind devotion. And ſuch abominable ſacrifice of men, maides, and children hath he exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Cyprians*, *Egyptians*, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or fear they were moſt filled with ſuperſtition. But as they grew more wiſe, ſo did he wax leſs impudent in cunning, though not leſs malicious in deſiring the continuance of ſuch barbarous inhumanity. For King *Diphilus* in *Cyprus* without advice of any *Oracle*, made the Idol of that Country reſt contented with an Oxe inſtead of a man. *Tiberius* forbade humane ſacrifices in *Africa*, and crucified the Prieſts in the Groves where they had practiſed them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drown men of hay in ſtead of the living: yet among the ſalvages in the Weſt *Indies* theſe cruel offerings have been practiſed of late Ages: which, as it is a ſufficient argument that *Satan*'s malice is only covered and hidden by this ſubtilty among civil people: ſo it may ſerve as a probable conjecture of the barbariſmes then raigning in *Greece*. For *Menæcius*, as ſoon as he underſtood that his death might purchaſe Victory to his people, beſtowed himſelf (as he thought) upon *Mars*, killing himſelf before the gates of the City. Then was a battel fought, wherein the *Argives* prevailed ſo far at the firſt, that *Capanius* advancing laddars to the Wals, got up upon the Rampart: whence, when he fell, or was caſt down, or (as Writers wave it) was ſtricken down by *Jupiter* with a thunder bolt, the *Argives* fled. Many on each part were ſlain in this battel, which cauſed both ſides to deſire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might try out the quarrel in ſingle fight: whereto the two brethren according, ſlew each other.

Another battel was fought after their death, wherein the ſons of *Aſtacus* behaved themſelves very valiantly: *Iſmarus* one of the ſons ſlew *Hippomedon*, which was one of the ſeven Princes: *Parthenopæus* being another of the ſeven (who was ſaid to have been

been ſo fair, that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was ſlain by *Amphidicus*, or, as ſome ſay, by *Periclymenus* the ſon of *Neptune*: and the valiant *Tydeus*, by *Menalippus*: yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menalippus* was brought unto him by *Amphyaraus*, which he cruelly tore open, and ſwallowed up the brains. Upon which fact, it is ſaid, that *Pallas*, who had brought from *Jupiter* ſuch remedy for his wounds, as ſhould have made him immortal, refuſed to beſtow it upon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might have continued immortal, did periſh through the beaſtly rage that he ſhewed at his death.

The hoſt of the *Argives* being wholly diſcomfited, *Adraſtus* and *Amphyaraus* fled: of whom *Amphyaraus* is ſaid to have been ſwallowed quick into the earth, near to the River *Iſmenus*, together with his Chariot, and ſo loſt out of mens ſight, being peradventure overwhelmed with dead carkaſſes, or drowned in the River: and his body never found, nor greatly ſought for. *Adraſtus* eſcaped on his good horſe *Arion*, and came to *Athens*; where ſitting at an Altar, called the Altar of Mercy, he made ſupplication for their aid to recover their bodies. For *Creon* having obtained the government of *Thebes* after the death of *Eteocles*, would not ſuffer the bodies of the *Argives* to be buried: but cauſed *Antigone*, the only daughter then living of *Oedipus*, to be buried quick, becauſe ſhe had ſought out and buried the body of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creons* Edict. The *Athenians* condeſcending to the requeſt of *Adraſtus*, did ſend forth an Army under the conduct of *Theſeus*, which took *Thebes*, and reſtored the bodies of the *Argives* to ſepulture: at which time *Evadne* the Wife of *Capaneus* threw her ſelf into the funeral fire, and was burnt willingly with her Husband. But it little contented the ſons of thoſe Captains which were ſlain at *Thebes*, that any leſs revenge ſhould be taken of their Fathers death, than the ruine of the City: Wherefore ten year after, having levied Forces, *Egialeus* the ſon of *Adraſtus*, *Diomedes* of *Tydeus*, *Promachus* of *Parthenopæus*, *Sthenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Therſander* of *Polynices*, and *Euripylus* of *Meciſteus*, marched thither under the conduct of *Alcmæon*, the ſon of *Amphiaraus*: with whom alſo went his brother *Amphyloctus*. *Apollo* promiſed Victory, if *Alcmæon* were their Captain, whom afterward by another *Oracle* he commanded to kill his own Mother.

When they came to the City, they were encountred by *Laodamas* the ſon of *Eteocles* then King of the *Thebans* (for *Creon* was only Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though he did valiantly in the battel, and ſlew *Ægialeus*, yet was he put to the worſt, and driven to fly, or (according to *Apollodorus*) ſlain by *Alcmæon*. After this diſaſter, the Citizens began to deſire compoſition; but in the mean time they conveyed themſelves with their Wives and Children away from thence by night, and ſo began to wander up and down, till at length they built the Town called *Eſtiæa*. The *Argives*, when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the Town, entring into it, ſacked it, threw down the Wals, and laid it waſte; howbeit it is reported by ſome, that the Town was ſaved by *Thirſander* the ſon of *Polynices*, who cauſing the Citizens to return, did there reign over them. That he ſaved the City from utter deſtruction, it is very likely; for he reigned there, and led the *Thebans* to the War of *Troy*, which very ſhortly after enſued.

§. IX.

Of Jephta, *and how the three hundred years which he ſpeaketh of*, Judg. 11. 28. *are to be reconciled with the places*; Acts 13. 20. 1 Reg. 6. 1. *together with ſome other things touching Chronology about theſe times.*

AFter the death of *Jair* (near about whoſe time theſe things hapned in *Greece*, and during whoſe Government, and that of *Thola*, *Iſrael* lived in peace and in order) they revolted again from the Law and Service of God, and became more wicked and idolatrous than ever. For whereas in the former times they worſhipped *Baal* and *Aſteroth*, they now became followers of all the Heathen Nations adjoyning, and imbraced the Idols of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: with thoſe of the *Philiſtims*. And as before it pleaſed God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*: ſo now he ſcourged them by the * *Ammonites*, and afterward by the *Philiſtims*. *Judg.* 10. * The perſecution of the *Ammonites* laſted 18 years, and ended in the year of the World 2820. in which year *Jepta* began, *Jud.* 11.

Now among the *Iſraelites*, thoſe of *Gilead* being moſt oppreſt, becauſe they bordered upon the *Ammonites*, they were inforc't to ſeek *Jephta*, whom they had formerly deſpiſed and caſt from them, becauſe he was baſe born; but he (notwithſtanding thoſe former injuries) participating more of godly compaſſion, than of deviliſh hatred and revenge, was content to lead the *Gileadites* to the War, upon condition that they ſhould eſtabliſh him their Governour after Victory. And when he had diſputed with *Ammon* for the Land, diſproved *Ammon*'s right, and fortified

fortified the Title of *Israel* by many arguments, the same prevailing nothing, he began the war; and being strengthened by God, overthrew them: and did not onely beat them out of the Plains, but forc't them
Judg. 11. 33. over the Mountains of *Arabia*, even to *Minnith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, Cities expreſt heretofore in the deſcription of the *Holy Land*. After which victory it is ſaid, that he performed the vain vow which he made, to ſacrifice the firſt living creature he incountred, coming out of his houſe to meet him; which happened to be his own daughter, and onely childe, who with all patience ſubmitted her ſelf, and onely deſired two moneths time to bewail her Virginity on the Mountains of *Gilead*; becauſe in her the iſſues of her Father ended: but the other opinion, that ſhe was not offered, is more probable, which *Borhæus* and others prove ſuffi-
Bor. in Judg. ciently.

After theſe things the children of *Iſrael*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either envious of *Jephta*'s victory, or otherwiſe making way to their future calamity, and to the moſt grievous ſlavery that ever *Iſrael* ſuffered, quarrelled with *Jephta*, that they were not called to the War, as before time they had conteſted with *Gideon*. *Jephta* hereupon inforced to defend himſelf againſt their fury, in the incounter ſlew of them 42000. which ſo weakened the body of the Land,
Judg. 12. as the *Philiſtims* had an eaſie conqueſt of them all not long after. *Jephta*, after he had judged *Iſrael* ſix years, died: to whom ſucceeded *Ibzan*, who ruled ſeven years: after
2925. him *Elon* was their Judge ten years: in all
2942. which time *Iſrael* had peace. *Euſebius* finds not *Elon*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this Judge was omitted.

Now before I go on with the reſt, it ſhall be neceſſary upon the occaſion of *Jephta*'s account of the times, *Jud.* 11. 28. (where he ſayes that *Iſrael* had then poſſeſt the Eaſt ſide of *Jordan* 300. years) to ſpeak ſomewhat of the times of the Judges, and of the differing opinions among the Divines and Chronologers: there being found three places of Scriptures touching this point, ſeeming re-
Judg. 11. 21. pugnant or diſagreeing: the firſt is in this diſpute between *Jephta* and *Ammon*, for the
Act 13. 20 right and poſſeſſion of *Gilead*: the ſecond
1 *Kin.* 6. 1. is that of S. *Paul*, *Acts* 13. the third is that which is in the firſt of *Kings*. *Jephta* here challengeth the poſſeſſion of *Gilead* for 300. years: S. *Paul* giveth to the *Judges*, as it ſeems, from the end of *Joſua* to the laſt of *Heli*, 450. years. In the firſt of Kings it is taught, that from the departing of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Solomon*'s Temple, there were conſumed 480. years. To the firſt, *Beroaldus* findeth *Jephta*'s 300. years to be but 266. years, to wit, 18. of *Joſua*, 40. of *Othoniel*, 80. of *Aod* and *Samgar*, 40. of *Debora*, 40. of *Gideon*, 3. of *Abimelech*, 23. of *Thola*, and 22. of *Jair*: But *Jephta* (ſaith *Beroaldus*) putteth or propoſeth a certain number for an uncertain: *Sic ut dicat annum agi prope trecenteſimum, ex quo nullus litem ea de re moverit Iſraeli*; *So he ſpeaketh* (ſaith he) *as meaning, that then it was about, or well-nigh, the three hundred year, ſince Iſrael poſſeſſed thoſe Countries, no man making queſtion of their right.* *Id facit, numero certo pro incerto proposito.* *Codoman* on the contrary finds more years than *Jephta* named by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were ſpent in *Iſraels* captivity, at ſeveral times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Jephta* forbare to repeat the whole ſum, or any great part, leſt the *Ammonites* ſhould have juſtly objected, that 71. of thoſe years the *Iſraelites* were in captivity, and vaſſals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name three hundred years, it was enough for preſcription, he omitted the reſt.

To juſtifie this account of 365. years, beſides the 71. years of captivity or affliction, to be added to *Beroaldus* his 266. he addeth alſo 28. years more, and ſo maketh up the ſum of 365. Theſe 28. years he findeth out thus: twenty years he gives to the *Seniors* between *Joſua* and *Othoniel*: and where *Beroaldus* alloweth eighteen years to *Joſua* his government, *Codoman* accounts that his rule laſted 26. according to *Joſephus*; whereas Saint *Auguſtine* and *Euſebius* give him 27. *Melanchon* 32. The truth is, that this addition of 28. years, is far more doubtful than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of ſome part of the years of affliction (to wit 34. years of the 71.) if we add them to the 266. years of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of theſe, we have the juſt number of 300. years. Neither is it ſtrange that *Jephta* ſhould leave out more than half of the years of affliction: ſeeing, as it is already ſaid, the *Ammonites* might except againſt the 71. years, and ſay, that during theſe years, or at leaſt a good part of them, the *Iſraelites* had no quiet poſſeſſion of the Countries in queſtion. *Martin Luther* is the author of a third opinion, making thoſe 300. years remembred by *Jephta*, to be 306. which odd years, ſaith he, *Jephta* omitteth. But becauſe the years of every Judge, as they reigned, cannot make up the number of 306. but do onely compound 266. therefore doth

Luther add to this number the whole time which *Moses* spent in the Desarts of *Arabia Petræa*; which forty years of *Moses* added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth of 266. make indeed 306.

But I see nothing in the Text to warrant *Luthers* judgment herein: for in the dispute between *Jephta* and *Ammon* for the Land of *Gilead*, it is written in the person of *Ammon*, in these words: *Because Israel took my Land, when they came up from Egypt, from Arnon unto Jabboc, &c. now therefore restore those Lands quietly*; or in peace. So by this place it is plain, that the time is not to be accounted from *Moses* departure out of *Egypt*: but from the time that the Land was possest. For it is said, *Quia cepit Israel terram meam, Behold Israel took my Land*: and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Jephta's* answer also confirmeth in these words: *When Israel dwelt in Hesbbon, and in her Towns, and in Aroer, and in her Towns, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon 300. years: why did ye not then recover them in that space?* so as this place speaks it directly, that *Israel* had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of *Gilead* 300. years: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents that *Israel* had to possess it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me: for we do not use to reckon the time of our conquests in *France*, from our Princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and possessions.

Judg. 11. 28.

Junius nevertheless likes the opinion of *Luther*, and sayes, that this time of 300. years hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Jephta's* narration: when he makes a brief repetition of *Moses* whole journey: to wit, at the sixteenth Verse of the eleventh Chapter of *Judges*, in our translation in these words: *But when Israel came up from Egypt, &c.* and therefore *Moses* his 40. years (as he thinks) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. years: and not onely the time in which *Israel* possest *Gilead*, according to the Text, and *Jephta's* own words: of which I leave the judgment to others; to whom also I leave to judge, whether we may not begin the 480. years, from the deliverance out of *Egypt* to the Temple, even from the first departure out of *Egypt*, and yet find a more probable reconciliation of Saint *Pauls* and *Jephta's* account with this reckoning, than any of those that as yet have been signified. For first, touching *Jephta's* three hundred years of possession of the East side of *Jordan*, it is to be remembred, that for a good while before the *Israelites* possessed it, *Sehon* and *Og* had dispossessed *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof: so that when the *Israelites* had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of possession which they had, passed to *Israel*; and so *Jephta* might say, that they had possessed those Countries 300. years, reckoning 266. years of their own possession, and the rest of the possession of the two Kings, *Sehon* and *Og*, whose right the *Israelites* had by the law of conquest.

Junius in 11. of *Judg.* annot.

The second place disputed is this of Saint *Paul*, *Act.* 13. that from the end of *Josua*, to the beginning of *Samuel*, there past 450. years. And this place *Luther* understandeth also besides the letter (as I find his opinion cited by *Functius Krentzhemius*, and *Beza*) for I have not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moses*, to the last year of *Heli*, but 357. years: and this he doth the better to approve the times from the egression out of *Egypt* to the building of the Temple, which in the first of *Kings* 6. is said to be 480. years.

Read the 24. of *Jos.* and the 2. of *Judg.* 7. *Funct. Chro.* f. 4. *Beza* in his annotations upon the 13. of *Act.* v. 10.

Now forasmuch as Saint *Paul* (as it seems) finds 450. years from the death of *Josua* to the last of *Heli*, and leaves but thirty years for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who governed 40. for *David* who ruled 40. and for *Solomon* who wore the Crown three whole years ere that the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was errour in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of Saint *Paul*: to wit, *Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about 450. years, unto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet*: the words [*then afterward*] being clearly referred to the death, or after the death of *Josua*, as shall be hereafter proved. But where Saint *Luke*, rehearsing the words of Saint *Paul*, wrote 350. years (saith *Luther*) the Scribe in the transcription being deceived by the affinity of those two *Greek* words, whereof the one signifieth 300. and the other 400. wrote *Tetracosiois*, for *Triacosiois*; 400. years for 300. years; and 450. for 350. This he seeketh to strengthen by many arguments: to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary judgment to this hath *Codoman*: where *Luther* and *Beza* begin at *Moses* death, he takes his account from the death of *Josua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430. years: to wit, of the *Judges* (not reckoning *Sampsons* years) 319. and of years of servitude and affliction under strangers, 111. The reason why he doth not reckon *Sampsons* twenty years, is, because he thinks that they were part of the 40. years, in which the *Philistims* are said to have oppressed *Israel*. For it is plain, that during all *Sampsons* time, they were Lords over *Israel*.

Act. 13. 20.

Judg. 13.

Judg. 15. 11.

Iſrael. So then of the Judges, beſides the 111. years of ſervitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I have ſaid) 319. years, which two ſums put together, make 430. years And whereas Saint *Paul* nameth 450. years, he finds 20. years to make up Saint *Paul*'s number, to have been ſpent after the death of *Joſua* by the *Seniors*, before the Captivity of *Cuſhan*, or the election of *Othoniel:* which 20. years added to 430. make 450. according to Saint *Paul.* To approve this time of the Elders, he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24. of *Joſua*, and the ſecond of *Judges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Iſrael ſerved the Lord all the dayes of* Joſua, *and all the dayes of the Elders that over-lived Joſua:* ſo as to theſe times of the Elders, *Codoman* giveth 20. years, which make as before 450. according to Saint *Paul.* Neither would it breed any great difficulty in this opinion, if here alſo the 20. years of the *Seniors* between *Joſua* and *Othoniel* ſhould be denied. For they which deny theſe years, and make *Othoniels* 40. to begin preſently upon the death of *Joſua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning, they have 20. years leſs than *Codoman*, ſo toward the end of it (when they reckon the years of affliction apart from the years of the *Judges*) in the number of *Sampſons* years, and of the forty years of the *Philiſtims* oppreſſing the *Iſraelites*, they have 20. years more than *Codoman.* For they reckon theſe 40. years of oppreſſion all of them a-part from *Sampſons* 20. but *Codoman*, as is ſaid, makes *Sampſons* 20. to be the one half of the forty of the *Philiſtims* oppreſſions; ſo that if the 20. years of the *Seniors* be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text ſeems to inforce) that the *Philiſtims* in any *Inter-regnum*, before *Sampſon* judged *Iſrael*, vexed the *Iſraelites* 40. years, beſides the 20. while *Sampſon* was their Judge; and ſo the reckoning will come to 450. years between the end of *Joſua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, though we admit not of an *Inter-regnum* of the *Seniors* between *Joſua* and *Othoniel*: For, if the times of their affliction be ſummed, they make 111. years, to which if we add the years of the Judges, which are 339. we have the juſt ſum of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may ſeem to be much more probable, than theirs that correct the Text, although we ſhould admit of their correction thereof, and read with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceive that this time of 350. years, is to begin immediately, or ſoon after the death of *Moſes:* certainly the place of Saint *Paul* doth evidently teach the contrary, though it be received for true that there was *vitium ſcriptoris* in the reſt. For theſe be Saint *Pauls* words: *And about the time of forty years, God ſuffered their manners in the wilderneſs: and he deſtroyed ſeven Nations in the Land of* Canaan, *and divided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about* 450. *years, unto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet.* So as firſt in the eighteenth verſe he ſpeaketh of *Moſes*, and of his years ſpent in the Wilderneſs, then in the nineteenth verſe he cometh unto the acts of *Joſua*; which were, that he deſtroyed ſeven Nations in the Land of *Canaan*, and divided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth Verſe it followeth, *Then afterward he gave them Judges about* 450. *years, &c.* and therefore to reckon from the death of *Moſes*, is wide of Saint *Pauls* meaning, ſo far as my weak underſtanding can pierce it. The onely inconvenience of any weight in opinion of *Codoman* touching this place in the *Acts*, is, that it ſeems irreconcileable with the account, 1 *Reg.* 6. 11. For if indeed there were ſpent 450. years between the end of *Joſua* and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there muſt needs be much more than 480. years between the beginning of the *Iſraelites* journeying from *Egypt*, and the foundation of the Temple by *Solomon.* To this difficulty *Codoman* anſwereth, that theſe 480. years, 1 *Reg.* 6. 1. muſt begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their journeying from *Egypt*, which he makes to be 25. years after the beginning of *Othoniels* government; from whence if we caſt the years of the Judges, with the years of ſervitude (which ſums, according to his account, of which we have already ſpoken, make 397. years) and ſo to theſe years add the 40. of *Samuel*, and *Saul*, and the 40. of *David*, and the 3. of *Solomon*, we ſhall have the juſt ſum of 480. years. Neither is it hard, ſaith he, that the *annus egreſſionis*, 1 *Kings* 6. 1. ſhould be underſtood *egreſſionis non incipientis, ſed finitæ*, the year of their coming out of *Egypt* (for ſo it is in the original) or the year after they came out of *Egypt*, may well be underſtood for the year after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandring from thence. For ſo we find that things which were done forty years after they had ſet foot out of *Egypt*, are ſaid to have been done in their going out of *Egypt*; as *Pſal.* 114. *When Iſrael came out of Egypt, Jordan was driven back.* And *Deut.* 4. 45, *Theſe are the teſtimonies which* Moſes *ſpake when they came out of Egypt.* And thus far *Joſ.* 14. 1.

it seems we may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exiviſſent*, or *ab exitu finito*: for if *Junius*, *Deut.* 4.45. do well read *quum exiviſſent*, for *in exitu*, as it seems that herein he doth well, why may not we also, to avoid contradiction in the Scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be, *poſtquam exiviſſent*?

The next point to be cleared, is how their journeying should be said not to have had end until the 25. year after the victory of *Othoniel*. To this *Codoman* answereth, that then it had no end, till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not until this time: at which time the *Danites* at length seated themselves, as it is
*Judg.*18.1 declared, *Judg.* 18. For doubtless to this time the Expedition may most conveniently be referred. And thus without any great inconvenience to him appearing, doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Jephta*, and of Saint *Paul*, with that in the first of *Kings*, *c.* 6. Now whereas it is said, that the Expedition of the *Danites* was when there was no King in *Israel*: to this *Codoman* answereth, that it is not necessary that we should suppose that *Othoniel* lived all those 40. years of rest, of which *Judg.* 3.11. so that by the 25. year after his victory, either he might have been dead, or at least, as *Gideon* did, he might have refused all Soveraignty, and so either way it might truly be said that at this time (to wit, the 25. year after *Othoniels* victory) there was no King in *Israel*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as consonant to other Chronologers, grounding their opinions on the plain Text, where it is indisputable, as it is in it self round enough and coherent, might perhaps be received as good: especially considering, that the speeches of S. *Paul* have not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they sound, and are set down. But seeing that he wanteth all help of authority, we may justly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the consent of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conquest of *Laish*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the five and twentieth year of *Othoniel*? Or what other probability hath he than his own conjecture, to shew that *Othoniel* did so renounce the office of a Judge after five and twenty years, that it might then be truly said there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes?

Now concerning the rehearsal of the Law by *Moses*, and the stopping of *Jordan*, they might indeed be properly said to have been, when *Israel* came out of *Egypt*: like as we say that King *Edward* the first was crowned when he came out of the Holy Land, for so all journies with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I think that he can find no such phrase of speech in Scripture as limiteth a journey by an accident, or saith by converting the proposition, when *Jordan* was turning back, *Israel* came out of *Egypt*. Indeed most unproper it were to give date unto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finished long before, namely, to say, that King *Edward* at his arrival out of *Palæstina* did win *Scotland*, or died at *Carlile*. How may we then believe that enterprize performed so many years after the division of the Land (which followed the conquest at the journies end) should be said to have been at the time of the departure out of *Egypt*? Or who will not think it most strange, that the most notable account of time, serving as the onely guide for certain ages in sacred Chronology, should not take name and beginning from that illustrious deliverance out of *Egypt*, rehearsed often by God himself among the principal of his benefits to *Israel*, whereof the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewise are the year and moneth wherein it expired) and the form of the year upon that occasion changed; but should have reference to the surprizing of a Town by six hundred men, that robbed a Chappel by the way, and stole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to work in Gods Name? For this accident whereupon *Codoman* buildeth, hath either no time given to it, or a time far different from that which he supposeth, and is indeed rather by him placed in such a year, because it best stood with his interpretation so to have it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it self.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirm, that the Apostle S. *Paul* did not herein labour to set down the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but onely to shew that God, who had chosen *Israel* to be his people, delivered them out of bondage, and ruled them by *Judges* and *Prophets* unto the time of *Saul*, did raise up our *Lord Jesus Christ* out of the seed of *David* the King, in whose succession the Crown was established, and promise made of a Kingdom that should have no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein he sheweth Christ to have been

been the true *Meſſias*) the Apoſtle was ſo far from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the Hiſtory being ſo well known and beleived of the *Jews* to whom he preached) that he ſpake as it were at large of the 40. years conſumed in the Wilderneſs, whereof no man doubted, ſaying, that God ſuffered their manners in the Wilderneſs about 40. years. In like manner he proceeded, ſaying, that from the diviſion of the Land unto the dayes of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whoſe time they required to have a King, there paſſed about 450. years. Neither did he ſtand to tell them, that an hundred and eleven years of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339. years of the *Judges:* for this had been an impertinent digreſſion from the argument which he had in hand. Wherefore it is not a work ſo needful as laborious, to ſearch out of this place that which the Apoſtle did not here intend to teach, when the ſum of 480. years is ſo expreſly and purpoſely ſet down.

Now that the vvords of S. *Paul* (if there be no fault in the copy through error of ſome Scribe) are not ſo curiouſly to be examined in matter of *Chronology*, but muſt be taken, as having reference to the memory and apprehenſion of the vulgar, it is evident by his aſcribing in the ſame place 40. years to the reign of *Saul:* whereas it is manifeſt that thoſe years vvere divided between *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea, that far the greater part of them vvere ſpent under the government of the Prophet, howſoever they are here included in the reign of the King. As for thoſe that vvith ſo much cunning forſake the general opinion, vvhen it favoureth not ſuch expoſition as they bring out of a good mind, to help vvhere the need is not over-great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The vvords of S. *Paul* vvere ſufficiently juſtified by *Beroaldus*, as having reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in thoſe days, that the 111. years of ſervitude vvere to be reckoned apart from the 339. years aſcribed to the *Judges*; vvhich account the Apoſtle vvould not in this place ſtand to contradict, but rather choſe to ſpeak as the vulgar, qualifying it vvith a *quaſi*, where he ſaith, *quaſi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis*; *As it were four hundred and fifty years.* But *Codoman* being not thus contented, vvould needs have it be ſo indeed, and therefore diſ-joyns the members to make the account even. In ſo doing he daſheth himſelf againſt a notable Text, whereupon all Authors have builded, (as well they might and ought) that purpoſely and preciſely doth caſt up the years from the departure out of *Egypt*, unto the building of *Solomons* Temple, not omitting the very moneth it ſelf.

Acts 13.

1 King. 6.

Now (as commonly the firſt apprehenſions are ſtrongeſt) having already given faith to his own interpretation of S. *Paul*, he thinketh it more needful to find ſome new expoſition for that vvhich is of it ſelf moſt plain, and to examine his own conjecture upon a place that is full of controverſie. Thus by expounding after a ſtrange Method, that vvhich is manifeſt by that vvhich is obſcure, he loſeth himſelf in thoſe vvayes vvherein before him never man vvalked. Surely if one ſhould urge him to give reaſon of theſe new opinions, he muſt needs anſwer, that *Othoniel* could not govern above 25. years, becauſe then vvas the taking of *Laiſh*; *at which time there was no King in Iſrael*; That the *Danites* muſt needs have taken *Laiſh* at that time, becauſe elſe we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might be termed the coming of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, vvithout excluding the years of ſervitude; And that the years of ſervitude muſt needs be included, for that otherwiſe he himſelf ſhould have ſpent his time vainly, in ſeeking to pleaſure S. *Paul* with an expoſition. Whether this ground be ſtrong enough to uphold a Paradox, I leave it to the deciſion of the judicious Reader.

And now to proceed in our ſtory. To the time of *Jephta* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the proviſions which her huſband *Menelaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, and his brother *Agamemnon* King of *Mycenæ*, made for her recovery. Others refer this rape of *Helen* to the fourth year of *Ibzan:* from which time, if the war of *Troy* (as they ſuppoſe) did not begin till the third of *Ailon* or *Elon*, yet the *Greeks* had ſix years to prepare themſelves: the rule holding not true in this War, *Longa præparatio belli celerem affert victoriam*; *That a long preparation begets a ſpeedy victory:* for the *Greeks* conſumed ten years in the attempt; and *Troy*, as it ſeems, was entred, ſackt, and burnt in the third year of *Habdon*.

Three years after *Troy* taken, which was in the ſixt year of *Habdon*, *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*. *Habdon* in the eighth year of his rule, died, after he had been the Father of 40. ſons, and 30. grand-children. And whereas it is ſuppoſed, that the 40. years of *Iſraels* oppreſſion by the *Philiſtims* (of which *Judg.* 13. *v.* 1.) took beginning from the ninth year

year of *Jair*, and ended with the last of *Habdon*: I see no reason for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cause of quarrel against *Jephta*, for not calling them to war over *Jordan*, if the *Philistims* had held them in servitude in their own territories; and if *Ephraim* could have brought 42000. armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppress: and had it been true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather have fought against the *Philistims* with so powerful an Army for their own deliverance, than against their own brethren the *Israelites*? but *Ammon* being overthrown, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other enemy. And therefore these 40. years must either be supplied elsewhere, as in the time of *Sampson*, and afterward: or else they must be referred to the *Interregnum* between the death of *Habdon*, and the deliverance of *Israel* by *Sampson*, such as it was.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the War of Troy.

§. I.

Of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, *with a note touching the ancient Poets, how they have observed historical truth.*

THE War at *Troy*, with other stories hereupon depending (because the ruine of this City, by most *Chronologers* is found in the time of *Habdon* Judge of *Israel*, whom in the last place I have mentioned,) I rather choose here to treat of in one entire narration, beginning with the lineal descent of their Princes, than to break the story into peices by rehearsing a-part in divers years, the diversity of occurrents.

The History of the ancient Kings of *Troy* is uncertain, in regard both of their original, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Teucer* and *Dardanus* were the two Founders of that Kingdom. This is the opinion of *Virgil*: which if he (as *Reineccius* thinks) took from *Berosus*, it is the more probable: if *Annius* borrowed it of him, then it rests upon the authority of *Virgil*, who saith thus:

Creta Jovis *magni medio jacet insula Ponto:*
Mons Idæus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostræ.
Centum Urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna:
Maximus unde Pater (si ritè audita recordor)
Teucrus *Rhœteas primum est advectus ad oras:*
Optavitque locum regno. Nondum Ilium & arces.
Pergameæ stetерant: habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybaniaque æra,
Idæumque nemus.

Æneid. 3.

In the main Sea the Ile of *Creete* doth lie;
Where *Jove* was born, thence is our progeny.
There is a mount *Ida*: there in fruitful Land
An hundred great and goodly Cities stand.
Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)
Teucer the eldest of our grand-fires came
To the *Rhœtean* shores: and reigned there,
Ere yet fair *Ilion* was built, and ere
The Towers of *Troy*: their dwelling place they sought
In lowest Vales. Hence *Cybels* rites were brought:
Hence *Corybantian Cymbals* did remove;
And hence the name of our *Idæan* grove.

Thus it seemeth by *Virgil*, who followed surely good authority, that *Teucer* first gave name to that Countrey, wherein he reigned ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus*: of which *Dardanus* in the same book he speaks thus:

Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ,
Oenotrii coluere viri; nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ sedes: hinc Dardanus *ortus:*
Jasiusque Pater, genus à quo principe nostrum.

Hesperia the *Græcians* call the place:
An ancient fruitful Land, a warlike race,
Oenotrians

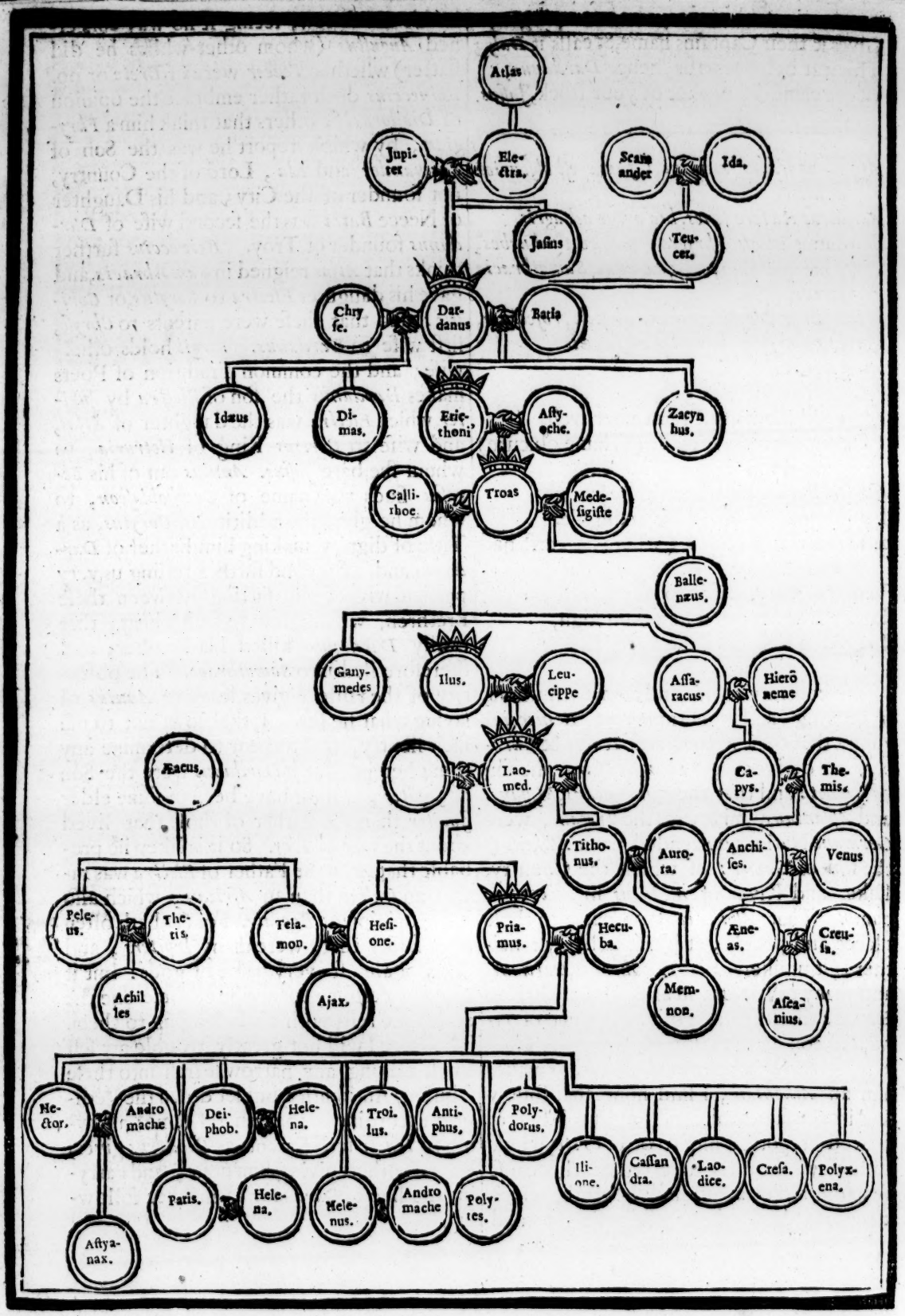
Oenotrians held it: now the later progeny
Gives it their Captains name, & calls it *Italy*;
This seat belongs to us; hence *Dardanus*,
Hence came the Author of your stock, *Jasius*.

Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis
Aruncos ita fere senes, hic ortus ad agris
Dardanus *Idæus Phrygiæ penetravit ad urbes,*
Threiciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhena ab sede profectum,
Aurea nunc solio stellantis regia cœli
Accipit, &c.

Some old *Aruncans*, I remember well,
(Though time have made the fame obscure) would tell
Of *Dardanus*, how born in *Italy*,
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flie.
And leaving *Tuscaine* (where he earst had place)
With *Corytus* did sail to *Samothrace*;
But now inthronized he sits on high,
In golden Palace of the starry Sky.

But contrary to this, and so many Authors, approving and confirming it, *Reineccius* thinks that these names, *Troes*, *Teucri*, & *Thraces*, are derived from *Tiras* or *Thiras* the son of *Japhet*: and that the *Dardanians*, *Mysians*, and *Ascanians*, mixt with the *Trojans*, were *Germane* Nations, descended from *Ashkenaz*, the son of *Gomer*: of whom the Country, Lake, and River of *Ascanius* in *Asia* took name. That *Ashkenaz* gave name to those places and people, it is not unlikely: neither is it unlikely, that the *Ascanii*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times pass into *Europe*: that the name of *Teucer* came of *Tyras*, the conjecture is somewhat hard. Concerning *Teucer*, whereas *Halicarnassæus* makes him an *Athenian*, I find none that follow him in the same opinion. *Virgil* (as is before shewed) reported him to be of *Crete*, whose authority is the more to be regarded, because he had good means to find the truth, which it is probable that he carefully sought, and in this did follow, seeing it no way concerned *Augustus* (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether *Teucer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineccius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus*, & others that think him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the Son of *Scamander* and *Ida*, Lord of the Country, not founder of the City; and his Daughter or Neece *Batia* was the second wife of *Dardanus* founder of Troy. *Reineccius* further thinks that *Atlas* reigned in *Samothracia*, and gave his daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Coritus*: and that these were parents to *Chryse*, first wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwise; and the common Tradition of Poets makes *Dardanus* the son of *Electra* by *Jupiter*, which *Electra* was the daughter of *Atlas*, and wife to *Coritus* King of *Hetruria*, to whom she bare *Jasius*. *Annius* out of his *Berosus* finds the name of *Camboblascon*, to whom he gives the addition of *Corytus*, as a Title of dignity, making him Father of *Dardanus* and *Jasius*; and further telling us very particularly of the faction between these Brethren, which grew to such a heat, that finally *Dardanus* killed his Brother, and therefore fled into *Somothrace*. The obscurity of the History gives leave to *Annius* of saying what he list. I, that love not to use such liberty, will forbear to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the Son of *Jupiter*, it must have been of some elder *Jupiter* than the Father of those, that lived about the war of *Troy*. So it is likewise probable that *Atlas* the Father of *Electra* was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which also is the opinion of *Boccace*. For (as hath often been said) there were many *Jupiters*, and many of almost every name of gods: but it was the custome to ascribe to some one the acts of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my self with making any narrow search into these fabulous Antiquities, but set down the Pedigree according to the general fame; allowing to *Teucer* such Parents as *Diodorus* gives, because others giving him none, and carrying the line of *Dardanus* in manner following.

Deor. l. 4. c. 3. Boccace de gen.



Concerning the beginning & continuance of the *Trojan* Kingdom, with the length of every Kings reign, I have chosen good Authors to be my guides, that in a History, whereon depends the most ancient computation of times among the Greeks, I might not follow incertainties, ill cohering with the consent of Writers, and general passage of things elsewhere done. And first for the destruction of *Troy*, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that City whilst it stood, it is reckoned by *Diodorus* to be 780. years more ancient then the beginning of the ninty fourth *Olympiad*. Whereas therefore

372.

372. did pass between the beginning of the *Olympiads*, and the first year of the 94. it is manifest that the remainder of 780. years, that is, 408. years vvent between the destruction of *Troy*, and the first institution of those games by *Iphitus*, if the authority of *Diodorus* be good proof, vvho elsewhere tels us, that the return of the *Heraclidæ*, vvhich vvas 80. years after the fall of *Troy*, vvas 328. years before the first *Olympiad*.

Diod. in præf.

Hereunto agrees the authority of *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, vvho placing the foundation of *Rome* in the first of the seventh *Olympiad*, that is, four and twenty years after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432. later then the fall of *Troy*. *Solinus* in expres words, makes the institution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*, vvhom he calleth *Iphiclus*, 480. years later than the destruction of *Troy*. The sum is easily collected by necessary inference out of divers other places in the same book. Hereunto doth *Eusebius*, reckoning exclusively agree: and *Eratosthenes* (as is cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes up out of many particulars, the same total sum, vvanting, but one year, as reckoning likewise exclusively.

Dionys. Halic. Antiq. 2.

Solin. Polyhist. c. 2.

Euseb. de præ Evang. l. 10. c. 3.

Cle. Alex. Strom. lib. 1.

The other collections of divers Writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the same place, do neither cohere any vvay, nor depend upon any collateral History, by vvhich they may be verified.

The destruction of *Troy* being in the year before the *Olympiads* four hundred & eight: vve must seek the continuance of that from the beginning to the end, out of *Eusebius*, who leads us from *Dardanus* on-wards, through the reigns of four Kings, by the space of two hundred and five and twenty years, and after of *Priamus*, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which passed under *Laomedon*, we are fain to do as others have done before us, and take it upon trust from *Annius* his Authors; believing *Manetho* so much the rather, for that in his account of the former Kings reigns, and of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Eusebius*, which may give us leave to think that *Annius* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we need not to be very scrupulous: for seeing that no History or account of time depends upon the reign of the former Kings, but only upon the ruins of the City under *Priamus*, it may suffice that we are careful to place that memorable accident in the due year.

True it is, that some objections appearing weighty, may be alledged in maintenance of different computations, which with the answers I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those years, wherein the *Greeks* knew no good form of a year; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all Writers, whereof this destruction of *Troy* was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprise that was undertaken by general consent of all *Greece*, was the last war of *Troy*, which hath been famous even to this day, for the numbers of Princes and valiant Commanders there assembled, the great battails fought with variable success; the long endurance of the siege; the destruction of that great City; and the may *Colonies* planted in sundry countries, as well by the remainder of the *Trojans*, as by the victorious *Greeks* after their unfortunate return. All which things, with enumerable circumstances of especial note, have been delivered unto posterity; by the excellent wits of many Writers, especially by the *Poems* of that great *Homer*, whose Verses have given immortality to the action, which might else perhaps have been buried in oblivion; among other worthy deeds, done both before and since that time. For it is true which *Horace* saith:

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotiq; longa
Nocte: carent quia vate sacro.

Many by valour have deserv'd renown
Ere *Agamemnon*; yet lie all oppresst
Under long night, unwept for, and unknown:
For with no sacred Poet were they blest.

Yet so it is, that whilst these Writers have with strange fables, or (to speak the best of them) with Allegories far strained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of those noble undertakers: they have both drawn into suspition that great vertue which they sought to adorn, and filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the History, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that we seek for the knowledge of such actions, in Histories; learning their qualities who did manage them, of Poets, in whose works are both profit and delight; yet small profit to those which are delighted otherwise: but such as can interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked truth, shall finde matter in Poems, not unworthy to be regarded of Historians. For those things excepted which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of Authors, written of this great war. All Writers consent with *Homer*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the son of *Priamus*, was the cause of taking Arms: but how he was hereunto emboldened, it is doubtful.

§. II.

Of the rape of Helen : *and strength of both sides for the War.*

HErodotus fetcheth the cause of this rape from very far; saying, That whereas the *Phœnecians* had ravished *Iö*, and carried her into *Egypt*, the *Greeks*, to be revenged on the *Barbarians*, did first ravish *Europa*, whom they brought out of *Phœnicia* into *Creta*, and afterward *Medæa*, whom they fetcht from *Colchos*, denying to restore her to her father, till such time as they might be satisfied for the rape of *Io*. By these deeds of the *Greeks*, *Paris* (as the same *Herodotus* affirms) was emboldened to do the like; not fearing such revenge as ensued. But all this narration seems frivolous. For what had the King of *Colchos* to do with the injury of the *Phœnicians*? Or how could the *Greeks*, as in revenge of *Io*, plead any quarrel against him, that never had heard the name of *Phœnicians*? *Thucydides*, a writer of unquestionable sincerity, maketh it plain, that the name of *Barbarians* was not used at all in *Homers* time, which was long after the War of *Troy*: and that the *Greeks* themselves were not then called all by one name, *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were unreasonable to think, that they should have sought revenge upon all Nations, as barbarous, for the injury received by one: or that all people else should have esteemed of the *Greeks*, as of a people opposed to all the World; and that even then when as the *Greeks* had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probability say, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redelivery of *Hesione*, King *Priamus* his sister, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and given to *Telamon*. This may have been true: for *Telamon* (as it seems) was a cruel man, seeing his own son *Teucer* durst not come in his sight, after the war of *Troy*, but fled into *Cyprus*, onely because his brother *Ajax* (which *Teucer* could not remedy) had slain himself. Yet, were it so, that *Hesione* was ill entreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely that *Priamus* her brother would seek to take her from her husband, with whom she had lived about thirty years, and to whom she had born children which were to succeed in his Dominion. Whereupon I think that *Paris* had no regard either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medæa*, or *Hesione*, but was meerly incited by *Venus*, that is, by his lust, to do that which in those daies was very common. For not only *Greeks* from *Barbarians*, and *Barbarians* from *Greeks*, as *Herodotus* discourseth; but all people were accustomed to steal Women and Cattel, if they could by strong hand or power get them: and having stoln them, either to sell them away in some far Country, or keep them to their own use. So did *Theseus* and *Pirythons* attempt *Proserpina*; and so did *Theseus* (long before *Paris*) ravish *Helen*. And these practices, as it appears in *Thucydides*, were so common, that none durst inhabite neer unto the Sea, for fear of pyracy, which was accounted a trade of life no less lawful than merchandise: wherefore *Tyndareus*, the father of *Helen*, considering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape which *Theseus* had made, caused all her Wooers, who were most of the principal men in *Greece*, to bind themselves by solemn oath, that if she were taken from her husband, they should with all their might help to recover her. This done, he gave free choice of a husband to his daughter, who chose *Menelaus* brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cause which drew the *Greeks* unto *Troy* in revenge of *Helens* rape, was partly the oath which so many Princes had made unto her Father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping: for *Agamemnon*, besides his great Dominions in *Peloponnesus*; was Lord of many Islands: he was also rich in money, and therefore the *Arcadians* were well contented to follow his pay, whom he embarked for *Troy* in his own ships, which were more than any other of the *Greek* Princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all *Greece*, either as bound by oath, or led by reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon*, and *Menelaus*; or desirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterprise; take Arms against the *Trojans*. The *Greeks* Fleet was (by *Homers* account) 1200. sayl, or thereabouts: but the vessels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build ships with decks; only they used (as *Thucydides* saith) small ships, meet for robbing on the Sea; the least of which carried fifty men, the greatest 120. every man (except Captains) being both a Mariner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appears that the *Grecian* Army consisted of 100000. men or thereabout. This was the greatest Army that ever was raised out of *Greece*: and the greatness of this Army doth well declare the strength and power of *Troy*, which ten whole years did stand out against such forces: yet were the *Trojans* which inhabited the City, not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* said in the second of *Homers Iliads*;

but

but their followers and aids were very many and strong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Missia*, and the greatest part of *Asia* the less, took part with the *Trojans*. The *Amazons* also brought them succour. And *Rhesus* out of *Thrace*, and *Memnon* out of *Assyria* (though some think out of *Æthiopia*) came to their defence.

§. III.

Of the Grecians *journey, and Embassage to* Troy, *and of* Helena's *being detained in* Egypt, *and of the sacrificing of* Iphigenia.

WHerefore the *Greeks*, unwilling to come to tryal of arms, if things might be compounded by treaty, sent *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* Embassadours to *Troy*: who demanded *Helen*, and the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his house. What answer the *Trojans* made hereunto it is uncertain, *Herodotus* from the report of the *Egyptian* Priests, makes it very probable, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his return to *Troy*. The sum of his discourse is this.

Paris in his return with *Helena*, being driven by foul weather unto the coast of *Egypt*, was accused for the rape of *Helen* by some bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. *Proteus* then King of *Egypt*, finding the accusation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her husband should require them: dismissing *Paris* without further punishment, because he was a stranger. When therefore the *Greeks* demanding *Helen*, had answer, that she was in *Egypt*, they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the war, which ended with the ruine of *Troy*. But when after the City taken, they perceived indeed she had not been there, they returned home, sending *Menelaus* to ask his wife of *Proteus*. *Homer*, and the whole Nation of *Poets* (except *Euripides*) vary from this History, thinking it a matter more magnificent, and more graceful to their Poems, for the retaining of a fair Lady, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to deliver her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odysses*, *Homer* speaks of *Menelaus* his being in *Egypt*, before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not easily believed that he made for pleasure, and if he were driven thither by contrary Winds, much more may we think that *Paris* was likely to have been driven thither by foul Weather. For *Paris* immediately upon the rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking such Winds as he could get, and rather enduring any storm, than to commit himself to any Haven in the *Greek* Seas: whereas *Menelaus* might have put into any port in *Greece*, and there have remained with good entertainment, until such time as the Wind had come about, and served for his Navigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirm the saying of the *Egyptian* Priests; which is, that if *Helen* had been at *Troy*, it had been utter madness for *Priamus* to see so many miseries befall him, during the war, and so many of his sons slain for the pleasure of one, who neither was heir to the Kingdom (for *Hector* was elder) nor equal in vertue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seem that *Lucian* spake not more pleasantly then truly, when he said that *Helen*, at the war of *Troy*, was almost as old as Queen *Hecuba*, considering that she had been ravished by *Theseus* the companion of *Hercules*, who took *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and considering further, that she was sister to *Castor* and *Pollux* (she and *Pollux* being said by some to have been twins) who sailed with the *Argonauts*, having *Telamon* the father of *Ajax* in their company, before the time that *Hesione* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Ajax*, that was a principal commander in the *Trojan* war. But whether it were so that the *Trojans* could not, or would not restore *Helen*, so it was that the Embassadours returned ill contented, and not very well entreated, for there wanted not some that advised to have them slain. The *Greeks* hereupon incensed, made all haste towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whom some say to have been a Runagate *Trojan*, though no such thing be found in *Homer*) filled the Captains, and all the Hoast with many troublesome answers and divinations. For he would have *Agamemnons* daughter sacrificed to appease *Diana*, whose anger, he said, withstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were sacrifized, or whether (as some write) the *goddess* was contented with a Hind, it is not needful here to be disputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the Devil, which waits for all opportunities, is never more importunate, then where mens ignorance is most. *Calchas* also told the *Greeks*, that the taking of *Troy* was impossible, till some fatall impediments were removed: and that till ten years were past, the Town should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding, the *Greeks* proceeded in their enterprise, under the command of *Agamemnon*; who was accompanied with his Brother *Menelaus*; *Achilles* the most valiant of all the *Greeks*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phœnix*, *Ajax* and *Teucer*, the sons of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Meriones*; *Nestor* and his sons *Antilochus* and *Thrasymides*; *Ulysses*, *Mnestheus* the son of

Petreus, Captain of the *Athenians*; *Diomedes* the ſon of *Tydeus*, a man of ſingular courage; the wiſe and learned *Palamedes*, *Aſcalaphus*, and *Jalmenus*, the ſons of *Mars*, who had ſailed with the *Argonauts*; *Philoctetes* alſo the ſon of *Pæan*, who had the arrows of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* ſaid, that the City could not be taken, *Ajax* the ſon of *Oileus*, *Peneleus*, *Theas*, *Eumelus*, *Tyſandrus*, *Euripilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepolemus* the ſon of *Hercules*; *Podalyrius*, and *Machon*, the ſons of *Æſculapius*; *Epeus*, who is ſaid to have made the wooden Horſe, by which the town was taken; and *Proteſilaus*, who firſt leapt on ſhore, neglecting the *Oracle* that threatned death to him that landed firſt.

§. IV.

Of the Acts of the Græcians *at the ſiege.*

THeſe, and many other of leſs note, arriving at *Troy*, found ſuch ſharp entertainment, as might eaſily perſwade them to think that the war would be more than one years work. For in the firſt encounter, they loſt *Proteſilaus*, whom *Hector* ſlew, and many others, without any great harm done to the *Trojans*: ſave only that by their numbers of men, they wan ground enough to incamp themſelves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principal impediment which the *Greeks* found, was want of victuals, which grew upon them by reaſon of their multitude, and the ſmalneſs of their veſſels, wherein they could not carry neceſſaries for ſuch an Army. Hereupon they were compelled to ſend ſome part of their men, to labour the ground in *Cherroneſs*: others to rob upon the Sea for the relief of the Camp. Thus was the war protracted nine whole years, and either nothing done, or if any skirmiſhes were, yet could the town receive little loſs by them, having equal numbers to maintain the field againſt ſuch *Greeks* as continued the ſiege, and a more ſafe retrait if the enemy got the better.

Wherefore *Ovid* ſaith, That from the firſt year, till the tenth, there was no fighting at all, and *Heraclide* commends as very credible, the report of *Herodicus*, that the *Greeks* did not lye before *Troy* the firſt nine years: but onely did bear up and down the Seas, exerciſing their men, and inriching themſelves, and ſo by waſting the enemies country did block up the Town, unto which they returned not, untill the fatall time drew near when it ſhould be ſubverted.

This is confirmed by the enquiry which *Priamus* made, when the *Greek* Princes came into the field, the tenth year, for he knew none of them; and therefore ſitting upon an high tower (as *Homer* tels) he learned their names of *Helen*: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have been ſuppoſed that he ſhould be ignorant of them, if they had ſhewed themſelves before the town ſo many years together. *Hom. Iliad. 3.*

Between theſe relations of *Thucidides* and *Herodicus*, the difference is not much, the one ſaying, that a few of the *Greeks* remained in the Camp before *Troy*, whileſt the reſt made purveyance by land and by ſea: the others that the whole army did ſpend the time in waſting the Sea-coaſts. Neither do the Poets greatly diſagree from theſe authors: for they make report of many towns and Ilands waſted, and the people carried into Captivity; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the army could not well, nor would have ſpared, if any ſervice of importance had been to be performed before the City. Howſoever it was, this is agreed by general conſent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Camp, and a great peſtilence aroſe among the *Greeks*: which *Homer* ſaith, that *Apollo* ſent in revenge of his Prieſts daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refuſed to let go, for any ranſome: but *Heraclides* interpreting the place, ſaith, that by *Apollo* was meant the Sun, who raiſed peſtilent Fogs, by which the army was infected, being lodged in a mooriſh piece of ground. And it might well be that the camp was over-peſtered with thoſe, who had been abroad, and now were lodged all cloſe together: having alſo grounded their ſhips within the fortifications.

About the ſame time aroſe much contention between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the booty, whereof *Agamemnon*, as General, having firſt choſen for his part a captive woman, and *Achilles* in the ſecond place choſen for himſelf another, then *Ajax*, *Ulyſſes*, and ſo the reſt of the chief Captains in order: when the South-ſayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnons* woman ſhould be reſtored to her father *Apollo*'s Prieſt, that ſo the peſtilence might ceaſe, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage, and ſay, that he alone would not loſe his part of the ſpoile, but would either take that which had been given to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Ajax*, or to *Ulyſſes*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was fain to ſuffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by ſtrong hand, nor to revenge her loſſe otherwiſe than by refuſing to fight, or to ſend forth his Captains. But the *Greeks*, encouraged

encouraged by their Captains, presented themselves before the City without him and his Troops.

The *Trojans* were now relieved with great succours, all the neighbour Countries having sent them aid: partly drawn to that War by their Commanders who assisted *Priamus* for money, wherewith he abounded when the War began (as appears by his words in *Homer*,) or for love of himself and his sons, or hope of marriage with some of his many and fair Daughters; partly also (as we may well gheese) incited by the wrongs received of the *Greeks* when they wasted the Countries adjoyning unto *Troy*. So that when *Hector* issued out of the Town, he was little inferiour to his enemies in numbers of men, or quality of their Leaders. The principal Captains in the *Trojan* Army, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, and the other sons of *Priamus*: *Æneas*, *Antenor*, and his sons, *Polydamas*, *Sarpedon*, *Glaucus*, *Asius*, and the sons of *Panthus*, besides *Rhesus*, who was slain the first night of his arrival; *Memnon*, Queen *Penthesilea*, and others who came towards the end of the War. Between these and the *Greeks* were many battels fought: the greatest of which were, that at the tomb of King *Ilus* upon the Plain: and another at the very trenches of the Camp, wherein *Hector* brake through the fortifications of the *Greeks*, and began to fire their ships; at which time *Ajax*, the son of *Telamon*, with his brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the only men of note that remaining unwounded, made head against *Hector*, when the state of the *Greeks* was almost desperate.

Another battel (for so Antiquity cals it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who having obtained leave, drew forth *Achilles* Troops, relieving the weary *Greeks* with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomædes*, *Ulysses*, and the rest of the Princes though sore wounded, yet were driven to put on armour, and with help of *Patroclus*, repelled the *Trojans* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was lost, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought back into the Camp: the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torn from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of those Wars, having slain a man, to strip him, and hale away his body, not restoring it without ransome, if he were one of marke. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, slightly armed, and commonly followed the success of their Captains; who rode not upon horses, but in Chariots, drawn by two or three horses, which were guided by some trusty followers of theirs, which drave up and down the field, as they were directed by the Captains, who by the swiftness of their horses, presenting themselves where need required, threw first their Javelins, and then alighting, fought on foot, with swords and battle-axes, retiring into the ranks of footmen, or else returning to their Chariots when they found cause, and so began again with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were lost or broken. Their arms defensive were helmets, breast-plates, boots of brass, or other mettal, and shields commonly of leather plated over. The offensive were swords and battel-axes at hand; and stones, arrows or darts when they fought at any distance. The use of their Chariots (besides the swiftness) was to keep them from weariness, whereto the leaders were much subject, because of their armour, which the strongest and stoutest ware heaviest, also that from them they might throw their Javelins downwards, with the more violence. Of which Weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driven to return to their tents for a new one when the old was gone. Likewise of armours they had little change or none; every man (speaking of the chief) carried his own compleat, of which if any piece were lost or broken, he was driven to repair it with the like, if he had any fitting, taken from some Captain whom he had slain, and stripped; or else to borrow of them that had by such means gotten some to spare. Whereas therefore *Achilles* had lost his armour which *Hector* (as is said before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was fain to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof he became very desirous, that he might revenge the death of *Patroclus* his dear friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himself unto *Achilles*, not only restoring his concubine *Briseis*, but giving him very great gifts, and excusing former matters as well as he might. In the next battel *Achilles* did so behave himself, that he did not only put the *Trojans* to the worst, but also slew the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may herein be believed) he chased three times about the Wals of *Troy*. But great question may be made of *Homer*'s truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would stay alone without the City (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the *Trojans* were fled into it: nor that he could leap over the Rivers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as he must have done in that flight: nor that the *Trojans*, perceiving *Hector* in such an extremity, would have for-

born

born to open ſome of their gates and let him in. But this is reported only to grace *Achilles*, who having (by what means ſoever) ſlain the noble *Hector*, did not only carry away his dead body, as the cuſtome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thruſting leathern thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragging him ſhamefully about the field, ſelling the dead body to his father *Priamus* for a very great ranſome. But his cruelty and covetouſneſs were not long unrevenged; for he was ſhortly after ſlain with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* ſayes in the *Scæan* Gate; or as others, in the Temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to have married *Polyxena* the daughter of *Priamus*, with vvhom he vvas too far in love, having ſlain ſo many of her brethren; and his body was ranſomed (as *Lycophron* ſaith) at the ſelfſame rate that *Hectors* was by him ſold for. Not long after this, *Penthesilea* Queen of the *Amazons* arrived at *Troy*, who after ſome proof given of her Valour, was ſlain by *Pyrrhus* the ſon of *Achilles*.

§. V.

Of the taking of Troy, *the wooden Horſe, the Book of* Dares *and* Dyctis, *the Colonies of the reliques of* Troy.

FInally, after the death of many Worthy Perſons on each ſide, the City was taken by night, as all Writers agree: but whether by the Treaſon of *Æneas* and *Antenor*; or by a wooden Horſe, as the Poets, and common Fame (which followed the Poets) have delivered, it is uncertain. Some write that upon one of the gates of *Troy*, called *Scæa*, was the Image of a Horſe, and that the *Greeks* entring by that gate, gave occaſion to the report, that the City was taken by an artificial Horſe. It may well be that with ſome wooden Engine, which they called a Horſe, they either did batter the Wals as the *Romans* in after-times uſed to do with the Ram: or ſcaled the Wals upon the ſudden, and ſo took the City. As for the hiding of men in the hollow body of a wooden Horſe, it had been a deſperate adventure, and ſerving to no purpoſe. For either the *Trojans* might have perceived the deceit, and ſlain all thoſe Princes of *Greece*, that were incloſed in it (which alſo by ſuch as maintain this report they are ſaid to have thought upon:) or they might have left it a few dayes without the City (for it was unlikely, that they ſhould the very firſt day both conclude upon the bringing it into the Town, and break down their Wals upon the ſudden to do it:) by which means they who were ſhut into it, muſt have periſhed for hunger, if they had not by iſſuing forth unſeaſonably diſcovered the invention. Whereas further it is ſaid, that this Horſe was ſo high and great, that it could not be brought into the Town through any of the gates, and that therefore the *Trojans* were fain to pull down a part of their Wall to make way for it, through which breach the *Greeks* did afterwards enter; it is hereby manifeſt, that the incloſing of ſo many principal men was altogether needleſs, conſidering that without their help there was way ſufficient for the Army; ſo that the ſurpriſing of any gate by them was now to no purpoſe.

John Baptiſta Gramay in his Hiſtory of *Aſia*, diſcourſing of this War, ſaith that the *Greeks* did both batter the Wals with a Wooden Engine, and were alſo let into the City by *Antenor*, at the *Scæan* gate: the Townſmen ſleeping and drinking without fear or care, becauſe the fleet of the *Grecians* had hoiſted ſail, and was gone the day before to the Ile of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the *Trojans* into ſecurity. That the City was betrayed, the Books of *Dares* and *Dyctis* muſt prove, which whether we now have the ſame that were by them written, it may be ſuſpected; for ſurely they who have made mention of theſe Writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, have followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictory in moſt points to theſe two Authors, without once taking notice of the oppoſition, which they having ſerved in that War made againſt the common report, had it not been that either thoſe books were even in thoſe times thought frivolous, or elſe contained no ſuch repugnancy to the other Authors as now is found in them.

Alſo concerning the number of men ſlain in this War, which *Dares* and *Dyctis* ſay to have been above 600000. on the *Trojan* ſide, and more then 800000. of the *Greeks*, it is a report meerly fabulous; for as much as the whole Fleet of the *Greeks* was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their Army and deeds as much as he could, to be ſomewhat leſs than 1200. ſail, and the Army therein tranſported over the *Greek* ſeas, not much above 100000. men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common faſhion of men to extol the deeds of their Ancients: for which cauſe both *Homer* magnified the Captains of the *Greeks* that ſerved in the War, and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the *Trojans* and their City, from which the *Romans* deſcended. Yea the *Athenians* long after

after in the War which *Xerxes* the *Persian* King made against all *Greece*, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Menesteus* the son of *Peteus* had shewed in marshalling the *Grecian* Army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had been a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yeeld unto *Gelon* King of almost all *Sicily*, the Admiralty of their Seas, notwithstanding that he promised to bring 200. good fighting ships, and 30000. men for their defence.

The like vanity possessed many other Cities of *Greece*, and many Nations in these parts of the World, which have striven to bring their descent from some of the Princes that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or unlikelihoods in such their Pedegree notwithstanding. But those Nations which indeed, or in most probability, came of the *Trojans*, were the *Albanes* in *Italy*; and from them the *Romans*, brought into that Country by *Æneas*: the *Venetians* first seated in *Padua*, and the Country adjoyning, by *Antenor*: the *Chaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the son of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellanicus* addeth, that the Posterity of *Hector* did assemble such of the *Trojans* as were left, and reigned over them about *Troy*.

§. VI.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greeks *returning from* Troy.

CONcerning the *Greeks*, they tasted as much misery as they had brought upon the *Trojans*. For *Thucydides* notes, that by reason of their long abode at the siege, they found many alterations when they returned: so that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient seats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: some were slain anon after their arrival: others were debarred from the Soveraignty among the people, by such as had stayed at home. The cause of all which may seem to have been the dispersion of the Army, which, weakned much by the calamities of that long War, was of little force to repel injuries, being divided into so many pieces under several Commanders, not very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising upon the division of the booty, and the like occasions) at the time when they should have set sail, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediatly, the other to stay and perform some sacrifices to *Minerva*. Hereupon they fell to hot words, half the Fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the rest of them sailed to the Isle of *Tenedos*; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned back to *Agamemnon*; others were dispersed, each holding his own course. But the whole Fleet was sore vexed with tempests: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* saith) would not be perswaded in haste.

They who returned safe were *Nestor*, and *Pyrrhus*, whom *Orestes* afterwards slew: also *Idomeneus* and *Philoctetes*, who nevertheless, as *Virgil* tels, were driven soon after to seek new seats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italy*. *Agamemnon* likewise returned home, but was forthwith slain by his Wife, and by the Adulterer *Ægystus*, who for a while after usurped his Kingdome. *Menelaus* wandring long upon the Seas, came into *Ægypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather seem) to fetch her. *Ulysses*, after ten years, having lost all his company, got home in poor estate, with much ado recovering the mastership of his own house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driven into exile, and fain to seek out new habitations.

Ajax the son of *Oileus* was drowned; *Teucer* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to King *Daunus*, who was Lord of the *Japiges* in *Apulia*; some of the *Locrians* were driven into *Africk*, others into *Italy*, all the East part whereof was called *Magna Græcia*, by reason of so many Towns which the *Greeks* were driven to erect upon that Coast. Finally, it appears in *Homer*, that the *Græcian* Ladies, whose Husbands had been at the War of *Troy*, were wont to call it, The place where the *Greeks* suffered misery, and the unlucky City not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy*, and those that warred there: the overthrow of which City, as hath been said, happened in the time of *Habdon* Judge of *Israel*, whom *Sampson*, after a vacancy or *Inter-regnum* for certain years, succeeded.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Of Sampſon, Ely, *and* Samuel.

§. I.

Of Sampſon.

2970. THE birth and acts of *Sampſon* are written at large in the 13. 14. 15. and 16. of *Judges*; and therefore I ſhall not need to make a repetition thereof. But theſe things I gather out of that Story. Firſt, that the *Angel of God* forbad the Wife of *Monoah* the Mother of *Sampſon*, to drink Wine or ſtrong drink, or to eat any unclean meat after ſhe was conceived with child; becauſe thoſe ſtrong liquors hindered the ſtrength, and as it were wither and ſhrink the child in the mothers womb. Though this were even the counſel of God himſelf, and delivered by his Angel, yet it ſeemeth that many Women of this age have not read, or at leaſt will not believe this precept: the moſt part forbearing nor drinks, nor meats, how ſtrong or unclean ſoever, filling themſelves with all ſorts of Wines, and with artificial drinks far more forcible: by reaſon whereof ſo many wretched feeble bodies are born into the World, and the races of the able and ſtrong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the *Angel of God* refuſed the ſacrifice which *Manoah* would have offered him, commanding him to preſent it unto the Lord: and therefore thoſe that profeſſe divination by the help of Angels, to whom alſo they ſacrifice, may aſſuredly know that they are devils who accept thereof, and not good Angels, who receive no worſhip that is proper to God.

Thirdly, this *Sampſon* was twice betrayed by his Wives, to wit, by their importunity and deceitful tears: by the firſt he loſt but a part of his goods; by the ſecond his life. *Quem nulla vis ſuperare potuit, voluptas evertit: Whom no force could over-maſter, Voluptuouſneſs overturned.*

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliver *Iſrael* from the oppreſſion of the *Philiſtims*; though in ſome ſort he revenged, and defended them: for notwithſtanding that he had ſlain 30. of them in his firſt attempt, burnt their Corn in harveſt time, and given them a great overthrow inſtantly upon it: yet ſo much did *Iſrael* fear the *Philiſtims*, as they aſſembled 3000. men out of *Juda*, to beſiege *Sampſon*, in the rock or mountain of *Etam*, uſing theſe Words: *Knoweſt not thou that the Philiſtims are Rulers over us? &c.* After which they bound him, and delivered him unto the *Philiſtims*, for fear of their revenge; though he was no ſooner looſened, but he gave them another overthrow, and ſlew 1000. with the jaw-bone of an Aſſe.

Laſtly, being made blind, and a priſoner by the treaſon of his Wife, he was content to end his own life, to be avenged of his enemies, when he pulled down the pillars of the houſe at the Feaſt whereto they ſent for *Sampſon*, to deride him; till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truly ſaid of *Seneca*; *Patientia ſæpe læſa vertitur in furorem; Patience often wounded is converted into fury:* neither is it at any time ſo much wounded by pain and loſs, as by deriſion and contumely.

§. II.

Of Eli, *and of the Ark taken; and of* Dagons *fall, and the ſending back of the Ark.*

THE Story of *Eli* the Prieſt, who ſucceeded *Sampſon*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the deſtruction of his houſe, for the wickedneſs of his ſons, which he ſuppreſſed not, neither did he puniſh them according to their deſerts: whoſe ſins were horrible, both in abuſing the Sacrifice, and prophaning and polluting the holy places: though *Levi Ben Gerſon*, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the woman by the ſons of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleaſed God to caſt the *Iſraelites* under the ſwords of the *Philiſtims*; of whom there periſhed in the firſt encounter 4000. and in the ſecond battel 30000. footmen; among whom the ſons of *Eli* being ſlain, their father (hearing the lamentable ſucceſs) by falling from his chair, brake his neck. He was the firſt that obtained the High-Prieſthood of the ſtock of *Ithamar* the ſon of *Aaron*, before whoſe time it continued ſucceſſively in the 1 *Sam.* 2. 22.

the race of *Eleazar* the eldeſt brother of *Ithamar*: for *Aaron* was the firſt, *Eleazar* the ſecond, *Phinees* the ſon of *Eleazar* the third, *Abiſue* the ſon of *Phinees* the fourth, his ſon *Bocci* the fift, *Ozi* the ſon of *Bocci* the ſixt, and then *Eli*, as *Joſephus* and *Lyranus* out of divers Hebrew Authors have conceived. In the race of *Ithamar* the Prieſthood continued after *Eli*, to the time of *Salomon*, who caſt out *Abiathar*, and eſtabliſhed *Sadock* and *Achimaas* and their ſucceſſors. The *Ark of God* which *Iſrael* brought into the field, was in this battel taken by the *Philiſtims*. For as *David* witneſſeth, *God greatly abhorred Iſrael, ſo that he forſook the habitation of Shilo: even the Tabernacle where he dwelt among men, and delivered his power into captivity, &c.*

1 King. 2. 27. and 1 Chron. 6.

Pſal. 78.

Now as it pleaſed God at this time, that the Ark whereby himſelf was repreſented ſhould fall in the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Prieſts and people: ſo did he permit the *Chaldæans* to deſtroy the Temple built by *Salomon*; the *Romans* to overthrow the ſecond Temple; and the *Turks* to overthrow the Chriſtian Churches in *Aſia* and *Europe*. And had not the *Iſraelites* put more confidence in the ſacrament, or repreſentation, which was the Ark, than in God himſelf, they would have obſerved his Laws, and ſerved him onely: which whenſoever they did, they were then victorious. For after the captivity they had no Ark at all, nor in the times of the *Macchabees*: and yet for their piety it pleaſed God to make that Family as victorious as any that guarded themſelves by the ſign in ſtead of the ſubſtance. And that the Ark was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an enſign, *David* witneſſed when he fled from *Abſalon*. For when the Prieſts would have carried the Ark with him; he forbad it, and cauſed it to be turned into the City, uſing theſe words: *If I ſhall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again: if not, let him do to me as ſeemeth good in his eyes.*

1 Sam. 5. 6.

2 Sam. 15

The *Trojans* believed that while their *Palladium* or the image of *Minerva* was kept in *Troy*, the City ſhould never be overturned: ſo did the Chriſtians in the laſt fatal battel againſt *Saladine* carry into the field, as they were made believe, the very Croſs whereon Chriſt died; and yet they loſt the battel, their bodies, and the wood. But *Chryſoſtome* upon Saint *Matthew* (if that be his work) giveth a good judgment, ſpeaking of thoſe that wore a part of Saint *John*'s Goſpel about their necks, for an annulet or preſervative: *Si tibi ea non proſunt in auribus, quomodo proderunt in collo? If thoſe words do not profit men in their ears* (to wit, the hearing of the Goſpel preached) *how ſhould it profit them by hanging it about their necks?* For it was neither the wood of the Ark, nor the wood of the Croſs, but the reverence of the Father, that gave the one for a memory of his Covenant; and the Faith in his Son, which ſhed his blood on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and us, either in this life or after it.

The *Philiſtims* returning with the greateſt victory and glory which ever they obtained, carried the *Ark of God* with them to *Azotus*, and ſet it up in the houſe of *Dagon* their Idol: but that night the Idol fell out of his place, from above to the ground, and lay under the Ark. The morning following they took it up, and ſet it again in his place. And it fell the ſecond time, and the head brake from the body, and the hands from the arms, ſhewing that it had nor power nor underſtanding in the preſence of God; for the head fell off, which is the ſeat of reaſon and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute ſtrength) were ſundred from the arms. For God and the devil inhabit not in one houſe, nor in one heart. And if this Idol could not endure the repreſentation of the true God, it is not to be marvelled, that at ſuch time as it pleaſed him to cover his onely begotten with fleſh, and ſent him into the world, that all the Oracles, wherein the Devil derided and betrayed mortal men, loſt power, ſpeech and operation at the inſtant. For when that true light which never had beginning of brightneſs, brake through the clouds of a Virgins body, ſhining upon the earth which had been long obſcured by Idolatry, all thoſe foul and ſtinking vapours vaniſhed. *Plutarch* rehearſeth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god *Pan*, as he ſtileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cauſe) he ſearcheth his brains for many reaſons of ſo great an alteration: yet finds he none out but frivolous. For not only this old Devil did then die as he ſuppoſed, but all the reſt, as *Apollo*, *Jupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole rabble became ſpeechleſs.

Now while the *Philiſtims* triumphed after this victory, God ſtrook them with the grievous diſeaſe of the *Hæmorrhoides*, of which they periſhed in great numbers. For it is written, that *the Lord deſtroyed them*. It was therefore by general conſent ordered, that the Ark ſhould be removed from *Azotus* to *Gath* or *Geth*, another of the five great Cities of the *Philiſtims*; to prove, as it ſeemeth, whether this diſeaſe were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediatly:

1 Sam. 5. 9. but when it was brought to *Gath* and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortal. *For the hand of the Lord was against this City with a very great destruction, and he smote the men of the City both small and great, &c.* And being not yet satisfied, they of *Gath* sent the Ark to *Ekron* or *Accaron*, a third City of the *Philistims*: but they also felt the same smart, and cryed out, that themselves and their people should be slain thereby; *For there was a destruction and death throughout all the City.* In the end, by the advice of their Priests, the Princes of the *Philistims* did not onely resolve to return the Ark, but to offer gifts unto the *God of Israel*, remembring the plague which had fallen on the *Egyptians*, when their hearts were hardned to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his service by strong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the *God of Israel* to be almighty, and that their own Idols were subject thereunto, they agreed to offer a sin-offering, using these words; *So ye shall give glory to the God of Israel, that he may take his hand from you, and from your gods, and from your land.* And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemy doth approve our cause? according to *Aristotle*; *Pulchrum est testimonium, quo nostra probantur ab hostibus.* So did *Pharao* confess the living God, when he was plagued in *Egypt*: and *Nabuchadonosor* and *Darius*, when they had seen his miracles by *Daniel*.

This counsel therefore of the Priests being imbraced, and the golden *Hæmorrhoides*, and the golden *Mice* prepared, they caused two milch Kine to be chosen, such as had not been yoaked, and a new Cart or Carriage to be framed: but they durst not drive or direct it to any place certain, thereby to make tryal whether it were indeed the hand of God that had strucken them. For if the Ark of God were carried towards *Bethshemesh*, and into the territory of *Israel*, then they should resolve that from God onely came their late destruction. For the *Philistims* knew that the milch Kine which drew the Ark, could not be forced from their Calves, but that they would have followed them whersoever; much less when they were left to themselves, would they travel a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world, if calves be removed from their dams, the kine will follow them through woods and desars by the foot, till they find them. But the kine travelled directly towards *Bethshemesh*: and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Josua* of the same City, they stood still there; which when the Princes of the *Philistims* perceived, they returned to *Ekron*. After which, God spared not his own people the *Bethshemites*, in that they presumed to look in the Ark. And because they knew God and his commandements, and had been taught accordingly; he strook them more grievously than he did the heathen: for there perished of them fifty thousand and seventy. From hence the Ark was carried to *Kiriath-jearim*, and placed in the house of *Abinadab*; where it is written that it remained twenty years in the charge of *Eleazar* his son, until *David* brought it to *Hierusalem*.

Now whereas it is said, that in the mean while the Ark was in *Nob*, *Mispa*, and *Galgala*, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time severed from the Ark, or at least, it was for the (*a*) present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to *Kiriath-jearim*. 2 Sam 6. & 1 Chron. 12.

(*a*) See in this book, c. 12. sect. 1. in the margent.

§. III.

Of Samuel, *and of his Government.*

THese Tragedies overpast and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while he was yet a child, became now Judge and Governour of *Israel*. He was descended of the family of (*b*) *Chore* or *Korach*. For *Levi* had three sons; *Gerson*, *Cheath*, and *Merari*: *Cheath* had *Amram* and *Izaar*; of *Amram* came *Moses* and *Aaron*; of *Izaar*, *Chore*; and of the family of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father *Elcana* a Levite, was called an *Ephratæan*; not that the Levites had any proper inheritance, but because he was of (*c*) Mount *Ephraim*, like as *Jesse*, *David*'s father was called an *Ephratæan*, because born at *Ephrata*, or *Bethleem*. *Hannah* his mother being long fruitless, obtained him of God by prayers and tears: it being an exceeding shame to the Jewish women to be called barren, in respect of the blessing of God, both to *Abraham*, that his seed should multiply as the Stars of Heaven, and the sands of the Sea; as in the beginning to *Adam*, *Increase and multiply, &c.* and in *Deuteronomy* the seventh, *There shall be neither male nor female barren among you.*

(*b*) 1 Chron. 6. 22.

(*c*) Which Region was called *Ephrata*, as appeareth *Jud.* 12. 5. whence for distinction we read *Ruth* 1. *Ephratæi è Bethlechemo Jehuda*, the town *Ephrata*, which is *Bethlehem* in *Juda*, *Gen.* 35. 19. from the region of *Ephrata*, which is in Mount *Ephraim*, whence *Psal* 132. 6 *Ephrata* is put for *Silo*, which was in the Tribe of *Ephraim*.

Samuel was no sooner born, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his service; to which she delivered him even from the dug. For as the first-born of all that were called *Nazarites*, might be redeemed till they were five years old for five sheckles, and between five years and twenty, for twenty sheckles: so was it not required by the Law, that any of the

the race of the Levites ſhould be called to ſerve about the Tabernacle, till they were five and twenty years old.

Saint *Peter* reckons in the *Acts* the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the firſt of the Writers of holy Scriptures, to vvhom uſually this name of a Prophet vvas given, and yet did *Moſes* account himſelf ſuch a one; as in the 18. of *Deuteronomie*, *The Lord thy God will raiſe up unto thee a Prophet like unto me, &c.* But he is diſtinguiſhed from thoſe that preceded him, vvho were called *Seers*; as *before time in Iſrael, when a man went to ſeek an anſwer of God, thus he ſpake; Come and let us go to the Seer: for he that is now called a Prophet, was in old time called a Seer.* And although it pleaſed God to appear by his Angels to *Moſes*, as before to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*; yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifeſt viſion; not that God had altogether vvithdrawn his grace from *Iſrael:* but as the *Chaldæan* Paraphraſt hath it, thoſe revelations before *Samuel*'s time, vvere more clouded and obſcure. The places vvherein *Samuel* judged vvere *Matſpa* or *Mitſpa*, ſeated on a hill in *Benjamin* near *Juda:* alſo *Gilgal* and *Bethel*, of vvhich vve have ſpoken elſewhere.

Ver. 15.

1 Sam. 9.

1 Sam. 13 See in this book, c. 12. ſect. 1.

The *Philiſtims* taking knowledge of the aſſembly and preparation of War at *Mitſpa*, in the beginning of *Samuel*'s government, gathered their Army, and marched towards the City: at vvhoſe approach the *Iſraelites* ſtrucken vvith fear, and vvith the memory of their former ſlaughters and ſervitude, beſought *Samuel* to pray to God for them; vvho vvas * then performing his ſacrifice vvhen the *Philiſtims* vvere in view. But God being moved vvith *Samuel*'s prayers (as he vvas by thoſe of *Moſes*, vvhen *Iſrael* fought againſt the *Amalekites* at the firſt entrance into *Arabia:*) it pleaſed him with thunder and tempeſt to diſperſe and beat down the Army of the *Philiſtims*, according to the prophecie of *Hanna*, *Samuel*'s Mother, *The Lords adverſaries ſhall be deſtroyed, and out of Heaven ſhall he thunder upon them, &c.* *Joſephus* affirms, that a part of the *Philiſtims* were ſwallowed with an earthquake: and that *Samuel* himſelf led the *Iſraelites* in the proſecution of their victory. After which *Samuel* erected a Monument in memory of this happy ſucceſs, obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which *Joſephus* called *Lapidem fortem: Samuel, Ebenezer*, or the ſtone of aſſiſtance: and then following the opportunity and advantage of the victory, the *Iſraelites* recovered divers Cities of their own formerly loſt, and held long in the poſſeſſion of the *Philiſtims*, who for a long time after did not offer any invaſion or revenge. And the better to attend their purpoſes, and to withſtand any of their attempts, the *Iſraelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that they might not be aſſaulted from divers parts at once; having the *Philiſtims* towards the Weſt and Sea-coaſt, the *Canaanite* toward the North and Eaſt, and the *Idumite* on the South. The eſtate being thus ſettled, *Samuel* for the eaſe of the people gave audience and judgment in divers places by turns, as hath been elſewhere ſaid.

* *Plutarch* reports of *Numa* the ſecond King of *Rome*, that when as he was ſacrificing, it was told him that the enemies approached, he nothing diſmaied, anſwered, *Ego autem ſacrifico.* 1 Sam. 2. 10.

CHAP. XVI.

Of SAUL.

§. I.

Of the deliberation to change the Government into a Kingdom.

BUt when age now began to overtake *Samuel*, and that he was not able to undergo the burthen of ſo careful a government, he put off from himſelf the weight of the affairs on his ſons, *Joel* and *Abijah*, who judged the people at *Beerſheba*, a City, the very utmoſt towards the South of *Judæa*. And as the place was inconvenient and far away, ſo were themſelves no leſs removed from the juſtice and vertue of their Father: For the thirſt of coveteouſneſs, the more it ſwalloweth, the more it drieth, and deſireth, finding taſte in nothing but gain; to recover which, they ſet the Law at a price, and ſold Juſtice and Judgment to the beſt Chapmen. Which when the Elders of *Iſraael* obſerved, and ſaw that *Samuel* as a natural man (though a Prophet) could not ſo well diſcern the errours of his own, they prayed him to conſent to their change of government, and to make them a King, by whom they might be judged as other Nations were;

who might also lead them to the War, and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable success which followed the rule of *Eli* his sons, when those of *Samuel* by their first blossomes promised to yield fruit no less bitter, they saw no way to put the government from out his race, whom they so much reverenced, but by the choice of a King.

In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, *Samuel* sought counsel from God: which surely he did not for the establishing of his own Sons; who being as they were, God would not have approved his election. Now as it appears by the Text, this speech or motion displeasing him, he used his best arguments to dehort them: which when he perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered unto them from Gods revelation, the inconveniences and miseries which should befal them. And yet, all which he fore-shewed was not intolerable, but such as hath been born, and is so still, by free consent of the subjects towards their Princes. For first he makes them know that the King will use their sons in his own service to make them his Horse-men, Chariotters, and Foot-men; which is not onely not grievous, but by the Vassals of all Kings, according to their birth and condition, desired: it being very agreeable to subjects of the best quality to command for the King in his Wars; and to till the ground no less proper and appertaining to those that are thereto bred and brought up: so are likewise the offices of women-servants to dress meat, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatned, *He will take your Fields and your Vineyards, and your best Olive trees, and give them to his servants*; with other oppressions: this hath given, and gives daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their own discretion, to affirm that *Samuel* describeth here unto them the power of a King governed by his own affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others upon further examination construe this Text far otherwise, as teaching us what Subjects ought with patience to bear at their Soveraigns hand. The former opinion is grounded first upon that
Deut. 1. place of *Deuteronomy*, where God fore-sheweth this change of government from Judges to Kings; and after he had forbidden many things unto the Kings, as many wives, covetousnes, and the like, he commandeth that the Kings which were to raign over *Israel*, should write the Law of *Deuteronomie*, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the dayes of his life; that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this Law, and these ordinances for to do them: that he may prolong his dayes in his Kingdom, he and his Sons.* But to take away any other mans field, say they, is contrary to the Laws of God, in the same book written. For it is said, *That which is just and right shalt thou follow, that thou mayst live.* Deut. 6. Now if it be not permitted to carry away grapes more than thou canst eat out of another mans vineyard, but fordidden by God: it is much less lawful to take the vine- Deut. 23. yard it self from the owner, and give it to a- 24. nother. Neither are the words of the Text (say they) such as do warrant the Kings of *Is-* Loyse. *rael*, or make it proper unto them, to take at will any thing from their vassals. For it is not said that it shall be lawful for the King, or the King may do this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your sons: and again, This shall be the manner of the King that shall raign over you. God thereby fore-shewing what power, severed from piety (because it is accountable to God onely) will do in the future. And hereof we find the first example in *Achab*, who took from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of governing well his people. For God commanded, *That his people should be judged with righte-* Deut. 16. *ous judgment.* Wherefore, though the King had offered unto *Naboth* composition, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in money, which he refused: yet because he was falsly accused, and unjustly condemned (though by colour of law,) how grievously *Achab* was punished by God, the Scriptures tell us. Neither was it a plea sufficient for *Achab* against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of *Israel*. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a living Law, even as *David* testifieth of himself: *Posuisti me in caput gentium:* For this of S. *Augustine* is very true: *Simulata innocentia, non est innocentia: simulata æquitas, non est æquitas: sed duplicatur peccatum in quo est iniquitas & simulatio; Feigned innocence, and feigned equity, are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is both iniquity and dissimulation.* Such in effect is their disputation, who think this place to contain the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well known to all; being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of *The true Law of free Monarchies:* which Treatise I may not presume to abridge, much less

leſs here to inſert. Only thus much I will ſay, that if practice do ſhew the greatneſs of authority, even the beſt Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael* were not ſo tyed by any laws, but that they did whatſoever they pleaſed in the greateſt things; and commanded ſome of their own Princes, and of their own brethren to be ſlain without any trial of law, being ſometime by Prophets reprehended, ſometime not. For though *David* confeſſed his offence for the death of *Uriah*, yet *Solomon* killing his elder brother and others, the ſame was not imputed to him as any offence.

That the ſtate of *Iſrael* ſhould receive this change of government, it was not onely foretold by *Moſes* in *Deuteronomie*, but perceived by *Jacob* in this Scripture; *The Scepter* Gen. 49. *ſhall not depart from Juda, &c.* It was alſo Gen. 15. promiſed by God to *Abraham* for a bleſſing: Gen. 17. For it was not onely aſſured that his iſſues ſhould in number equal the ſtars in heaven, but that Kings ſhould proceed of him: Which ſtate ſeeing it is framed from the pattern of his ſole rule, who is Lord of the Univerſal; and the excellencie thereof in reſpect of all other governments, hath been by many judicious men handled and proved, I ſhall not need to over-paint that which is garniſhed with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the Judges every man hath obſerved what civil war *Iſrael* had: what outragious ſlaughters they committed upon each other: in what miſerable ſervitude they lived for many years: and when it fared beſt with them, they did but defend their own territories, or recover ſome parts thereof formerly loſt. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the beſt vallies of the Country. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* over *Jordan*; the *Philiſtims* the Sea-coaſts; and the *Jebuſites Hieruſalem* it ſelf, till *Davids* time: all which that King did not onely conquer and eſtabliſh, but he maſtered and ſubjected all the neighbour Nations and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vaſſals. But whether it were for that the *Iſraelites* were moved by thoſe reaſons, which allure the moſt of all Nations to live under a Monarch, or whether by this means they ſought to be cleared 1 Sam. 8. from the ſons of *Samuel*, they became deaf to all the perſwaſions and threats which *Samuel* uſed, inſiſting upon this point, that they would have a King both to judge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to conſent, he ſent every man to his own City and abiding.

§. II.

Of the election of Saul.

After that *Samuel* had diſmiſſed the aſſembly at *Mizpah*, he forbare the election of a King, till ſuch time as he was therein directed by God: who foretold him the day before, that he would preſent unto him a man of the Land of *Benjamin*, whom he commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So *Samuel* went unto *Ramath Sophim*, to make a feaſt for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promiſes) and *Saul* alſo having wandred divers dayes to ſeek his fathers Aſſes, at length, by the advice of his ſervant, travelled towards *Ramath* to find a Seer or Prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to find his beaſts. In which journey it pleaſed God (who doth many times order the greateſt things by the ſimpleſt paſſages and perſons) to elect *Saul*, who ſought an Aſs and not a kingdom: like as formerly it had pleaſed him to call *Moſes*, while he fed the ſheep of *Jethro*; and after to make choice of *David* the youngeſt of eight ſons, and by the Scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beaſts; and changed his ſheephook into a Scepter, making him of all other the moſt victorious King of *Juda* and *Iſrael*. So *John* and *James* were taken from caſting their nets, to become fiſhers of men, and honoured with the titles of Apoſtles: a dignity that died not in the grave, as all worldly Honours do; but permanent and everlaſting in Gods everlaſting Kingdom. 1 Sam. 16.

When *Samuel* was entred into *Ramath*, he prepared a banquet for the King, whom he expected, and ſtayed his arrival at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God ſhewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the ſame whom he had foretold him of, that he ſhould rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Judge of *Iſrael*, much leſs knowing the Honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the City the *Seer* dwelt; *Samuel* anſwered, that himſelf was the man he ſought; and prayed *Saul* to go before him to the high place, where *Samuel* ſetting him according to his degree, above all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affairs of the kingdom, and of Gods graces to be beſtowed on him, and the morning following annointed him King of *Iſrael*.

After this he told him all that ſhould happen him in the way homeward, that two men ſhould

should encounter him by *Rahels* Sepulchre, who should tell him that his Asses were found, and that his Fathers cares were changed from the fear of losing his beasts, to doubt the loss of his son: that he should then meet three other men in the plain of *Tabor*; then a company of Prophets: and that he should be partaker of Gods Spirit, and prophecy with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar, into that which became a King elected and favoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, men indued with spiritual gifts, were not of the first and most reverenced number, who by divine revelation foretold things to come, reprehended without fear the errors of their Kings and wrought miracles, of which number were *Moses*, *Josshua*, *Samuel*, and after them *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Ahias*, *Elias*, *Elisæus*, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and the rest; for these Prophets, saith S. *Chrysostome*, *Omnia tempora percurrunt, præterita, præsentia, & futura*: but they were of those of whom S. *Paul* speaketh 1 *Cor.* 14. 14. who inriched with spiritual gifts, expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

Chrys in Ps. 43.

At *Mizpeth Samuel* assembled the people, that he might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his own Uncle therewith, when he asked him what had past between him and *Samuel*: for either he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reveal it, till he were confirmed by general consent. When the Tribes were assembled at *Mizpeth*, the general opinion is, that he was chosen by lot. *Chimhi* thinks by the answer of * *Urim* and *Thummim*: that is, by the answer of the Priest, wearing that mistery upon his breast when he asked the counsel of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not only much used among the *Jews*, but by many others, if not by all nations. The Land of promise was divided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two Goats, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliverance, for whose garments the *Jews* also cast lots. *Cicero*, *Plautus*, *Pausanius*, and others, have remembred divers sorts of lots, used by the *Romans*, *Grecians*, and other Nations: as in the division of grounds or honours; and in things to be undertaken: the two first kinds were called Divisory; the Third, Divinatory, and unto one of these three all may be reduced, all which kinds, howsoever they may seem chanceful, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Proverbs*: *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord.* And

* The *Urim* and *Thummim* in the ornaments of the High Priest, were inserted within the pectoral, which therefore was *duplicatum*: they were placed in the pectoral over against the heart of the High Priest. It is plain that they were not the precious stones, nor any thing made by the Artificers. See *Exo.* 38. 1. *Cic. de divir. Paus. in Mes.* 1 *Sam.* 10.

in like sort fell the Kingdom of Israel on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gave *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* withdrew himself in modesty, as both *Josephus* construe it, and as it may be gathered by his former answers to *Samuel*, when he acknowledged himself the least of the least Tribe. But *Samuel* inlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that he was the chosen King of *Israel*, whereupon all the multitude saluted him King, and prayed for him; yet some there were that envied his glory (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him presents, as the manner was, of whom *Saul*, to avoyd sedition, took no notice.

§. III.

Of the establishing of Saul *by his first victory.*

NO sooner was *Saul* placed in the Kingdom, but that he received knowledge that *Nahas* King of the *Ammonites* prepared to besiege *Jabes Gilead*: which nation since the great overthrow given them by *Jephta*, never durst attempt any thing upon the *Israelites*, till the beginning of *Saul* his rule. And although the *Ammonites* did always attend upon the advantage of time, to recover those Territories which first the *Amorite*, and then *Israel* dispossest them of; which they made the ground of their invasion in *Jephta's* time, yet they never perswaded themselves of more advantage then at this present. For first, they knew that there were many of the *Israelites* that did not willingly submit themselves to this new King: secondly, they were remembred that the *Philistims* had not long before slain 34000. of their men of War: and besides had used great care and policy that they should have no Smiths to make them swords or spears: neither was it long before, that of the *Bethshemesites*, and places adjoyning, there perished by the hand of God more than 50000. and therefore in these respects, even occasion it self invited them to inlarge their Dominions upon their borderers: *Jabes Gilead* being one of the neareſt. Besides it may further be conjectured, that the *Ammonites* were imboldened against *Jabes Gilead*, in respect of their weakness: since the *Israelites* destroyed a great part of them, for not joyning with them against the *Benjamites*: at which time they did not only slaughter the *Jud.* 12.

men

men and male children, but took from them their young women, and gave them to the *Benjamites:* and therefore they were not likely to have been increaſed to any great numbers: and if they had recovered themſelves of this great calamity, yet the *Ammonite* might flatter himſelf with the opinion, that *Iſrael*, having for long time been diſarmed by the *Philiſtims*, was not apt to ſuccour thoſe whom they had ſo deeply wounded and deſtroyed. But contrariwiſe, when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would give them no other condition to ranſome themſelves, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they ſhould be utterly diſabled for the War, as elſewhere hath been ſpoken: *Saul*, both to value himſelf in his firſt years reign, and becauſe perchance he was deſcended of one of thoſe 400. Maids taken from the *Gileadites*, and given to the *Benjamites*, gave order to aſſemble the forces of *Iſrael*, hewing a yoak of Oxen into pieces, and ſending them by meſſengers over all the coaſts, proteſting thus: *That whoſoever came not forth after* Saul, *and after* Samuel; *ſo ſhould his Oxen be ſerved:* threatning the people by their goods, and not by their lives at the firſt. Seven days had *Saul* to aſſemble an Armie, by reaſon that the *Gileadites* had obtained the reſpite of theſe ſeven days to give *Nahas* the *Ammonite* an anſwer: who, could they have obtained any reaſonable condition, were contented to have ſevered themſelves from *Iſrael*, and to become Vaſſals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the mean while *Saul* aſſembled the forces which repaired unto him at *Bezec*, near *Jordan*, that he might readily paſs the river; which done, he might in one day with a ſpeedy march arrive at *Jabes*, under the Hills of *Gilead*. 1 Sam 11. 8.

The army by *Saul* led, conſiſting of three hundred and thirty thouſand, he returned an anſwer to thoſe of *Jabes*, that they ſhould aſſure themſelves of ſuccour by the next day at noon. For, as it ſeemeth, *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, & went on all night; for in the morning watch he ſurprized the army of *Nahas* the *Ammonite*. And to the end that he might ſet on them on all ſides, he divided his forces into three parts, putting them to the ſword untill the heat of the day, and the wearineſs of *Sauls* troop inforced them to give over the purſuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more careleſs and ſecure, in that thoſe of *Jabes* promiſed the next morning to render themſelves and their City to their mercy. After this happy ſucceſs, the people were ſo far in love with their new King, that they would have ſlain all thoſe *Iſraelites* that murmured againſt his election, had not himſelf forbidden and reſiſted their reſolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent lovers of the proſperous, and baſe Vaſſals of the time that flouriſheth; and as deſpightful and cruel without cauſe againſt thoſe, whom any miſadventure, or other worldly accident hath thrown down.

After the Army removed, *Samuel* ſummoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was now a third time acknowledged, and, as ſome Commenters affirm, anointed King: and here *Samuel* uſed an exhortation to all the aſſembly, containing precepts, and a rehearſal of his own Juſtice, during the beginning of his government to that day, after *Saul* had now reigned one year before he was eſtabliſhed in *Gilgal*, or *Galgala*, he ſtrengthned himſelf with a good guard of 3000. choſen men, of which he aſſigned 1000. to attend on *Jonathan* his ſon at *Gibeah*, the City of his nativity: the reſt he kept about his own perſon in *Micmas*, and in the Hill of *Bethel*. 1 Sam. 11. 1 Sam. 13.

§. IV.

Of Sauls *diſobedience in his proceedings in the Wars with the Philiſtims and Amalekites, which cauſed his final rejection.*

JOnathan with his ſmall Army or Regiment that attended him, taking a time of advantage, ſurprized a Garriſon of *Philiſtims*: the ſame, as ſome think, which *Saul* paſt by, when he came from *Rama*, when he was firſt anointed by *Samuel*, which they think to have been *Cariath-jearim*: becauſe a place where the *Philiſtims* had a Garriſon. 1 *Sam.* 10. is called the hill of God, which they underſtand of *Cariath-jearim*: but *Junius* underſtands this Garriſon to have been at *Gebah* in *Benjamin* near *Gibha*, where *Jonathan* abode with his thouſand followers. Howſoever, by this it appeareth that the *Philiſtims* held ſome ſtrong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the Territory of *Iſrael:* and now being greatly inraged by this ſurprize, they aſſembled thirty thouſand armed Chariots, and ſix thouſand Horſe, wherewith they invaded *Judæa*, and incamped at *Machmas* or *Michmas*, a City of *Benjamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Hieruſalem*, and in the middeſt of the Land between the Sea and *Jordan*. With this ſudden invaſion the *Iſraelites* were ſtrucken in ſo great a fear, as ſome of them hid themſelves in the caves of the Mountains; others fled over *Jordan* into *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himſelf with ſome 2000. men of ordinary, and many other people, 1 Sam. 13. 5.

ple, ſtaid at *Galgala* in *Benjamin*, not far from the paſſage of *Joſhua* when he led *Iſrael* over *Jordan*. Here *Saul* by *Samuels* appointment was to attend the comming of *Samuel* ſeven days: but when the laſt day was in part ſpent, and that *Saul* percieved his forces to diminiſh greatly, he preſumed (as ſome expound the place, 1 *Sam.* 13. 9.) to exerciſe the office which appertained not unto him, and to offer a burnt offering, and a peace offering unto God, contrary to the *Eccleſiaſtical* Laws of the *Hebrews*, and *Gods* Commandments: others expound the word *obtulit*, in this place, by *obtulit per Sacerdotem*, and ſo make the ſin of *Saul* not to have been any intruſion into the Prieſts office, but firſt a diſobedience to Gods Commandment, in not ſtaying according to the appointment, 1 *Sam.* 10. 8. ſecondly, a deffidence or miſtruſt in Gods help, and too great relying upon the ſtrength of the people, whoſe departing from him he could not bear patiently; and laſtly, a Contempt of the holy Prophet *Samuel*, and of the help which the prayers of ſo godly a man might procure him. But whatſoever was his ſin, notwithſtanding his excuſes, he was by *Samuel* reprehended moſt ſharply, in terms unfitting his eſtate, had not extraordinary warrant been given to *Samuel* ſo to do, from God himſelf; at which time alſo *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the Kingdom ſhould be conferred to another (a man after Gods own heart) both from *Saul* and his poſterity.

1 *Sam.* 13. *Verſ.* 14.

After this, *Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul*, when he had taken view of his army, found it to conſiſt of 600. men: for the moſt were fled from him and ſcattered, yea and among thoſe that ſtaid, there was not any that had either ſword or ſpear, but *Saul* and his ſon *Jonathan* onely. For the *Philiſtims* had not left them any *Smith* in all *Iſrael*, that made weapons; beſides, they that came to *Saul*, came haſtily, and left ſuch weapons and armour as they had behind them in their garriſons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* ſhould be able the year before, or in ſome part of this very year, to ſuccour *Jabes Gilead* with 300. and thirty thouſand men, if there had not now been any iron weapon to defend themſelves withall, ſave onely in the hand of *Saul* and *Jonathan* his ſon. But howſoever, all the reſt of the people were formerly diſarmed by the *Philiſtims*, and all thoſe crafts-men carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left unto the *Iſraelites* onely files to ſharpen & amend ſuch ſtuff as ſerved for the Plough, and for nought elſe: yet that they had

1 *Sam.* 13. 19.

ſome kind of arms, it is manifeſt, or elſe they durſt not have attempted upon the *Philiſtims* as they did. And it is not ſaid in the Text that there was not any ſword in all *Iſrael*, but onely that there was not any found amongſt thoſe 600. ſouldiers which ſtayed with *Saul* after *Samuels* departure: and it ſeemeth that when *Samuel* had ſharply reprehended *Saul*, that his own guards forſook him, having but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinary ſouldiers, and of all the reſt that repaired unto him, of which many were fled from him before *Samuel* arrived.

1 *Sam.* 13. 21.

With this ſmall troop he held himſelf to his own City of *Gibeah*, as a place of more ſtrength, and better aſſured unto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obſcure how it ſhould come to paſs that the *Philiſtims* ſhould thus diſarm the moſt part of the *Iſraelites*, howſoever in the time of *Samuel* much had been done againſt them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by ſword or ſpear, but by thunder from Heaven: and when theſe craftsmen were once rooted out of the Cities of *Iſrael*, no marvel if they could not in a ſhort peace under *Samuel* be replanted again. For this tyranny of the *Philiſtims* is to be underſtood, rather of the precedent times, than under *Samuel*: and yet under him is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policy, not ſuffering their Artificers to teach the *Iſraelites*, and ſo even to the times of *Saul* kept them from having any ſtore of armour. The ſame policy did *Nebuchodonoſor* uſe after his Conqueſt in *Judæa*: *Dioniſius* in *Sicily*, & many other Princes elſe-where in all ages. But theſe loſt weapons in part the *Iſraelites* might repair in *Gilead*, for over *Jordan* the *Philiſtims* had not invaded. The reſt of their defences were ſuch as antiquity uſed, and their preſent neceſſity miniſtred unto them, to wit, clubs, bows, and ſlings. For the *Benjamites* exceeded in caſting ſtones in ſlings: and that theſe were the natural weapons, and the firſt of all nations, it is manifeſt; and ſo in the firſt of *Chronicles* the 12. Chapter, it is written of thoſe that came to ſuccour *David* againſt *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*, *That they were weaponed with bowes, and could uſe the right and the left hand with ſtones*, and with a ſling it was that *David* himſelf ſlew the Gyant *Goliah*.

While the State of *Iſrael* ſtood in theſe hard terms, the *Philiſtims* having parted their army into three troops, that they might ſpoil and deſtroy many parts at once, *Jonathan*, ſtrengthened by *God*, and followed with his Eſquire only, ſcaled a mountain, whereon a company of *Philiſtims* were lodged: the reſt of their army (as may be gathered by the

1 *Sam.* 14. 12.

the ſucceſs) being encamped in the plain adjoyning. And though he were diſcovered before he came to the hill top, and in a kind of deriſion, called up by his enemies: yet he ſo behaved himſelf, as with the aſſiſtance of God he ſlew 20. of the firſt *Philiſtims* that he encountered. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarm, and being ignorant of the cauſe, fled away amazed altogether. In which confuſion, fear, and jealouſie, they ſlaughtered one another inſtead of enemies: whereupon thoſe *Hebrews* which became of their party, becauſe they feared to be ſpoiled by them, took the advantage of their deſtruction, and ſlew of them in great numbers. And laſtly, *Saul* himſelf taking knowledge of the rout and diſorder, together with thoſe *Iſraelites* that ſhrouded themſelves in Mount *Ephraim*, ſet upon them, and
1 Sam. 14 obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a moſt happy and glorious victory over them. Here was that propheſie in *Deuteronomy* fulfilled by *Jonathan*, *That one of thoſe which feared God, ſhould kill a thouſand, and two of them ten thouſand.*

This done, the ſmall Army of *Iſrael* made retreat from the purſuit. And although *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take food till the evening, yet his ſon *Jonathan*, being infeebled with extream labour and emptineſs, taſted a drop of honey in his paſſage: for which *Saul* his father would have put him to death, had not the people delivered him from his cruelty.

The late miraculous victory of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, ſeems to have reduced unto the *Philiſtims* remembrance their former overthrow, likewiſe miraculous in the daies of *Samuel*; ſo that for ſome ſpace of time they held themſelves quiet. In the mean while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, under-
1 Sam. 14. took by turns all his bordering enemies; namely, the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, againſt all which he prevailed. He then aſſembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210000. men, and receiving the commandement of God by *Samuel*, he invaded *Amalec*, waſting and deſtroying all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Deſart* belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Havilah* towards *Tigris* unto *Shur*, which bordereth *Egypt*; in which war he took *Agag* their King priſoner. But whereas he was inſtructed by *Samuel* to follow this Nation without compaſſion, becauſe they firſt of all attempted *Iſrael*, when they left *Ægypt* in
Exod. 17. *Moſes* time: he notwithſtanding did not only ſpare the life of *Agag*, but reſerved the beſt of the beaſts, and ſpoil of the Country, with pretence to offer them in ſacrifice to the living God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a ſecond time make him know that God would caſt him from his royal eſtate, to which he was raiſed when he was of baſe condition, and, as the Text hath it, *little in his own eyes.* And though the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voice of God by *Samuel*, had there been no former precept to that effect: yet ſeeing *Saul* could not be ignorant how ſeverely it pleaſed God to enjoyn the *Iſraelites* to revenge themſelves upon that Nation, he was in all unexcuſable. For
Deut. 25. 15. God had commanded that the *Iſraelites* *ſhould put out the remembrance of Amalec from under heaven.* For the cruelty which the predeceſſors of this *Agag* uſed againſt the *Iſraelites*, eſpecially on thoſe which were overwearied, faint, ſick, and aged people, was now to be revenged on him, and his Nation, above 400. years afterward; and now he was to pay the debt of blood, which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent: himſelf having alſo ſinned in the ſame kind, as theſe words of *Samuel* witneſs: *As thy ſword hath made other women childleſs, ſo ſhall thy mother be childleſs among other women*; at which time
1 Sam. 15. 33. *Samuel* himſelf (after he had been by many bootleſs intreaties perſwaded to ſtay a while with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilgal*, and ſoon after he departed to *Ramath*, *and came no more to ſee* Saul *until the day of his death.*

§. V.

Of the occurrents between the rejection of Saul *and his death.*

NOw while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to chooſe a King for *Iſrael*, among the ſons of *Iſhai*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a ſort to perform, till it pleaſed God to direct him, how he might avoid both the ſuſpition, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the providence of God, that by his cautious care and wiſdom he ſought to avoid the inconveniences or dangers of this life: then do theſe men miſtake the nature of his divine ordinance, who neglecting the reaſon that God hath given them, do no otherwiſe avoid the perils and dangers thereof, than as men ſtupified in the opinion of fate or deſtiny, neglecting either to beg counſel at Gods hands by prayer, or to exerciſe that wiſdom or foreſight, wherewith God hath enriched the mind of man for his preſervation. Neither did the all-powerful God (who made and could deſtroy the world in an inſtant)

disdain here to instruct *Samuel*, to avoid the fury of *Saul*, by the accustomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the sons of *Ishai*, *Samuel*, by God directed, made choice of *David*, the youngest, having refused *Eliab*, the first born: who though he were a man of a comely person & great strength; yet unto such outward appearance, the Lord had no respect. For as it
1 Sam. 10. is written, *God seeth not as man seeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart.* He also refusing the other six brethren, made choice of one whom his father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flock; for of him the *Lord said to* Samuel, *Arise and anoint him, for this is he:* which done, *Samuel* departed and went to *Ramath.* Neither was it long after this that *Saul* began to seek the life of *David:* in which bloody mind he continued till he died, overcome in battel by the *Philistims.*

The *Philistims* having well considered (as it seems) the increase of *Saul* his power through many victories by him obtained, whilst they had sitten still and forborn to give impediment to his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new trial of their fortune, as justly fearing that the wrongs, which they had done to *Israel*, might be repaied with advantage, if ever opportunity should serve their often injured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the quality of their Souldiers, and all warlike provisions, the *Philistims* had reason to think themselves equal, if not superiour to *Israel.* The success of their former wars had, for the most part, been agreeable to their own wishes: as for late disasters, they might, according to humane wisdom, impute them to second causes; as to a tempest hapning by chance, and to a mistaken alarm, whereby their Army, possessed with a needless fear, had fallen to rout. Having therefore mustered their forces, and taken the field, encamping so neer to the Army, which King *Saul* drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the trial of a battel, each part kept their ground of advantage for a while, not joyning in gross, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to pass the Valley that lay between their Camps. Just causes of fear they had on both sides; especially the *Philistims*, whose late attempts had been confounded by the angry hand of God. Upon this occasion perhaps it was, that they sought to decide the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any stroak from heaven were to be feared. *Goliah* of *Gath*, a strong Giant, fearing neither God nor Man, undertook to defie the whole Hoste of *Israel*, provoking them with despightful words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand; offering condition, that the party vanquished in Champion, should hold it self as overcome in gross, and become vassal unto the other. This gave occasion to young *David*, whom *Samuel* by Gods appointment had annointed, to make a famous entrance into publique notice of the people. For no man durst expose himself to encounter the great strength of *Goliah*, until *David* (sent by his father of an errand to the Camp) accepted the combat, and obtained the victory, without other arms, offensive or defensive, than a sling, wherewith he overthrew that haughty Giant, and after with his own Sword strook off his head. Hereupon the *Philistims*, who should have yielded themselves as subjects to the Conquerour, according to the covenant on their own side propounded, fled without stay; and were pursued and slaughtered even to their own gates. By this victory the *Philistims* were not so broken, that either any of their Towns were lost, or their people discouraged from infesting the Territories of *Israel.* But *David*, by whom God had wrought this victory, fell into the grievous indignation of his Master *Saul*, through the honour purchased by his well-deserving. For after such time as the spirit of God departed from *Saul*, and came upon *David*, he then became a cruel Tyrant, 1 Sam. 16. 13.
faithless, and irreligious. Because the High Priest *Abimelech* fed *David* in his necessity with hallowed bread, and armed him with a sword of his own conquest, taken from *Goliah*; *Saul* not only by his wicked *Edomite Doeg* murthered this *Abimelech* and 85. Priests of *Nob*, but also he destroyed the City, *and smote with the edge of the sword both man and* 1 Sam. 22. 18.
woman, both child and suckling, both Ox and Ass, and Sheep. And he that had compassion on *Agag* the Amalekite, who was an enemy to God and his people, and also spared and preserved the best of his Cattel, contrary to the Commandement and Ordinance of God, both by *Moses* and *Samuel*, had not now any mercy in store for the innocent, for the Lords servants, the Priests of *Israel.* Yea, he would have slain his own 1 Sam. 14. 23.
son *Jonathan*, for pitying and pleading *Davids* innocency; as also once before for tasting the honey, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers unreasonable commination. The companions of cruelty are breach of faith towards men, and impiety towards God. The former he shewed in denying *David* his daughter, whom he had promised

promiſed him; and again in taking her away from him to whom he had given her: alſo in that when as *David* had twice ſpared his life in the Territory of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice ſworn to do him no hurt, and confeſſed his errours, yet he ſought ſtill to deſtroy him, by all the means he could. His impiety towards God he ſhewed, in that he ſought counſel of the Witch of *Endor*, which was the laſt preparative for his deſtruction. For whereas when he ſought counſel from God, he had been alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of the Devil this ſucceſs followed, that both himſelf, and his three ſons, with his neareſt and faithful ſervants, were all ſlaughtered by the *Philiſtims*: his body with the bodies of his ſons (as a ſpectacle of ſhame and diſhonour) were hung over the walls of *Bethſan*; and there had remained till they had found burial in the bowels of ravenous birds, had not the grateful *Gileadites* of *Jabes* ſtoln their carcaſſes thence, and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had governed *Iſrael*, together with *Samuel*, 40. years, and by himſelf after *Samuel* 20. years, according to *Cedrenus*, *Theophilus*, and *Joſephus*. But yet it ſeemeth to me, that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long: For in the beginning of the 25. chapter, it is written, that *Samuel* died; and in the reſt of the ſame chapter, the paſſages are written of *David*, *Nabal*, and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly enſued.

Act. 13. 21. *Cedren. pa.* 69. *Theoph. l.* 3. *p.* 1. *Joſeph. l.* 28.

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gave a fair entrance to all thoſe victories which *David* afterward obtained: for he had beaten the *Ammonites* with their neighbouring Nations; cruſht the *Syrians*, and their adherents; broken the ſtrength of the *Amalekites*; and greatly waſted the power and pride of the *Philiſtims*.

§. VI.

Of ſuch as lived with Samuel *and* Saul; *of* Hellen, *and* Hercules, *and of their iſſues: upon occaſion of the* Dores, *with the* Heraclidæ, *entring* Peloponneſus *about this time.*

IN the ſecond year of *Samuel*, according to *Euſebius*, was *David* born: after *Codoman*, later, and in the ninth year: after *Bunting*, in the tenth. For *David*, ſaith he, was thirty years old when he began to reign: whence it followeth, that he was born in the tenth of the forty years, which are given to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleventh year of *Samuel*, *Æneas Silvius* the ſon of *Poſthumus* began his reign over the Latines in *Alba*, who governed that State one and thirty years. There are who place before him *Latinus Silvius*, as brother to *Poſthumus*, calling him the fifth from *Æneas*, and fourth King of *Alba*, whereof I will not ſtand to diſpute. In the eleventh of *Samuel*, *Dercilas* ſate in the Throne of *Aſſyria*, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruled that Empire forty years. In this age of *Samuel* the *Dores* obtained *Peloponneſus*, and at once with the *Heraclidæ*, who then led and commanded the Nation, poſſeſt a great part thereof, 328. years before the firſt *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratoſthenes*. For all *Greece* was anciently poſſeſſed by three Tribes or Kindreds, *viz.* the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*: at length it was called *Hellas*, and the people *Hellenes*, of *Hellen* the ſon of *Deucalion*, Lord of the Country of *Pthiotis* in *Theſſaly*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea, and long after, *Greece* had no name common to all the Inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till ſuch time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the Plantation of many *Colonies*, and ſundry great victories obtained, the iſſues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the Country under their obedience, calling themſelves generally by one name, and yet every ſeveral Nation after ſome one of the poſterity of *Hellen*, who had raigned over it. And becauſe this is the fartheſt antiquity of *Greece*, it will not be amiſs to recount the Pedegree of her firſt planters.

Japetus (as the Poets fable) was the ſon of Heaven and Earth, ſo accounted, either becauſe the names of his Parents had in the Greek tongue ſuch ſignification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *Aſtronomy* & *Philoſophy*. *Japetus* begat *Prometheus*, and *Ephimetheus*: of whom all men have read that have read Poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*; and *Epimetheus*, *Pyrrha*; *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrha* reigned in *Theſſaly*, which was then called *Pyrrha* (as *Cretenſis Rhianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrrha* the Queen. In *Deucalions* time was that great floud, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: whoſe ſons were *Xuthus*, *Dorus*, and *Æolus*: of *Dorus* and *Æolus* the *Dores* and *Æolians* had name. The *Æoles* inhabited *Bœotia*. The *Dores* having firſt inhabited ſundry parts of *Theſſaly*, did afterward ſeat themſelves about *Parnaſſus*, and finally became Lords of the Countries about *Lacedæmon*: *Xuthus* the eldeſt ſon of *Hellen*, being baniſhed by his brethren, for having diverted from them to his own uſe ſome part of their Fathers goods, came to *Athens*: where marrying the Daughter of King *Erictheus*, he begat on her two ſons, *Achæus* and *Ion*. Of theſe two, *Achæus*, for a ſlaughter by him committed, fled into *Peloponneſus*:

ponneſus: and ſeating himſelf in *Laconia*, gave name to that region: from whence (as ſome write) he afterwards departed; and levying an Army, recovered the Kingdom of his Grand-father in *Theſſalie*.

Ion being General for the *Athenians* when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* invaded *Attica*, did obtain a great Victory, and thereby ſuch love and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. He divided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing every one to ſome occupation, or good courſe of life. When the people multiplied, he planted *Colonies* in *Sycionia*, then called *Ægialos* or *Ægialia:* In which Country *Solinus* then reigning, thought it ſafer to give his Daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his Heir, than to contend with him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a Town called by his Wives name in *Ægialia*, where he and his poſterity reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gave to that Land denomination. But in after times the *Dores* aſſiſting the Nephews of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponneſus*, and overcomming the *Achæans*, poſſeſſed *Laconia*, and all thoſe parts which the *Achæi*, had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achæi* driven to ſeek a new ſeat, came unto the *Ionес*, deſiring to inhabit *Ægialia* with them, and alleged in vain, that *Ion* and *Achæus* had been brethren. When this requeſt could not be obtained, they ſought by force to expel the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they loſt their King *Tiſamenes*, the ſon of *Oreſtes*, in that War.

Thus were the *Ionес* driven out of *Peloponneſus*, and compelled to remove into *Attica*, from whence after a while they ſailed into *Aſia*, and peopled the Weſtern coaſt thereof; on which they built twelve Cities, inhabited by them, even to this day, at the leaſt without any univerſal or memorable tranſmigration. This expedition of the *Ionес* into *Aſia* hath been mentioned of all which have written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. years after the War of *Troy*, and 60. years after the deſcent of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſus*. Theſe *Heraclidæ* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* iſſued; which race held that Kingdom about 700. years. Of their Father *Hercules* many ſtrange things are delivered unto us by the Poets, of which ſome are like to have been true, others perhaps muſt be allegorically underſtood. But the moſt approved Writers think that there were many called *Hercules*, all whoſe exploits were by the *Greeks* aſcribed to the ſon of *Alcmena*, who is ſaid to have performed theſe 12. great labours.

Firſt he ſlew the *Nemæan* Lyon: ſecondly, he ſlew the ſerpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: the third was the overtaking a very ſwift Hart: the fourth was the taking of a wild Bore alive, which hanted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcadia:* the fifth was the cleanſing of *Augias* his Oxe-ſtall in one day, which he performed by turning the River *Alpheus* into it: the ſixt was the chaſing away of the Birds from the Lake *Stymphalis* the ſeventh was the fetching a Bull from *Crete:* the eighth was the taking of the Mares which *Diomedes* King of *Thrace* fed with humane fleſh: the ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the *Queen* of the *Amazons:* the three laſt were, to fetch *Gerion*'s Beeves from *Gades*; the golden Apples of the *Heſperides*; and *Cerberus* from Hell. The *Mythological* interpretation of theſe I purpoſely omit, as both over-long to be here ſet down, and no leſs perplexed than the labours themſelves. For ſome by *Hercules* underſtand Fortitude, Prudence, and Conſtancy, interpreting the Monſters, Vices. Others make *Hercules* the *Sun*, and his travels to be the twelve ſignes of the *Zodiac*. There are others who apply his Works hiſtorically to their own conceits; as well aſſured, that the expoſition cannot have more unlikelihood, than the fables. That he took *Elis*, *Pylus*, *Oechalia*, and other Towns, being aſſiſted by ſuch as either admired his vertues, or were beholding unto him; Alſo that he ſlew many Theeves and Tyrants, I take to be truely written, without addition of Poetical vanity. His travels through moſt part of the World, are, or may ſeem, borrowed from *Hercules Libycus*. But ſure it is that many Cities of *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that he (bending all his endeavours to the common good) delivered the Land from much oppreſſion. But after his death, no City of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) requited the vertue and deſerts of *Hercules*, with conſtant protection of his Children, perſecuted by the King *Euryſtheus*. This *Euryſtheus* was Son of *Sthenelus*, and grand-child of *Perſeus*; he reigned in *Mycenæ*, the mightieſt City then in *Greece*. He it was that impoſed thoſe hard tasks upon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murther, which in his madneſs he had committed upon his own children; but as others ſay, becauſe he was his Subject and Servant: wherefore there are who commend *Euryſtheus* for employing the ſtrength of *Hercules* to ſo good a purpoſe. But it is ſo generally agreed by the beſt Writers, that *Hercules* was alſo of the

the ſtock of *Perſeus*, and holden in great jealouſie by *Euryſtheus* becauſe of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous ſervices, wherein he was imployed, ſo that he grew great in reputation and power through all *Greece*; and had by many Wives and Concubines above threeſcore Children. Theſe Children *Euryſtheus* would fain have got into his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled unto *Ceyx* King of *Thracinia*, and from him (for he durſt not withſtand *Euryſtheus*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not only gave them entertainment, but lent them aid, wherewith they encountred *Euryſteus*. *Idolaus* the brothers ſon of *Hercules*, who had aſſiſted him in many of his travels, was Captain of the *Heraclidæ*. It is ſaid of him, that being dead he obtained leave of *Pluto* to live again till he might revenge the injuries done by *Euryſtheus:* whom when he had ſlain in battel, he died again. It ſeems to me, that whereas he had led Colonies into *Sicily*, and abode there a long time forgotten: he came again into *Greece* to aſſiſt his Couſins, and afterwards returned back. When the *Peloponneſians* underſtood that *Euryſtheus* was ſlain, they took *Atreus* the Son of *Pelops* to their King: for he was rich, mighty, and favoured of the People. Againſt him the *Heraclidæ* marched under *Hyllus*, the ſon of *Hercules*. But to avoid effuſion of bloud, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* ſhould fight with *Echenus* King of the *Tegeatæ*, a people of *Arcadia*, who aſſiſted *Atreus*; with condition, that if *Hyllus* were Victor, he ſhould peaceably enjoy what he challenged as his right: otherwiſe the *Heraclidæ* ſhould not enter *Peloponneſus* in an hundred years. In that combat *Hyllus* was ſlain, and the *Heraclidæ* compelled to forbear their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned under *Ariſtodemus* (as the beſt authority doth ſhew, though ſome have ſaid, that they came under the conduct of his Children) and brought with them the *Dores* whom they planted in that Country, as is before ſhewed, having expelled the *Achæi*, over whom the iſſue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Euryſtheus* four generations.

§. VII.

Of Homer *and* Heſiod, *and many changes in the World, that happened about this Age.*

ABout this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* lived, as many of the beſt *Chronologers* affirm. He was by race of the *Mæones*, deſcended (as *Functius* imagineth) of *Beroſus* his *Anamæon*, who gave name to that people. But this *Functius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to have been long after theſe times, raſhly framing his *Æra* according to (a) *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment *de temporibus*; and makes ſeven more of this name to have flouriſhed in divers Cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, ſprang the diverſity of opinions, both of the time, and of the native City of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Functius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manaſſe* King of *Juda*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Meleſigenes* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, becauſe blind men follow a guide, which ſignification among others, is in the Verb ὁμαρτεῖν: for this *Homer* in his later time was blind. * *Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the queſtion of the time when *Homer* lived. So alſo (b) *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Aſſyrius* in his Oration *ad gentes*. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flouriſhed 950. years before the *Conſulſhip* of *Marcus Vinutius*: which *Mercator* caſteth up in the Worlds year 3046. and after *Troy* taken, about 260. years: and about 250. years before the building of *Rome*; making him to have flouriſhed about the time of *Jehoſaphat* King of *Juda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus* & *Tatianus* above named, mention Authors that make him much antienter. The difference of which Authors in this point is not unworthy the Readers conſideration, that by this one inſtance he may gheſſe of the difficulty, and ſo pardon the errours in the computations of ancient time: ſeeing in ſuch diverſity of opinions a man may hardly find out what to follow. For *Crates* the *Grammarian* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gave being to *Homer* about 80. years after *Troy* taken, near the time that the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponneſus*: and * *Eratoſtenes* after *Troy* 100. years. *Theopompus* 500. years after the Army of *Greece* ſailed into *Phrygia* for the War of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him contemporary with *Gyges*, who began to reign in the 18. *Olympiad* (which was 45. years after *Rome* was built) and *Soſibius* ſaith, that he was 90. years before the firſt *Olympiad*: which he ſeeks to prove by the times of *Charillus* and his ſon *Nicander*. *Philechorus* placeth him 180. after *Troy*: *Ariſtarchus* 140. in the time of the ſeating of the *Colonies* in *Ionia*. *Apollodorus* affirms that he lived while *Ageſilaus* governed *Lacedæmon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his young years, about 100. years after the *Ionian* plantations, came to viſit him, near 240. years after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* finds *Homer* flouriſhing 622. years before *Xerxes* enterpriſe

Funct. Chro. fol. 11 col. D.

(a) This Author ſet out with *Beroſus* and others, firſt at *Baſil*, and after with *Fryer Annius* his Comment at *Antwerp*; *is inceriæ fidei.*

Naucler. f. 147. placeth *Homer* in the 32. generation in the time of *Samuel.*

* *Seromatum, l. 5.*

(b) *Noc. Attic. l. 3. c. 11. item. l. 17. c. 21.*

* As both *Cle. Alex:* and *Tatian Aſſyr.* report his opinion *Rerum Phil. 43. Roſ. in diſc. temporum. Phil. in com. in Archilog.*

Her. in vita Ho.

terprise against the *Grecians*: which *Berosaldus* accounteth at 168. years after the *Trojan* War. *Eusebius* seems to make him to have been about the time of *Joas* King of *Juda*, 124. years before *Rome* built: though elsewhere in his *Chronology* he notes that some place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *David*, and others in other Ages. In his *Evangelical* Preparation, where out of *Tatianus Assyrius* he citeth sundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* lived, he reckoneth many other *Greek* Writers more ancient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, *Philammon*, *Epimenides*, *Phemius*, *Aristæus*, *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Thamyras*, *Amphion*, and others.

Noct. Attic. l. 3. c. 11. Now whether *Homer* or *Hesiodus* were the elder, it is also much disputed. *Aulus Gellius* reports that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirm, that *Homer* preceded *Hesiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luc. Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus* the Historian, make *Hesiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varro* leaves it uncertain which of these learned Fablers was first born: but he finds that they lived together some certain years, wherein he confirms himself by an *Epigram*, written upon a Trevit, and left by *Hesiod* in *Helicon*.

Var. de imag. l. 1. Nep. in chron. Cass. l. 1. annal.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both lived 160. years before *Rome* built: while the *Silvii* reigned in *Alba*, about (*a*) 140. years after the fall of *Troy*. (b) *Euthymenes* finds them both 200. years after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acastus* the son of *Pelias*, King of *Thessaly*. For my self, I am not much troubled when this Poet lived; neither would I offend the Reader with these opinions, but only to shew the uncertainty, and disagreement of Historians, aswel in this particular, as in all other questions and dispute of time. For, the curiosity of this mans age is no less ridiculous, than the inquisition why he began his *Iliads* with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing some great mystery. In derision whereof *Lucian* feigning himself to have been in Hell, and to have spoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cause why he began his book with that word: who answered, That he began in that sort, because it came in his head so to do.

(a) This number *Mercator* corrects and reads 240. for it.
(b) *Euthy in Clr. apud. Clem. Alex. Strom. 5.*

It seemeth that *Senyes*, or, after *Macrobius*, *Senemires* ruled *Egypt* at this time: for *Tanepherfobris* was his Successour, who preceded *Vaphres*, Father in law to *Solomon*.

About the end of *Sauls* government, or in the beginning of *Davids* time, according to *Cassiodorus*, the *Amazones* with the *Cymmerians* invaded *Asia*, *Latinus Sylvius* then ruling in *Italy*. And besides the overthrow of that Famous State of *Troy* (which fell 103. years before *David*'s time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the World, not only by reason of those Northern Nations: but there sprung up somewhat nearly together, six Kingdoms into greatness, not before erected. In *Italy* that of the *Latines*: in the South part of *Greece*, those of *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achæi*. In *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Soba*, and *Damascus*, the *Adads* made themselves Princes, of which there were ten Kings, which began and ended with the Kings of *Israel* in effect: and somewhat before these, the State of the *Israelites* having now altered the Form of Government, began to flourish under Kings, of which *David*, in a few years, became master of all those neighbouring Nations, who by enterchange of times had subjected the *Judæans*, corrupted their Religion, and held them under in a most abject and grievous slavery; to wit, the *Edumæans*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Ituræans*, and the rest of the *Arabians*, with the *Philistims*, *Jebusites*, *Geshurites*, *Macathites*; all which acknowledged *David* for their Soveraign Lord, and paid him tribute.

Euseb & Cass. in Chron.

CHAP. XVII.
Of DAVID.

§. I.
Of Davids *estate in the time of* Saul.

THE hazzards which *David* ran into while he was yet only designed King, and lived as a private man, expecting the Empire, were very many. The first personal act of Fame, was his killing of *Goliah* in the view of both Armies, whereby he became known to *Saul*, and so highly affected of *Jonathan* the son of *Saul*, that he loved him as his own soul: Insomuch as when *Saul* sought to perswade his son that *David* would assuredly be the ruine of his house, and

and estate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cause; *Jonathan* could never be perswaded, never forc'd, nor ever wearied from the care of *David*'s life, and well doing. It was not long after this signal act of *David*, but that *Saul* became exceeding jealous of him, though he were become as his houshold servant, and his Esquire, or Armour-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an evil spirit, was advised to procure some cunning Musician to play before him upon the Harp; whereby it was thought that he might find ease; which came to pass accordingly. He entertained *David* for this purpose, and began to favour him, giving him a place of command among the men of War. But the jealous Tyrant soon waxed weary of his good affection, and sought to kill *David*, being thereunto moved only through envy of his Vertue. This passion first brake forth in the midst of his raving fit, at which time he threw a spear at *David* that was then playing on his Harp to do him ease.

Cens. c.12. & 14. *Censorinus* remembreth one *Asclepius* a Physician, who practised the curing of the Frenzy, by the like Musick: and tempered thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That *Pythagoras* did also the like by such a kind of harmony, *Seneca*, in his third book of Anger witnesseth. But the madness of *Saul* came from the cause of causes: and was thereby incurable, howsoever it sometimes left him, and yielded unto that Musick, which God had ordained to be a mean of more good to the Musician than to the King.

Saul having failed in such open attempts, gave unto *David* the command over 1000. Souldiers to confront the *Philistims* withall. For he durst not trust him as before, about his person, fearing his revenge. Now the better to cover his hatred towards him, he promised him his Daughter *Merab* to Wife: but having married her to *Adriel*, he gave to *David* his younger Daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to present him with an hundred foreskins of the *Philistims*: hoping rather (in respect of the valour of that Nation) that the *Philistims* would take *David*'s head, than he their foreskins. This hope failing, when as now *David*'s Victories begat new fears and jealousies in *Saul*, he practised with *Jonathan*, and afterwards with his own hands attempted his life, but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this he sought to murther him in his own house, but *Michol* his Wife delivered him. So *David* sought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being pursued by *Saul*, fled thence unto *Nob* in *Benjamin*, to *Abimelech*, then to *Achis* the *Philistim*, Prince of *Geth*: where to obscure himself, he was forc'd to counterfeit both simplicity and distraction. But being ill assured among the *Philistims*, he covered himself in the *Cave of Adullam*: and after conveying such of his Kinsfolks as were not fit to follow him, into *Moab*, he hid himself in the *deserts of Ziph*, *Maon*, and the Hils of *Engaddi*, where he cut off the lap of *Sauls* garment, and spared his life: as he did a second time in the *desart of Ziph*, after his passage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which he repaired to *Achis of Geth* the second time, and was kindly entertained, in regard of the hatred with which his Master *Saul* was known to prosecute him.

1 Sam. 19.

1 Sam. 21.

1 Sam. 24.

1 Sam. 29.

Jansen. in Psal.

Of *Achis David* obtained **Siglag* in *Simeon*, pretending to invade *Judæa*: but he bent his forces another way, and strook the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Israel*, letting none live to complain upon him. *Achis* supposing that *David* had drawn bloud of his own Nation, thought himself assured of him: and therefore preparing to invade *Israel*, summoneth *David* to assist him, who dissembling his intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the *Philistim* Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himself to *Siglag*. At his return he found the Town burnt, his two Wives, with the Wives and Children of his people, taken by the *Amalekites*: Hereupon his followers mutined, but God gave him comfort, and assurance to recover all again: which he did.

* It seemeth that *Simeon* never obtained *Siglag* till this time, for it is said in the 1 of *Sam.* c. 27. v. 6. therefore *Siglag* pertaineth unto the King of *Juda* unto this day.

This Army of the *Philistims* commanded by *Achis*, encountred *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three sons were slain. The newes, with *Saul*'s Crown and Bracelets, were brought to *David* at *Siglag*, in his return from being victorious over *Amaleck*, by a man of the same Nation, who avowed (though falsly) that himself at *Saul*'s request had slain him. *David*, because he had accused himself, made no scruple to cause him to be slain at the instant: and the sooner, because the probabilities gave strong evidence withal. Otherwise it followeth not that every man ought to be believed of himself to his own prejudice. For it is held in the law; *Confessio reorum non habenda est pro explorato crimine, nisi approbatio alia instruit religionem cognoscentis. The prisoners confession must not be taken for an evidence of the crime, unless some other proof inform the conscience of the Judge.* For a man may confess those things of himself, that the Judge by examination may know to be impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the

2 Sam. 1.

In F. de quæst. l. 1.

title

title *de cuſtodia reorum l. ſi confeſſus*, & *in cap. de pœnis l. qui ſententiam*, therefore doth the Gloſs reconcile theſe two places in this ſort: *Si quis in judicio ſponte de ſeipſo confiteatur*, & *poſteà maneat in confeſſione*, *id eſt ſatis*. *If any man in judgement do confeſs of himſelf, of his own accord, and after doth perſevere in his confeſſion, it is enough.* That *David* greatly bewailed *Saul*, it is not improbable; for death cutteth aſunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befel him being a King, with whom in effect the ſtrength of *Iſrael* alſo fell, could not but ſtir up ſorrow, and move compaſſion in the heart of *David*.

The victory which the *Philiſtims* had gotten, was ſo great, that ſome Towns of the *Iſraelites*, even beyond the river of *Jordan*, were abandoned by the Inhabitants, and left unto the enemy, who took poſſeſſion of them without any reſiſtance made. Wherefore it may ſeem ſtrange, that a Nation ſo warlike and ambitious as were the *Philiſtims*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and ſeek to make the Conqueſt entire. Moſt like it ſeems, that the civil war immediately breaking out between *David* and the houſe of *Saul*, wherein *Juda* was divided from the reſt of *Iſreal*, gave them hope of an eaſie victory over both; and thereby cauſed them to attempt nothing at the preſent, leſt by ſo doing they ſhould enforce their diſegreeing enemies to a neceſſary reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part ſhould conſume the other, by which means both the victors, and the vanquiſhed, would become a prey to the violence of ſuch as had beaten them, when their forces were united.

§. II.

Of the beginning of Davids *reign, and the war made by* Abner *for* Isboſeth.

AFter the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the War, ſought to advance *Isboſeth* (or *Jeboſtus*, according to *Joſephus*) though he had no right to the Kingdom of *Iſrael*: for *Mephiboſeth* the firſt ſon of *Jonathan* lived. Againſt this *Abner* and *Isboſeth*, *David* made a defenſive war, till *Abner* paſt *Jordan*, and entred the border of *Juda*; at which time he ſent *Joab* with ſuch forces as he had, to reſiſt *Abner*: *Isboſeth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *David* in *Hebron*. The armies encountred each other near *Gibeon*, where it ſeemeth that *Abner* made the offer to try the quarrel by the hands of a few; like to that combate between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Argives*, remembred by *Herodotus*, 300. being choſen of each Nation, of which number three perſons were only left unſlain. The like tryal by a far leſs number was performed by the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, for the *Romans* and *Latines*. The ſame challenge *Goliah* the *Philiſtim* made, whom *David* ſlew: a cuſtom very antient. *Edward* the third offered the like tryal in his own perſon to the French King; and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperour. There were twelve choſen of each part, in this war of *David* with the houſe of *Saul*, to wit, ſo many of *Benjamin*, and as many of *Juda*: whoſe force and valour was ſo equal, as there ſurvived not any one to challenge the victory. But the quarrel ſtaid not here, for the Army of *Juda* preſt *Abner* in groſs, and brake him. Three hundred and ſixty men of *Abners* companions were ſlain, and but twenty of *Juda*; whereof *Aſahel* the brother of *Joab* was one: who when he would needs purſue *Abner*, and by *Abners* perſwaſions could not be moved to quit him, he was forced to turn upon him, wounded him to death with the ſtroak of his ſpear. For though *Aſahel* 2. Sam. 2. were an excellent foot-man, and, as it is written in the Text, as light as a wild *Roe*, and as *Joſephus* reporteth, contended not onely with men, but with horſes; and hoped to have gotten great fame if he could have maſtered *Abner* (who, as *Aſahel* perſwaded himſelf, had by being overthrown, and flying away, loſt his courage) yet here it fell out Eccleſ. 9. true, *That the race is not to the ſwift.*

That this civil war laſted two years, we Verſe 10. find it written in the ſecond of *Samuel*, the ſecond Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is again made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter reſteth ſtill in diſpute, and ſome of the *Rabbines* conceive that *Isboſeth* had then reigned two years, when this was written, the War as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the party of *Isboſeth* after this, and till ſuch time as there grew jealouſie between him and *Isboſeth* for *Sauls* Concubine: neither did the death of *Isboſeth* inſtantly follow; but how long after the murther of *Abner* it happened, the ſame doth not certainly appear.

§. III.

Of the death of Abner *ſlain by* Joab, *and of* Isboſeth *by* Rechab *and* Baanah.

ABner, reconciled to *David*, was anon 2 Sam. 3. 27. by *Joab* murdered; for *Joab* could not endure a companion in *Davids* Favour, and in the commandment of his forces; by which

which he was grown ſo powerfull, as *David* forbare to call him to account: for thus much he confeſſeth of himſelf; *I am this day weak, and theſe men, the Sons of* Zer-
2 Sam. 3. 39. viah, *be too hard for me.* In this ſort *David* complained after *Abners* death; and to make it clear that he hated this fact of *Joab*, he followed him with this publike imprecation; *Let the blood fall on the head of*
Verſ. 29. Joab, *and on all his fathers houſe: and let them be ſubject to ulcers, to the leproſie, to lameneſs, to the ſword, and to poverty, &c.* For could any thing have withſtood the ordinance of God, this murther committed by *Joab* might greatly have indangered *Davids* eſtate, *Abner* being the mouth and truſt of all the reſt of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This miſchance therefore *David* openly bewailed, ſo that all *Iſrael* perceived him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held, being general of the men of war, was of ſuch importance, that the Kings themſelves were fain to give them great reſpect, as hath been already ſhewed more at large. This office *Joab* held in the army of *Juda*, and thought himſelf worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtain the whole Kingdom. For he was near to *David* in kindred, and had been partaker of all his adverſity; wherefore he did not think it meet, that an old enemy ſhould in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature ſo jealous of his dignity and place, that he afterward ſlew *Amaſa* his own kinſman, and the Kings, upon the ſame quarrel, taking it in high diſdain to ſee him joyned with himſelf as captain of the hoſt of *Juda*; much leſs could he brook a ſuperiour; and ſuch a one as had ſlain his brother, and been beaten himſelf, in battel. But howſoever *Joab* did hate or deſpiſe *Abner*, *David* eſteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in *Iſrael*, excuſing the overſight by which he might ſeem to have periſhed, by affirming that he dyed
2 Sam. 3. verſe 34. not like a fool, nor a man vanquiſhed, *But as a man falleth before wicked men, ſo* (ſaith he) *dideſt thou fall.* And certainly it is no error of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him, whom a ſtronger hand deſtroyed unawares, or whom ſubtilty in free truſt bringeth to confuſion. For all under the *Sun* are ſubject to worldly miſeries and miſadventures. Howſoever *Iſboſeth* meant to have dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, he deſpaired greatly of his eſtate, and with him all *Iſrael* were poſſeſt with great fear: in ſo much as two of *Iſboſeths* own Captains, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murthered *Iſboſeth*, and
2 Sam. 4. preſenting his head to *David*, received the ſame reward that the *Amalekite* lately did, for pretending to have ſlain *Saul*. *Iſboſeth*, being dead, all the Elders of *Iſrael* repaired to *David* at *Hebron*, where he was the third and laſt time anointed by general conſent.

§. IV.

Of the flouriſhing time of Davids *Kingdom, the taking of Jeruſalem, with two overthrows given to the Philiſtims, and the conduction of the Ark to the City of* David.

WHen *David* was now eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom, his firſt enterpriſe was upon the *Jebuſites*, who in deriſion of his force, and confident in the ſtrength of the place (as is thought) manned their walls with the blind and lame of their City; which *David* ſoon after entred, all their other forces notwithſtanding. For having maſtered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterward the City of *David*) he became 2 Sam. 5.
Lord of *Hieruſalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Jebuſites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, and after them almoſt 400. years. There are who expound this place, otherwiſe: *Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou ſhalt not come in hither.* For ſome think that it was meant by the *Idols* of the *Jebuſites*: others, that it had reference to the Covenant made long before with *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*: the one blind by nature and age, the other made lame by vvreſtling vvith the Angel, and that therefore till thoſe (that is, till that Covenant) be broken, *David* ought not to moleſt them. But for my ſelf, I take it vvith *Joſephus*, that they armed their walls with certain impotent people at firſt, in ſcorn of *Davids* attempt. For they that had held their City about 400. years againſt all the children of Iſrael, *Joſhua*, the *Judges*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it alſo againſt *David*.

When he had now poſſeſt himſelf of the very heart and Center of the Kingdom, and received congratulatory Embaſſadours and preſents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*: he entertained divers other concubines, and married moe wives, by whom he had ten ſons in *Jeruſalem*, and by his former wives, he had ſix in *Hebron* where he reigned 7. years.

The *Philiſtims* hearing that *David* was now anointed King, as well of *Juda* as of *Iſrael*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warm in his ſeat. And being encountred by *David* at two ſeveral times in the *Valley of Rephaim*, or of the *Giants*, they 2 Sam. 5.
were at both times overthrown. After which he called the place *Baalperazim*.

Then *David* assembled 30000. choice *Israelites* to conduct the *Ark of God* from the house of *Abinadab* in *Gibea* to the City of *David*; which business was interrupted by the death of *Uzzah* the son of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord slew for presuming to touch the *Ark*, though it were with intent to stay it from taking harm, when it was shaken. But after three years it was with great solemnity brought into the City with sacrifices, musick, dances, and all signs of joyfulness, in which *David* himself gladly bare a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the *Ark*, and afterward told him in scorn, *That he was uncovered as a fool in the eys of the maidens his servants*, namely, that he forgat his regal dignity both, in apparel and behaviour, and mixed himself among the base multitude, dancing as fools do in the ways and streets: not that she disliked *Davids* behaviour (as I take it) though she made it the colour of her derision; but rather the aboundant griefe, which this spectacle stirred up, beholding the glory of her husband to whom she was delivered lastly by force, and remembring the miserable end of her father and brethren, out of whose ruines she conceived that the son of *Ishai* had built this his greatness: together with the many new wives and concubines imbraced since his possession of *Jerusalem*, made her break out in those despiteful tearms, for which she remained barren to her death.

1 *Chr.* c 3. This done, *David* consulted with the Prophet *Nathan* for the building of the Temple or house of *God*, but was forbidden it, because he was a man of vvar, and had shed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest homicide; having threatned, not in vain, that he would require the blood of a man, at the hand of man and beast. The wars which *David* had made vvere just, and the bloud therein shed vvas of the enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cause it vvas not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy temple, hereby it appears how greatly those Princes deceive themselves, who think by bloud-shed & terror of their wars, to make themselves in greatness like to the *Almighty*, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercy and goodness, or seek the blessedness promised by our *Saviour* unto the peace-makers.

Now although it vvas not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of *Davids* founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon he received both a confirmation of the Kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happy promise of the everlasting Throne that should be established in his seed.

§. V.

The overthrow of the Philistims and Moabites.

SOon after this *David* overthrew the *Philistims*, which made them altogether powerless, and unable to make any invasion upon *Israel* in hast. For it is written, *Accepit frænum Amgaris è manu Philisthæorum*; 2 *Sam.* 8. v. 1. which place our *English Geneva* converts in these words, And *David took the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Philistims*. The Latin of *Junius* giveth another and a better sence; for by that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the strong City of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and so the *Geneva* hath it in the marginal note. This City of *Gath* was the same which was afterward *Dio-Cæsarea*, set on the frontier of *Palæstina*, at the entrance into *Judæa* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retreat in all their invasions, which being taken by *David* and demolished, there was left no such frontier town of equal strength to the *Philistims* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* stood, the *Hebrews* call *Ammæ*, whereof and of the word *Gar* is made *Amgar*, of which *Pliny* in his first book, and chap. 13. This exposition is made plain, and confirmed in the first of *Chro.* the 18. *Junius* in c. 8. of the 2. of *Sam.*

There was no nation bordering the *Jews* that so greatly afflicted them as the *Philistims* did, who before the time of *Saul* (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leave one Smith in all their Cities and Villages of that kind, but inforc'd them to come down into their territory, for all iron work whatsoever they needed; so as the *Israelites* till this time of *David*, were seldom free from paying tribute to the *Philistims*. 1 *Sam.* 13.

After this he gave them four other overthrows: but the war of the *Moabites* and *Arabians* came between. In the first of which he was indangered by *Ishbi-benob*, the head of whose spear weighed 300. shekles of brass which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Abishai* succoured *David*, and slew the *Philistim*, vvhereupon the Counsellours and Captains of *David* (lest the light of *Israel* might by his loss be quenched) vowed that he should not thenceforth hazzard himself in any battell. The second and third encounter and overthrow of the *Philistims* was at *Gob*, a place neer *Gesar*, and the last at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better assured of the *Philistims* by the taking of *Geth*, he invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithstanding in his adversity he sought succour, and left his parents with him 2 *Sam.* 21. v. 17.

in

in truſt. But whether it were the ſame King or no, it is not known.

The *Rabbines* feign that *Moab* ſlew thoſe kinsfolks of *David*, which lived under his protection in *Sauls* time; but queſtionleſs *David* well knew how that Nation had been alwaies enemies to *Iſrael*, and took all the occaſions to vex them that were offered. And he alſo remembred that in the 23. of *Deut.* God commanded *Iſrael*, not to ſeek the peace or proſperity of the *Moabites*; which *David* well obſerved, for he deſtroyed two parts of the people, leaving a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his Army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria Zobah*, the region of *Hadadezer* the ſon of *Rehob* King thereof. The place is ſet down in the deſcription of the holy Land: to which I refer the Reader.

§. VI.

The war which David *made upon the Syrians.*

IT is written in the Text: David *ſmote alſo* Hadadezer, *&c. as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates.* Now whether the words (*as he went to recover his border*) be referred to *David* or *Hadadezer*, it is not agreed upon. *Junius* thinks that the article (*he*) hath relation to *David*, who finding *Tohu* oppreſt by *Hadadezer*, overthrew the one, and ſuccoured the other. But the ancient and moſt received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the *Syrian*, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any ſuch enterprize towards *Euphrates*, he was in far better caſe to have proceeded after his victory than before: ſeeing that (*Hadadezer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his back, either to purſue him, to take victuals and ſupplies from him, or to the paſſages of the mountains upon him at his return.

Again, ſeeing *David* was either to paſs through a part of *Arabia* the deſart, or by the plains of *Palmyrena*, his Army conſiſting of footmen, for the moſt, if not all: He had now both Horſe and Chariots good ſtore to carry his proviſions through thoſe uncultived places, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached *Euphrates*, or any part thereof. But we find that *David* returned to *Jeruſalem*, after he had twice overthrown the *Syrian* Army, not bending his courſe towards the river *Euphrates*, but ſeeking to eſtabliſh his purchaſes already made. Whereby it may appear, that it was the *Syrian*, and not King *David*, that was going to enlarge his border, as afore is ſaid.

The King of *Syria*, *Damaſcena*, and of *Damaſcus*, whereof that region is ſo called, hearing that *Hadadezer* was overthrown by the *Iſraelites*, fearing his own eſtate, and the loſs of his own countrey which adjoyned to *Syria Zoba* of *Hadadezer*, ſent for an Army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his ſuccour: but theſe, as it appeareth, came too late for *Hadadezer*, and too ſoon for themſelves: for there periſhed of thoſe ſupplies 22000. This King of *Damaſcus*, *Joſephus* (out of *Nicholaus* an antient Hiſtorian) calleth *Adad*, who was alſo of the ſame name and family as alſo thoſe other *Adads* were: which now began to grow up in greatneſs, and ſo continued for ten deſcents, till they were extinguiſhed by the *Aſſyrians*, as is ſhewed heretofore. *David* having now reduced *Damaſcus* under his obedience, left a garriſon therein, as he did in *Edom*: having alſo ſackt the adjoyning Cities of *Betah*, and *Berathi*, belonging to *Hadadezer*, of which Cities *Ptolomy* calleth *Betah*, *Tauba*: and *Berathi* he nameth *Barathena*, *Tohu* or *Thoi*, whoſe country of *Hamath* joyned to *Adadezer* (as in the deſcription of the holy Land the Reader may perceive) ſent his ſon *Joram* to congratulate this ſucceſs of *David*: partly becauſe he had war with *Hadadezer*, & partly becauſe he feared *David* now victorious. He alſo preſented *David* with veſſels of gold, ſilver, and braſs; all which, together with the golden ſhields of the *Aramites*, and the beſt of all the ſpoiles of other Nations, *David* dedicated unto God at his return. *Junius* tranſlated the words (*Clypeos aureos*) by *Umbones*, as if all the parts of the Targets were not of gold, but the boſſes only. The *Septuagint* call them bracelets: *Aquila*, golden chains. But becauſe *Roboam* made ſhields of braſs in place of theſe of *Hadadezer*, at ſuch time as *Shicah* the *Egyptian* ſack'd the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, it may be gathered thereby that thoſe of *Hadadezer* were golden ſhields. 2 Sam. 8.

This done, *David* ſent Embaſſadours to *Hanum* King of the *Ammonites*, to congratulate his eſtabliſhment in his fathers Kingdom: for *David*, in the time of his affliction under *Saul*, had been relieved by *Nahaſh*, the father of *Hanum*. But this *Ammonite* being ill adviſed, and over jealous of his eſtate, uſed *Davids* Meſſengers ſo barbarouſly, and contemptuouſly (by curtailing their beards, and their garments) as he thereby drew a War upon himſelf, which neither his own ſtrength, nor all the ayds purchaſed, could put off or ſuſtain. For notwithſtanding that he had waged three and thirty thouſand Souldiers of the *Amalekites*, and their confederates; to wit, of the vaſſals of *Hadadezer* twenty thouſand, 2 Sam. 1.

and of *Maachah* and *Ishtob* thirteen thousand (for which he disbursed a thousand talents of silver) yet all these great Armies, together with the strength of the *Ammonites* were by *Joab* and his brother *Abishai* easily broken and put to ruine: and that without any great loss or slaughter at that time. And it is written, that when the *Aramites* fled, the *Ammonites* also retraited into their Cities, the one holding themselves within the walls, the other in their deserts adjoyning, till *Joab* was returned to *Hierusalem*.

Machah the North part of *Traconitis* remembred in *Deut.* 3. 14.

Ishtob or *Thob* a country near *Gad* under the rocks of *Arnon*.

2 *Sam.* 10.

Hadadezer hearing that *Joab* had dismissed his Army, assembled his forces again, and sent all the Companies that he could levy out of *Mesopotamia*; who under the command of *Shobach* passed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helam*, on the South side thereof. *David* hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest men of *Israel*, and marched toward the *Syrian* Army in *Palmyrena*, not yet entred into *Arabia*; to wit, at *Helam*, a place no less distant from *Damascus*, towards the North-east, than *Jerusalem* was towards the South-west. Now *David* (speaking humanely) might with the more confidence go on towards *Euphrates* (which was the farthest-off journey that ever he had) because he was now Lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the midway. He also possest himself of **Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Salomon* afterward strongly fortified; and this City was but one dayes journey from *Helam*, and the river *Euphrates*. So had he two safe retraits, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this encounter between *David* and the *Syrians*, they lost 40000. horsemen, and 700. chariots, together with *Shobach* General of their Army. The Chronicles call these 40000. Souldiers, footmen, and so *Junius* converts it, and so is it very probable. For the Army of *Israel* consisting of footmen, could hardly have slaughtered 40000. horsemen, except they quitted their horse and fought on foot. So are the chariots taken in this battel numbred at 7000. in the first of *Chronicles* the ninth; in which number, as I conceive, all the Souldiers that served in them, with the conductors, are included: so as there dyed of the *Syrians* in this war against *David*, before he forc't them to tribute, 100000. footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggoners, and besides all those that *Joab* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the *Ammonites* before *Rabbah*. Notwithstanding all which, the *Adads* in following ages gathered strength again, and afflicted the Kings of *Juda* often: but the Kings of *Israel* they impoverished, even to the last end of that State.

Helam or *Chelam* which *Ptolomy* calleth *Alamatha* near the foords of *Euphrates*.

2 *Sam.* 10.

* See c. 18. sect. 2.

David having now beaten the *Arabians* and *Mesopotamians*, from the party and confederacy of *Ammon*: He sent out *Joab* the Lievtenant of his Armies to forrage and destroy their territory, and to besiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the *Israelites* mastered and possest. The Kings Crown which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, *David* set on his own head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoil of the City. And though *David* stayed at *Jerusalem*, following the war of *Uriah* his wife, till such time as the City was brought to extremity, and ready to be entred: yet *Joab* in honour of *David* forbare the last assault, and entrance thereof, till his masters arrival. To the people he used extream rigour (if we may so call it being exercised against heathen Idolaters,) for some of them he tare with harrows, some he sawed asunder, others he cast into burning kills, in which he baked tyle and brick.

§. VII.

Of Davids *troubles in his reign, and of his forces.*

BUt as victory begetteth security, and our present worldly felicity a forgetfulness of our former miseries, and many times of God himself the giver of all goodness; so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly he had to please God in the precise observation of his Laws and Commandements: For having now no dangerous apparent enemy (against whom he was wont to ask counsel from the Lord) he began to be advised by his own humane affections and vain desires: For he was not onely satisfied to take *Uriah*'s wife from him, and to use her by stealth; but he imbrodered his adultery with *Uriah*'s slaughter, giving order to his trusty servant *Joab* to marshal him in the front or point of those *Israelites*, which gave an assault upon the suburbs of *Rabba*, when there was not as yet any possibility of prevailing. And that which could no less displease God than the rest, he was content that many others of his best servants and souldiers should perish together with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent against him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the highest of happiness, and his dayes then to come were

2 *Sam.* 11. 15.

filled

filled with joyes and woes interchangeable, his troden-down ſorrows began again to ſpring, and thoſe perils which he had pulled up by the roots (as he hoped) gave him an after-harveſt of many cares and diſcontentments. And if it had pleaſed GOD to take the witneſs of *Davids* own mouth againſt him, as *David* himſelf did againſt the *Amalekite*, which pretended to have ſlain *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehenſion as the other was of the death he ſuffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded unto him his own errour in the perſon of another, to wit, of him that took the poor mans ſheep that had none elſe, the bereaver being Lord of many; He then vowed it to the living Lord, that ſuch a one ſhould die the death. And hereof, although it pleaſed God to pardon *David* for his life, which remiſſion the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced; yet he delivered him Gods juſtice together with his mercy in the tenour following; *Now therefore the ſword ſhall never depart from thy houſe, &c. becauſe thou haſt taken his wife to be thy wife, and haſt ſlain* Uriah *with the ſword of the children of Ammon.* Soon after this, *David* loſt the child of adultery which he begot on *Berſheba*. Secondly, his own ſon *Ammon*, being in love with his half ſiſter *Thamar*, by the advice of his couſin-german the ſon of *Shimeah Davids* brother, poſſeſt her by force: which when he had performed, he thruſt her from him in a careleſs and deſpiteful manner. Two years after which foul and inceſtuous act, *Abſalom* cauſed him to be murthered at the feaſt of his ſheep-ſhearing: not perchance in revenge of *Thamars* raviſhment alone; but having it in his heart to uſurp the Kingdom, in which, becauſe he could not in any ſort be aſſured of *Ammon*, he thought his affairs greatly advanced by his deſtruction. So the one brother having raviſhed his own ſiſter, and then deſpiſed her; the other after a long diſſembled malice firſt made his own brother drunken, and then ſlaughtered him, which done, he fled away, and lived under the ſafeguard of *Talmai* King of *Geſſur*, near *Damaſcus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when *Abſalom* by the invention of *Joab* (but chiefly becauſe of the great affection of *David* towards his ſon) was brought again firſt to the Kings favour, and then to his preſence; he began inſtantly to practiſe againſt *David* his father, ſeeking by the pretence of common juſtice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equity, to win unto himſelf a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction threatned by the Lord as a puniſhment of *Davids* ſin.

2 Sam. 12. 9, 10.

2 Sam. 13.

2 Sam. 14.

The company which *Abſalom* gathered at the firſt were but 200. men: which he carried with him from *Jeruſalem* to *Hebron*, pretending, though impiouſly, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired unto him, and many troops of people from all places, he proclaimed himſelf King, and was by the people (whoſe hearts God had turned from their lawful Prince) accepted ſo readily, that *David* doubting to be ſet upon on the ſudden, durſt not truſt himſelf in his own City of *Jeruſalem*, nor in any other walled town for fear of ſurpriſe: but incamped in the fields and deſarts with ſome 600. of his guard, and few elſe. The Prieſts he left in *Jeruſalem* with the Ark of God, from whom he deſired to be advertiſed of thoſe things that chanced; to whom he directed *Huſhai* his truſty friend, and ſervant, praying him to make himſelf in all his outward actions and counſels of *Abſaloms* party and confederacy, thereby the better to diſcover unto him the purpoſes of *Achitophel*, a revolting Counſellour, whoſe practices he greatly doubted. And now when treaſon was in faſhion, *Ziba* alſo ſought to betray his maſter *Mephiboſeth* the ſon of *Jonathan*: And *Shimei* of the houſe of *Saul* (the fire of whoſe hatred *Davids* proſperity had ſmothered, but his adverſity illightned) holding himſelf upon the advantage of a mountain ſide, caſt ſtones at *David*, and moſt deſpightfully curſed him to his face: but *David* attending no private revenges, forbad *Abiſhai* to purſue him for the preſent, yet left him among others in the roll of his revenge, to his ſon *Salomon*. *Abſalom* being now poſſeſt of *Jeruſalem*, was adviſed by *Achitophel* to uſe his fathers concubines in ſome ſuch publick place, as all *Iſrael* might aſſure themſelves, that he was irreconcilable to his father: whereof being perſwaded, they would then reſolvedly adhere to *Abſalom* and his cauſe, without fear of being given up upon a reconciliation between them. This ſalvage and impious (though crafty counſel) *Achitophel* indeed urged for his own reſpect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his deſtruction, who moſt of all other inflamed *Abſalom* againſt his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *David*: *I will raiſe up evill againſt thee out of thine own houſe, and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour, and he ſhall lye with thy wives in the ſight of the Sun: for thou diddeſt it ſecretly, but I will do this thing before all Iſrael, and before the Sun.* He alſo gave advice to *Abſalom*,

2 Sam. 15.

2 Sam. 16.

2 Sam. 17.

2 Sam c. 12. v. 11.

Absalom, that himself with an Army of
2 Sam 17. v. 14. 12000. men might be employed at the instant for the surprizing of *David*; which had willingly been imbraced by *Absalom*, had not *Hushai Davids* faithful servant given counter-advice, and swayed it: perswading *Absalom* that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of *Israel* to pursue his father, than by such a troop, which *Davids* valour and those of his attendants might either indanger or resist. This delay in *Absalom*, and advantage of time gained by *David*, was indeed, after God, the loss of the one, and delivery of the other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the occa-
2 Sam 17. 23. sion fore-shewed) the success which followed, disposed of his own estate, and then forsook both the party and the care of *Absalom*, and of his own life.

David being advertised of this enterprize against him, marched away all night, and past *Jordan*, possessing himself of *Mahanaim* in the Tribe of *Gad*: the same wherein *Ishboseth* himself in the war against *David* after *Sauls* death seated himself. To which place there repaired unto him *Shobi* the son of *Nahash* the *Ammonite*, whom *David* loved, the same which *Josephus* calleth *Shiphar*. And though it be greatly disputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the most general and probable opinion makes him a second brother to *Hanum*, whom *David* for his fathers sake established in the Kingdom, after *Hanums* overthrow: in thankfulness whereof he relieved *David* in this his extremity. There came also to *Davids* assistance *Machir* of *Lodobar*, Guardian in former times to *Mephiboseth*, and among others *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, who willingly fed *David* and all his company.

In the mean time both the King and *Absalom* prepared to fight; *Absalom* made *Amasa* Commander of the Army of *Israel*, the same place which *Joab* held with *David*; an office next the King himself, like unto that of the Maiors of the Palace anciently in *France*. *David*, perswaded by his company, stayed in *Mahanaim*, and disposed the forces he had to *Joab*, *Abishai*, and *Ittai*, giving them charge in the hearing of all that issued out of the port of *Mahanaim*, that they should spare the life of *Absalom*. But *Joab*, besides that he was very cruel by nature, remembred that *Absalom* had lately disposed of his government to *Amasa*, and therefore the victory being obtained, and news brought him
2 Sam. 18 14. that *Absalom* hung by the hair of his head on a tree, when he could not perswade the messenger to return and kill him, he himself with his own servants dispatcht him. It appeared also by the sequel that *Joab* affected *Adonijah* whom he afterward acknowledged, *David* yet living; and fearing the disposition of *Absalom*, he imbraced the present advantage offered. 2 Sam. 18.

Hereof, together with news of the victory, when knowledge was brought to *David*, he mourned and sorrowed, not onely as a man that had lost a son, but as one that had out-lived all his worldly joys, and seen every delight of life interred. For he so hid himself from his people, as those which hoped for honour and reward after so great a victory, covered themselves also in the City, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deserved death than recompence. Whereupon *Joab* presenting himself before *David*, perswaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to shew himself to the Army. For first, he told him that he had discountenanced his faithful servants, who had that day preserved his life; inferring that nothing could be more dangerous to a King, than not onely not to acknowledge so great a love and constancy in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resolvedly expose themselves to great perils for his sake: but on the contrary, grieve and lament at their good success. For, no doubt, they might all have bought their peace of *Absalom* at an easie rate. Secondly, he urged, that it was generally believed, that he loved his enemies, and hated his friends; and that he witnessed by this his mourning, that he had not any respect of his Princes, and others his faithful servants, but would more have joyed if they had all perished, and *Absalom* lived, than in the victory by their faithfulness and approved valour gotten.

Lastly, he used this prevalent argument, That if the King came not out and shewed himself publickly to his men of war, that they would all that very night abandon him, and return: concluding with this fearful threatning, *And that will be worse unto thee than all the evil that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto.* By these over-bold and arrogant speeches (though perchance uttered with a good intent) *Joab* raised *David* from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the City among the people, whom he assured of his love and affection, especially *Amasa*, who commanded the Army of *Absalom*, to whom he promised the office of Lievtenantship; the same which *Absalom* had given him, and which *Joab* now enjoyed. For *David* doubted, that if *Amasa* were not satisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the strength of *Israel*, now under his commandment. 2 Sam. 19. This

2 Sam. 19. 39. This done, the King marched towards *Jordan* homeward, vvhere in his paſſage he pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reviled him to his face: but this remiſſion vvas but external, as appeared afterward. He alſo accepted of *Mephiboſheth* his excuſe, whom *Ziba* had falſly accuſed and betrayed.

2 Sam. 19. 38. He alſo intreated *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, his late liberal hoſt, to follow him to *Jeruſalem*, that he might reward his ſervice done him; who excuſing himſelf by his age, appointed his ſon *Chimham* to attend the King.

At *Gilgal* on this ſide *Jordan*, all the Tribes aſſembled, and after ſome contention which of them ought to have moſt intereſt in *David*, the Army brake, and *David* returned to *Jeruſalem*. But *Sheba* the ſon of *Bichri*, a *Benjamite*, of the faction of the houſe of *Saul*; finding ſome diſcontent among the *Iſraelites*, withdrew them from *David*, as from a ſtranger in whom they had no intereſt, and it ſeemeth that many of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but *Juda*, bare ſtill a good affection to the iſſues of their firſt King. *David* imployed his reconciled Captain *Amaſa*, to give him contentment, and to witneſs his truſt, as alſo becauſe he conceived that *Amaſa* had intereſt in thoſe revolts of *Iſrael* more than *Joab* had. He received commandement from *David* to aſſemble the Army within three dayes, which he foreſlowed: but being onward on his way, *Abiſhai*, *Joabs* brother, was ſent after him, with *Davids* guard and beſt Soudiers, whom alſo *Joab* accompanied: and overtaking *Amaſa* near *Gibeon*, pretending to imbrace him, gave him a wound, whereof he fell dead, being no leſs jealous of *Amaſa* than he was of *Abner*, whom he murdered in the ſame manner, and out of the ſame impatient ambition. This done, he purſued *Sheba*; and finding him incloſed in *Abel*, aſſaulted the City with that fury, that the Citizens by the perſwaſions of a wiſe woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba* his head, and flung it to *Joab* over the walls: which done, he retreated his Army to *Jeru-*

2 Sam. 20. 12. *ſalem*, and commanded, as before, all the Hoaſt of *Iſrael*.

The next act of *David*, was the delivery of *Sauls* ſons or kinſmen to the *Gibeonites*, whom thoſe Citizens hung up in revenge of their fathers cruelty. *David* had knowledge from the *Oracle of God*, that a famine which had continued on the land three years, came by reaſon of *Saul* and his houſe, to wit, for the ſlaughter of the *Gibeonites*: and therefore he willingly yielded to give them this ſatisfaction, both becauſe he had warrant from God himſelf, as alſo, if we may judge humanely, to rid himſelf of *Sauls* line, by whom he and his might, aſwell in the preſent as in the future, be greatly moleſted and indangered; onely he ſpared *Miphiboſheth* the ſon of *Jonathan*, both for the love he bare to his father, and for his oath and vow to God.

Now whereas it is written in the Text, *The King took the two ſons of* Riſpah, *whom* 2 Sam. 21. *ſhe bare unto* Saul, *and the five ſons of* Michol *the daughter of* Saul, *whom ſhe bare to* Adriel, *and delivered them to the Gibeonites*: *Junius* calls this *Michol* the ſiſter of her that was *Davids* wife, ſhe whom *Saul* married to *Phaltiel*: but *Michol* here named, had *Adriel* to her huſband; the ſame which is named *Merab* in the firſt of *Samuel* the eighteenth, who was firſt promiſed to *David* when he ſlew *Goliah* in the Valley *Raphaim*: and becauſe it is written that *Michol* loved *David*, which perchance *Merab* did not, whether *David* had any humane reſpect in the delivery of her children, it is onely known to God.

Now where the *Geneva* nameth *Michol* for *Merab* the wife of *Adriel*: the better tranſlation were out of the Hebrew word here uſed, having an eclipſis or defect, and ſignifieth, as I am informed, one of the ſame kindred, as in the 19. verſe of the ſame one and twentieth chapter it is ſaid of *Goliah*, *whoſe ſpear was weighty as a Weavers beam*, when as by the ſame eclipſis it muſt be underſtood by the brother of *Goliah*; *Goliah* himſelf being formerly ſlain.

As by the death of *Sauls* children God ſecured the houſe of *David*, leaving no head unto rebellion: ſo did he ſtrengthen both the King and Nation againſt forreign enemies by the valour of many brave Commanders, the like of whom, for number and quality, that people of *Iſrael* is not known to have had at any time before or after. Thirty Captains of thouſands there were, all men of mark, and great reputation in war. Over theſe vvere ſix Collonels, vvhoſe valour vvas ſo extraordinary, that it might be vvell held as miraculous. Theſe Collonels had ſome difference of place and honour, vvhich ſeemeth to have been given upon meer conſideration of their vertue. For *Abiſhai* the brother of *Joab*, vvho in the vvar againſt the *Ammonites* and *Aramites* was Lievtenant, and commanded half the army, could not attain to the honour of the firſt rank, but was fain to reſt contented with being principal of the three Collonels of the ſecond order, notwithſtanding his nearneſs of blood unto the King, the flouriſhing eſtate of his own houſe, and his vvell approved ſervices.

All

All these Collonels and Captains, with the Companies belonging to them, may seem to have been such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readiness for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawn out, if need required, into the field, very far exceeded thirty thousand, yea, or thirty times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in *Saul*'s time, and been hardned with his adversities. Others there were very many, and principal men in their several Tribes, that repaired unto him after the death of *Saul*; but these Captains and Collonels (who with *Joab*, that was General of all the Kings Forces, make up the number of 37.) were the special men of War, and reckoned as *David*'s Worthies. The long reign of *David*, as it is known to have consumed many of these excellent men of War, so may it probably be ghessed to have wasted the most of those whose deaths we find no where mentioned. For the sons of *Zervia*, who had been too hard for *David*, were worn away, and only *Joab* left in the beginning of *Salomon*, who wanted his brother *Abishai* to stand by his side in his last extremity.

2 Sam. 23. 39.

By the actions forepassed in the time of *David*, it is gathered, that he had reigned now 33. years or thereabouts, when the posterity of *Saul* was rooted out, so that he enjoyed about seven years of entire quiet and security, wherein it pleased God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the succession of *Salomon* in his Fathers Throne. In this time also *David* having established all things in *Juda* and *Israel*, and the borders thereof, he again displeased God by numbring the people, as in ostentation of his power: in which he employed *Joab*, with other Captains of his Army, who after nine moneths and twenty dayes travel, returned with the account and register of all the people, able and fit to bear Arms, and they amounted to the number of thirteen hundred thousand, besides *Levi* and *Benjamin*, where-
2 Sam. 24. 1 Chro. 21. of in *Juda* and the Cities thereof, five hundred thousand, and in *Israel* eight hundred thousand.

For this, when by the Prophet *Gad* he was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himself to which he pleased; to wit, seven years Famine; three moneths War, wherein he should be unprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a general pestilence to last three dayes: *David* made choice to bow himself under the hand of God only, and left himself subject to that cruel disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished 70. thousand. And hereby he hath taught all that live, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giveth this divine reason, *For his mercies are great.* 2 Sam. 14.

§. VIII.

Of the last acts of David; Adonijahs *faction*; *the revenge upon* Joab *and* Shimei.

LAstly, when he grew weak and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of Women, he was yet advised to lie in the arms of a young and well-complexioned Maiden, to keep him warm. In this his weak estate of body, when he was in a manner bed-rid, *Adonijah* his eldest son (*Ammon* and *Absalom* being now dead) having drawn unto his party that invincible, renowned and feared *Joab*, with *Abiathar* the Priest, began manifestly to prepare for his establishment in the Kingdom after his Father. For being the eldest now living of *David*'s sons, and a man of goodly personage, *Salomon* yet young, and born of a Mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was omitted by Saint *Matthew* (as *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Thomas*, and others suppose) he presumed to carry the matter without resistance. Hereof when *David* had knowledge by *Bersabe* the Mother of *Salomon*, who did put him in mind of his faithful promise, that *Salomon*, her son should reign after him (*Nathan* the Prophet affirming the same thing unto the King, and seconding her report of *Adonijah* his presumption) the King calling unto him *Zadoc* the Priest, *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Benajah* the Captain of his Guard, gave charge and commission to anoint *Salomon*, and to set him on the Mule whereon himself used to ride in his greatest state: which done, *Salomon* attended, and strongly guarded by the ordinary and choice men of War, the *Cherethites*, and *Pelethites*, shewed himself to the people. These tidings being reported to *Adonijah*, he presently abandoned his assistants, and for the safety of his life, he held by the horns of the Altar, whom for the present *Salomon* pardoned. After this, *David* had remaining two especial cares, whereof he was desirous to discharge his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the Land, which might be disturbed by some Rebellion against *Salomon*; the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he sought by all means to advance, and make the business publick. To bring these intentions to good effect, he summoned a 1 Reg. 3.

Parliament,

Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of *Israel*, the Princes of the several Tribes, all
1 Ch. 28. 1. the Captains and Officers, with all the mighty, and men of power; who did repair unto *Jerusalem*.

In this Assembly the King stood up, and signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he took occasion to lay open his own title to the Crown, shewing that the Kingdom was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of *Juda* (as *Jacob* in his blessing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himself was pleased to make choice of him among all his Fathers sons. In like manner he said that God himself had appointed *Salomon* by name to be his Successour; whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his son to conform themselves unto all that God had commanded, and particularly to go forward in this Work of the Lords house, which *Salomon* was chosen to build.
1 Chro. 29. Then produced he the pattern of the Work, according to the form which God himself had appointed; and so laying open his own preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

The Kings proposition was so well approved by the Princes and people, that whereas he himself had given three thousand talents of gold, and seven thousand of silver, they added unto it seven thousand of gold, and ten thousand of silver, besides brass, iron, and Jewels, heartily rejoycing in the advancement of so religious a Work. This business being so well dispatched, a solemn Feast with great sacrifice was made, at which time *Salomon* was again anointed King, and received fealty of all the Princes and people of the Land, and of all the Princes his brethren, the sons of King *David*. *Salomon* being thus established King, his Father *David* finding himself even in the hands of death, first exhorted his son to exercise the same courage and strength of mind, which himself had done in all his attempts: and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprizes, he uttered
1 King. 2. 3. these mighty words; *Take heed to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his wayes, and keep his statutes, and his commandements, and his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of* Moses, *&c.* to the performance of which GOD fastned the successions, and prosperity of his issues. For this
1 King. 1. 20. done (saith GOD himself) *Thou shalt not want one of thy Posterity to sit upon the Throne of* Israel.

Secondly, he advised him concerning *Joab*; who out of doubt had served *David* from the first assault of *Jerusalem* to the last of his Wars, with incomparable valour and fidelity, saving that he fastened himself to *Adonijah* (his master yet living) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath never left cruelty unrevenged, so was it his will that *Joab* should drink of the same cup, whereof he hath enforced other men to taste, and suffer the same violence which himself had unjustly strooken others withal, *Qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit:* for he had bereaved *Abner* and *Amasa* of their lives, having against the one the pretence only of his brothers slaughter, whom *Abner* had slain in the time of War, and could not avoid him: against the other but a meer jealousie of his growing great in the favour of *David*. And though *Joab* assured himself that *Abner* and *Amasa* being dead, there was none left either to equal him, or supplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raised up *Benhajah* the son of *Jehojadah*, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in peeces. For *David* giveth this cause to *Salomon* against *Joab*, that he slew the Captains of the 1 King. 2. Hoast of *Israel*, and shed bloud of battel in peace; and to this apparent and just cause, it is not improbable but that *David* remembred the ill affection of *Joab* towards *Salomon*, which *Joab* made manifest by the untimely setting up of *Adonijah*, *David* yet living. Some other offence *Joab* had committed against *David*, of which in these words he put his son *Salomon* in mind; *Thou knowest also what* Joab *the son of* Serviah *did to me, &c.* 1 King. 2. Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Absalom*, contrary to the Kings desire, or by the proud words used to him when he mourned in *Mahanaim* for *Absalom*; or whether it were the publishing of *Davids* letter unto him for the killing of *Uriah*, thereby to disgrace *Salomon* as descended of such a mother, the Scriptures are silent. True it is, that those great men of War do oftentimes behave themselves exceeding insolently towards their Princes, both in respect of their service done, as also because they flatter themselves with an opinion, that either their masters cannot miss them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kind of pride hath overthrown many a worthy man otherwise deserving great honour and respect.

He also gave order to *Salomon* to rid himself of *Shimei*, who not long before had cast stones at *David*, and cursed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promise *David* spared *Shimei* all the time him- 1 King. 2. self lived, yet being dust and in the grave, he slew him by the hand of *Salomon* his son. Hence it seemeth that King *Henry* the se-

venth of *England* had his pattern, when he gave order to *Henry* the Eighth to execute *Pool* as soon as himself was buried, having made promise to the King of *Spain*, when he delivered *Pool* unto him, that while he lived he would never put him to death, nor suffer violent hands to be laid upon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Joab* yeeld unto *Salomon* any such great profit or assurance as he hoped for. For he found a young *Adad* of *Idumæa*, and *Resin* of *Damascus* to vex him: who, as the Scriptures witness, were emboldened to enterprize upon
1 King. 11 *Salomon*, hearing that *David* slept with his Fathers, and that *Joab* the Captain of the Hoast was dead. Now when *David* had reigned in all forty years, to wit, in *Hebron* 7. years, and in *Jerusalem* three and thirty, he died.

For his person, he was of small stature, but exceeding strong. For his internal gifts and graces, he so far exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailty apart, he was said by God himself to be a man according to his own heart. The Psalms which he wrote, witness his piety, and his excellent learning: of whom *Hierome* to *Paulinus*: David Simonides *noster*, Pindarus, & Alcæus, Flaccus, *quoque* Catullus, & Serenus, *Christum lyra personat, & in decachordo Psalterio ab inferis suscitat resurgentem*; David (saith he) *our* Simonides, Pindarus, Alcæus, Horace, Catullus *and* Serenus, *he playeth Christ on his Harp, and on a ten-stringed Psalter he raiseth him up rising from the dead.* And being both a King and a Prophet, he foretelleth Christ more lightsomly and lively than all the rest.

The book of the Psalms, saith *Glycas*, was divided, ordered and distinguished by *Ezekias*: but whether all the Psalms were written by *David*, it is diversly disputed. For
Athan. in Synop. Hier. Epist. 134 Lyran. in exp. 1. Psal. *Athanasius*, *Cyprian*, *Lyranus*, and others conceive divers Authors answering the titles of the several Psalms, as *Moses*, *Salomon*, and the rest hereafter named; and that only 73. Psalms were composed by *David* himself, namely, those which are intituled *ipsius David*. For the 50. and the 72. with the ten that follow, are bestowed on *Asaph* the son of *Barachia*, eleven other on the sons of *Korath*; and eleven are ascribed to *Moses*, to wit, the 89. and the ten following, and so they are intituled in the old Hebrew Copies, though the Vulgar and Septuagint (three excepted) stile them otherwise. The supposed nine Authors of these Psalms which *David* wrote not, *Sixt. Senensis* nameth as followeth; *Salomon*, *Moses*, (whom *Aben Ezra*, contrry to *Hierome*, maketh one of *David*'s singers) *Asaph*, *Ethan-Eziachi*, *Eman-Eziaira*, *Idithum*, and the three sons of *Chore*. But S. *Chrysostome* makes *David* the sole Author of all the Psalms, and so doth S. *Augustine*, reasoning in this manner: Although (saith he) some there are that ascribe those Psalms only to *David*, which are over-written *ipsius David*, and the rest intituled *ipsi David*, to others, this opinion (saith he) *Voce Evangelica Salvatoris ipsius refutatur, ubi ait quòd ipse* David *in spiritu Christum dixerit esse suum Dominum, quoniam Psalmus* 109. *sic incipit, Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede à dextris meis, &c.* The voyce of the Gospel refutes this opinion, where it saith, that *David* himself in the spirit called Christ his Lord; because the 109. Psalm begins thus: *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, &c.* Lastly, his Testimonies are used both by Christ and the Apostles, and he was as a pattern to all the Kings and Princes that succeeded him.

Vide Sixt. Senens. lib. 2. fol. 100 & 101. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 17. c. 14.

His Story, and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan*, and *Gad*, as it is in the first of *Chron.* 29. *vers.* 19. For the several parts of the books of *Samuel* which intreat chiefly of *David*, were, as it seems, written by these three holy men.

Constantine Manasses hath an opinion, that the *Trojans* during the time of the siege sought for succour from *David*, and that he stayed Neuter in that War. But it seemeth that *Manasses* did miscast the time 'twixt *David* and the *Trojan* War. For it is generally received that *Troy* fell between the times of *Abdon* and *Sampson* Judges of *Israel*, about the Worlds year 2848. and *David* died in the year 2991.

Cap. 7. §. 6. 7. In his Annals translated out of Greek into Latine by *Johannes Leunolaius.*

§. IX.

Of the treasures of David *and* Salomon.

HIs treasures were exceeding great. For *Vers.* 14. it is written in the 22. of the first of *Chronicles*, that he left *Salomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver, and of brass and iron passing all weight, which is more than any King in the World possest besides himself, and his son, to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirty and three cart-load, and a third of a cart-load of silver, allowing two thousand weight of silver, or six thousand pound sterling to every cart-load, besides threescore and seventeen millions of French Crowns, or of our money twenty three millions and a thousand pound:

pound: a matter, but for the testimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all belief. For that any riches were left him, it doth not appear, seeing that the Judges had not any treasure, nor any soveraign power to make levies: but when they went to the wars they were followed by such voluntaries as the several tribes by turns gave them: seeing also that *Saul* who was of a mean parentage, and perpetually vexed and invaded by the *Philistims*, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part possest by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amiss to consider how *David* within the space of not very many years, might amass up such mighty treasures. For though parsimony be it self a great revenue, yet needs there must have been some other great means. It seems that he made the uttermost profit of all that he had, that was profitable. *Eusebius* in his 9. book and last chapter *de Præparatione Evangelica*, citeth the words of *Eupolemus*, who reporteth that *David*, among other preparations for the Temple, built a Navy in *Melanis* (or, as *Villalpandus* corrects it, *Achanis*) a city of *Arabia*, and from thence sent men to dig for gold in the Iland *Urphe*, which *Ortelius* thinks was *Ophir*, though *Eupolemus* in this place of *Eusebius* (erring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this Iland was in the red Sea: from whence, saith this *Eupolemus*, they brought gold into *Jury*, *Pineda l.4. de Rebus Salomonis, c.1.* thinks that *David* did this way also enrich himself, and citeth this testimony of *Eupolemus:* and yet certainly *David* had many other ways to gather riches. Much land doubtless he gained by conquest from the *Canaanites* and *Philistims*, besides those fruitful vallies near *Jordan* in *Trachonitis* and *Basan*, and the best of *Syria*, and other countries bordering the *Israelites*. These demains belike he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captives, which he took in his wars, which were not able to redeem themselves, husbanded those grounds for his greatest advantage. For it is written 1 *Chro.*17. that *Jahonathan* was over his treasures in the field, in the villages, in the cities, in the towns; that *Ezri* was over the labourers that tilled his ground, *Simei* over the vineyards, and *Sabdi* over the store of the wine; *Baal Hanan* over the olive trees, and *Joash* over the store of the oyle: also that he had herdsmen that had charge over his cattel, both in the high lands and in the plains, over his Sheep, Camels and Asses. And this custom of enriching themselves by husbandry and cattel, the ancient Kings every where held, both before and after *Davids* time. For we read of *Pharaoh*, that he spake to *Joseph* to appoint some of his brethren, or of their servants, to be rulers over his cattel. *Gen.47.* *2 Chro.26.* We read of *Uzzia*, that he loved husbandry, had much cattel, and plough-men, and dressers of Vines: likewise we read it in all Greek Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did specially consist in their Herds and Flocks; whereof it were needless to cite *Augeas* and *Admetus*, or any other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *David* it is not unlikely, but that those captives which were not imployed in husbandry, were many of them used by him in all sorts of gainful professions, as the ancient Romans in like manner used their slaves.

To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions, which doubtless were great, and besides the innumerable presents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by *Tohu* and others) we may add the great spoiles which hee found in the Cities and Countries which he conquered: also the head money which was gathered *per legem capitationis*; *By the law of capitation, or head money*, every man rich or poor paying half a sicle of the Sanctuary, which is about as much as fourteen pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous sum in that Kingdom: wherein one thousand thousand five hundred and seventy thousand fighting men were numbred by *Joab*. *1 Chro.21.* Now although this law of capitation be thought by some very learned, not to have been perpetual (which opinion of theirs nevertheless they confess is against the Hebrew expositions) yet *David* upon this occasion is not unlikely to have put it in practise. And by these means might hee be able to leave those huge treasures to *Salomon*. Yet it may seem that of this great mass of gold and silver left by *David*, the least part was his own in private; and so will it appear the less wonderfull that he left so much. Of his own liberality we find, that hee gave to the building of the Temple three thousand talents of gold, and seven thousand talents of silver: a great sum, but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the Sanctuary it self were exceeding great, as needs they must have been having received continual encrease, without any loss or diminution ever since the time of *Moses* and *Joshuah*. The revenues of the Sanctuary (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defrayed the dayly expences, & maintained the Priests & Levites)

were partly raised out of the head mony before mentioned; partly out of the spoils
Numb. 31. 27. gotten in War. For all the booty was divided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and the people which remained at home, had the other half; whereby all the Country received benefit of the Victory, yet so, that the Souldiers had a far greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiving more for every single share.

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fifty, of that which the people received, and one in five hundred, of that which was given to the Souldiers; namely, one hundred and one thousand part of the whole booty. So in the spoil of *Midian*, thirty two thousand Women being taken, the Army had sixteen
Num. 31. 40. thousand of them for slaves, and the Congregation had other sixteen thousand; but out of the sixteen thousand given to the Army, were exempted two and thirty for the Lords tribute; Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twenty. By this means, the lesser that the Army was which had exposed it self to danger, the greater profit had every Souldier; but when it consisted of many hands, they who remaining at home were fain to undergo more than ordinary travel in domestical affairs, did receive by so much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was alwayes certain, yea many times it was increased, either by some special commandement, as when all the gold, and silver, and other mettals found in *Jerico*,
Jos 6. 19. were consecrated unto God; or by thankfulness of the Rulers and people, as when after the Victory obtained against the *Midianites* without the loss of one man, all Jewels,
Num. 31. 50. Bracelets, Earerings, and the like, were offered up, as voluntary presents.

Now howsoever the *Israelites* were many times oppressed, and trodden down by other Nations, yet were not these treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies never gat possession of the Tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuary must have been exceeding great; as containing above one hundredth part of all the mony and other goods found by the *Israelites* in the whole Land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purcha-
1 Chron c. 26. v. 27. & 28. sed by so many Victories, as they obtained against the bordering Nations. For that this treasury was not defrauded of the due portion, it is evident; seeing that before the time of *David* and his Lievtenant *Joab*, it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Samuel*, had used to dedicate of the spoils obtained in War, to maintain the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former Judges and Captains of other Ages. Certain it is, that the Conquest of *David* brought into the Land far greater abundance of riches, than any former Victories had purchased, those of *Joshua* perhaps excepted: but these vast summes of an hundred thousand Talents of silver, may seem rather to have been made up, by the addition of his winnings and liberality, to the treasures laid up in many former Ages, than to have been the meer fruits of his own industry.

Now concerning the riches of *Salomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for he received of yearly revenues with his tributes 666. Talents of gold, besides the Customes of Spices. He had also six rich Returns from the East *India*, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that Voyage every three years, and he began that trade in the two and twentieth year of his reign, and ruled forty years. Besides this, all *Judæa* and *Israel* were now mastered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, of *Damascena*, of *Palmyrena*, of *Ituræa*; all of *Idumæa*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewise did the *Hittites*, who with the *Perizites*, *Hivites*, *Jebusites*, and other races of the *Canaanites*, were not as yet extinguished though subjected.

A Ta'ent of gold is 770. *French* crowns. *1 King.* 10. 14.

1 King c. 9. v. 10. & 10. v. 19.

Into this flourishing estate was the Kingdom of *Israel* reduced by *David*, who after 40. years reign, and 70. years of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, riches, and honour, and was buried in the City of *David*. It is written by *Josephus* that there was hid in *David*'s Tomb a marvellous quantity of treasures, insomuch as *Hyrcanus* (who first of the *Chasmanæi*, or race of *Macchabees*, called himself King) one thousand and three hundred years after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himself of *Antiochus* then besieging *Jerusalem*; and afterward *Herod* opening another Cell, had also an exceeding mass of gold and silver therein. And it was an antient custome to bury treasure with the dead. So the *Peruvians* and other *Americans* did the like, which being discovered by the *Spaniards*, they inriched themselves by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That *Salomon* did bury so much treasure in his Fathers grave, it would hardly be believed, in regard of the great exactions with which he was fain to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the riches which he got otherwise, or which were left unto him: were it notwithal considered that his want

1 Chro. 29. 28.

Joseph. Ant. lib. 7.

of

of mony grew from such magnificent imployments. Particularly of the Sepulchre of *David* the Scriptures have no mention, but only the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*, as of an honourable place of burial. Yet the Monuments of these Kings, as (by relation of the Duke of *Ulica*) they remained within these thirty years, and are like to remain still, are able to make report credible of the cost bestowed upon them.

Peregrinat. Hierosol D. Nich Radz. Epist. 2.

§. X.

Of the Philistims, whom David *absolutely mastered: and of sundry other contemporaries with* David.

OF the *Philistims*, whose pride *David* was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of *David*'s time somewhat here may be spoken.

They descended of *Casloim*, who, according to *Isidor* and *Josephus*, was one of the sons of *Misraim*, and was surnamed *Philistim*, as *Esau* was surnamed *Edom*, and *Jacob Israel*. There were of them five Cities or petty Principalities, namely, *Azotus* or *Asdod*, *Gaza* or *Aczaph*, *Ascalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It seemeth that *Casloim* was the first founder of this Nation, because of his kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Egyptians*.

Isid. l. 9. 19 Jos. l. 8. Ant. 17.

1 Sam. 6.

The first King of these *Philistims*, which the Scriptures have named, was that *Abimelech* which loved *Sara*, *Abraham*'s Wife.

Gen. 20.

The second *Abimelech* lived at once with *Isaac*, to whom *Isaac* repaired in the time of Famine, *Abimilech* then residing at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumæa*; which *Abimelech* fancied *Isaac* his Wife, as his Father had done *Sara*.

Gen. 26.

After *Abimelech* the second, the *Philistims* Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, till *David*'s time: perhaps the government was turned into *Aristocratical*. For they are afterwards named Princes of the *Philistims*, howsoever *Achis* be named King of *Gath*, the same to whom *David* fled, and who again gave him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Saul*'s time.

Jud. 16 1 Sam. 18. 29. 1 Sam. 21. 11.

After him we read of another *Achis* who lived with *Salomon*, to whom *Shimei* travelled to fetch back his fugitive servant, what time the seeking of his servant was the loss of his life. *Jeremy* the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of *Palæstin* or *Philistim*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Ascalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. The rest of the Wars of the *Philistims* are remembred in the Catalogue of the *Judges*, of *Saul* and *David*, and therefore I shall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

1 King. 2.

There lived at once with *David*, the third of the *Silvii* King of *Alba*, called *Latinus Silvius*, who is said to have ruled that part of *Italy* fifty years. And about his fourteenth year *Codrus* the last King of the *Athenians* died, to whom succeeded the first Prince of those, who being called after *Medon*, *Medontidæ*, without regal name governed *Athens* during their life.

The reasons which moved the *Athenians* to change their government, were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of soveraignty, but in honour of *Codrus* only. For when the *Græcians* of *Doris*, a region between *Phocis*, and the mountain of *Oeta*, sought counsel from the Oracle, for their success in the Wars against the *Athenians*, it was answered, that then undoubtedly they should prevail and become Lords of that State, when they could obtain any Victory against the Nation, and yet preserve the *Athenian* King living. *Codrus* by some intelligence being informed of this answer, withdrew himself from his own Forces, and putting on the habit of a common souldier, entred the Camp of the *Dorians*, and killing the first he encountred, was himself forthwith cut in pieces.

Eupales the 31. King of *Assyria*, which others account but the 30. began to rule that Empire, about the 13. year of *David*, and held it 38. years.

Near the same time began *Ixion* the second King of the *Heraclidæ*, the son of *Euristhenes* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the second of the *Heraclidæ* in *Lacedæmon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his successours were called *Agidæ*, for many years after. He restored the *Laconians* to their former liberty: he overcame the Citizens of *Helos* in *Laconia*, who had refused to pay him tribute: he condemned them and theirs to perpetual slavery; whereof it came, that all the *Messenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helots*.

In like sort from the *Sclavi* came the Word *Slave*. For when that Nation issuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Russia*, had seized upon the Country of *Illyria*, and made it their own by conquest, their victory pleased them so highly, that thereupon they called themselves by a new name, *Slavos*, which is in their language *Glorious*. But in after times (that warmer Climate having thawed their Northern hardiness, and not ripened their Wits) when they were trodden down, and made servants with their neighbours, the *Italians* which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen *Slaves*, using the word as a name of reproach: in which sence it is now current through many Countries.

Other

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and ſomewhat later about the 23. year of *David*, and ſay that *Acheſtratus* was the fourth King of this race, the ſame whom *Euſebius* calls *Labotes*, and ſets him in the 13. year of *Salomon*. *Euſeb. in Chro.*

In the tenth year of *Acheſtratus*, *Androclus* the third ſon of *Codrus*, aſſiſted by the *Iones*, built *Epheſus* in *Caria*, who after the adjoyning of the Iſle of *Samos* to his Territory, was ſlain by the *Carians*, whoſe Country he uſurped. He was buried (ſaith *Pauſanias*) in one of the gates of *Epheſus* called *Magnetes*, his armed Statua being ſet over him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androclus* had ſubdued the *Ionians* (the next Province to *Epheſus* on the ſeacoaſt of *Aſia* the leſs) he enlarged his Dominions upon the *Æoles*, which joyneth to *Ionia*: and that his poſterity governed the Cities of *Epheſus* and *Erythræ* by the name of *Baſilidæ* in *Strabo* his own time. Of the expedition of the *Iones* how they came hither out of *Peloponneſus*, I have * ſpoken already upon occaſion of the return of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſus*, wherein, with the *Dores*, they expelled the *Achæi*, and inhabited their places in that Land: though this of the *Iones* ſucceeded that of the *Heraclidæ* 100. years.

The East gate of *Epheſus* toward *Magneſia* upon the river *Mæander*.

Ariſt. l 5. pol. c. 6.

* See *Ch.* in this 17. *Ch 9. 1. poſt medium.*

The City of *Epheſus* became exceeding famous: firſt, for the Temple of *Diana* therein built, which had in length 425. foot, and 220. in breadth, ſuſtained with 127. pillars of marble, of 70. foot high: whereof 27. were moſt curiouſly graven, and all the reſt of choice marble poliſht, the work being firſt ſet out by *Cteſiphon* of *Gnoſſos*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the firſt that received the Chriſtian faith, of which *Timothy* was Biſhop; to whom, and to the *Epheſians*, Saint *Paul* wrote his Epiſtle ſo entituled. The other City poſſeſt by *Androclus* in *Æolis*, was alſo univerſally ſpoken of by reaſon of *Sybilla*, ſurnamed *Erythræa*, who lived 740. years before Chriſt was born. S. *Auguſtine* avoweth that a Roman Proconſul ſhewed him in an ancient *Greek* copy certain verſes of this Propheteſs, which began (as S. *Auguſtine* changed them into Latine) in theſe words: *Jeſus Chriſtus Dei Filius, Salvator; Jeſus Chriſt Son of God, the Saviour.* *Plin. 2. c. 58. & l. 7. c 37.*

About the time that *Joab* beſieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Vaphres* began to govern in *Ægypt*, the ſame that was father in law to *Salomon* whoſe Epiſtles to *Salomon*, and his to *Vaphres*, are remembred by *Euſebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21. of *David*, was the City of *Magneſia* in *Aſia* the leſs founded, the ſame which is ſeated upon the river *Mæander*, where *Scipio* gave the great overthrow to *Antiochus*. In this Territory are the beſt horſes of the leſſer *Aſia* bred, whereof *Lucan*:

Et Magnetis equis, Minyæ gens cognita remis.

About the ſame time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, according to *Servius*, with whom *Strabo* joyneth the *Cumæans* of *Æolis*, ſaying, that to the one of theſe people the government was given, with condition that the other ſhould give name to the City. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephores* the famous ſcholar of *Iſocrates*. *Serv. in Æneid. 3. Strabo. l 5.*

Euſebius and *Caſſiodor* find the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31. year of *David*, but much miſtaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Metinos* the ſon of *Badezor*, brother to *Jezabel*, who married *Achab* King of *Iſrael*; and between the death of *David*, and the firſt of *Achab*, there were waſted about 45. years.

In this time alſo *Acaſtus* lived, the ſecond of the *Athenian* Princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteen in deſcent before the State changed into a Magiſtracy of ten years. Some writers make it probable, that the *Æolians*, led by *Graus*, the grand nephew of *Oreſtes*, poſſeſt the City and Iſland of *Thebes* about this time. In the 32. 3ear of *David*, *Hiram* began to reign in *Tyre*, according to *Joſephus*, who ſaith in his twelfth year *Solomon* began the work of the Temple. But it is a familiar errour in *Joſephus*, to miſreckon times, which in this point he doth ſo ſtrangely, as if he knew not how at all to to caſt any accompt. For it is manifeſt, that *Hiram* ſent Meſſengers, and Cedars unto *David*, ſoon after his taking of *Jeruſalem*, which was in the beginning of *David's* reign over *Iſrael*, when as yet he had reigeed onely ſeven years in *Hebron* over the houſe of *Juda*. Wherefore it muſt neees be that *Hiram* had reigned above 30. years before *Salomon*; unleſs more credit ſhould be given to thoſe *Tyrian* records which are cited by *Joſephus*, than to the plain words of Scripture contradicting them. For, that it was the ſame *Hiram* which lived both with *David* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainly manifeſt. *Euſeb. id Chro Herod. in vit. Hom. & Strob. l. 14.* *Ant. 8 & cont. Ap. l. 1.* *2 Sam. 5.*

CHAP

CHAP. XVIII.

Of SOLOMON.

§. I.

Of the eſtabliſhing of Salomon: *of birth-right, and the cauſe of* Adonijah's *death, and of* Salomons *wiſdom.*

SALOMON, who was brought up under the Prophet *Nathan*, began to reign over *Juda* and *Iſrael*, in the year of the world 2991. He was called *Salomon* by the appointment of God: he was alſo called *Jediddia*, or *Theophilus* by *Nathan*, becauſe the Lord loved him.

Hiram King of *Tyre*, after *Salomons* anointing, diſpatched Embaſſadors towards him, congratulating his eſtabliſhment: a cuſtom between Princes very ancient. Whence we read that *David* did in like ſort ſalute *Hanum* King of the *Ammonites*, after his obtaining the Kingdom. 2 Sam. 10.

The beginning of *Salomon* was in blood, though his reign were peaceable. For ſoon after *David*'s death, he cauſed his brother *Adonijah* to be ſlain by *Benaiah* the ſon of *Jehojada*, taking occaſion from *Adonijah* his deſiring by *Berſheba*, that the young maid *Abiſhag* (which lay in *David*'s boſome in his later daies, to keep him warm) might be given to him. Whatſoever he pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and ſought the Kingdom contrary to the will of *David*, whom God inclined towards *Salomon*. And yet it is ſaid that a word is enough to the wiſe, and he that ſees but the claw may know whether it be a Lion or no: ſo it may ſeem that to the quick-ſighted wiſdom of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijahs*, was a demonſtration of a new treaſon. For they which had been Concubines to a King, might not after be touched but by a King: whence *Achitophel* wiſhed *Abſolom* to take his fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. 2 Sam. 16. 21. And *David* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but ſhut them up, and they remained widowed until their death. And this it ſeems was the depth of *Iſboſheths* quarrel againſt *Abner*, for having his fathers Concubine. 2 Sam. 2. 3. And ſome ſignification of this cuſtom may ſeem too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *David*; *I have given thee thy Maſters houſe, and thy Maſters wives.* And in the words of *Saul* upbraiding *Jonathan*, that he had choſen *David* to the ſhame of the nakedneſs of his Mother. Hereupon perhaps was ſome reference to this purpoſe of *Adonijah*, to marry with her that was alwaies preſent with *David* in his later daies, and who belike knew all that was paſt, for the conveying of the Kingdom to *Salomon*. There may be divers further occaſions; as either that he would learn ſuch things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would perſwade her to forge ſome ſtrange tale about *David's* laſt Teſtament, or any thing elſe that might prejudice the title of *Salomon*. 1 Sam. 20. 30.

As for the right of an elder brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, and with the cuſtoms of the Jews: yet the Kings of the Jews were ſo abſolute, as they did therein, & in all elſe what they pleaſed. Some examples alſo they had (though not of Kings) which taught them to uſe this paternal authority in transferring the birth-right to a younger ſon: namely, of *Jacobs* diſheriting *Reuben*, and giving the birth-right (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Joſeph*: of whom he made two Tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *David*, it appeareth by the words of *Berſabe* and *Nathan* to *David*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For, as for popular election, that it was neceſſary to confirm, or that the refuſal of the people had authority to fruſtrate the elder brothers right to the Kingdom, it no where appears in the ſtories of the *Jews*. It is ſaid indeed that the people made *Saul* King at *Galgal*: that is, they acknowledged and eſtabliſhed him. For that he was King long before, no man can doubt. In like manner elſewhere the phraſe of chooſing or making their King, is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they ſhould not make themſelves a King, it is ſaid, *Thou ſhalt make him King whom the Lord ſhall chuſe.* 1 Kings 2. 15. Deut. 21. 15. *Filium exoſæ agnoſcito, dando ei portionem duorum: nam ipſius eſt jus primogenitorum.* 1 Reg. 1. 17 & 20. 29. & 34. 1 King. 1. 1. v. 20. & 27. 1 Sam. 11. 14. Deut. 17. 30.

But to proceed with the acts of *Salomon*: at the ſame time that he put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himſelf alſo of *Joab*, and three years after of *Shimei*, as *David* had adviſed him: he diſplaced alſo the Prieſt *Abiathar*, who took part with *Adonijah* againſt him: but

1 *Kings* 2. but in respect of his office, and that he followed *David* in all his afflictions, and because he had born the *Ark of God* before his Father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his Kingdom, he took the daughter of *Vaphres* King of *Egypt* to Wife: for so *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus* calls him. He offered a thousand sacrifices at *Gibeon*, where God appearing unto him in a dream, bad him ask what he would at his hands: *Salomon chooseth Wisdom, which pleased God. And God said unto him, Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy self long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy self, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I have done according to thy words:* by which we may inform our selves, what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the coveting after long life in respect of our selves, cannot but proceed of self-love, which is the root of all impiety: the desire of private riches is an affection of covetousness, which God abhorreth; to affect revenge, is as much as to take the sword out of Gods hand, and to distrust his justice. And in that it pleased God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brothers slaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from *David*, or from the Law of God; but because *Salomon* desired Wisdom onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleased God to give him with all that which he desired not. *And I have also given thee* (saith God) *that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour.* This gift of Wisdom our Commentators stretch to almost all kinds of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and living creatures, the Scripture testifieth; though no doubt the chief excellency of *Salomons* wisdom, 1 *Kings* 4. 33. was in the knowledge of governing his Kingdom: whence, as it were for an exam- 1 *King* 3. 9 ple of his wisdom, the Scripture telleth how soon he judged the controversie between the two harlots.

§. II.
Of Salomons *building and glory.*

HE then entred into league with *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from whom he had much of his materials for the Kings Palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father *David*, and another from God. For 1 *Chro.* 22. 6. like as it is written of *David*, that *He called* Salomon *his son, and charged him to build a house for the Lord of Israel:* so doth *Tostatus* give the force of a divine precept to these words, *Behold, a son is born unto thee, &c. He shall build an house for my Name.* *Tost.* 9. 26. *in* 1 *Chro.*

He began the work of the Temple in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign, at which time also he prepared his fleet at *Esiongabar* to trade for gold in the East *Indies*, that nothing might be wanting to supply the charge of so great a work. For, that the Temple was in building, while his fleets were passing to and fro, it is manifest. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the Almaggim trees brought from *Ophir*. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the form and example was given by God himself) many learned men have written; as *Salmeron, Montanus, Ribera, Barradas, Azorius, Villalpandus, Pineda*, & others, to whom I refer the Reader. 1 *Kings* 6. 1 *Chro.* 28. 29.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which served that building, *Salomon* employed 30. thousand Carpenters, 10. thousand every month by course: he also used 80. thousand Masons in the Mountain, and 70. thousand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceived, he selected out of the Proselites, besides three thousand three hundred masters of his work; so as he paid and employed in all, one hundred eighty three thousand and three hundred men; in which number the *Sidonians*, which were far more skilful in hewing timber than the *Israelites*, may (as I think) be included. For *Hiram* caused his servants to bring down the Cedars and Firres from *Libanon* to the sea, and thence sent them in raffs to *Joppe*, or the next port to *Jerusalem*. For in the second of *Chronicles* the second Chapter, it is plain, that all but the thirty thousand Carpenters, and the over-seers, were strangers, and as it seemeth the vassals of *Hiram*, and of *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*. In recompence of this Timber and Stone, *Salomon* gave *Hiram* twenty thousand measures of Wheat, & twenty measures of pure Oyl yearly. *Eusebius* out of *Eupalemus* in the ninth book of his preparation, the last Chapter, hath left us a Copy of *Salomons* Letter to *Suron* (which was the same as *Haram* and *Hiram*) King of *Tyre*, in these words: 1 *King.* 5. 9 1 *Kings* 5. 11.

REx Salomon Suroni, *Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœniciæ regi, Amico paterno salutem. Scias me à Deo magno* David *patris mei regnum accepisse, cumque mihi pater præcepit templum Deo, qui terram creavit, condere, ut etiam ad te scriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te ut artifices atque fabros ad ædificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.*

King

King Salomon *to King* Suron, *of Tyre, Sydon, and Phœnicia King, and my fathers friend, sendeth greeting. You may understand that I have received of the great God of my father* David, *the Kingdom: and when my father commanded me to build a Temple to God which created heaven and earth, he commanded also that I should write to you: I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send me Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.*

To which the King *Suron made this answer.*

Suron, *Tyri, Sydonis, & Phœniciæ Rex*, Salomoni *Regi salutem. Lectis literis, gratias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis fabros, ministrosq; ad condendum Templum esse tibi mittendos, misi ad te millia hominum octaginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Judææ, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut necessariis non egeant, & Templo Dei condito, ad nos redeant.*

Suron *of Tyre, Sydon and Phœnicia King, to King* Salomon *greeting: When I read your Letters, I gave God thanks who hath installed you in your fathers kingdom. And because you write that Carpenters and Workmen may be sent to build Gods Temple, I have sent you fourscore thousand men, and a Master-builder, a Tyrian, born of a Jewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be careful that all necessaries be provided for them; and when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to us.*

Jos ant. l. 8. c. 2.

The Copies of these Letters were extant in *Josephus* time, as himself affirmeth, and to be seen (saith he) *Tàm in nostris quàm in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our own, as in the Tyrian annals.* But he delivereth them somewhat in different terms, as the Reader may find in his Antiquities. But were this intercourse between *Salomon* and *Hiram* either by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise delivered in the Scriptures, than either *Eupolemus* or *Josephus* set it down, but so, that in substance there is little difference between the one and the other.

1 King. 5. from the 1. v. to the 9.

The like Letter in effect *Salomon* is said to have written to *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*, and was answered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas some Commenters upon *Salomon*, find that *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, and *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*, gave *Salomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eupolemon* in *Eusebius*, I do not find any such addition of *magnus* in *Eusebius*, in the last chapter of that ninth book; neither is it in *Josephus* in the eighth book and second chapter of the *Jews* Antiquities: it being a vain title used by some of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Kings, and used likewise by the *Parthians*, and many other after them, insomuch as in later times it grew common, and was usurped by mean persons in respect of the great *Hermes* the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightiness.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, *Salomon* fortified *Jerusalem* with a treble wall, and repaired *Hazor* which had been the ancient Metropolis of the *Canaanites*, before *Joshua*'s time: so did he *Gaza* of the *Philistims*: he built *Berothon*, *Gerar*, and the *Millo* or munition of *Jerusalem*. For *Pharaoh* (as it seemeth in favour of *Salomon*) came up into the edge of *Ephraim*, and took *Gerar*, which place the *Canaanites* yet held, and put them to the sword, and burnt their City. The place and Territory he gave *Salomons* Wife for a dowry. And it is probable, that because *Salomon* was then busied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war, that he entreated his father in law to rid him of these neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But he thereby taught the *Egyptians* to visit those parts again before they were sent for; and in his son *Rehoboams* time *Shesback* this mans successor did sack *Jerusalem* it self.

Jos. ant. l. 8. c. 2.

Salomon also built *Megiddo* in *Manasse*, on this side *Jordan*, and *Balah* in *Dan*: also *Thadmor*, which may be either *Ptolomies Thamoron* in the desart of *Juda*, or (as *Josephus* thinks) *Palmira* in the desart of *Syria*; which *Palmyra*, because it stood on the utmost border of *Salomons* dominion to the Northeast of *Libanus*, and was of *Davids* conquest when he wan *Damascus*, it may seem that *Salomon* therefore bestowed thereon the most cost, and fortified it with the best Art that that age had. *Josephus* calls this place *Thadamora*, by which name (saith he) given by *Salomon*, the *Syrians* as yet call it. *Hierom* in his book of Hebrew places, calls it *Thermeth*. In after-times, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called *Adrianopolis*. In respect of this great charge of building, *Salomon* raised tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twenty talents of gold received from *Hirams* servants; *Salomon* offered *Hiram* twenty towns in or near the upper *Galilee*, but because they stood in an unfruitful and marish ground, *Hiram* refused them, and therefore was the territory called *Chabul*.

Jos. l. 8. ant. c. 2.

Jos l. 8. ant. c. 2.

These towns, as it is supposed, lay in *Galilee* of the Gentiles, *Non quod Gentes ibi habitarent: sed quia sub ditione regis Gentilis erat. Not that it was possest by the Gentiles* (saith *Nauclerus*) *but because it was under the rule of a King that was a Gentile.* Howsoever it were, it is true that *Salomon* in the 21. year fortified those places which *Hiram* refused. Further, he made a journey into *Syria Zobah*, and established his tributes; the first and last war (if in that expedition he were driven to fight) that he made in person in all his life. He then visited the border of all his Dominions, passing from *Thadmor* to the North of *Palmyrena*, and so to the Desarts of *Idumæa*, from whence he visited *Eziongaber* and *Eloth* the uttermost place of the South of all his Territories, bordering to the Red sea: which Cities I have described in the Story of *Moses*.

§. III.

Of Salomons *sending to Ophir, and of some seeming contradictions about* Salomons *riches, and of* Pineda's *conceit of two strange passages about Affrick.*

HEre *Salomon* prepared his Fleet of ships for *India*, with whom *Hiram* joyned in that voyage, and furnished him with Mariners and Pilots, the *Tyrians* being of all other the most expert seamen. From this part of *Arabia* which at this time belonged to *Edom*, and was conquered by *David*, did the Fleet pass to the *East-India*, which was not far off, namely, to *Ophir*, one of the Illands of the *Molucca's*, a place exceeding rich in gold: witness the *Spaniards*, who notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in *Peru*, do yet plant in those Illands of the East at *Manilia*, and recover a great quantity from thence, and with less labour than they do in any one part of *Peru*, or new *Spain*.

The return which was made by these Ships amounted to four hundred and twenty talents, but in the second of *Chronicles* the eighth, it is written 450. talents: whereof 30. talents went in expence for the charge of the Fleet, and wages of men; and 420. talents, which makes five and twenty hundred and twenty thousand Crowns, came clear. And thus must those two places be reconciled. As for the place 1 *Reg.* 10. 14. which speaketh of six hundred sixty and six talents of gold; that sum, as I take it, is of other receipts of *Salomons* which were yearly, and which came to him, besides those profits from *Ophir*.

My opinion of the land of *Ophir*, that it is not *Peru* in *America* (as divers have thought) but a Countrey in the *East-Indies*; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedy return to *Jerusalem* from the *East-Indies*, than in three years; and that *Tharsis* in Scripture is divers times taken for the Ocean, hath been already declared in the first book. *c. 8. sect. 9. & 10. 13. Lib 4. de rebus Salomonis c. 6. & 15.*

Only it remaineth that I should speak somewhat of *Pineda* his strange conceits, who being a Spaniard of *Bætica*, would fain have *Gades* or *Calis-malis*, in old times called *Tartessus*, which is the Southwest corner of that Province, to be the *Tharsis* from whence *Salomon* fetcht his gold; for no other reason, as it seems, but for love of his own Countrey, and because of some affinity of sound between *Tharsis* and *Tartessus*. For whereas it may seem strange that it should be three years ere they that took ship in the Red sea, should return from the *East-Indies* to *Jerusalem*, this hath been in part answered already. And further the intelligent may conceive of sundry lets, in the digging and refining of the metal, and in their other traffick, and in their land-carriages between *Jerusalem* and the Red sea, and perhaps also elsewhere: so that we have no need to make *Salomons* men to go many thousand miles out of their way to *Gades*, round about all *Africk*, that so they might be long a coming home.

For the direct way to *Gades* (which if *Salomon* and the *Israelites* knew not, the *Tyrians* which went with them could not have been ignorant of) was along the Mediterran sea, and so (besides many wonderful inconveniences, and terrible navigation in rounding *Africa*) they should have escaped the troublesome land-carriage between *Jerusalem* and the Red sea, through dry, desart, and the thievish Countreys: and within 30. miles of *Jerusalem* at *Joppe*, or some other haven in *Salomons* own Country, have laden and unladen their ships.

But this direct course they could not hold (saith *Pineda*) because the huge Island of *Atlantis*, in largeness greater than all *Africk* and *Asia*, being swallowed up in the *Atlantick* Ocean, hindred *Salomons* ships from passing through the straits of *Gibraltar*: for this he alledgeth *Plato* in *Timæo*. But that this calamity happened about *Salomons* time, or that thereby the straits of *Gades* were filled with mud, and made unpassable, that there could be no coming to *Gades* by the Mediterran sea; or that this indraught where the sea runneth most violently, and most easily scoureth his channel, should be filled

filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Iland is supposed to have stood; or that *Salomons* ships being in the Red sea, should neglect the golden Mines in the *East Indies* (which were infinitely better and nearer to the Red sea, than any in *Spain*) to seek gold at *Cadyz* by the way of compassing *Africa*; it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the Spaniard himself that hath also the rich *Peru* in the West, fortifieth in the *East-Indies*, and inhabites some part thereof, as in *Manilia*, finding in those parts no less quantity of gold (the small territory which he there possesseth considered) than in *Peru*.

De rebus Sal. l. 4. c. 10. 11. As appears he took a ship at *Japho* or *Joppe. c. 1. v. 2.*

The same *Pineda* hath another strange passage round about all *Africa*, which elsewhere he dreams of: supposing whereas *Jonas* sailing to *Tharsis* the City of *Cilicia*, was cast out in the Mediterran sea, and taken up there by a Whale, that this Whale in three dayes swimming above twelve thousand English miles along the Mediterran seas, and so through the straights of *Gades*, and along all the huge seas round about *Africa*, cast up *Jonas* upon the shore of the Red sea, that so he might have perhaps some six miles the shorter (though much the worse) way to *Ninive*. This conceit he grounds onely upon the ambiguity of the word *Suph*, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the Red sea (as if we should call it *mare algosum, the sea full of weeds*) for the Red sea. But in *Jonas c. 2. 5.* it is generally taken in the proper signification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would have it, who in this place against his own rule (which elsewhere he giveth us) supposeth strange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the Whale, finished in three dayes, is a greater miracle, than the very preservation of *Jonas* in the belly of the Whale: and therefore seeing there is no necessity of this miracle, we send it back unto him, keeping his own rule, which in this place he forgets; *Miracula non sunt multiplicanda.* And again, *Non sunt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda. Miracles are not to be multiplied without necessity, nor delivered without cause, nor feigned at pleasure.* Therefore we leave this man in his dreams, which (were he not otherwise very learned and judicious) might be thought unworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our story of *Salomon*.

Jug. 8.

The Queen of *Saba*'s coming from far to *Salomon* (as seems, from *Arabia Fœlix*, and not, as some think, from *Ethiopia*) and her rich presents, and *Salomons* reciprocal magnificence, and his resolving of her difficult questions; those are set down at large in the Text. But herein *Josephus* is greatly mistaken, who calls this Queen of *Saba Nicaules*, the successor (saith he out of *Herodotus*) of those thirty and eight *Egyptian* Kings which succeeded *Meneus* the Founder of *Memphis*; adding, that after this *Egyptian*, and the father in law of *Salomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in *Egypt*. For as it is elsewhere proved that the Queen was of *Arabia*, not of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; so were there other *Pharaohs* after the father in law of *Salomon*. Yea, above three hundred years after *Salomon*, *Pharaoh Necho* slew *Josias* King of *Juda*.

Joseph. ant. 8. 1, 2.

1 King. c. 23. 2 Chron. c. 25. Jer. c. 46. v. 2.

It is also written of *Salomon*, that he kept in garrisons fourteen thousand Chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen; that he spent in Court every day thirty measures of fine flower, threescore measures of wheat, one hundred sheep, besides stags and fallow Deer, bugles and fowl; four thousand stalls of horses he had for his Chariots and other uses, and for the twelve thousand horsemen of his guard. For, the ten thousand stalls in the first of *Kings* the fourth, are to be taken but for so many horses, whence in the second of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but four thousand stalls or teems, and in every teem ten horses, as *Junius* and the *Geneva* understand it. He was said to be wiser than any man, yea than were *Ethan* the *Ezrahite*, than *Heman*, *Chalcal*, or than *Darda*; to which *Junius* addeth a fift, to wit, *Ezrack*. For the *Geneva* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezrahite* by Nation. *Josephus* writes them, *Athan*, *Æman*, *Chalceus* and *Donan* the sons of *Hemon*. He spake three thousand Proverbs, and his Songs were one thousand and five, whereof either the most part perished in the Captivity of *Babylon*, or else because many acts of *Salomons* were written and kept among the publick Records of Civil causes, and not Ecclesiastical, therefore they were not thought necessary to be inserted into Gods Book.

1 King. 4. 31.

§. IV.

Of the fall of Salomon, *and how long he lived.*

NOw as he had plenty of all other things, so had he no scarcity of women. For besides his seven hundred Wives, he kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people should accompany the daughters of Idolaters) he took Wives out of *Egypt*, *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Zidon* and *Heth*: and when he fell a doting, his Wives turned his heart after other gods, as *Asteroth*

of the *Zidonians*, *Milcom* or *Molech* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemosh* of *Moab*.

These things God punished by *Adad* of *Idumæa*, *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and by *Jeroboam* his own servant, and one of the masters of his works, who by the ordinance of God tare from his son *Roboam*, ten of the twelve parts of all the territory he had. *Deus dum in peccatores animadvertit, aliorum peccatis utitur, quæ ipse non fecit:* God punishing sinners, useth the sins of others, which he himself wrought not.

P. Mart. in reg.

In the reign of *Salomon* (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other works of magnificence, and that great *Indian* voyage already mentioned. Forty years he reigned; how many he lived, it is not written, and must therefore be found only by conjecture. The most likely way to gheſs at the truth in this case is, by considering the actions of *David* before and after *Salomons* birth, whereby we may best make estimation of the years which they consumed, and consequently learn the true, or most likely year of his nativity. Seven years *David* reigned in *Hebron:* in his eighth year he took *Jerusalem*, and warred with the *Philistims*, who also troubled him in the year following. The bringing home of the Ark seems to have been in the tenth year of *David*, and his intention to build the Temple in the year ensuing, at which time he had sufficient leisure, living in rest. After this he had wars with the *Philistims*, *Moabites*, *Aramites*, and *Edomites*, which must needs have held him five years, considering the *Aramites* of *Damasco* raised war against him, after such time as he had beaten *Hadadezer*; and that in every of these wars, he had the entire victory. Neither is it likely, that these services occupied any longer time, because in those dayes and places there were no wintering camps in use, but at convenient seasons of the year Kings went forth to war, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their Armies, partly upon the spoil of the enemies country, partly upon the private provision which every souldier made for himself. The 17. year of *David*, in which he took *Mephibosheth* the son of *Jonathan* into his Court, appeareth to have passed away in quiet; and the year following to have begun the war with *Ammon*; but somewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to tryal of a battel (for *Joab* after the victory, returned immediately to *Jerusalem*) the causes and preparations for that war, taking up all the Summer. *Davids* personal expedition against the *Aramites*, wherein he brought all the tributaries of *Hadadezer* under his own allegeance, appears manifestly to have been the next years work, wherein he did cut off all means of succour from the *Ammonites*; all *Syria*, *Moab*, and *Idumæa* being now at his own devotion. By this reckoning it must have been the 20. year of *Davids* reign, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which he sent forth *Joab* to besiege *Rabba*, and finished the war of *Ammon:* wherein also fell out the matter of *Uriahs* wife. So one half of *Davids* reign was very prosperous: in the other half he felt great sorrow, by the expectation, execution, and sad remembrance of that heavy judgment laid upon him by God for his foul and bloody offence.

2 King. 7. v. 1.

2 Sam. c 11. v. 1.

1 Sam. 8. 17. v. 17. & 18.

Now very manifest it is, that in the year after the death of that child which was begotten in adultery, *Salomon* was born, who must needs therefore have been nineteen years old or thereabout when he began to reign at the decease of his father, as being begotten in the 21. year of his fathers reign, who reigned in all forty.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of *David*, as may be collected out of ensuing Actions: for two years passed ere *Absalom* slew his brother *Ammon*; three years ere his father pardoned him, and two years more ere he came into the Kings presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seems to have been one years work. So the rebellion it self, with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amasa*, and the rest, may well seem to have been in the 30. year of *Davids* reign.

Whether the three years of famine should be reckoned apart from the last years of war with the *Philistims*, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needful to conjecture. Plain enough it is, that in the ten remaining years of *David* there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for the three years of famine, for four years of war, and for numbring the people, with the pestilence ensuing; as also for his own last infirmity, and dispoſing of the Kingdom. Yet indeed it seems that the war with the *Philistims* was but one years work, and ended in three or four fights, of which the two or three former were at *Gob* or *Nob* near unto *Gezer*, and the last at *Gath*. This war the *Philistims* undertook, as it seemeth, upon confidence gathered out of the tumults in *Israel*, and perhaps emboldened by *Davids* old age: for he fainted now in the battel, and was afterwards hindered by his men from exposing himself

himself unto danger any more. So *David* had six or seven years of rest, in which time it is likely that many of his great men of War dyed (being of his own age) whereby the stirring spirit of *Adonijah* found little succour in the broken party of *Joab* the son of *Zervia*.

1 King. 2. 9. & 3. 7. At this time it might both truly be said by *David* to *Salomon*, *Thou art a wise man*; and by *Salomon* to God, *I am but a young child*; for nineteen years of age might well agree with either of these two speeches.

Nevertheless there are some that gather out of *Salomons* professing himself a child, that he was but eleven years old when he began to reign. Of these *Rabbi Salomon* seems the first Author, whom other of great learning and judgment have herein followed: grounding themselves perhaps upon 2 Sam 15. 7. that which is said of *Absaloms* rebellion, that it was after forty years, which they understood as years of *Davids* reign. But whereas *Rehoboam* the son of *Salomon* was 41. years old when he began to reign, it would follow hereby that his father had begotten him, being himself but a child of nine or ten years old; the difference between their ages being no greater, if *Salomon* (who reigned 40. years) were but eleven years old when his reign began. To avoid this inconvenience, *Josephus* allows 80. years of reign to *Salomon*; a report so disagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeed have in favour of this opinion, construed the words of *Josephus*, as if they included all the years of *Salomon's* life. But by such reckoning he should have been 40. years old at his Fathers death; and consequently should have been born long before his Father had won *Jerusalem*; which is a manifest untruth. Wherefore the 40. years remembred in *Absaloms* rebellion, may either seem to have reference to the space between *Davids* first anointment, and the trouble which God brought upon him for his wickedness, or perhaps be read (according to *Josephus*, *Theodoret*, and the Latine translation) four years; which passed between the return of *Absalom* to *Jerusalem*, and his breaking out.

§. V.

Of Salomons *Writings*.

THere remain of *Salomons* Works, the *Proverbs*, the *Preacher*, and the Song of *Salomon*. In the first he teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the second, the vanity of humane nature; in the third, he singeth as it were the Epithalamion of Christ and his Church. For the Book intituled, The Wisdom of *Salomon* (which some give unto *Salomon*, and some make the elder *Philo* the Author thereof) *Hierome* and many others of the best learned make us think it was not *Salomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri sapientiæ* (saith *Hierome*) *qui* Salomonis *inscribitur*, *Græcam redolet eloquentiam*; *The Stile of the Book of wisdom, which is ascribed to* Salomon, *savoureth of the Grecian eloquence*; and of the same opinion was S. *Augustine*, and yet he confesseth in the nineteenth Book, and twentieth Chapter of the City of God, that the Author of that Book hath a direct foretelling of the passion of Christ in these words: *Circumveniamus justum, quoniam insuavis est nobis, &c. Let us circumvent the righteous, for he is unpleasing to us, he is contrary to our doings, he checketh us for offending against the Law, he makes his boast to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the son of the Lord, &c.* and so doth the course of all the following words point directly at Christ. The Books of *Ecclesiastes*, *Proverbs* and *Cantica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Moses Kimchi* ascribeth to *Isay* the Prophet. *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* report, that *Salomon* wrote of the remedies of all diseases, and graved the same on the sides of the Porch of the Temple, which (they say) *Ezechias* pulled down, because the people, neglecting help from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries.

Hier. ad Cromatium. Sap. 2. S. Sen. fol. 62. *Reinecc. in Jul. Hist.*

Of *Salomons* Books of Invocations, and Inchantments to cure diseases, and expel evil spirits, *Josephus* hath written at large, though (as I conceive) rather out of his own invention, or from some uncertain report, than truly.

He also speaketh of one *Eliazarus*, who by the root in *Salomon's* ring dispossest divers persons of evil spirits in the presence of *Vespasian*, and many others, which I will not stand to examine.

Certainly, so strange an example of humane frailty hath never been read of as this King: who having received Wisdom from God himself, in honour of whom, and for his onely service, he built the first and most glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of *Israel* and *Judæa*, not by the law of Nature, but by the love of God, and became the wisest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the perswasion of a few weak and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forsake the Lord of all the world, and the giver of all goodness, of which he was more liberal to this King, than

to

to any that ever the world had. Of whom *Syracides* writeth in this manner: *Salomon reigned in a peaceable time, and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a house to his Name, and prepare the Sanctuary for ever; How wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with understanding, as with a floud? Thy mind covered the whole earth, and hath filled it with grave and dark sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Iles, and for thy peace thou wast beloved, &c.* but thus he concludeth: *Thou didst bow thy loyns to Women, and wast overcome by thy body; thou didst stain thine honour, and hast defiled thy posterity, and hast brought wrath upon thy children, and felt sorrow for thy folly*, cap. 27.

§. VI.

Of the Contemporaries of Salomon.

NEar the beginning of *Salomons* reign, *Agesilaus* the third of the *Heraclidæ* in *Corinth*; *Labotes* in *Lacedæmon*; and soon after *Silvius Alba*, the fourth of the *Silvii*, swayed those Kingdoms: *Laosthenes* then governing *Assyria*, *Agastus* and *Archippus* the second and third Princes after *Codrus*, ruling the *Athenians*.

In the six and twentieth of *Salomons* reign, *Hiram* of *Tyre* dyed, to whom *Baliastrus* succeeded, and reigned seventeen years, after *Mercators* account; who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sons. *Josephus* gives him fewer years. *Theophilus Antiochenus* against *Antolicus* finds *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not some Kings omitted between the death of *Hiram* and the reign of *Bozorius*.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Sesac* or *Shishak* (as our English *Geneva* terms him) began to govern in *Egypt*, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sosachis*; *Josephus*, *Susac*; *Cedrenus*, *Susesinus*; *Eusebius* in the colume of the *Egyptian* Kings, *Smendes*; and in that of the *Hebrews*, *Susac*. *Josephus* in the eighth of his Antiquities, reproveth it as an errour in *Herodotus*, that he ascribeth the Acts of *Susac* to *Sesostris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might have done by comparison, accounting *Sesac* another *Sesostris*, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and vertues of King *Sesostris*, I have spoken already in the story of the *Egyptian* Princes: onely in this he was reproved, that he caused four of his captive Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was disposed to be seen, and to ride in triumph: one of which four, saith *Eutropius*, at such time as *Sesostris* was carried out to take the air, cast his head continually back upon the two foremost wheels next him; which *Sesostris* perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion: to whom the captive King answered, That in those he beheld the instability of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheel was suddenly carried about, and became the highest, and the upmost part was as suddenly turned downward, and under all: which when *Sesostris* had judiciously weighed, he dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like servitude in the future. Of this *Sesostris*, and that he could not be taken for *Sesac*, I have spoken at large in that part of the *Egyptian* Kings preceding. *Hist. Miscel. l.* 17.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Salomons *Successors until the end of* Jehosaphat.

§. I.

Of Rehoboam *his beginnings; the defection of the ten Tribes, and* Jeroboams *Idolatry.*

REhoboam the Son of *Salomon* by *Nahama* an *Ammonitess*, now forty years old, succeeded his Father *Salomon*, and was annointed at *Sichem*, where the ten Tribes of *Israel* were assembled: who attended a while the return of *Jeroboam* as yet in *Egypt*, since he fled thither, fearing *Salomon*. After his arrival the people presented a Petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmius ei fore Imperium, si amari mallet quam metui*; *So should his Empire* (saith *Josephus*) *be more assured, if he desired rather to be beloved than feared*: whereof he took three dayes to deliberate before his answer; of whom therefore it could not be said as of *David*, that *Ant. l.* 8. *c.* 3.

that he was wiſer than all his Teachers. For as of himſelf he knew not how to reſolve, ſo had he not the judgement to diſcern of Counſels; which is the very teſt of wiſdom in Princes, and in all men elſe. But notwithſtanding that he had conſulted with thoſe grave and adviſed men, that ſerved his Father, who perſwaded him by all means to ſatisfie the multitude: he was tranſported by his familiars and favourites, not onely to continue on the backs of his ſubjects thoſe burdens which greatly cruſht them; but (vaunting falſly of greatneſs exceeding his fathers) he threatned in ſharp, or rather in terrible terms, to lay yet heavier, and more unſupportable loads on them. But as it appeared in the ſucceſs, thoſe younger adviſers greatly miſtook the nature of ſeverity, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty it ſelf: they alſo were ignorant that it ought to be uſed for the help, and not for the harm of ſubjects. For what is the ſtrength of a King left by his people? and what cords or fetters have ever laſted long, but thoſe which have been twiſted and forged by love onely? His witleſs paraſites could well judge of the Kings diſpoſition: and being well learned therein though ignorant in all things elſe, it ſufficed and enabled them ſufficiently for the places they held. But this anſwer of *Rehoboam* did not a little advance *Jeroboams* deſigns. For being foretold by the Prophet *Achiah* of his future advancement, theſe the Kings threats (changing the peoples love into fury) confirmed and gave courage to his hopes, For he was no ſooner arrived, than elected King of *Iſrael*: the people cryed out, 2 *Sam* 5. 1. What portion have we in *David*? wee have no inheritance in the Son of *Iſhai*. Now though themſelves, even all the Tribes of *Iſrael*, had conſented to *Davids* anointing at *Hebron* the ſecond time, acknowledgeing that they were his bones and his fleſh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgat both the bands of nature, and their duty to God; and, as all alienate reſolved hearts do, they ſerved themſelves for the preſent, with impudent excuſes. And now over-late, and after-time, *Rehoboam* ſent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people, a man moſt hateful to all his Subjects, to pacify them: whom they inſtantly beat to death with ſtones. Whereupon the King affrighted, 1 *King* 12. 21. got him from *Sichem* with all ſpeed, and recovered *Jeruſalem*, where preparing to invade *Iſrael*, with an hundred and fourſcore thouſand choſen men, *Shimei* in the perſon of God commanding to the contrary, all was ſtayed for the preſent. In the mean time *Jeroboam* the new King fortified *Sechem* on this ſide, and *Penuel* on the other ſide of *Jordan*; and fearing that the Union and exerciſe of one Religion would alſo joyn the peoples hearts again to the Houſe of *David*, and having in all likelihood alſo promiſed the *Egyptians* to follow their Idolatry, he ſet up two Calves of gold for the children of *Iſrael* to worſhip, impiouſly perſwading them that thoſe were the Gods, or at leaſt by theſe he repreſented thoſe Gods which delivered them out of *Egypt*, and refuſing the ſervice of the Levites, he made Prieſts fit for ſuch gods. It muſt needs be that by baniſhing the Levites which ſerved *David* and *Solomon* through all *Iſrael*, *Jeroboam* greatly enriched himſelf: as taking into his hands all thoſe Cities which were given them by *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, for as it is written, *The Levites left their ſuburbs, and their poſſeſſion, and came to Juda. &c.* This irreligious policy of *Jeroboam* (which was the foundation of an Idolatry that never could be rooted out, untill *Iſrael* for it was rooted out of the Land) was by Prophecy and Miracles impugned ſufficiently when it firſt began; but the affections maintaining it, were ſo ſtrong, that neither Prophecy nor Miracle could make them yeild. *Jeroboam* could not 1 *King.* 13. 4. be moved now by the Authority of *Ahia*, who from the Lord had firſt promiſed unto him the Kingdom; nor by the withering of his own hand as he ſtretched it over the Altar, which alſo clave aſunder according to the ſign, which the man of God had given him by the commandment of God, who again recovered and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obſtinate *Verſe* 5. an Idolater as before, for he held it the ſafeſt *Verſe* 6. courſe in policy to proceed as he had begun. This impious invention of *Jeroboam*, who forſook God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Miniſters taught them, was by a modern Hiſtorian compared with the policies of late Ages; obſerving well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian born. *Sic qui hodiè* (ſaith he) *politici vocantur, & propria commoda præſenteſq; utilitates ſibi tanquam ultimum finem conſtituunt, cauſam quam vocant ſtatus in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipſa tuenda, promovenda, conſervanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Si injuria proximo irroganda ſi juſtitiæ honeſtatiſq; leges ſubvertendæ. ſi religio ipſa peſſundanda ſi deniq; omnia jura divina & humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nil per fas nefaſq; relinquendum cenſent; cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, nihil ad ipſos, modo id, quod è re ſua eſſe ſibi perſuadent, obtineant, ac ſi nullus ſit qui talia curet, caſtigareve poſſit Deus: So they who are now called*

called Polititians, propounding to themselves, as their utmost end and scope, their own commodity and present profit, are wont to alledge the case of state forsooth, as the principal point to be regarded: for the good of the state, for advancing, preserving, or encreasing of the state, they think that they may do any thing. If they mean to oppress their neighbour, to overturn all laws of justice and honesty, if Religion it self must go to wrack, yea, if all rights of God and man must be violated, they will try all courses, be it right, be it wrong, they will do any thing; let all go to ruine what care they, so long as they may have what they would; as who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.

Indeed this allegation of *raggione del stato*, did serve as well to uphold, as at the
Amos 7. 13 first it had done to bring in this vile Idolatry of the ten Tribes. Upon this ground *Amazia* the Priest of *Bethel* counselled the Pro-
2 King. 10 16. phet *Amos* not to propheſie at *Bethel*; *For* (saith he) *it is the Kings Court.* Upon this ground even *Jehu* that had massacred the Priests of *Baal*, in zeal for the Lord, yet would not in any wise depart from that poli-
2 King. 10 20. tique sin of *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat*, which made *Israel* to sin. It was reason of state that perswaded the last *French King Henry* the fourth to change his Religion, yet the Protestants whom he forsook, obeyed him, but some of the Papists whom he followed, murdered him. So strongly doth the painted vizor of wise proceeding delude even those that know the foul face of impiety lurking under it: and behold the wretched ends that have ever followed it, whereof *Jehu*, and all the Kings of *Israel* had, and were themselves very great examples.

§. II.

Of Rehoboam *his impiety; for which he was punished by* Sesac: *of his end, and Contemporaries.*

WHile *Jeroboam* was occupied in setting up his new Religion, *Rehoboam* on the other side, having now little hope to recover the Provinces lost, strengthened the principal places remaining with all endeavour; for he fortified and victualled fif-
2 Chro. 11. teen Cities of *Juda* and *Benjamin*: not that he feared *Jeroboam* alone, but the *Egyptians*, to whom *Jeroboam* had not only fastned himself, but withall invited them to invade *Judæa*: laying perchance before them the uncountable Riches of *David* and *Salomon*, which might now be easily had, seeing ten of the twelve Tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the *Judæans*. So as by those two waies (of late years often trodden) to wit, change of Religion, and invitation of forraign force, *Jeroboam* hoped to settle himself in the seat of *Israel*, whom yet the powerful God for his Idolatry in few years after rooted out, with all his. *Rehoboam* ha- 1 Kings 14 13.
ving also, as he thought, by fortifying divers places, assured his estate, forsook the law of the living God, and made high Places, and Images, and Groves, on every high Hill, and under every green Tree.

And therefore in the fifth year of his reign, 2 Chro. 12. 3.
Sesac or *Shishac* before spoken of, being now King of *Egypt*, and with whom, as well *Adad* of *Idumæa*, as *Jeroboam*, were familiar, and his instruments; entred *Judæa* with twelve thousand Chariots, and threescore thousand *Jos. Ant.* 8. c. 4.
Horse, besides Foot-men, which *Josephus* numbers at four hundred thousand. This Army was compounded of four Nations: *Egyptians*, *Lubæans*, *Succæans*, and *Cusites*. The *Lubæans* were *Lybæans* the next bordering Region to *Egypt*, on the West side. The *Lubæans* were of *Petræa*, and of the desart *Arabia* which afterwards followed *Zera* against *Asa* King of *Juda*. The *Succæans* according 2 Chro 12. 2 King. 14
to *Junius* his opinion, were of *Succoth*, which *Annot in* 12. Chro.
signifieth Tents: he doth suppose that they Plin. lib. 6 c. 29. Etol. Asiæ tab. 3.
were the *Troglodita*, mentioned often in *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and other Authors. The *Troglodites* inhabited not far from the banks of the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line Northward, about six hundred English miles from the best & Maritimate part of *Egypt*: and therefore I do not think that the *Succims* or *Succæi* were those *Troglodita*, but rather those Ca. 47. v. 13.
Arabians which *Ptolemy* calls *Arabes Ægyptii*, *Ichthyophagy*, which possess that part of *Egypt* behind the mountains called *Alabastrini*, and the red Sea, far nearer *Egypt* and readier to be levied than those removed Savages of the *Troglodita*.

With this great and powerful Army, *Sesac* invaded *Judæa*, and (besides many other strong Cities) wan *Jerusalem* it self, of which and of the Temple, and Kings house, he took the spoyle, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden shields which *Salomon* had made, in imitation of those which *David* recovered from *Adadezer*, in the *Syrian* war: these *Rehoboam* supplyed with Targets of brass, which were fit enough to guard a King of his quality, whom *Syracides* calleth, *The foolishness of the people.*

From this time forward the King of *Egypt* claimed the soveraignty of *Judæa*, and held the Jews as their Tributaries: *Sesac*, as it seems, rendring up to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may be gathered

out

out of the word of God, where premising the deliverance of *Juda* after their humiliation, he doth notwithstanding leave them under the yoke of *Egypt*, in these words, *Nevertheless they* (to wit, the *Judæans*) *shall be his servants*, that is, *the servants of* Sesac.

After this overthrow and dishonour, *Rehoboam* reigned twelve years, and his losses received by *Sesac*, notwithstanding, he continued the war against *Jeroboam* all his life time. After his death *Jeroboam* governed *Israel* four years,

Rehoboam lived 58. years, and reigned 17. his story was written at large by *Shemejah* and *Hiddon* the Prophets, but the same perished with that of *Nathan*, and the rest.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Tersippus*, the third and fourth *Archontes* or Governours for life after *Codrus*, governed in *Athens*. *Abdastrartus*, or *Abstrartus*, in *Tyre*. *Dorisithus* the fift of the *Heraclidæ* in *Sparta*, according to *Eusebius* (others make him the sixt) and *Priminas* the fourth in *Corinth*. Over the *Latines* reigned *Silvius Alba Silvius Atys*, the fourth and the fift of the *Silvii*.

Euseb. Chron.

About the 12. of *Rehoboam*, *Abdastrartus* King of *Tire* was murthered by his Nurses sons, or foster-brethren, the elder of which usurped the Kingdom twelve years.

Toward his latter times *Periciades*, or *Pyrithiades*, began to govern *Assyria*, the 34. King thereof: and not long after *Astartus*, the son of *Balcastartus*, recovered the Kingdom of *Tyre* from the Usurpers.

§. III.

Of the great battel between Jeroboam *and* Abia, *with a Corollarie of the examples of Gods judgments.*

Abijah the son of *Rehoboam*, inherited his Fathers Kingdom, and his vices. He raised an Army of four hundred thousand, with which he invaded *Jeroboam*, who encountered him with a double number of eight hundred thousand: Both Armies joyned near to the Mount *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* was utterly overthrown, and the strength of *Israel* broken: for there fell of that side five hundred thousand; the greatest overthrow that ever was given or received of those Nations. *Abijah* being now master of the field, recovered *Bethel*, *Jeshanah*, and *Ephron*. Soon after which discomfiture, *Jeroboam* died: who reigned in all 22. years, *Abijah*, the better to strengthen himself, entred into league with *Hesion*, the third of the *Adads* of *Syria*, as may be gathered out of the 2. of *Chron.* he reigned but three years, and then died: the particulars of his acts were written by *Iddo* the Prophet as some part of his Fathers were.

2 Chro. 16. 23.

Here we see how it pleased God to punish the sins of *Salomon* in his son *Rehoboam*: first, by an Idolator and Traytor: and then by the successor of that *Egyptian*, whose daughter *Salomon* had married, thereby the better to assure his estate, which while he served God, was by God assured against all and the greatest neighbouring Kings, and when he forsook him, it was torn asunder by his meanest Vassals. Not that the Father wanted strength to defend him from the *Egyptian Sesac*; For the son *Abijah* was able to leavy four hundred thousand men, and with the same number he overthrew eight hundred thousand *Israelites*, and slew of them five hundred thousand; God giving spirit, courage, and invention, when and where it pleaseth him. And as in those times the causes were expresst, why it pleased God to punish both Kings and their people; the same being both before, and at the instant delivered by Prophets: so the same just God, who liveth and governeth all things for ever, doth in these our times give victory, courage, and discourage, raise, and throw down Kings, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the present: for which reason, in these and other the afflictions of *Israel*, alwaies the causes are set down, that they might be as presidents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in *David*'s time for three years, *For Saul and his bloody house, &c.* And *David* towards his latter end suffered all sorts of afflictions, and sorrows in effect, for *Uriah*. *Salomon* had ten Tribes of twelve torn from his son for his Idolatry. *Rehoboam* was spoiled of his Riches and Honour by *Sesac* of *Egypt*, because the people of *Juda* made Images, High places, and Groves, *&c.* and because they suffered *Sodomites* in the Land. *Jeroboam* was punished in himself and his posterity, for the golden Calves that he erected. *Joram* had all his sons slain by the *Philistims*, and his very bowels torn out of his body by an excoriating flix, for murthering his brethren. *Ahab* and *Jezabel* were slain, the blood of one, the body of the other eaten with dogs, for the false accusing and killing of *Naboth*. So also hath God punished the same, and the like sins in all after-times, and in these our daies by the same famine, plagues, war, loss, vexation, death, sickness and calamities; howsoever the wise men of the World raise these effects no higher than to second

2 Sam. 21. 1.

causes, and such other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and eares, seem to them to work every alteration that happeneth.

§. IV.
Of Asa *and his Contemporaries.*

2 Chro 14. TO *Abijah* succeeded *Asa*, who enjoyed peace for his first ten years, in which time he established the Church of God, breaking down the alters dedicated to strange gods, with their images, cutting 1 Chro. 15. 16. down their groves, and taking away their high places. He also spared not his own mother, who was an Idolatress, but deposing her from her regency, brake her Idol, stampt it, and burnt it. He also fortified many Cities, and other places, providing (as provident Kings do) for the troubles of war in the leasure of peace. For not long after he was invaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the *Arabians* bordering *Judæa*, and with such a multitude entred the territory of *Asa*, as (for any thing that I have read) were never assembled of that Nation, either before or since: 2 Chro. 14. 9. For it is written, that there came against the *Judæans*, *Zerah* of *Æthiopia*, with an host of ten hundred thousand, and three hundred Chariots, which *Asa* encountered with an Army of five hundred and fourscore thousand levyed out of those two Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, which obeyed him, and with which he overthrew this fearful multitude, and had the spoyle both of their Cities and Camps.

That this *Zerah* was not an *Æthiopian*, I have * proved already, and were it but the length between *Æthiopia* and *Judæa*, and the strong flourishing Regions of *Egypt* interjacent (who would not suffer a million of strangers to pass through them) it were sufficient to make it appear how foolish the opinion is, that these invaders were *Æthiopians*. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that *Gerar* was belonging to *Zerah*, and the Cities thereabouts were spoyled by the *Judæans*, in following their victory, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all men know that *Gerar* standeth upon the torrent of *Besor*, which *David* past over when he surprized the *Amalekites* or *Arabians*; this proveth sufficiently, that *Zerah* was leader of the *Arabians*, and that *Gerar* was a frontier town stan- 2 Chro. 14 ding on the uttermost South-border of all *Judæa*, from all parts of *Æthiopia* six hundred miles. Also the spoyles which *Asa* took as the cattel, camels, and sheep, whereof he sacrificed five thousand, shew them to be *Arabians* adjoyning, and not far off, and not unknown *Æthiopians*. And if it be objected that these desart countries can hardly yeild a million of men fit for the wars. I answer, that it is as like that *Arabia Petræa*. and the Desart, which compass two parts of the holy Land, should yeild ten hundred thousand, as that two Tribes of the twelve, should arm five hundred and fourscore thousand. Besides, it answered to the promise of God to *Abraham*, that these Nations should exceed in number; for God spake it of *Ismael*, that he would make him fruitful, and multiply him exceedingly, that he should beget twelve Princes, &c.

Baasha a King of *Israel* began to reign in the third of *Asa*, and fearing the greatness of *Asa* after his great victory, entertained *Benhadad* King of *Syria*, of the race of *Adadezer*, 2 Chr 16. v. 1. to joyn with him against *Asa*; and to the end to block him up, he fortified *Rama*, which lieth in the way from *Jerusalem* toward *Samaria*.

This war began according to the letter of the Scriptures in the 36. year of *Asa* his reign: but because in the first of Kings the 16. it is said that *Baasha* died in the 26. year of *Asa*; therefore could not *Baasha* begin this war in the 35. of *Asa* his reign, but in the 35. year of the division of *Juda* and *Israel*, for so many years it was from the first of *Rehoboam*, who reigned 17. years, to the 16. of *Asa*. It may seem strange, that *Asa* being able to bring into the field an Army of five hundred and fourscore thousand good Souldiers, did not easily drive away *Baasha*, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of *Abia* against *Jeroboam*, and of *Asa* himself against *Zerah*, being yet fresh in mind, which might well have emboldened the men of *Juda*, and asmuch disheartened the enemies. Questionless there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the Text, which caused *Asa* to fight at this time with money. It may be that the imployment of so many hundred thousands of hands, in the late service against *Zerah*, had caused many mens private businesses to lye undispatched, where by the people being now intentive to the culture of their lands and other trades, might be unwilling to stir against the *Israelites*, choosing rather to wink at apparent inconvenience, which the building of *Rama* would bring upon them in after-times. Such backwardness of the people might have deterred *Asa* from adventuring himself with the least part of his forces, and committing the success into the hands of God. Howsoever it were, he took the treasures remaining in the temple, with which he waged *Benhadad* the *Syrian* against *Baasha*, whose employments *Benhadad*

* In the former book, c. 4, sect. 14. item c 8. sect. 10. 16.

hadad readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with *Baaſha*. For the *Iſraelites* were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himſelf (after his invaſion) nor his ſucceſſors after him ever gave over, till they had made themſelves maſters of that Kingdom. So *Benhadad* being now entred into *Nepthalim*, without reſiſtance, he ſpoiled di-
2 *Chro.* 16. 4. vers principal Cities thereof, and inforced *Baaſha* to quit *Rama*, and to leave the ſame to *Aſa*, with all the materials which he had
1 *King* 15 brought thither, to fortifie the ſame: which done, *Benhadad*, who loved neither party, being loden with the ſpoiles of *Iſrael*, and the treaſures of *Juda*, returned to *Damaſcus*. After this, when *Hanani* the Prophet reprehended *Aſa*, in that he now relyed on the ſtrength of *Syria*, and did not reſt himſelf on the favour and aſſiſtance of God, he not only cauſed *Hanani* to be impriſoned, but he began to burden and oppreſs his people, and was therefore ſtrucken with the grievous paines of the gout in his feet, wherewith af-
2 *Chro* 16. ter he had been two years continually tormented, he gave up the ghoſt when he had reigned 41. years.

There lived with *Aſa*, *Ageſilaus* the ſixt of the *Heraclidæ*, and *Bacis* the fift King of the ſame race in *Corinth*, of whom his ſucceſſors were afterward called *Bacidæ*. *Aſtartus*, and *Aſtarimus* were Kings in *Tyre*. *Aſtarimus* took revenge on his brother *Phelletes*, for
Euſeb. in Chron. the murther of *Ithobalus* Prieſt of the goddeſs *Aſtarta*, whom *Salomon* in dotage worſhipped. *Atys* and *Capys* ruled the Latines: *Pirithiades* and *Ophrateus* the *Aſſyrians*: *Terſippus* and *Phorbas* the *Athenians*: *Chemmis* reigned in *Egypt*; who dying in the 36. year of *Aſa*, left *Cheops* his ſucceſſour, that reigned fifty ſix years, even to the 16. of *Joas*.

§. V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the reign of Aſa.

IN the reign of *Aſa* the Kingdom of *Iſrael* felt great and violent commotions, which might have reduced the ten Tribes unto their former allegeance to the houſe of *David*, if the wiſdom of God had not otherwiſe determined. The wickedneſs of *Jeroboam* had, in his later daies, the ſentence of heavy vengeance laid upon it, by the mouth of *Ahia*, the ſame Prophet which had foretold the diviſion of *Iſrael*, for the ſin of *Salomon*, and his reign over the ten Tribes. One ſon *Jeroboam* had among others, in whom only God found ſo much piety, as (though it ſufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that Family) it procured unto him a peaceable end; an honourable teſtimony of the peoples love, by their general mourning and lamentation at his death; and (wherein he was moſt happy) the favourable approbation of God himſelf.

After the loſs of this good ſon, the ungodly father was ſoon taken away: a miſerable creature, ſo conſcious of his vile unthankfulneſs to God, that he durſt not ſuffer his own name to be uſed in conſulting with an holy Prophet, aſſured of the ruine hanging over him and his, yea of Gods extream hatred; yet forbearing to deſtroy thoſe accurſed Idols that wrought his confuſion. So loath he was to forſake his worldly wiſdom, when the world was ready to forſake him, and all belonging to him, his hateful memory excepted.

Nadab the ſon of *Jeroboam*, reigned in the ſecond and third years of *Aſa*, which are reckoned as two years, though indeed his fathers laſt year of two and twenty did run along (how far is uncertain) with the ſecond of *Aſa*, whoſe third year was the firſt of *Baa-* 1 *King* 15. *ſha*, ſo that perhaps this *Nadab* enjoyed not 25. his Kingdom one whole year. He did not alter his fathers courſes, neither did God alter his ſentence. It ſeems that he little feared the judgements denounced againſt his fathers houſe: for as a Prince that was ſecure of his own eſtate, he armed all *Iſrael* againſt the *Philiſtims*, and beſieged one of their Towns. There (whether it were ſo, that the people were offended with his ill ſucceſs, and recalled to mind their grievous loſs of five hundred thouſand under *Jeroboam*, counting it an unlucky family to the Nation; or whether by ſome particular indiſcretion, he exaſperated them) ſlain he was by *Baaſha*, whom the Army did willingly accept for King in his ſtead. *Baaſha* was no ſooner proclaimed King, than he began to take order with the houſe of *Jeroboam*, that none of them might moleſt him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the ſword. That he did this for private reſpects, and not in regard of Gods will to have it ſo, it is evident by his continuing in the ſame form of Idolatry which *Jeroboam* had begun. Wherefore he received the ſame ſentence from God that had been laid upon *Jeroboam*; which was executed upon him alſo in the ſame ſort. He began to infeſt *Aſa*, by fortifying *Ramah*; but was diverted from thence by the *Syrian Benhadad*, who did waſt his Country, deſtroying all the Land of *Nepthalim*. Four and twenty years he reigned, and then dying, left the Crown to *Ela* his ſon; who enjoyed it, as *Nadab* the ſon of *Jeroboam* had

done, two years current, perhaps not one compleat.

Ela was as much an Idolater as his father: and withall a riotous perſon. He ſent an Army againſt *Gibbethon*, the ſame town of the *Philiſtims*, before which *Nadab* the ſon of *Jeroboam* periſhed; but he ſate at home the whilſt, feaſting and drinking with his Minions, whereby he gave ſuch advantage againſt himſelf, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaining with the King at *Tirza*, finding his Maſter ſo diſſolute, and his behaviour ſo contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as *Baaſha* had found, by doing as *Baaſha* had done. Wherefore he did ſet upon *Ela* in his drunkenneſs, and ſlew him. Preſently upon which fact, he ſtiled himſelf King of *Iſrael*: and began his reign with maſſacring all the houſe of *Baaſha*; extending his cruelty not onely to his children, and kinsfolk, but unto all his friends in *Terza*. Theſe news were quickly blown to the Camp at *Gibbethon*, where they were not welcommed according to *Zimri* his expectation. For the Souldiers in ſtead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they ſaluted King, they (quitting the ſiege of *Gibbethon*) preſented themſelves before *Tirza*; which in ſhort ſpace they may ſeem to have forced. *Zimri* wanting ſtrength to defend the City, not courage to keep himſelf from falling alive into his enemies hands, did ſet fire on the Palace, conſuming it and himſelf together to aſhes. Seven daies he is ſaid to have reigned: accounting (as is moſt likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Camp. For *Zimri* was alſo an Idolater, *Walking in the way of Jeroboam*; and therefore is likely to have had more time wherein to declare himſelf, than the reign of ſeven daies, and thoſe conſumed partly in murthering the friends of *Baaſha*, partly in ſeeking to have defended his own life. After the death of *Ela*, there aroſe another King to oppoſe the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may ſeem, that *Zimri* had made his party ſtrong, as being able to ſet up a new head, who doubtleſs would never have appeared, if there had not been ready to his hand, ſome ſtrength, not unlikely to reſiſt and vanquiſh the Army which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new competitor of *Omri*, held out, I do not find; onely it appears that his ſide was decayed, and ſo he died, leaving no other Succeſſor than his concurrent.

1 King. 16. 19.

§. VI.

A conjecture of the cauſes hindering the re-union of Iſrael *with* Juda, *which might have been effected by theſe troubles.*

ANy man that ſhall conſider the ſtate of *Iſrael* in thoſe times, may juſtly wonder how it came to paſs, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamities already ſuffered under theſe unfortunate Princes, and with the preſent civil wars, did not return to their ancient Kings, and re-unite themſelves with the mighty Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppreſſed factions, did not call in *Aſa*, but rather choſe the one to endure a deſperate neceſſity of yeilding, or burning himſelf, the other to languiſh away as a man forſaken; than to have recourſe unto a remedy, ſo ſure, ſo ready, and ſo honourable. To ſay that GOD was pleaſed to have it ſo, were a true, but an idle anſwer (for his ſecret will is the cauſe of all things) unleſs it could be proved; that he had forbidden *Aſa* to deal in that buſineſs, as he forbad *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the reſtraint laid by God upon *Rehoboam*, did only bind his hands from attempting the ſuppreſſion of that preſent inſurrection, it appears by the War continued between *Iſrael* and *Juda*, ſo many years following: wherein *Abia* ſo far prevailed, that he wan a great battail, and recovered ſome Towns belonging to the other Tribes, which he annexed to his own Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly look into the ſecond cauſes moving the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to ſuffer any thing under new upſtarts, rather than to caſt their eyes upon that Royal houſe of *David*, from which the ſucceſſion of five Kings in lineal deſcent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly have been laid upon the mean beginnings thereof. To think that *Omri* had prevented his Competitors in making peace with *Aſa*, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not onely an Idolater, *but did worſe than all that were before him*; which as it might ſerve alone to prove, that *Aſa*, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, ſo the courſe which he profeſſed to take at the very firſt, of revenging the maſſacre committed upon the famly and friends of *Baaſha* (*Aſa* his mortal enemy) gives manifeſt reaſon, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, ſhould

1 King 16. 25.

ſhould more juſtly than he have expected the friendſhip of *Juda* in that quarrel. Wherefore in ſearching out the reaſon of this backwardneſs in the ten Tribes (which was ſuch, that they may ſeem to have never thought upon the matter) to ſubmit themſelves to their true Princes; it were not amiſs to examine the cauſes moving the people to revenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard rather than of *Nadab* the ſon of *Jeroboam*, who followed the Wars in perſon, as a man of ſpirit and courage. Surely it is apparent, that the very firſt defection of the ten Tribes, was (if we look upon humane reaſon) occaſioned by deſire of breaking that heavy yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their necks. Their deſire was to have a King that ſhould not oppreſs them; not to have no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of *Rehoboam* had cauſed them to renounce him, they did immediatly chooſe *Jeroboam* in his ſtead, as a man likely to afford that liberty unto them, for which he had contended in their behalf. Neither were they (as it ſeems) herein altogether deceived. For his affectation of popularity appears in his building of decayed Towers, and in the inſtitution of his new deviſed Idolatry; where he told the people, that it was too much for them to travel ſo far as to *Jeruſalem*. But whether it were ſo, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to ceaſe, towards the latter end of his reign, and in the reign of his ſon, when long time of poſſeſſion had confirmed his title, which at the firſt was only good by courteſie of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in ſuch caſes) were more offended by ſome prerogatives of a King, that he ſtill retained in his own hands, than pleaſed with his remiſſion of other burdens, it is clearly apparent, that the whole Army of all *Iſrael* joyned with *Baaſha*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Jeroboams* houſe.

Now the reign of *Baaſha* himſelf, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) every way unfortunate; his labour and coſt at *Rama* was caſt away; the other ſide of his Kingdom harried by the *Syrians*; neither did he win that one Town of *Gibbethon* from the *Philiſtims*, but left that buſineſs to his ſon, who likewiſe appears an unprofitable ſluggard. Wherefore it muſt needs be, that the favour of the people toward the houſe of *Baaſha* grew from his good form of Civil Government, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than *Jeroboam* ever meant to do. And ſurely he that ſhall take pains to look into thoſe examples which are extant of the different courſes, held by the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, in adminiſtration of juſtice, will find it moſt probable, that upon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued ſo averſe from the line of *David*; as to think all adverſity more tolerable, than the weighty Scepter of that houſe. For the death of *Joab* and *Shimei* was indeed by them deſerved; yet in that they ſuffered it without form of judgment, they ſuffered like unto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without judgment, and without any crime objected, other than the Kings jealouſie: out of which by the ſame rule of arbitrary juſtice (under which it may be ſuppoſed that many were caſt away) he would have ſlain *Jeroboam* (if he could have caught him) before he had yet committed any offence; as appears by his confident return out of *Egypt*, like one that was known to have endured wrong, having not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Jehoram* did upon his brethren, and upon ſundry of his greateſt men; as alſo *Joaſh* did ſo put to death *Zachariah* the ſon of *Jehojada*, who had made him King, *even in the court of the houſe of the Lord: and* Manaſſes *did ſhed innocent blond exceeding much, till he repleniſhed* Jeruſalem *from corner to corner:* and this was imputed to him as another fault; *beſides his ſin, wherewith he made* Juda *to ſin.* Contrariwiſe, among the Kings of *Iſrael* we find no monument of ſuch arbitrary proceeding, unleſs perhaps the words of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Ahab* (which were but words) may be taken for an inſtance, when he ſaid, *God do ſo to me, and more alſo, if the head of* Eliſha *the ſon of* Shaphat *ſhall ſtand on him this day:* whereby it is not plain whether he meant to kill him without more ado, or to have him condemned as a falſe Prophet, that had made them hold out againſt the *Aramites*, till they were fain to eat their own children; which he thought a ſufficient argument to prove, that it was not Gods purpoſe to deliver them. The death of *Naboth* ſheweth rather the liberty which the *Iſraelites* enjoyed, than any peremptory execution of the Kings will. For *Naboth* did not fear to ſtand upon his own right, though *Ahab* were even ſick for anger; neither was he for that cauſe put to death, as upon commandement, but made away by conſpiracy, the matter being handled after a judicial form, which might give ſatisfaction to the people, ignorant of the device, though to God it could not.

2 Chro. 24. 21.

2 King. 21. 16.

2 King. 6. 31.

The murther of the Prophets is continually aſcribed to *Jezabel*, an impudent Woman,

and

and not unto the King her husband. Neither is it certain, that there was no Law made whereby their lives were taken from them; but certain it is, that the people being Idolaters, were both pleaſed with their death, and laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the Kings of *Juda* (ſuch as are regiſtred) prove them to uſe a more abſolute maner of command, than the Kings of the ten Tribes. Neither do their ſufferings witneſs the contrary. For of thoſe which reigned over *Juda*, from the diviſion of the Kingdom, to the captivity of the ten Tribes, three were ſlain by the people, and two were denied a burial amongſt their Anceſtors. Yea, the death of *Ahazia* and his brethren, ſlain by *Jehu*, with the deſtruction of all that Royal ſeed of *Athalia*, did not (for ought that we can read) ſtir up in the people any ſuch thirſt of revenge, as might by the ſuddenneſs and uniformity teſtifie the affection to be general, and proceeding from a loving remembrance of their Princes: unleſs we ſhould think that the death of *Athalia*, after ſeven years reign, were occaſioned rather by the memory of her ill purchaſing, than by the preſent ſenſe of her tyrannical abuſing the government, whereon ſhe had ſeiſed. On the other ſide, ſuch of the Kings of *Iſrael* as periſhed by treaſon (which were ſeven of the twenty) were all ſlain by conſpiracy of the great men, who aſpired by treaſon to the Crown: the people being ſo far from embruing their hands in the bloud of their Soveraigns, that (after *Nadab*) they did never forbear to revenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power; nor approve the good ſucceſs of treaſon, unleſs fear compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being throughly revenged upon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, upon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traiterouſly got and uſurped, for a little while, their places; only three of the ſeven remain, whoſe ends how the people took, it may be doubtful. Though indeed it is preciſely ſaid of the ſlaughter committed on *Ahab*'s children by *Jehu*, that the people durſt not fight with him that did it, becauſe *they were exceedingly affraid:* and the ſame fear might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whoſe Hiſtory (as others of that time) is curſorily paſſed over. The like may be pronounced, and more abſolutely, of the Kings of *England*, that never any of them periſhed by fury of the people, but by treaſon of ſuch as did ſucceed them; neither was there any motive urging ſo forcibly the death of King *Edward* and King *Richard* when they were in priſon, as fear leſt the people ſhould ſtir in their quarrel. And certainly (howſoever all that the Law cals treaſon, be interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings deſtruction) in thoſe treaſonable inſurrections of the vulgar, which have here moſt prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched it ſelf with the bloud of ſome great Officers; no ſuch rebellions, howſoever wicked and barbarous otherwiſe, thirſting after the ruine of their natural Soveraign, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten upon his Royal perſon: which if any man impute unto groſs ignorance, another may more charitably, and I think, more truely, aſcribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that Fable of *Briareus*, who, being looſened by *Pallas*, did with his 100. hands give aſſiſtance to *Jupiter*, when all the reſt of the gods conſpired againſt him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as ſignifying that Monarchies need not to fear any curbing of their abſoluteneſs by mighty ſubjects, as long as by wiſedom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be ſure to come in on their ſide. Though indeed the Story might very well have born the ſame interpretation, as it is rehearſed by *Homer*, who tels us that *Pallas* was one of the conſpiracy, and that *Thetis* alone did marre all their practice, by looſening *Briareus*. For a good Form of Government ſufficeth by it ſelf to retain the people, not only without aſſiſtance of a laborious Wit, but even againſt all devices of the greateſt and ſhrewdeſt Politicians: every Sheriffe and Conſtable, being ſooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalf, than any over-weening Rebel, how mighty ſoever, can againſt him.

2 King 9 10.

2 King 10 4.

This declaration of the peoples love, being ſeldome found in *Juda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it ſelf of government there was ſuch, as neither gave occaſion of contentment unto the ſubjects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the Kings. Upon which reaſons it may ſeem that the multitude was kept uſually diſarmed. For otherwiſe it would have been almoſt impoſſible, that *Athalia* the ſiſter of *Ahab*, a ſtranger to the Royal bloud of *Juda*, ſhould by the only authority of a Queen-mother have deſtroyed all the ſeed of *David*, and uſurped the Kingdome very near 7. years, without finding any reſiſtance. Yea when *Jehojada* the high Prieſt had agreed with the Captains and principal men of the Land to ſet up *Joaſh* their lawful King, whereunto the whole Nation were generally well affected, he was fain to give to theſe Captains and their men, *the ſpears and the ſhields that were King* Davids, *and were in the houſe of the Lord.* But we need not enter into ſuch particulars.

Queſti-

Queſtionleſs, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their duty toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their own choice or admiſſion, holding the Crown by a more uncertain tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reaſon, why the ten Tribes did never ſeek to return to their ancient Lords: but after the deſtruction of their ſix firſt Kings, which died in the reign of *Aſa*, admitted a ſeventh of a new Family, rather than they would conſubject themſelves with thoſe of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, under a more honourable, but more heavy yoke.

So *Aſa* having ſeen the death of 7. Kings of *Iſrael*, died himſelf after one and forty years reign, leaving *Jehoſaphat* his ſon to deal with *Ahab* the ſon of *Omri*, who was the eighth King over the ten Tribes.

§. VII.
Of Jehoſaphat *and his contemporaries.*

Jehoſaphat, who ſucceeded *Aſa*, was a Prince religious and happy, he deſtroyed all the Groves, Altars, and high places dedicated to Idolatry, and ſent Teachers to all places and people wanting inſtruction; he recovered the tribute due unto him by the *Arabians* and *Philiſtims*: from the one he had ſilver, from the other ſheep and goats to the number of fifteen thouſand and four hundred. The numbers of men of War were more than admirable; for it is written that *Adnah* had the command of three hundred thouſand, *Jehohanam* of two hundred and
2 Chro. 17. fourſcore thouſand, and *Amaſia* of two hundred thouſand; alſo that he had, beſides theſe in *Benjamin*, of thoſe that bare ſhields, which we call Targetiers, and of Archers under *Eliada*, two hundred thouſand, and under the commandement of *Jehozabad* a hundred and fourſcore thouſand: which numbred together make eleven hundred and ſixty thouſand, all which are ſaid to have waited upon the King, beſides his Garriſons.

That *Juda* and *Benjamin*, a Territory not much exceeding the County of *Kent*, ſhould muſter eleven hundred and ſixty thouſand fighting men, it is very ſtrange, and the number far greater than it was found upon any other view. *Joab* in *David*'s time found five hundred thouſand: *Rehoboam* found
2 Sam. 24. 4. but an hundred and fourſcore thouſand: *Abia* four hundred and eight thouſand: *Aſa* five hundred and fourſcore thouſand: *Amazia* inrolled all that could bear arms, and they amounted to three hundred thouſand. Surely, whereas it is written that when news was brought to *Jehoſaphat* that *Moab* and *Ammon* were entred his Territory to the Weſt of *Jordan*, and that their numbers were many, he feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that he would have feared even the Army of *Xerxes*, if he could have brought into the field 11. hundred and 60. thouſand fighting men, leaving all his ſtrong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my ſelf to better judgment) that theſe numbers ſpecified in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the 17. diſtributed to ſeveral Leaders, were not all at one time, but that the 300. thouſand under *Adnah*, and the 200. and fourſcore thouſand under *Jehohanam*, were afterward commanded and muſtered by *Amaſiah*, *Eliad*, and *Jehoſabad*: for the groſs and total is not in that place ſet down, as it was under the other Kings formerly named. Again, as the aids which *Jehoſaphat* brought to *Ahab* did not ſhew that he was a Prince of extraordinary power, ſo the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* which he feared, could never make the one half of thoſe numbers, which he that commanded leaſt among *Jehoſaphat*'s Leaders had under him.

This mighty Prince, notwithſtanding his greatneſs, yet he joyned in friendſhip with *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, who had married that wicked Woman *Jezabel*. Him *Jehoſaphat* viſited at *Samaria*, and cauſed his ſon *Joram* to marry *Athalia*, this *Achab*'s Daughter.

Ahab perſwaded *Jehoſaphat* to aſſiſt him in the War againſt the *Syrians*, who held the City of *Ramoth Gilead* from him, and called together four hundred of his Prophets, or *Baalites*, to fore-tel the ſucceſs: who promiſed him Victory. But *Jehoſaphat* believed nothing at all in thoſe diviners, but reſolved firſt of all to conferre with ſome one Prophet of the Lord God of *Iſrael*. Hereupon *Achab* made anſwer that he had one called *Michaiah*, but he hated that Prophet, becauſe he alwayes fore-told of evil, and never of any good towards him. Yet *Michaiah* was ſent for to the King; but by the way the meſſenger prayed him to conſent with the reſt of the Prophets, and to promiſe Victory unto them, as they did. But *Michaiah* ſpake the truth, and repeated his Viſion to both the Kings, which was, that *God asked who ſhall perſwade* Ahab, *that he may go up and fall at* Ramoth Gilead? to whom a ſpirit that ſtood before the Lord anſwered, that he would enter into his Prophets, and be in them a falſe ſpirit to delude. For as it is ſaid by Chriſt: *Non enim vos eſtis qui loquimini, ſed ſpiritus patris veſtri*

ſtri loquitur in vobis. It is not you that ſpeak, but the Spirit of your Father ſpeaks in you: ſo in a contrary kind did the devil in the Prophets of *Baal*, or Satan, incourage *Achab* to his deſtruction. And as *P. Martyr* upon this place well obſerveth, theſe evil ſpirits are miniſters of Gods vengeance, and are uſed as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes ſometime imploy, For as it pleaſeth God by his good Angels, to ſave and deliver from deſtruction, of which the Scriptures have many examples: ſo on the contrary, it is by the evil that he puniſheth and deſtroyeth; both which are ſaid to perform the Will of their Creator, *licet non eodem animo. Eccleſiaſticus* remembreth a ſecond ſort of malignant natures, but they are everywhere viſible. There are ſpirits, ſaith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on ſure ſtrokes. In the time of deſtruction they ſhew forth their power, and accompliſh the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Michaias* having by this his revelation greatly diſpleaſed the King, and the Prophets, whoſe ſpirit he diſcovered, was ſtroken by *Zidkiah* one of *Baal*'s Prophets, and by *Achab* himſelf committed to priſon: where he appointed him to be reſerved and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Michaiah*, not fearing to reply, anſwered, *If thou return in peace, the Lord hath not ſpoken by me.* Nevertheleſs *Achab* went on in that War, and was wounded to death. *Jehoſaphat* returned to *Jeruſalem*, where he was reprehended by *Jehu* the Prophet for aſſiſting an idolatrous Prince, and
2 *Chro.* 18. one that hated God.

After this the *Aramites* or *Damaſcens*, joyned with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Idumæans* to invade *Judæa:* who paſs *Jordan* and encamp at *Engaddi*; and when *Jehoſaphat* gathered his Army, the Prophet *Jahaziel* fore-told him of the Victory, which ſhould be obtained without any bloud-ſhed of his part: and ſo when *Jehoſaphat* approached, this Aſſembly of Nations, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, diſagreeing with the *Idumæans*, and quarrelling for ſome cauſes among themſelves, thoſe of *Ammon* and *Moab* ſet up-
2 *Chro.* 20. on the *Idumæans*, and brake them utterly: which done, they alſo invaded each other; in which broil *Jehoſaphat* arriving, took the ſpoil of them all without any loſs of his part, as it was fore-told and promiſed by God. Notwithſtanding this Victory, *Jehoſaphat*, forgeting that he was formerly reprehended for aſſiſting an idolatrous King, did notwithſtanding joyn with *Ochazias*, the ſon of *Achab*, in preparing a Fleet to ſend to *Ophir*, hoping of the like return which *Salomon* had: but as *Eleizer* the Prophet fore-told him, his ſhips periſhed, and were broken in the port of *Ezion Gaber*, and ſo that enter- 2 *Chro.* 20.
prize was overthrown.

Yet he taketh part with *Jehoram*, the brother of *Ochazias*, againſt the *Moabites*, with which Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, the *Edomites* joyn their Forces, not forgetting, it ſeems, that the *Moabites*, aſſiſted by the *Ammonites*, had not long before deſtroyed their Army.

The *Moabites*, ſubjects to *David* and *Salomon*, forſaking the Kings of *Juda*, gave themſelves for vaſſals to *Jeroboam*, and ſo they continued to his ſucceſſors till the death of *Achab:* but *Jehoſaphat*, notwithſtanding the Idolatry of his Colleague, yet as it ſeemeth he was drawn into this War, both to be avenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from *Juda* to *Iſrael*, as alſo becauſe they had lately joyned themſelves with the *Syrians* againſt *Joſaphat*, and thirdly, to puniſh their double rebellion who firſt forſook *Juda*, and now *Iſrael.*

Both Kings reſolved to paſs by the way of *Idumæa*, thereby the better to aſſure that Nation; for we find that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the field together at *Engaddi* againſt *Jehoſaphat:* But whether they had then declared themſelves againſt *Jehoſaphat*, it is not certain; for in the 2. of *Chron.* 21. *verſ.* 8. it is written, that in the time of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Jehoſaphat*, *Edom* rebelled: and therefore it ſeemeth to me that the *Edomites*, when they were ſlain by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themſelves ſatisfied in ſuch conditions as they required, offered to return from them, and to joyn themſelves with the Army of *Juda.* For, that they were numbred among the enemies of *Jehoſaphat*, it is plain in the 2. of *Chron.* the 20. and as plain *c.* 21. *v.* 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till *Jehoſaphat*'s death. Now in the paſſage of theſe Kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the year, or whether the *Idumæans* having a purpoſe to rebel, miſled the Army of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, with intent to infeeble them for want of Water; true it is, that they ſuffered the ſame, if not a greater thirſt than the Armies of *Craſſus* and *M. Antonius* did in their *Parthian* expeditions; and had in all likelihood utterly periſhed, had not *Eliſha* taught them to cut trenches whereinto the water ſprang, by which not only *Jehoſaphat* and his Army, but *Jehoram* King of *Iſrael* an Idolater was relieved: the great mercy and goodneſs of God having ever been prone to ſave the evil for the good, whereas he never deſtroyed the good for the evil.

The miſerable iſſue of this War, and how 2 *King.* 3.
Moab burnt his ſon, or the ſon of the King

of

of *Edom*, for sacrifice, on the rampire of his own City, I have already written in the life of *Jehoram* among the Kings of *Israel*. *Jehosaphat* reigned 25. years and died; he was buried in the valley of *Jehosaphat*, and a part of
2 Chro. 20. the *Pyramis* set over his grave is yet to be
Broch. ter. seen, saith *Brochard*. His acts are written at
sanct. large by *Jehu* the son of *Hanani*.

There lived with *Jehosaphat*, *Ophratenes* in *Assyria*, *Capetus*, and *Tiberinus* Kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*; of the latter the river *Tiber* (formerly *Albula*) took name.

In *Jehosaphats* time also ruled *Mecades* or *Mezades* in *Athens*: *Agelas* or *Agesilaus* in *Corinth*; and *Archilaus* of the same race of the *Heraclidæ* the seventh in *Lacedæmon*. *Badesorus* ruled the *Tyrians*; *Achab*, *Ochazias* and *Jehoram* the *Israelites*.

CHAP. XX.

Of Jehoram *the son of* Jehosaphat, *and* Ahazia.

§. I.

That Jehoram *was made King sundry times.*

Jehoram the son of *Jehosaphat* King of *Juda* began to reign at thirty two years of age, and lived until he was forty years old, being eight years a King: but of these eight years, which *Jehoram* is said to have reigned, four are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the *Syrian* war with *Ahab*, left this *Jehoram* King in his stead, as *Ahab* did his son *Ahazia*. This appears by the several beginnings, which are given in Scripture to the
1 Kin. 22. v. 51. two *Jehorams* Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, and to *Ahazia* the eldest son of *Ahab*. For *Ahazia* is said to have begun his reign, in the seventeenth year of *Jehosaphat*. *Jehoram* the brother of *Ahazia* succeeded him in the 2. year
2 Kin. 1. 17 of *Jehoram the son of Jehosaphat King of Juda*; that is, in the next year after that *Jehoram* of
2 King. 3. v. 1. & 9. *Juda* was designed King by his father; it being (as we find elsewhere) *the eighteenth year of Jehosaphat himself*, who went with the *Israelites* against *Moab*. Hereby it appears that the full power and execution of the royal office was retained still by *Jehosaphat*, who governed absolutely by himself, not communicating the rule with his son. But in *the fifth*
2 King. 8. 16. *year of Jehoram King of Israel*, which was the two and twentieth of *Jehosaphat*, the old King took unto him, as partner in the government, this his eldest son, who was at that time 32. years old, his father being 57. Now
2 Kin. 22. 42. forasmuch as *Jehosaphat reigned 25. years*, it is evident that his son did not reign alone till the eighth of *Joram* King of *Israel*. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, who did not alwaies reign precisely so long as the bare letter of the Text may seem at first to affirm: but their years were sometimes compleat, sometimes onely current, sometimes confounded with the years of their successors or foregoers, and must therefore be found by comparing their times with the years of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing less needful than curious, to enquire into the reasons moving *Jehosaphat* either to assume unto him his son as partner in the Kingdom, whilst he was able himself to command both in peace and in war, the like having never been done by any of his progenitors, or having once (in the 17. of his reign) vouchsafed unto him that honor, to resume it to himself, or at least wise to defer the confirmation of it, until four or five years were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examination of these passages, may be a mean to find some light, whereby we may more clearly discover the causes of much extraordinary business ensuing, I hold it not amiss to make such conjecture, as the circumstances of the story briefly handled in the Scriptures may seem to approve.

We are therefore to consider, that this King *Jehosaphat* was the first of *Rehoboams* issue that ever entred into any streight league with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in *Juda* before him, had with much labour and long war, tired themselves in vain, making small profit of the greatest advantages that could be wished. Wherefore *Jehosaphat* thought it the wisest way, to make a league offensive and defensive between *Israel* and *Juda*, whereby each might enjoy their own in quiet.

This confederacy made by a religious King, 2 Chro. 19. v. 2. & 3. with one that did *hate the Lord*, could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true *root and fountain of all wisdom*: yet as a piece of sound policy, doubtless it wanted not fair

pretences of much common good thereby likely to ariſe, with mutual fortification of both thoſe Kingdoms, againſt the uncircumciſed Nations their ancient enemies. This apparent benefit, being ſo ineſtimable a jewell, that it might not eaſily be loſt, but continue as hereditary from father to ſon, it was thought a very good courſe to have it confirmed by ſome ſure bond of affinity, and thereupon was *Athalia* the daughter of *Omri*, and ſiſter of *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, given in marriage to *Jehoram*, who was ſon and heir apparent to the King of *Juda*. This Lady was of a maſculine ſpirit, and had learned ſo much of Queen *Jezabel* her brothers wife, that ſhe durſt undertake, and could throughly perform a great deal more in *Jeruſalem*, than the other knew how to compaſs in *Samaria*. She was indeed a fire-brand ordained by God to conſume a great part of the nobleſt houſes in *Juda*, and perhaps of thoſe men or their children, whoſe worldly wiſdom, regardleſs of Gods pleaſure, had brought her in.

The firſt fruits of this great league, was the *Syrian* war at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Juda* and *Iſrael* did adventure equally, but the profit of the victory ſhould have redounded wholly to *Ahab*: as godly Princes very ſeldom thrive by matching with Idolaters, but rather ſerve the turns of thoſe falſe friends, who being ill affected to God himſelf cannot be well affected to his ſervants. Before their ſetting forth, *Ahab* deſigned, as King, his ſon *Ahaziah*; not ſo much perhaps in regard of the uncertain events of war (for none of his predeceſſors had ever done the like, upon the like occaſions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the prophet *Michaia* (for he deſpiſed them) as inviting *Jehoſaphat* by his own example, to take the ſame courſe, wherein he prevailed.

§. II.

Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old king Jehoſaphat *to change his purpoſe often, in making his ſon* Jehoram *King.*

MAny arguments do very ſtrongly prove *Jehoram* to have been wholly over-ruled by his wife, eſpecially for his forſaking the religion of his godly Anceſtors, and following the abominable ſuperſtitions of the houſe of *Achab*.

That ſhe was a woman of intollerable pride, and abhorring to live a private life, the whole courſe of her actions witneſſeth at large. Much vain matter ſhe was able to produce, whereby to make her husband think that his brethren and kindred were but mean and unworthy perſons in compariſon of him, and of his children, which were begotten upon the daughter and ſiſter of two great Kings, not upon baſe women, and meer ſubjects. The Court of *Ahab*, and his famous victories obtained againſt the *Syrian Benhadad* were matter ſufficient to make an inſolent man think highly of himſelf, as being allied ſo honourably, who could otherwiſe have found in his heart well enough, to deſpiſe all his brethren, as being the eldeſt, and heir apparent to the Crown, whereof already he had, in a manner, the poſſeſſion.

How ſoon his vices brake out, or how long he diſſembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be known. Like enough it is, that ſome ſmoke, out of the hidden fire, did very ſoon make his fathers eyes to water; who thereupon cauſed the young man to know himſelf better, by making him fall back into rank among his younger brethren. And ſurely the doings of *Jehoſaphat* about the ſame time, argue no ſmal diſtemper of the whole country, through the miſgovernment of his ungodly ſon. For the good King was fain to make his progreſs round about the Land, reclaiming the people unto the ſervice of God, and appointing Judges *throughout all the ſtrong Cities of* Juda *City by City*. This had been a needleſs labour, if the religion taught & ſtrongly maintained by *Aſa*, and by himſelf, had not ſuffered alteration, and the courſe of Juſtice been perverted, by the power of ſuch as had born authority. But the neceſſity that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did give to the Judges; and by his commiſſion given to one of the Prieſts in ſpiritual cauſes, and to the Steward of his houſe in temporal matters, to be generall over-ſeers. 2 *Chro.* 19. *v.* 4, 5, *&c.*

This was not till after the death of *Ahazia* the ſon of *Ahab*; but how long after it is uncertain. For *Jehoram* the brother of *Ahazia* began his reign (as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of *Jehoſaphat*, which was then accounted the ſecond of *Jehoram*, *Jehoſaphat*'s ſon, though afterward this *Jehoram* of *Juda* had another firſt and ſecond year, even in his fathers time, before he reigned alone, as the beſt Chronologers and Expoſitors of the holy Text agree. So he continued in private eſtate, uutil the two and twentieth of his fathers reign, at which time, though the occaſions inducing his reſtitution to former dignity are not ſet down, yet we may not think, that motives thereto, appearing ſubſtantial, were wanting. *Jehoram* of *Iſrael* held the ſame correſpondency with

with *Jehoſaphat* that his father had done; and made uſe of it. He drew the *Judæans* into the war of *Moab*, at which time it might well be, that the young Prince of *Juda* was again ordained King by his father, as in the *Syrian* expedition he had been. Or if we ought rather to think, that the preparations for the enterprize againſt *Moab* did not occupy ſo much time, as from the eighteenth of *Jehoſaphat*, in which year that Nation rebelled againſt *Iſrael*, unto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations between the two Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, and the affinity between them contracted in the perſon of *Jehoram*, might offer ſome good occaſions thereunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the younger ſons, in their elder brothers diſgrace, might cauſe their father to put him in poſſeſſion for fear of tumult after his death; or the deep diſſimulation of *Jehoram* himſelf might win the good opinion both of his Father and Brethen; it being a thing uſual in miſchievous fell natures, to be as abject and ſervile in time of adverſity, as inſolent and bloody upon advantage. This is manifeſt, that being repoſſeſſed of his former eſtate, he demeaned himſelf in ſuch wiſe toward his brethren, as cauſed their father to enable them, not only with ſtore of *ſilver and gold, and of precious things*, (which kind of liberality other Kings doubtleſs had uſed unto their younger ſons) but with the cuſtody of *ſtrong Cities in Juda*, to aſſure them, if it might have been, by unwonted means, againſt unwonted perils.

1 *Chro.* 21. 3.

§. III.

The doings of Jehoram *when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of* Edom *and* Libna.

BUt all this providence availed nothing; for an higher providence had otherwiſe determined of the ſequel. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the younger ſons of *Jehoſaphat* found ſtrong Cities, a weak defence, againſt the power of him unto whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in upon the ſummons of a King their brother, then had he them without any more adoe; if they ſtood upon their guard, then were they Traytors, and ſo unable to hold out againſt him, who beſides his own power, was able to bring the forces of the *Iſraelitiſh* Kingdom againſt them; ſo that the apparent likelihood of their final overthrow, ſufficed to make all forſake them in the very beginning. Howſoever it was, they were all taken and ſlain, and with them for company many great men of the Land, ſuch belike as either had taken their part, when the Tyrant ſought their lives, or had been appointed Rulers of the Country, when *Jehoram* was depoſed from his government; in which office they, without forbearing to do juſtice, could hardly avoid the doing of many things derogatory to their young Maſter; which if he would now call treaſon, ſaying that he vvas then King, vvho durſt ſay the contrary?

After this *Jehoram* took upon him, as being now Lord alone to make invaſions in Religion, wherein he vvas not contented, as other Idolatrous Princes, to give way and ſafe conduct unto Superſtition and Idolatry, nor to provoke and encourage the people to that ſin, whereto it is wonderful that they were ſo much addicted, having ſuch knowledge of God, and of his deteſting that above all other ſins; but he uſed compulſion, and was (if not the very firſt) the firſt that is regiſtred, to have ſet up Irreligion by force.

Whilſt he was thus buſied at home, in doing what he liſted, the *Edomites* his Tributaries rebelled againſt him abroad; and having hitherto ſince *David's* time, been governed by a Vice-Roy, did now make unto themſelves a King. Againſt theſe *Jehoram* in perſon made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots; with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the Rebels to fly into their places of advantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing ſome of thoſe whom he ſhould have ſubdued, and kept his ſervants. Now began the prophecy of *Iſaac* to take effect, wherein he foretold, that *Eſau* in proceſs of time ſhould break the yoke of *Jacob*. For after this the *Edomites* could never be reclaimed by any of the Kings of *Juda*, but held their own ſo well, that when, after many civil and forrein wars, the Jews by ſundry Nations had been brought low; *Antipater* the *Edomite*, with *Herod* his ſon, and others of that race following them, became Lords of the Jews, in the decrepit age of *Iſrael*, and reigned as Kings, even in *Jeruſalem* it ſelf.

The freedom of the *Edomites*, though purchaſed ſomewhat dearly, encouraged *Libna*, a great City within *Juda*, which in the time of *Joſhua* had a peculiar King, to rebel againſt *Jehoram*, and ſet it ſelf in liberty. *Libna* ſtood in the confines of *Benjamin* and of *Dan*, far from the aſſiſtance of any bordering enemies to *Juda*, and therefore ſo unlike-

ly it was to have maintained it self in liberty, that it may seem strange how it could escape from utter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to have been taken, by their powerful, cruel, and throughly incensed Lord. The *Israelite* held such good intelligence at that time with *Juda*, that he would not have accepted the Town, had it offered it self unto him: neither do we read that it sought how to cast it self into a new subjection, but continued a free state. The rebellion of it against *Jehoram*, was, *Because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers*; which I take to have not only been the first and remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason, moving the inhabitants to do as they did: for it was a Town of the Levites; who must needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion, contrary to Gods Law, had not onely some allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulsive authority to force unto it all that were unwilling. As for the use of the Temple at *Jerusalem* (which, being devout men, they might fear to lose by this rebellion) it was never denied to those of the ten revolted Tribes by any of the Religious Kings, who rather invited the *Israelites* thither, and gave them kind entertainment: under Idolaters they must have been without it, whether they lived free, or in subjection. Yet it seems that private reasons were not wanting, which might move them rather to do than suffer that which was unwarrantable. For in the general visitation before remembred, wherein *Jehosaphat* reformed his kingdom, the good old King appointing new Governours, and giving them especial charge to do justice without respect of persons, used these words; *The Levites shall be officers before you*; *Be of good courage, and do it, and the Lord shall be with the good.* By these phrases, it seems, that he encouraged them against the more powerful, than just proceedings of his son; whom if the Levites did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect in discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be even with them, & make them now to feel, as many Princes of the land had done, his heavy indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon destroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) so much as besieged or molested, may justly seem very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mighty Armies which *Jehosaphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to have over-whelmed any one Town, and buried it under the earth, which they might well in one moneth have cast into it with shovels, by ordinary approaches.

1 Chro. 21. 10.

But it seems that of those great numbers which his father could have levied, there were not many which *Jehoram* could well trust; and therefore perhaps he thought it an easier loss, to let one Town goe, then to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happiness to be feared than to be loved, are fain themselves to stand in fear of those, by whom they might have been dreadful unto others.

§. IV.

Of the miseries falling upon Jehoram, *and of his death.*

THese afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of Gods displeasure in the mind of the wicked Prince; a Prophecy in writing was delivered to him, which threatned both his people, his children, his wives, and his own body. Hereby likewise it appears that he was a cruel persecutor of Gods servants; in as much as the Prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his predecessors, both good and evil Kings; but were fain to denounce Gods judgements against him by letters, keeping themselves close and far from him. This Epistle is said to have been sent unto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elizeus* prophesied in his stead before this time, even in the daies of *Jehosaphat*. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this prophecy in writing behind him, or that (as some conjecture) the errour of one letter in writing, was the occasion that we read *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeed any thing may rather be believed than the Tradition held by some of the Jewish Rabbins, that *Elias* from heaven did send this Epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, devised by *Erasmus*, or of the Verse that was sent from heaven to St. *Giles*.

2 Chro 21. 12. 2 King. 1. & 3. 11.

But whosoever was the Authour of this threatning Epistle, the accomplishment of the prophecy was as terrible as the sentence. For the *Philistims* and *Arabians brake into Judæa*, and took the Kings house, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wives, all which they slew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These *Philistims* had not presumed since the time of *David*, to make any offensive warre till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their Towns, maintaining themselves in the rest of their small territories, by defensive arms, to which they were

were constrained at *Gibbethon* by the *Israelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to have been then, as they are now, a naked people, all horsemen, and ill appointed; their Country affording no other furniture, than such as might make them fitter to rob and spoil in the open fields, than to offend strong Cities, such as were thick set in *Juda*. True it is, that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then known, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately Cities. But it must be considered, that this was when they had learned of the *Romans* the Art of War; and that the provisions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one subdued Province, did make them able and skilful in pursuing their conquest, and going on into Regions far removed from them. At this day having lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as live in *Arabia* it self are good horsemen, but ill appointed; very dangerous to passengers, but unable to deal with good Souldiers, as riding stark naked, and rather trusting in the swiftness of their horses than in any other means of resistance, where they are well opposed. And such, or little better, may they seem to have been, that spoiled *Judæa* in the time of *Jehoram*. For their Country was alwayes barren and desart, wanting manual Arts whereby to supply the naturals with furniture: neither are these bands named as chief in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philistims*. Out of this we may infer, that one half, yea, or one quarter of the numbers found in the least muster of *Juda* and *Benjamin* under *Jehosaphat* (wherein were inrolled three hundred and eighty thousand fighting men) had been enough to have driven away far greater forces than these enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the people been unable to deal with them, for lack of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes jealousie, as in *Saul*'s time by the policy of the *Philistims*.

It may seem that the house of the King which these invaders took, was not his Palace in *Jerusalem*, but rather some other house of his abroad in the Country, where his wives and children at that time lay for their recreation: because we read not that they did sack the City, or spoil the Temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious booty, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they took *Jerusalem* it self by surprize, the people being disarmed, and the Kings guard too weak to keep them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous: and therefore having done what spoil they could, withdrew themselves with such purchase as they were able safely to conveigh away.

The slaughter committed by *Jehu* on the two and forty brethren of *Ahazia*, or (as they are called elsewhere) so many of his brothers sons, and the cruel massacre wherein all the Royal seed perished (only *Joas* excepted) under the tyranny of *Athalia*, following within two years after this invasion of the *Philistims* and *Arabians*, make it seem probable, that the sons of *Jehoram* were not all slain at once, but that rather the first murther began in his own time, and was seconded by many other heavy blows, wherewith his house was incessantly striken, until it was in a manner quite hewed down.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the body of this wicked King, smiting him with a grievous disease in his bowels, which left him not until his guts fell out, and his wretched soul departed from his miserable carkass. The people of the Land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place of burial among his Ancestors the Kings of *Juda*, though his own son succeeded him in the Kingdom, who was guided by the same spirits that had been his Fathers evil Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous interring of a dead husband. She vvas thinkiug how to provide for the future, to maintain her own greatness, to retain her favourites in their authority, and to place about her Son such *Counsellours of the house of Ahab*, as vvere fittest for her turn. Wherefore she thought it unseasonable to make much a-doe about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eyes, vvith a stately funeral of a man by them detested: but rather chose to let the blame of things passed be laid upon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her self and hers, vvhich it now did concern her to avoid. Such is the quality of vvicked Instigators, having made greedy use of bad imployments, to charge, not only vvith his own vices, but vvith their faults also, the man vvhose evil inclinations their sinister counsels have made worse, vvhen once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Jehoram* fell out indeed in a busie time; vvhen his friend and cousin the *Israelite*, vvho had the same name, was entangled in a difficult War against the *Aramite*; and therefore could have no better leasure to help *Athalia*, in setting of things according

2 Chron. 22. 4.

to

to her own mind, than he had (perhaps through the same hinderance) to help her husband, when he was distressed by the *Philistims*; Yea, rather he needed and craved the assistance of the men of *Juda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had not sped so well the last time, that they should willingly run thither again, unless they were very fairly intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I have thought good to handle the more particularly (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as far as the circumstances remembred in holy Scripture would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appear, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the revealed will of God, accomplish nevertheless his hidden purpose, and without miraculous means, confound themselves in the seeming-wise devices of their own folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learn to submit their judgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to think, that they may safely dispense with his commandements, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisdom dictateth unto them. For in such kind of unhappy subtilties, it is manifest that *Athalia* was able to furnish both her Husband and her Son; but the issue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear, in that which immediatly followeth.

§. V.

Of the reign of Ahazia, *and his business with the King of* Israel.

OChazias, or *Ahazia*, the son of *Jehoram* and *Athalia*, began his reign over *Juda*, in the twelfth year of *Jehoram* the son of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, and reigned but one year. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficulty than importance to know it: yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclusion than that of *Torniellus*, alledging the Edition of the *Septuagint* at *Rome*, *Anno Domini* 1588. which saith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his kingdom; and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that do give him two years more. Like enough he is to have been young: for he was governed by his Mother, and her Ministers, who gave him counsel, by which he perished. In matter of Religion he altered none of his fathers courses. In matter of State he likewise upheld the league made with the house of *Ahab*. He was much busied in doing little, and that with ill success. He accompanied his Cousin the *Israelite* against *Ramoth Gilead*, which they wan, but not without blows: for the *Aramites* fought so well, that the King of *Israel* was fain to adventure his own person, which escaped not unwounded.

The Town being won, was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to be made by *Hazael* King of *Aram*: which done, *Jehoram* King of *Israel* withdrew himself to the City of *Jezrael*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and *Ahazia* returned to *Jerusalem*. It seems that he was but newly come home (for he reigned in all scantly one year, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken up a great part) when he did make a new journey, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the King of *Israel*, who lay sore of his wounds. Belike *Athalia* was brewing some new plots, which his presence would have hindered, and therefore sought every occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vain piece of work so to leave his kingdom, having no other business than by way of complement to go see one whom he had seen yesterday. Certain it is, that the Lord had resolved at this time to put in execution that heavy judgement, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet upon the house of *Ahab*. And hereupon at this time had he disposed not onely the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might seem to have been accidental, but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing less than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these *Athalia* doubtless was one; whose mischievous purposes it will shortly be needful, for explanation of some difficulties arising, that we diligently consider and examine.

§. VI.

How Ahazia *perished with the house of* Ahab: *and how that Family was destroyed by* Jehu.

THe whole Army of *Israel*, with all the principal Captains, lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a Disciple of *Elizeus* the Prophet came in among the Captains that were sitting together; who calling out among them *Jehu*, a principal man, took him apart, and anointed him King over *Israel*, rehearsing unto him the Prophecy of *Elias* against the house of *Ahab*, and letting him understand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The fashion of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captains a desire to know the errand, which *Jehu* thought meet

meet to let them know, as doubting vvhether they had over-heard all the talk or no. When he had acquainted them vvith the vvhole matter, they made no delay, but forthwith proclaimed him King. For the Prophecy of *Elias* vvas vvell known among them, neither durſt any one oppoſe himſelf againſt him, that vvas by God ordained to perform it.

Jehu, vvho had upon the ſudden this great honour thrown upon him, vvas not ſlow to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of it, but uſed the firſt heat of their affections, vvho joyned vvith him, in ſetting on foot the buſineſs vvhich nearly concerned him, and vvas not to be fore-ſlowed, being no more his own than Gods.

The firſt care vvas that no news of the revolt might be carried to *Jezreel*, vvhereby the King might have had vvarning either to fight or flee: this being foreſeen, he marched ſwiftly away, to take the Court vvhile it vvas yet ſecure. King *Jehoram* vvas now ſo vvell recovered of his Wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for vvhich cauſe it ſeems that there vvas much feaſting, and joy made, eſpecially by Queen *Jezabel*, who kept her ſtate ſo vvell, that the brethren of *Ahazia* coming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to ſalute the Queen, as to viſit the King.

Certain it is, that ſince the rebellion of *Moab* againſt *Iſrael*, the houſe of *Ahab* did never ſo much flouriſh as at this time. Seventy Princes of the bloud Royal there were that livèd in *Samaria*; *Jehoram* the ſon of Queen *Jezabel* had won *Ramoth Gilead*, which his Father had attempted in vain, with loſs of his life; and he won it by valiant fight, wherein he received wounds, of which the danger was now paſt, but the honour likely to continue. The amity was ſo great between *Iſrael* and *Juda*, that it might ſuffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of ſucceſs to any rebellious enterprizer: ſo that now the prophecy of *Elias* might be forgotten, or no otherwiſe remembred, than as an unlikely tale by them that beheld the majeſtical face of the Court, wherein ſo great a friend as the King of *Juda* was entertained, and forty Princes of his blood expected.

In the middeſt of this ſecurity, whileſt theſe great Eſtates were (perhaps) either conſulting about proſecution of their intents, firſt againſt the *Aramites*, and then againſt *Moab*, *Edom*, and other rebels and enemies: or elſe were triumphing in joy of that which was already atchieved, and the Queen-mother dreſſing her ſelf in the braveſt manner to come down amongſt them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower diſcovered a company coming. Theſe news were not very troubleſome: for the Army that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to be ready againſt all attempts of the *Aramites*, was likely enough to be diſcharged upon ſome notice taken that the enemy would not, or could not ſtir. Onely the King ſent out an Horſe-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The meſſenger coming to *Jehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the King as little warning as might be. The ſeeming negligence of this fellow in not returning vvith an anſwer, might argue the matter to be of ſmall importance: yet the King to be ſatisfied, ſent out another that ſhould bring him vvord how all vvent; and he vvas likewiſe detained by *Jehu*. Theſe dumb ſhews bred ſome ſuſpicion in *Jehoram*, vvhom the Watchman certified of all that happened. And now the company drew ſo near, that they might, though not perfectly, be diſcerned, and notice taken of *Jehu* himſelf by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that vvas loth to diſcover any vveakneſs, cauſed his Chariot to be made ready, and iſſued forth with *Ahazia* King of *Juda* in his company, whoſe preſence added majeſty to his train, when ſtrength to reſiſt, or expedition to flee, had been more needful. This could not be done ſo haſtily, but that *Jehu* was come even to the towns end, and there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Jehoram* began to ſalute *Jehu* with terms of peace, but receiving a bitter anſwer, his heart failed him, ſo that crying out upon the treaſon to his fellow King, he turned away to have fled. But *Jehu* ſoon overtook him with an arrow, wherewith he ſtruck him dead, and threw his carkaſs into that field, which, purchaſed with the bloud of the rightful owner, was to be watered with the bloud of the unjuſt poſſeſſor. Neither did *Ahazia* eſcape ſo well, but that he was arreſted by a Wound, which held him till death did ſeize upon him.

The Kings Palace was joyning to the wall, by the gate of the City, where *Jezabel* might ſoon be advertiſed of this calamity, if ſhe did not with her own eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercy, whoſe judgment, pronounced againſt her long before, had overtaken her, when ſhe leaſt expected it. But ſhe, full of indignation and proud thoughts, made her ſelf ready in all haſte, and painted her face, hoping with her ſtately and imperious looks to daunt the Traitor, or at leaſt to utter ſome Apophthegme that ſhould expreſs her brave

ſpirit,

ſpirit, and brand him with ſuch a reproach as might make him odious for ever. Little did ſhe think upon the hungry dogs that were ordained to devour her, whoſe paunches the *ſtibium*, with which ſhe beſmeared her eyes, would more offend, than the ſcolding language wherewith ſhe armed her tongue could trouble the ears of him that had her in his power. As *Jehu* drew near, ſhe opened her window, and looking out upon him, began to put him in mind of *Zimri*, that had not long enjoyed the fruits of his treaſon, and murther of the King his Maſter. This was in meer humane valuation ſtoutly ſpoken, but was indeed a part of miſerable folly; as are all things, howſoever laudable, if they have an ill relation to *God the Lord of all*. Her own Eunuchs that ſtood by and heard her, were not affected ſo much as with any compaſſion of her fortune; much leſs was her enemy daunted with her proud ſpirit. When *Jehu* ſaw that ſhe did uſe the little remainder of her life in ſeeking to vex him, he made her preſently to underſtand her own eſtate, by deeds and not by words. He only called to her ſervants to know which of them would be on his ſide, and ſoon found them ready to offer their ſervice before the very face of their proud Lady. Hereupon he commanded them to caſt her down head-long: which immediately they performed, without all regard of her greatneſs and eſtate, wherein ſhe had a few hours before ſhined ſo gloriouſly in the eyes of men; of men that conſidered not the judgments of God that had been denounced againſt her.

So periſhed this accurſed woman by the rude hands of her own ſervants, at the commandment of her greateſt enemy, that was yeſterday her ſubject, but now her Lord: and ſhe periſhed miſerably, ſtrugling in vain with baſe grooms, who contumelioufly did hale and thruſt her, whileſt her inſulting enemy ſate on horſe-back, adding indignity to her grief by ſcornful beholding the ſhameful manner of her fall, and trampling her body under foot. Her dead carkaſs that was left without the Walls, vvas devoured by dogs, and her very memory vvas odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatry, murther, and oppreſſion, with ſlow, but ſure payment, and full intereſt.

Ahazia King of *Juda* fleeing a-pace from *Jehu*, was overtaken by the way where he lurked; and receiving his deadly Wound in the Kingdom of *Samaria*, was ſuffered to get him gone (which he did in all haſte) and ſeek his burial in his own Kingdom: and this favour he obtained for his Grand-fathers ſake, not for his Fathers nor his own. He died at *Megiddo*, and was thence carried to *Jeruſalem*, where he was enterred with his Anceſtors, having reigned about one year.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Athalia; *and whoſe ſon he was that ſucceeded her.*

§. I.

Of Athalia's *uſurping the Kingdom, and what pretences ſhe might forge.*

2 *Chron.* 22. 9. AFter the death of *Ahazia*, it is ſaid that his houſe *was not able to retain the Kingdom:* which Note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* upon the death of her ſon, have given occaſion to divers opinions concerning the Pedigree of *Joas*, who reigned ſhortly after. For *Athalia* being thus diſpoiled of her ſon, under whoſe name ſhe had ruled at her pleaſure, did forthwith lay hold upon all the Princes of the blood, and ſlew them, that ſo ſhe might occupy the Royal Throne her ſelf, and reign as Queen, rather than live a Subject. She had before-hand put into great place, and made Counſellors unto her ſon, ſuch as were fitteſt for her purpoſe, and ready at all times to execute her will: that ſhe kept a ſtrong guard about her, it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great execution done by *Jehoram*, upon the Princes, and many of the Nobility, had made the people tame, and fearful to ſtir, whatſoever they ſaw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent ſoever it be, is ſeldom or never ſo ſhameleſs as to refuſe the commodity of goodly pretences offering themſelves; but rather ſcrapes together all that will any way ſerve to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not abſurd for us to think, that *Athalia*, when ſhe ſaw the Princes of the Royal bloud, all of them in a manner, ſlain by her huſband, and afterwards his own children deſtroyed by the *Philiſtims*, began even then to play her own game, reducing by artificial practice, into fair likelihoods, thoſe poſſibilities wherewith her huſ-

bands

bands bad fortune had preſented her. Not without great ſhew of reaſon, either by her own mouth, or by ſome truſty creature of hers might ſhe give him to underſtand, how needful it were to take the beſt order whilſt as yet he might, for fear of the worſt that might happen. If the iſſue of *David*, which now remained only in his family, ſhould by any accident fail (as wofull experience had already ſhewed what might after come to paſs) the people of *Juda* were not unlikely to chooſe a King of ſome new ſtock, a popular ſeditious man peradventure, one that to countenance his own unworthineſs, would not care what aſperſions he laid upon that Royal houſe, which was fallen down. And who could aſſure him, that ſome ambitious ſpirit, fore-ſeeing what might be gotten thereby, did not already contrive the deſtruction of him, and all his ſeed? Wherefore it were the wiſeſt way to deſign by his authority, not only his ſucceſſor, but alſo the reverſioner, and ſo to provide, that the Crown might never be ſubject to any rifling, but remain in the diſpoſition of them that loved him beſt, if the worſt that might be feared comming to paſs, his own poſterity could not retain it.

Such perſwaſions being urged, and earneſtly followed, by the importunate ſollicitation of her that governed his affections, were able to make the jealous Tyrant think, that the onely way to fruſtrate all devices of ſuch as gaped after a change, was to make her heir the laſt and youngeſt of his houſe, whom it moſt concerned, as being the Queen Mother, to uphold the firſt and eldeſt.

If *Athalia* took no ſuch courſe as this in her husbands time, yet might ſhe do it in her ſons. For *Ahazia* (beſides that he was wholly ruled by his mother) was not likely to take much care for the ſecurity of his half-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wives, in reſpect of his own-born Mother, little better than Concubines, and their children baſely begotten. But if this miſchievous woman forgat her ſelf ſo far in her wicked policy, that ſhe loſt all opportunity which the weakneſs of her husband and ſon did afford, of procuring unto her ſelf ſome ſeeming Title; yet could ſhe afterwards feign ſome ſuch matter, as boldly ſhe might: being ſure that none would ask to ſee her evidence, for fear of being ſent to learn the certainty of her ſon or husband in another World. But I rather think that ſhe took order for her affairs before-hand. For though ſhe had no reaſon to ſuſpect or fear the ſudden death of her ſon, yet it was the wiſeſt way to provide betimes againſt all that might happen, whileſt her husbands iſſue by other women was young and unable to reſiſt. We plainly find that the Brethren or Nephews of *Ahazia*, to the number of two and forty, were ſent to the Court of *Iſrael*, only to ſalute the children of the King, and the children of the Queen. The ſlender occaſion of which long journey, conſidered together with the quality of theſe perſons (being in effect all the ſtock of *Jehoram* that could be grown to any ſtrength) makes it very ſuſpicious, that their entertainment in *Jezabels* houſe would onely have been more formall, but little differing in ſubſtance, from that which they found at the hand of *Jehu*. He that looks into the courſes held both before and after by theſe two Queens, will find cauſe enough to think no leſs. Of ſuch as have aſpired unto Lordſhips not belonging to them, and thruſt out the right Heirs by pretence of Teſtaments, that had no other validity than the ſword of ſuch as claimed by them could give, Hiſtories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentiful examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: *Is there any thing whereof one may ſay, Behold, this is new? It hath been already in the old time that was before us.* That a King might ſhed his brothers blood, was proved by *Salomon* upon *Adonia*; that he might alien the Crown from his natural Heirs, *David* had given proof; but theſe had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that pleaſe them, will neglect the reaſons of thoſe examples, if they pleaſe them not, and reſt contented with the practice, as more willing by ſhewing what they may doe, than acknowledging why *Salomon* ſlew his brother that had begun one rebellion, and was entring into another. Jehoram *ſlew all his brethren, which were better than he: David* purchaſed the Kingdom, and might the more freely diſpoſe of it, yet he diſpoſed of it as the Lord appointed: if *Jehoram*, who had loſt much and gotten nothing, thought that he might alien the remainder at his pleaſure; or if *Ahazia* ſought to cut off the ſucceſſion of his brethren, or of their iſſue; either of theſe was to be anſwered with the words which *Jehojada* the Prieſt uſed afterwards, in declaring the title of *Joaſh*: *Behold, the Kings ſon muſt reign; as the Lord hath ſaid of the ſon of David.* Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend ſome title, whatſoever it might be, to the Crown of *Juda*; yet it is moſt certain that ſhe had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treachery, murder, and open violence, and ſo ſhe held it ſix whole years, and a part of the ſeventh, in good ſeeming ſecurity.

Eccleſ. 1. 10

2 Chro. 21. 13.

§. II.

How Jehu *spent his time in Israel, so that he could not molest* Athalia.

IN all this time *Jehu* did never goe about to disturb her; which in reason he was likely to desire, being an enemy to her whole House. But he was occupied at the first in establishing himself, rooting out the posterity of *Ahab*, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in wars against the *Aramites*, wherein he was so far overcharged, that hardly he could retain his own, much less attempt upon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were seventy living in *Samaria*, out of which number *Jehu* by letter advised the Citizens to set up some one as King, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was; which they well understood to proceed from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they took example by the two Kings whom he had slain, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their service; wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient, that in less than one daies warning, they sent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were enjoyned by a second letter from him. After this he surprized all the Priests of *Baal* by a subtilty, feigning a great sacrifice to their god, by which means he drew them all together into one Temple, where he slew them: and in the same zeal to God utterly demolished all the monuments of that impiety.

Concerning the Idolatry devised by *Jeroboam*, no King of *Israel* had ever greater reason than *Jehu* to destroy it. For he needed not to fear lest the people should be allured unto the house of *David*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted up, and the Crown of *Juda* in the possession of a cruel Tyranness: he had received his kingdom by the unexpected grace of God; and further in regard of his zeal expressed in destroying *Baal* out of *Israel*, he was promised notwithstanding his following the sin of *Jeroboam*, that the kingdom should remain in his Family to the fourth Generation. But all this would not serve; he would needs help to piece out Gods providence with his own circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedy gamester, who by stealing a needless Card to assure himself of winning a stake, forfeits his whole test. He had questionless displeased many, by that which he did against *Baal*; and many more he should offend by taking from them the use of superstition, so long practised as was that Idolatry of *Jeroboam*. Yet all these, how many soever they were, had never once thought upon making him King, if God, whom (to retain them) he now forsook, had not given him the Crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the means of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Jehu* drew terrible vengeance of God upon *Israel*, whereof *Hazael* King of *Damascus* was the executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous Prince we may find in the Prophecy of *Elizeus*, who fore-told it, saying: *Their strong Cities shalt thou set on fire; and their young men shalt thou slay with the sword, and shalt dash their Infants against the stones, and rend in pieces their women with child.* So did not only the wickedness of *Ahab* cause the ruine of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatry of the people bring a lamentable misery upon all the Land. For the fury of *Hazaels* victory was not quenched with the destruction of a few towns, nor wearied with one invasion; but he *smote them in all the coast of Israel*, and wasted all the Country beyond the River of *Jordan*. Notwithstanding all these calamities, it seems that the people repented not of their Idolatry; (*For in those daies the Lord began to loath Israel*;) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble house of *Ahab*, under which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, & had bravely fought for the conquest of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benhadad* to restore the Cities which his Father had won: whereas now they were fain to make woful shifts, living under a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his master that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruel enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can find all manner of difficulties in serving him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, in stead of the ease & the pleasure to themselves propounded by contrary courses, overwhelmed with the troubles which they sought to avoid; and therein by God, whom they first forsook, forsaken, and left unto the wretched labours of their own blind wisdom, wherein they had reposed all their confidence.

2 King 8. 12.

2 King. 10. 32.

§. III.

Of Athaliah's *Government.*

THese calamities falling upon *Israel*, kept *Athalia* safe on that side, giving her leisure to look to things at home: as having little

little to do abroad, unless it were so that she held some correspondency with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her Husbands Grand-father King *Asa*, who had done the like. And some probability that she did so, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For we find, that this
2 Chro. 24 7. *wicked* Athalia *and her children brake up the house of God, and all things that were dedicate for the house of the Lord did they bestow upon* Baalim. Such a sacriledge, though it proceeded from a desire to set out her own Idolatry, with such pomp as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want some fair pretext of necessity of the State so requiring: in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next successour was fain to do the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taste of that which was formerly thence extracted for his sake.

Under this impious government of *Athalia*, the devotion of the Priests and Levites was very notable, and served (no doubt) very much to retain the people in the Religion taught by God himself, howsoever the Queens proceedings advanced the contrary. For the poverty of that sacred Tribe of *Levi* must needs have been exceeding great at this time, all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being utterly lost, the oblations and other perquisites, by which they lived, being now very few and small; and the store, laid up in better times under godly Kings, being all taken away by shameful robbery. Yet they up-held in all this misery the service of God, and the daily sacrifice keeping daily their courses, and performing obedience to the high Priest, no less than in those dayes wherein their entertainment was far better.

§. IV.
Of the preservation of Joas.

Jehojada then occupied the high Priesthood, an honourable, wise, and religious man. To his carefulness it may be ascribed, that the state of the Church was in some slender sort up-held in those unhappy times. His Wife was *Jehoshabeth*, who was daughter of King *Jehoram*, and sister to *Ahazia*, a godly Lady and vertuous, whose piety makes it seem that *Athalia* was not her Mother, though her access to the Court argue the contrary: but her discreet carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her own Fathers house, than the education under such a Mother could have permitted her to be such as she was. By her care *Joash* the young Prince that reigned soon after, was conveighed out of the nursery, when *Athalia* destroyed all the Kings children, and was carried secretly into the Temple, where as secretly he was brought up. How it came to pass that this young child was not hunted out, when his body was missing; nor any great reckoning (for ought that we find) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine: for it was not good in policy, that the people should hear say, that one of the children had avoyded that cruel blow; it might have made them hearken after innovations, and so be the less conformable to their present government. So *Joash* was delivered out of that slaughter, he and his nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peradventure to be cast away, as having no other guard than a poor Woman that gave him suck, who foolishly doubting that she her self should have been slain, was fled away with him into some desolate place, where it was like enough that she and he should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily coin such tales, and rather swear them to be true in their own knowledge, than they will lose the thanks due to their joyful tidings.

§. V.
Whose Son Joas *was.*

¶. I.
Whether Joas *may be thought likely to have been the Son of* Ahazia.

NOw concerning this *Joash*, whose son he was, it is a thing of much difficulty to affirm, and hath caused much controversie among Writers. The places of Scripture, which call him *the son of* Ahazia, seem plain enough. How any figure of the *Hebrew* language might give title of Son unto him, in regard that he was his Successour, I neither by my self can find, nor can by any help of Authors learn how to answer the difficulties appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that think him to have been, or not, the natural son of *Ahaziah*. For whereas it is said, that *the house of* Ahazia *was not able to retain the Kingdome*; some do inferre that this *Joash* was not properly called his son, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as son in the inheritance of his Father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For she perceiving that
2 King. 11 2. & 2 Chro. 22. 11.
2 Chro. 22. 9.

the Kingdom was to fall into their hands, in whom she had no interest, might easily find cause to fear, that the tyranny exercised by her husband at her instigation upon so many noble Houses, would now be revenged upon her self. The ruine of her Idolatrous Religion might in this case terrifie both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedy of *Jezabel* teaching her what might happen to another Queen. All this had little concerned her, if her own grand-child had been heir to the Crown; for she that had power enough to make her self Queen, could with more ease, and lesse envy, have taken upon her the office of a Protector, by which authority she might have done her pleasure, and been the more both obeyed by others, and secure of her own estate, as not wanting an heir. Wherefore it was not needful, that she should be so unnatural, as to destroy the Child of her own Son, of whose life she might have made greater use than she could of his death: whereas indeed, the love of Grandmothers to their Nephews, is little less than the Mothers to their Children.

This argument is very strong. For it may seem incredible, that all natural affection should be cast aside, when as neither necessity urgeth, nor any commodity thereby gotten requireth it, yea, when all humane policy doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would have perswaded.

§. II.

That Joas *did not descend from* Nathan.

BUt (as it is more easie to find a difficulty in that which is related, than to shew how it might have otherwise been) the pedigree of this *Joash* is, by them which think him not the son of *Ahazia*, set down in such sort, that it may very justly be suspected. They say, that he descended from *Nathan* the son of *David*, and not from *Salomon*: to which purpose they bring a History (I know whence) of two Families of the race of *David*, saying, that the line of *Salomon* held the Kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the Family of *Nathan* should succeed it. Concerning this *Nathan* the son of *David*, there are that would have him to be *Nathan* the Prophet, who, as they think, was by *David* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as also S. *Augustine* sometime was, but afterward he revoked it, as was meet; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the sons of *David*, by *Bathsua* the daughter of *Ammes*, and therefore could not be the Prophet. 1 Chron. 3. 5.

Gregory Nazianzen (as I find him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him *Erasmus*, and *Faber Stapulensis*, have likewise held the same of *Joash*, deriving him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan* and those other brethren of *Salomon* by the same Mother, are thought, upon good likelihoods to have been the children of *Uriah* the *Hittite*: and so are they accounted by sundry of the Fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulensis*, who follow the *Hebrew* Expositors of that place in the first of *Chronicles*. The words of *Salomon* calling himself the only begotten of his mother, do approve this exposition: for we read of no more than two sons which *Bathsua* or *Bathsheba* did bear unto *David*, whereof the one begotten in adultery, died an Infant, and *Salomon* only of her children by the King did live. So that the rest must needs have been the children of *Uriah*, and are thought to have been *Davids* only by adoption. Wherefore if *Joas* had not been the son of *Ahazia*, then must that pedigree have been false, wherein S. *Matthew* deriveth him lineally from *Salomon*: yea, then had not *our blessed Saviour* issued from the loins of *David*, according to the flesh, but had only been of his line by courtesie of the Nation, and form of law, as any other might have been. As for the authority of *Philo*, which hath drawn many late Writers into the opinion that *Joash* was not of the posterity of *Salomon*, it is enough to say, that this was *Frier Annius* his *Philo*: for no other edition of *Philo*, hath any such matter; but *Annius* can make Authors to speak what he list.

§. III.

That Joas *may probably be thought to have been the son of* Jehoram.

IN so doubtful a case, if it seem lawful to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought upon, me thinks it were not amiss to open at once, and peruse together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickedness of *Jehoram* the son of *Jehosaphat* King of *Juda*, for which he and his children perished, rehearseth it as one of Gods mercies towards the house of *David*, that according to his promise he would *give him a light, and to his children for ever*: the other doth say, that for the offences of the same *Jehoram*, *there was not a son left him, save* Jehoahas *the youngest of his sons*. Now if it were in regard of Gods promise to *David*, that after those massacres of *Jehoram* upon all his brethren, and of the *Philistims* and *Arabians* upon the children of *Jehoram*, one of the seed of *David* escaped; why may 2 King. 8. 19.

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it not be thought that he was ſaid to have eſcaped, in whom the line of *David* was preſerved? for had all the race of *Salomon* been rooted up in theſe woful Tragedies, and the progeny of *Nathan* ſucceeded in place thereof; like enough it is that ſome remembrance more particular would have been extant, of an event ſo memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguiſhed, it is indeed apparent by the *Genealogie* of our Lord, as it is recounted by S. *Luke*: but the preſervation of the houſe of *David*, mentioned in the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the perſon of *Jehoahas*, in whom the Royal branch of *Salomon*, the natural, and not only legal iſſue remaining of *David*, was kept alive. Wherefore it may be thought that this *Joaſh*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdom, was the youngeſt ſon of *Jehoram*, whoſe life *Athalia*, as a ſtep-dame, was not likely to purſue. For it were not eaſily underſtood, why the preſervation of *Davids* line, by Gods eſpecial mercy, in regard of his promiſe made, ſhould pertain rather to
2 *King.* 10. 13. that time, when beſides *Ahazia* himſelf, there were two and forty of his brethren, or (as in another place they are called) ſons of his brethren remaining alive, which afterwards were all ſlain by *Jehu*; than have reference to the lamentable deſtruction and little leſs than extirpation of that progeny, wherein
2 *Chron.* 21 8. one onely did eſcape. Certainly that inhumane murther which *Jehoram* committed upon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Hiſtory) revenged upon his own children; then was not this vengeance of God accompliſhed by the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians*, but being only begun by them, was afterwards proſecuted by *Jehu*, and finally took effect by the hands of that ſame wicked woman, at whoſe inſtigation he had committed ſuch barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heavy judgment laid upon
2 *Chron.* 24. 14. *Jehoram* and all his children, onely *Jehoahas* his youngeſt ſon was exempted; whom therefore if I ſhould affirm to be the ſame with *Joas*, which is called the ſon of *Ahazia*, I ſhould not want good probability. Some further appearance of neceſſity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwiſe have been. For it was the youngeſt ſon of *Jehoram* in whom the race was preſerved; which could not in any likelihood be *Ahazia*, ſeeing that he was twenty years old at the leaſt (as is already noted) when he began to reign, and conſequently, was born in the eighteenth or twentieth year of his Fathers age. Now I know not whether of the two is more unlikely, either that *Jehoram* ſhould have begotten many children before he was eighteen years old, or that having (as he had) many wives and children, he ſhould upon the ſudden, at his eighteenth year, become unfruitful, and beget no more in twenty years following: each of which muſt have bin true, if this were true that *Ahazia* was the ſame *Jehoahas* which was his youngeſt ſon. But this inconvenience is taken away, and thoſe other doubts ariſing from the cauſleſs cruelty of *Athalia*, in ſeeking the life of *Joas* are eaſily cleared, if *Joas* and *Jehoahas* were one. Neither doth his age withſtand this opinion; For he was *ſeven years old when he began to reign*; which if we underſtand of years compleat, he might have been a year old at the death of *Jehoram*, being begotten ſomewhat after the beginning of his ſickneſs. Neither is it more abſurd to ſay that he was the natural ſon of *Jehoram*, though called the ſon of *Ahazia*, than it were to ſay, as great Authors have done, this difficulty notwithſtanding, that he was of the poſterity of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to anſwer; which, had it concurred with the reſt, might have ſerved as the foundation of this opinion. The name of *Jehoahas*, that ſoundeth much more near to *Joas*, than to *Ahaziah*, in an Engliſh ear, doth in the *Hebrew* (as I am informed by ſome, ſkilful in that language) through the diverſity of certain letters, differ much from that which it moſt reſembleth in our Weſtern manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it be ſo that *Ahazia* himſelf be alſo called *Azaria*, and muſt have had three names, if he were the ſame with *Jehoahas*; in which
2 *Chron* 22 5. manner *Joas* might alſo have had ſeveral names; yet, becauſe I find no other warrant hereof than a bare poſſibility, I will not preſume to build an opinion upon the weak foundation of mine own conjecture, but leave all to the conſideration of ſuch as have more ability to judge, and leiſure to conſider of this point.

§. IV.

Upon what reaſons Athalia *might ſeek to deſtroy* Joas, *if he were her own Grandchild.*

IF therefore we ſhall follow that vvhich is commonly received, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be ſaid, that *Athalia* vvas not only blinded by the paſſions of ambition and zeal to her Idolatrous vvorſhip of *Baalim*, but purſued the accompliſhment of ſome unnatural deſires, in ſeeking the deſtruction of her grand-child, and the reſt of the bloud Royal. For whe-

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ther it were so that *Athalia* (as proud and cruel Women are not alwayes chast) had imitated the liberty of *Jezabel* her sister in law, whose Whoredoms were upbraided by *Jehu* to her son; or whether she had children by some former husband, before she was married unto *Jehoram* (which is not unlikely, in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and sister to *Ahab*) certain it is that she had sons of her own, and those old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondred at, that to settle the Crown upon her own children, she did seek to cut off, by wicked policy, all other claims. As for *Joas*, if she were his Grand-mother, yet she might mistrust the interest which his mother would have in him, lest when he came to years, it might draw him from her devotion. And hereof (besides that Women do commonly better love their daughters Husbands, than their sons Wives) there is some appearance in the reign of her son; for she made him spend all his time in idle journeys, to no other apparent end, than that she might rule at home; and he living abroad be estranged from his Wife, and entertain some new fancies, wherein *Jezabel* had cunning enough to be his Tutoress. But when the sword of *Jehu* had rudely cut in sunder all these fine devices, then was *Athalia* fain to go roundly to work, and do as she did, whereby she thought to make all sure. otherwise, if (as I could rather think) she were only stepdame to *Joas*, we need not seek into the reasons moving her to take away his life; her own hatred was cause enough to dispatch him among the first.

2 King 9 21.

§. VI.

A digression, wherein is maintained the liberty of using conjecture in Histories.

THus much concerning the person of *Joas*, from vvhom, as from a new root, the tree of *David* was propagated into many branches. In handling of vvhich matter, the more I consider the nature of this History, and the diversity between it and others, the less me thinks I need to suspect mine own presumption, as deserving blame, for curiosity in matter of doubt, or boldness in liberty of conjecture. For all Histories do give us information of humane counsels and events, as far forth as the knowledge and faith of the Writers can afford; but of Gods Will, by vvhich all things are ordered, they speak only at random, and many times falsly. This we often find in profane Writers, vvho ascribe the ill success of great undertakings, to the neglect of some impious Rites, vvhereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended vvith the omission. Hereat vve may the less vvonder, if vve consider the answer made by the *Jewes* in *Egypt* unto *Jeremy* the Prophet reprehending their Idolatry. For howsoever the vvritten Law of God vvas known unto the people, and his punishments laid upon them for contempt thereof vvere very terrible, and even then but newly executed; yet vvere they so obstinately bent unto their Wils, that they vvould not by any means be drawn to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction, But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worship the *Queen of heaven*, as they and their Fathers, their Kings and their Princes had used to do: *For then* (said they) *had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no evil:* adding, that all manner of miseries were befaln them, since they left off that service of the *Queen of Heaven*. So blind is the wisedome of man, in looking into the counsel of God, which to find out, there is no better nor other guide than his own written Will not perverted by vain additions.

Jer. 44. 17, 18.

But this History of the Kings of *Israel* and *Juda* hath herein a singular prerogative above all that have been written by the most sufficient of meerly humane Authors: it setteth down expressly the true, and first causes of all that happened; not in imputing the death of *Ahab* to his over-frowardness in battel; the ruine of his Family, to the security of *Jehoram* in *Jezreel*; not the Victories of *Hazael*, to the great commotions raised in *Israel* by the comming of *Jehu*; but referring all unto the Will of God, I mean, to his revealed Will, from which that his hidden purposes do not vary, this Story, by many great examples, gives most notable proof. True it is, that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these Books nothing largely described; nor perhaps exactly in any of those Histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Philip Sidny*, that Historians do borrow of Poets, not only much of their Ornament, but somewhat of their substance. Informations are often false, records not always true, and notorious actions commonly insufficient to discover the passions which do set them first on foot. Wherefore they are fain (I speak of the best, and in that which is allowed; for to take out of *Livy* every one circumstance of *Claudius* his journey against *Asdrubol* in *Italy*, fitting all to another busi-

Sir *Phil. Sid.* in his Apol. for Poetry.

nes,

neſs, or any practice of that kind, is neither Hiſtorical, nor Poetical) to ſearch into the particular humour of Princes, and of thoſe which have governed their affections, or the inſtruments by which they wrought; from whence they do collect the moſt likely motives or impediments of every buſineſs; and ſo figuring as near to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they judiciouſly conſider the defects in counſel, or obliquity in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the moſt part, is not enough to give aſſurance, howſoever it may give ſatisfaction. For the heart of man is unſearchable: and Princes, howſoever their intents be ſeldom hidden from ſome of thoſe many eyes which pry both into them, and into ſuch as live about them; yet ſometimes either by their own cloſe temper, or by ſome ſubtil miſts, they conceal the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themſelves lye dead, and buried in oblivion, when the preparations which they begat, are converted to another uſe. The induſtry of an Hiſtorian, having ſo many things to weary it, may well be excuſed, when finding apparent cauſe enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further ſearch; though it often fall out, where ſundry occaſions work to the ſame end, that one ſmall matter in a weak mind is more effectual, than many that ſeem far greater. So comes it many times to paſs, that great fires, which conſume whole houſes or towns, begin with a few ſtraws, that are waſted or not ſeen; when the flame is diſcovered, having faſtened upon ſome Wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Queſtionleſs it is, that the War commenced by *Darius*, and purſued by *Xerxes* againſt the *Greeks*, proceeded from deſire of the *Perſians* to inlarge their Empire: howſoever the enterprize of the *Athenians* upon *Sardes*, was noiſed abroad as the ground of that quarrel; yet *Herodotus* telleth us, that the wanton deſire of Queen *Atoſſa*, to have the *Grecian* dames her bond-women, did firſt move *Darius* to prepare for this War before he had received any injury, and when he did not yet ſo much deſire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten.

Hero. l. 1.

I will not here ſtand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more juſtly reprehended by ſome, or defended by others, for alledging the vain appetite, and ſecret ſpeech of the Queen in bed with her Huſband, as the cauſe of thoſe great evils following; this I may boldly affirm (having, I think, in every eſtate ſome ſufficient witneſs) that matters of much conſequence, founded in all ſeeming upon ſubſtantial reaſons, have iſſued indeed from ſuch petty trifles, as no Hiſtorian would either think upon, or could well ſearch out.

Therefore it was a good anſwer that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope, made to a certain Frier, coming to viſit him in his Popedom, as having long before in his meaner eſtate, been his familiar friend. This poor Frier, being emboldened by the Pope to uſe his old liberty of ſpeech, adventured to tell him, that he very much wondred how it was poſſible for his Holineſs, whom he rather took for a direct honeſt man, than any cunning Politician, to attain unto the Papacy; in compaſſing of which, all the ſubtilty (ſaid he) of the moſt crafty brains, find work enough: and therefore the more I think upon the Art of the Conclave, and your unaptneſs thereto, the more I needs muſt wonder. Pope *Sixtus* to ſatisfie the plain dealing Frier, dealt with him again as plainly, ſaying, Hadſt thou lived abroad as I have done, and ſeen by what folly this world is governed, thou wouldeſt wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred unto thoſe exorbitant Engines, by which the courſe of affairs is moved, the Pope ſaid true. For the wiſeſt of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutual toleration, work more cloſely, and earneſtly, than right reaſon either needs or can. But if we lift up our thoughts to that ſupreme Governour, of whoſe Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was ſaid of *Jupiter*.

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventoſum, & urbes, regnaque triſtia,
Divoſque mortaleſque turmas,
Imperio regit unus æquo.

Who rules the duller Earth, the Wind-ſwoln ſtreams,
The civil Cities, and th' infernal Realms,
Who th' Hoſt of Heaven, and the mortal Band,
Alone doth govern by his juſt command.

Then ſhall we find the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainty nor change; he foreſeeth all things, and all things diſpoſeth to his own honour; He neither deceiveth nor can be deceived, but continuing one and the ſame for ever, doth conſtantly govern all creatures by that Law, which he hath preſcribed, and will never alter. The vanities of men beguile their vain contrivers, and the proſperity of the wicked, is the way leading to their deſtruction: yea, this broad

broad and headlong paſſage to hell, is not ſo delightful as it ſeems at the firſt entrance, but hath growing in it, beſides the poyſons which infect the ſoul, many cruel thorns deeply wounding the body; all which if any few eſcape, they have onely this miſerable advantage of others, that their deſcent was the more ſwift and expedite. But the ſervice of God is the path guiding us to perfect happineſs, and hath in it a true, though not compleat felicity, yeilding ſuch abundance of joy to the conſcience, as doth eaſily countervail all afflictions whatſoever; though indeed thoſe brambles that ſometimes tear the ſkin of ſuch as walk in this bleſſed way, do commonly lay hold upon them at ſuch time as they ſit down to take their eaſe, and make them wiſh themſelves at their journeys end, in the preſence of their Lord whom they faithfully ſerve, in whoſe *preſence is the fulneſs of joy, and at whoſe right hand are pleaſures for ever.*

Pſal. 66. 11.

Wherefore it being the end and ſcope of all Hiſtory, to teach by example of times paſt, ſuch Wiſdom as may guide our deſires and actions, we ſhould not marvel though the *Chronicles of the Kings of* Juda *and* Iſrael, being written by men inſpired with the Spirit of God, inſtruct us chiefly, in that which is moſt requiſite for us to know; as the means to attain unto true felicity, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illuſtrate this infallible rule, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wiſdom.* Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) been written by ſome Prophet after the captivity: we may well believe that the counſel of God therein, and the executioners of his righteous Will, ſhould have occupied either the whole or the principal room in that narration. Yet had not the purpoſe of *Darius*, the deſire of his Wife, and the buſineſs at *Sardes*, with other occurrents, been the leſs true, though they might have been omitted, as the leſs material: but theſe things it had been lawful for any man to gather out of prophane Hiſtories, or out of circumſtances otherwiſe appearing, wherein he ſhould not have done injury to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forborn to derogate from the firſt cauſes, by aſcribing to the ſecond more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the buſineſs that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot believe that any man of judgment will tax me, as either fabulous or preſumptuous. For he doth not feign, that rehearſeth probabilities as bare conjectures; neither doth he deprave the Text, that ſeeketh to illuſtrate and make good in humane reaſon, thoſe things which authority alone, without further circumſtance, ought to have confirmed in every mans belief. And this may ſuffice in defence of the liberty which I have uſed in conjectures, and may hereafter uſe when occaſion ſhall require, as neither unlawful, nor miſ-beſeeming an Hiſtorian.

§. VII.

The conſpiracy againſt Athalia.

WHen *Athalia* had now ſix years and longer worn the Crown of *Juda*, and had found neither any forreign enemy, nor domeſtical adverſary to diſturb her poſſeſſion, ſuddenly the period of her glory, and reward of her wickedneſs meeting together, took her away without any warning, by a violent and ſhameful death. For the growth of the young Prince began to be ſuch, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had been very unfitting that his education ſhould be ſimple, to make him ſeem the child of ſome poor man (as for his ſafety it was requiſite) when his capacity required to have been indued with the ſtomack and qualities meet for a King. All this *Jehojada* the Prieſt conſidered, and withall, the great increaſe of impiety, which taking deep root in the Court, was likely to ſpread it ſelf over all the Country, if care were not uſed to weed it up very ſpeedily. Wherefore he aſſociated unto himſelf five of the Captains, in whoſe fidelity he had beſt aſſurance; and having taken an oath of them, and ſhewed them the Kings ſon, he made a Covenant with them, to advance him to the Kingdom. Theſe drew in others of the principal men, to countenance the action, procuring at the firſt onely that they ſhould repair to *Jeruſalem*, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many perſwaſions to win them to the buſineſs: the promiſe of the Lord unto the houſe of *David*, was enough to aſſure them that the action was both lawful, and likely to ſucceed as they deſired.

But in compaſſing their intent, ſome difficulties appeared: For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they ſhould bring their purpoſe to good iſſue; neither were the Captains, and other aſſociates of *Jehojada* able by cloſe working, to draw together ſo many truſty and ſerviceable hands as would ſuffice to manage the buſineſs. To help in this caſe,

case, the Priest gave order to such of the Levites as had finished their courses in waiting on the Divine service at the Temple, and were now relieved by others that succeeded in their turns, that they should not depart until they knew his further pleasure. So by admitting the new comers, and not discharging the old, he had, without any noise, made up such a number, as would be able to deal with the Queens ordinary Guard, and that was enough: for if the Tyranness did not prevail against them at the first brunt, the favour of the People was like to shew it self on their side, who made head against her. These Levites were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the person of the King, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the Captains, and other adherents, were bestowed in the outer Courts: As for Weapons, the Temple it self had store enough; King *David* had left an Armory to the place, which was now employed in defence of his issue.

All things being in a readiness, and the day come, wherein this high design was to be put in execution; *Jehojada* delivered unto the Captains, Armour for them and their adherents, appointed a guard unto the Kings person, produced him openly, and gave unto him the Crown; using all ceremonies accustomed in such solemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings, the Queen was the last that heard any word. Which is not so strange as it may seem: for insolent natures, by dealing outragiously with such as bring them ill tidings, do commonly lose the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whilest yet it may be prevented, and have no information of danger, till their own eyes, amazed with the suddenness, behold it in the shape of inevitable mischief.

All *Jerusalem* was full of the rumour, and entertained it with the very good liking. Some carried home the news, others ran forth to see, and the common joy was so great, that without apprehension of peril, under the windows of the Court, were the people running and praising the King. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the extraordinary concourse, and noise of folks in the streets, making towards the Temple, with much unusual passion in their looks, did presently conceive, that somewhat worthy of her care was happened; though, what it might be, she did not apprehend. Howsoever it were, she meant to use her own wisdom in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It may be, that she thought it some especial solemnity used in the Divine service, which caused this much adoe; and hereof the unaccustomed number of Levites, and of other devout men, about the town, might give some presumption.

2 *Chron.* 23. 12.

Many things argue that she little thought upon her own Tragedy; although *Josephus* would make it seem otherwise. For we find in the Text, *She came to the people into the house of the Lord* (which was near to her Palace) and that when she looked and saw the King stand by his pillar, as the manner was with the Princes, or great men of the Land by him, and the Trumpeters proclaiming him, she rent her cloaths, and cryed Treason, Treason. Hereby it appears that she was quietly going, without any mistrust or fear, to take her place; which when she found occupied by another, then she began to afflict her self, as one cast away, and cried out in vain upon the Treason, whereby she saw that she must perish. But that she came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as *Josephus* reporteth) and that her company being beaten back, she entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the young Tyrant, I find no where in Scripture, neither do I hold it credible. For had she truly known how things went, she would surely have gathered her friends about her, and used those forces in defence of her Crown, by which she gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly, if it were granted, that she, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troop, yet it had been meer madness in her, to enter the place alone, when her assistants were kept out; but if she, perceiving that neither her authority, nor their own weapons, could prevail to let in her guard, would nevertheless take upon her to command the death of the new King, calling a child of seven years old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom she saw to be armed in his defence, may we not think that she was mad in the most extreme degree? Certain it is that the counsel of God would have taken effect, in her destruction, had she used the most likely means to disappoint it: yet we need not so cut her throat with any moral impossibilities. It is enough to say, that the godly zeal of *Jehojada* found more easie success, through her indiscretion, than otherwise could have been expected; so that at his appointment, she was without more adoe, carried out of the Temple and slain, yea so, that no bloud, save her own, was shed in that quarrel; her small train that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

2 *Chron.* 23. 12. & 13. 2. 1 *Kings* c. 11. 7. 13. 14.

§. VIII.

The death of Athalia, *with a comparison of her and* Jezabel.

MOst like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashness of her Nephew *Jehoram* the *Israelite*, who did foolishly cast himself into the very throat of danger, gaping upon him, onely through his eager desire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet she her self, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and having lived such a life as *Jezabel* had done, was rewarded with a suitable death. These two Queens were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her Husband; was an Idolatress and a Murdress. The onely difference appearing in their condition, is, that *Jezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them surviving her Husband about eight years, did spend their time in satisfying her own affections; the one using tyranny, as the exercise of her haughty mind; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her unchaste body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in those things which may seem in this world to pertain unto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the sudden by Conspirators, and each of them exclaiming upon the Treason, received sentence from the mouth of one that had lived under her subjection; in execution whereof, *Jezabel* was trampled under the feet of her enemies horses; *Athalia* slain at her own horse-gate; the death of *Athalia* having (though not much) the more leisure to vex her proud heart; that of *Jezabel* the more indignity, and shame of body. Touching their burial, *Jezabel* was devoured by Dogs, as the Lord had threatned by the Prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* we do not find. Like enough it is, that she was buried, as having not persecuted and slain the Lords Prophets, but suffered the Priests to exercise their function; yet of her burial there is no monument, for she was a Church-robber. The service of *Baal* erected by these two Queens, was destroyed as soon as they were gone, and their Chaplains, the Priests of that Religion, slain. Herein also it came to pass, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who slew them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of *Hazael* the *Syrian*; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the *Syrian* (who seems to have been her good friend) pretended her revenge, as any part of his quarrel to *Juda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Jezabel* perished in few dayes after her: whether *Athalia* left any behind her, it is uncertain; she had sons living after she was Queen, of whom, or of any other, that they were slain with her, we do not find.

This is a matter not unworthy of consideration, in regard of much that may depend upon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had been in *Jerusalem* when their Mother fell, their death would surely have followed hers as nearly, and been registred, as well as the death of *Mattan* the Priest of *Baal*. That Law by which *God forbad that the children should die for the fathers*, could not have saved these ungracious Imps, whom the clause following would have cut off, which commands, that every man should die for his own sin. Seeing therefore that they had been professors and advancers of that vile and Idolatrous worship of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the house of *Baal* with the spoil of it; likely it is, that they should not have escaped with life, if *Jehojada* the Priest could have gotten them into his hands. As there was lawful cause enough requiring their death, so the security of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craved as much, and that very earnestly. For these had been esteemed as heirs of their mothers Crown, and being reckoned as her assistants in that particular business of robbing the Temple, may be thought to have carried a great sway in other matters, as Princes, and fellows with their Mother in the Kingdom. Therefore it is evident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazael* in his Wars against *Jehu*) absent from *Jerusalem*; whereby *Jehojada* might, with the more confidence, adventure to take Armes against their Mother, that was desolate.

Deut. 24. 16.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Joas *and* Amasia, *with their Contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of Carthage.*

§. I.

Of Joas *his doings, whilest* Jehojada *the Priest lived.*

BY the death of *Athalia*, the whole Country of *Juda* was filled with great joy and quietness; wherein *Joas*, a child of seven years old, or there-about, began his reign, which continued almost forty years. During his minority, he lived under the protection of that honourable man *Jehojada* the Priest, who did as faithfully govern the Kingdom, as he had before carefully preserved the Kings life, and restored him unto the Throne of his ancestors. When he came to mans estate, he took by appointment of *Jehojada* two Wives, and begat Sons and Daughters, repairing the Family of *David* which was almost worn out. The first Act that he took in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needful piece of work, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, through the wickedness of ungodly Tyrants; and requisite it was that he should uphold the Temple, whom the Temple had upheld. This business he followed with so earnest a zeal, that not only the Levites were more slack than he, but even *Jehojada* was fain to be quickned by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the work: partly out of the tax imposed by *Moses*, partly out of the liberality of the people; who gave so freely, that the Temple, besides all reparations, was enriched with vessels of gold and silver; and with all other Utensils. The sacrifices likewise were offered, as under godly Kings they had been, and the service of God was magnificently celebrated.

2 *Chron.* 24. 14.

§. II.

The Death of Jehojada, *and Apostasie of* Joas.

BUt this endured no longer than the life of *Jehojada* the Priest: who having lived an hundred and thirty years, dyed before his Country could have spared him. He was buried among the Kings of *Juda*; as he well deserved, having preserved the race of them, and restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little of rooting up themselves, and all their issue. Yet this honourable Funeral seems to have been given to him, at the motion of the people; it being said, *They buried him in the City of* David. As for the King himself, who did owe to him no less than his Crown and life, he is not likely to have been Author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been discharged of some heavy debt.

For after the death of *Jehojada*, when the Princes of *Juda* began to flatter their King, he soon forgat, not only the benefits received by this worthy man his old Counsellor, but also the good precepts which he had received from him, yea and God himself, the Author of all goodness. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, wherewith *Jehoram* and *Athalia* had so infected the Country, in fifteen or sixteen years, that thirty years, or thereabout, of the reign of *Joas*, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were not able to clear it from that mischief. The King himself, when once he was entred into these courses, ran on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his liberty, to despise the service of God; and a manifest proof of his being now King indeed, that he regarded no longer the sowre admonitions of devout Priests. Hereby it appears, that his former zeal was only counterfeited, wherein like an Actor upon the stage, he had striven to express much more lively affection, than they could shew, that were indeed religious.

§. III.

The causes and times of the Syrians *invading* Juda *in the dayes of* Joas.

BUt God, from whom he was broken loose, gave him over into the hands of

men, that would not easily be shaken off. *Hazael* King of *Aram*, having taken *Gath*, a Town of the *Philistims*, addressed himself towards *Jerusalem*, whither the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did invite him. He had an Army heartned by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the war (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough that the Kings of *Juda* had assisted the *Israelites*, in their enterprises upon *Aram*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. Yet I think he did not want some further instigation. For if the Kingdom of *Juda* had molested the *Aramites* in the time of his predecessour, this was throughly recompenced, by forbearing to succour *Israel*, and leaving the ten Tribes in their extream misery, to the fury of *Hazael* himself. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* should have gone about to awake a sleeping Dog, and stir up against himself a powerful enemy, before he had assured the conquest of *Israel*, that lay between *Jerusalem* and his own Kingdom, if some opportunity had not performed such easie and good success, as might rather advance, than any way disturbe his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sons of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expelled their Countries usually doe) to draw many partakers of their own to his side; and not to remain, as *Joas* did, a neutral in the war between him and *Israel*, but to joyn all their forces with his, as they had cause, for the rooting out of *Jehu* his posterity, who like a bloody Traitor, had utterly destroyed all the kindred of the Queens, their mother, even the whole house of *Ahab*, to which he was a subject. If this were so, *Hazael* had the more apparent reason to invade the Kingdom of *Juda*. Howsoever we find, that *Joas* was afraid of him, and therefore *took all the hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasure of the house of the Lord*, or in his own house, with which present he redeemed his peace: the *Syrian* (questionless) thinking it a better bargain, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazzard the assurance of this for the possibility of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich booty of unhappy treasure, which belonging to the living God, remained a small while in the possession of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickly to the grave. For in the thirty seventh year of *Joas*, which was the fifteenth of *Jehoahaz*, he made this purchase; but in the same or very next year he died, leaving all that he had unto his son *Benhadad*, with whom these treasures prospered no otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

2 *King.* 12 18.

This enterprise of *Hazaels*, is, by some, confounded with that war of the *Aramites* upon *Juda*, mentioned in the second book of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alledged by them that hold the contrary opinion, doe forcibly prove, that it was not all one war. For the former was compounded without blood-shed or fight; in the latter, *Joas* tried the fortune of a battaile, wherein being put to the worst, he lost all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life. In the one *Hazael* himself was present; in the other, he was not named: but contrarywise, the King of *Aram* then reigning (who may seem to have been the son of *Hazael*) is said to have been at *Damascus*. The first Army came to conquer, and was so great, that it terrified the King of *Juda*; The second was a *small company of men*, which did animate *Joas* (in vain, for God was against him) to deal with them, as having *a very great Army*. 2 *Chro.* 24.

Now, concerning the time of this former invasion, I cannot perceive that God forsook him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeed some, very learned, who think that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Jehojada* the Priest, because that story is joyned to the restauration of the Temple. This had been probable, if the death of *Jehojada* had been afterwards mentioned in that place of the second book of *Kings*; or if the Apostasie of *Joas*, or any other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his own will and pleasure; neither was he more unjust in the afflictions of *Job* that righteous man, or the death of *Josias* that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid upon *Pharaoh*, or his judgement upon the house of *Ahab*. But it appears plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent service of God therewithall, which are joyned together, were used in the *house of the Lord continually all the daies of Jehojada*; soon after whose death, if not immediately upon it, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the sixt, or thirty seventh year of this *Joas* his reign, the King falling away from the God of his Fathers, became a foul Idolater. 2 *Chro.* 24 11.

And indeed we commonly observe, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay upon his servants without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, have alwaies tended unto the bettering of their good. In which respect, even the sufferings of the blessed Martyrs (*the death of his Saints being*

Psal. 115. 15. *being precious in the sight of the Lord*) are to their great advantage. But with evil and rebellious men, God keepeth a more even and strict account; permitting usually their faults to get the start of their punishment; and either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amorites*) till their wickedness be full; or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to run on in their wicked courses, to their greater misery. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appears that he dealt with *Joas*. For this unhappy man did not onely continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew so forgetful of God and all goodness, as if he had stroven to exceed the wickedness of all that went before him, and to leave such a villanous pattern unto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should endure to imitate.

§. IV.

How Zacharia *was murthered by* Joas.

SUndry Prophets having laboured in vain to reclaime the people from their superstition, *Zacharia* the son of *Jehojada* the Priest, was stirred up at length by the Spirit of God, to admonish them of their wickedness, and make them understand the punishment due unto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man so much honoured, and son to a man so exceedingly beloved in his life time, and reverenced, that if *Joas* had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elias*) his open enemy, yet ought he in common honesty to have cloaked his ill affection, and have used at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had born unto the King, and the unrecountable benefits which they had done unto him, from his first infancy, were such, as should have placed *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assured love of *Joas*, yea though he had been otherwise a man of very small mark, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a Prophet sent from God, should be heard with reverence, how simple soever he appeares that brings it. But this King *Joas*, having already scorned the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deal with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandmen, in that parable of our Saviour, dealt with the heir of the Vineyard; who said, *This is the heir, come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours.* By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute Commander, supposing belike that he was no free Prince, as long as one durst tell him the plain truth, how great soever that mans deservings were, that did so, yea though Gods commandment required it. So they conspired against this holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the Kings appointment; but whether by any form of open Law, as was practised upon *Naboth*; or whether surprising him by any close treachery, I do neither read, nor can conjecture. The dignity of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracy, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into publick judgement, though that the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, and by order of Law, inflicted upon malefactors, may argue the contrary. Most likely it is, that the Kings commandment, by which he suffered, took place in stead of Law: which exercise of meer power (as hath been already noted) was nothing strange amongst the Kings of *Juda*.

Luke 20. 14.

§. V.

How Joas *was shamefully beaten by the Amorites, and of his death.*

THis odious murther, committed by an unthankful snake upon the man in whose bosom he had been fostered, as of it self alone it sufficed to make the wretched Tyrant hateful to men of his own time, and his memory detested in all ages; so had it the well described curse of the blessed Martyr, to accompany it unto the Throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell down swiftly, and heavily upon the head of that ungrateful monster. It was the last year of his reign; the end of his time comming then upon him, when he thought himself beginning to live how he listed without controulment. When that year was expired the *Aramites* came into the Country, rather as may seem to get pillage, than to perform any great action; for they *came with a small company of men*: but God had intended to do more by them, than they themselves did hope for. 2 Chro. 24. 24.

That *Joas* naturally was a coward, his bloudy malice against his best friend, is, in my judgement proof sufficient: though otherwise his base composition with *Hazael*, when he might have levied (as his son after him did muster) three hundred thousand chosen men for the war, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how stout of disposition their King was, when he might have his own will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encoun-

ter

ter with a few bands of Rovers, he took a very great Army, so that wise men might well perceive, that he knew what he did, making shew as if he would fight for his Country, and expose himself to danger of war, when as indeed all was meer ostentation and no peril to be feared; he going forth so strongly appointed, against so weak enemies. Thus might wise men think, and laugh at him in secret; considering what adoe he made about that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisdom of this world is foolishness, did laugh not only at this vain-glorious King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the *Aramites* and King *Joas* met, whether it were by some folly of the Leaders or by some amazement happening among the souldiers, or by whatsoever means it pleased God to work, so it was, that that great Army of *Juda* received a notable overthrow, and all the Princes were destroyed: the Princes of *Juda*, at whose perswasion the King had become a Rebell to the King of Kings. As for *Joas* himself (as *Abulensis* and others expound the story) he was sorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they think) taken and shamefully tormented, to wring out of him an excessive ransome.

And surely, all circumstances do greatly strengthen this conjecture: for the Text (in the old translation) saith, they exercised upon *Joas* ignominious judgments; and that departing from him, they dismissed him, in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-favoredly. Now at that time *Joas* the son of *Jehoahaz* reigned over *Israel*, and *Benhadad* the son of *Hazael* over the *Syrians*, in *Damascus*: the one a valiant undertaking Prince, raised up by God to restore the State of his miserable Country, the other inferiour every way to his father, of whose purchases he lost a great part, for want of skill to keep it. The difference in condition found between these two Princes, promising no other event than such as afterward followed, might have given to the King of *Juda* good cause to be bold, and pluck up his spirits, which *Hazael* had beaten down, if God had not been against him. But his fearful heart being likely to quake upon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the *Syrian* King in hope, that by terrifying him with some shew of war at his doores, it were easie to make him crave any tolerable conditions of peace. The unexpected good success hereof, already related, and the (perhaps as unsuspected) ill success, which the *Aramites* found in their following wars against the King of *Israel*, sheweth plainly the weakness of all earthly might, resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his Ordinance, both the Kingdom of *Juda*, after more than forty years time of gathering strength, was unable to drive out a small company of Enemies; and the Kingdom of *Israel*, having so been trodden down by *Hazael*, that onely fifty Horsemen, ten Chariots, and ten thousand footmen were left; prevailed against his Son, and recovered all from the victorious *Aramites*. But examples hereof are every-where found, and therefore I will not insist upon this; though indeed we should not, if we be Gods children, think it more tedious to hear long and frequent reports of our heavenly Fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers upon earth.

When the *Aramites* had what they listed, and saw that they were not able, being so few, to take any possession of the Country, they departed out of *Juda* loaden with spoil, which they sent to *Damascus*, themselves belike falling upon the ten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they sped not half so well. The King of *Juda* being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sons of an *Ammonites*, and of a *Moabites*, whom some (becaus onely their Mothers names, being strangers, are expressed) think to have been bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or fear, lest (as Tyrants use) he should revenge disaster upon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoever else it were that animated them to murder their King; the Scripture tels us plainly, that, *For the blood of the children of* Jehojada, this befell him. And the same appears to have been used as the pretence of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Amazia*, the son and successor of *Joas*, durst not punish them, till his Kingdom was established: but contrariwise his body was judged unworthy of burial in the Sepulchres of the Kings: whereby it appears, that the death of *Zacharia* caused the treason, wrought against the King, to find more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompenced by his son, upon the Traytors, which well deserved death. 2 Chro. 24. 25.

Of

§. VI.

Of the Princes living in the time of Joas: of the time when Carthage was built: and of Dido.

THere lived with *Joas*, *Mezades*, and *Diognetus* in *Athens*: *Eudemus* and *Aristomedes* in *Corinth*: about which time *Agrippa Sylvius*, and after him *Sylvius Aliadius*, were Kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*. *Ocrazapes*, commonly called *Anacyndaraxes*, the thirty seventh King succeeded unto *Ophratanes*, began his reign over the *Assyrians*, about the eighteenth year of *Joas*, which lasted forty two years. In the sixteenth of *Joas*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Sesac*, succeeded unto *Cheops* in the Kingdom of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years.

In this time of *Joas*, was likewise the reign of *Pigmalion* in *Tyre*, and the foundation of *Carthage* by *Dido*; the building of which City is, by divers authors, placed in divers ages, some reporting it to be 70. years younger than *Rome*, others above 400. years elder, few or none of them giving any reason of their assertions, but leaving us uncertain whom to follow: *Josephus*, who had read the Annals of *Tyre*, counting one hundred forty and three years and eight moneths from the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the twelfth year of *Hyram* King of *Tyre*, to the founding of *Carthage* by *Dido*, in the seventh of *Pigmalion*. The particulars of this accompt (which is not rare in *Josephus*) are very perplexed, and serve not very well to make cleer the totall sum. But whether it were so that *Josephus* did omit, or else that he did mis-write some number of the years, which he reckoned in Fractions, as they were divided among the Kings of *Tyre*, from *Hyram* to *Pigmalion*, we may well enough believe, that the *Tyrian* writers, out of whose books he gives us the whole sum, had good means to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, between two works no longer following one the other than the memory of three or four generations might easily reach, This hundred forty and four years current, after the building of *Salomons* Temple, being the eleventh year of *Joas*, was a hundred forty and three years before the birth of *Rome*; and after the destruction of *Troy*, two hundred eighty and nine: a time so long after the death of *Æneas*, that we might truly conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Ausonius* noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigram:

Joseph. cont. App. l. 1.

Aulon. ep. 117.

Illa ego sum Dido *vultu quam conspicis hospes,*
Assimulata modis pulchraque mirificis.
Talis eram, sed non Maro *quam mihi finxit, erat mens,*
Vita nec incestis læta cupidinibus:
(Namque nec Æneas vidit me Troius unquam,
Nec Lybiam advenit, classibus Iliacis.
Sed furias fugiens, atque arma procacis Iarbæ,
Servavi, fateor, morte pudicitiam;
Pectore transfixo castos quod pertulit enses)
Non furor, aut læso crudus amore dolor.
Sic cecidisse juvat: vixi sine vulnere famæ,
Ulta virum, positis mœnibus oppetii.
Invida cur in me stimulasti Musa Maronem,
Fingeret ut nostræ damna pudicitiæ?
Vos magis Historicis lectores credite de me
Quam qui furta Deum concubitusq; canunt.
Falsidici vates: temerant qui carmine verum,
Humanisque deos assimulant vitiis.

Which in effect is this:

I Am that *Dido* which thou here dost see,
Cunningly fram'd in beauteous Imag'rie,
Like this I was, but had not such a soul,
As *Maro* feign'd, incestuous and foul.
Æneas never with his *Trojan* hoast
Beheld my face, or landed on this coast.
But flying proud *Iarbas* villanie,
Not mov'd by furious love or jealousie,
I did with weapon chaste, to save my fame,
Make way for death untimely, ere it came.
This was my end; but first I built a Town,
Reveng'd my husbands death, liv'd with renown.
Why did'st thou stir up *Virgil*, envious Muse,
Falsely my name and honour to abuse?
Readers, believe Historians; not those
Which to the world *Joves* thefts and vice expose.
Poets are lyars, and for Verses sake,
Will make the Gods of humane crimes partake.

From the time of *Dido* unto the first *Punick* war, that *Carthage* grew and flourished in wealth and conquests, we find in many Histories: but in particular we find little of the *Carthaginian* affairs before that war, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts of the Isle of *Sicil*. We will therefore defer the relation of matters concerning that mighty City, until such time as they shall encounter with the State of *Rome*, by which it was finally destroyed; and prosecute in the mean while the History that is now in hand.

The

§. VII.

The beginning of Amazia *his reign: of* Joas *King of* Israel, *and* Elisha *the Prophet.*

Amazia, the son of *Joash*, being twenty five years old when his Father died, took possession of the Kingdom of *Juda*, wherein he laboured so to demean himself, as his new beginning reign might be least offensive. The Law of *Moses* he professed to observe; which howsoever it had been secretly despised since the time of *Jehoram*, by many great persons of the Land, yet had it by provision of good Princes, yea, and of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Priests, taken such deep root in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plausible, who did not conform himself unto it. And at that present time, the slaughter which the *Aramites* had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawn the late King from the service of God, being seconded by the death of the King himself, even whilst that execrable murther, committed by the King upon *Zacharia*, was yet fresh in memory, did serve as a notable example of Gods justice against Idolaters, both to animate the better sort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to discourage *Amazia* from following the way, which led to such an evil end. He therefore, having learned of his father the art of dissimulation, did not onely forbear to punish the Traitors that had slain King *Joas*, but gave way to the time, and suffered the dead body to be interred, as that of *Jehoram* formerly had been in the City of *David*, yet not among the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*. Nevertheless, after this, when (belike) the noise of the people having wearied it self into silence, it was found that the Conspirators (howsoever their deed done, was applauded as the handy-work of God) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor strong maintainers of their persons, but rested secure, as having done well, seeing it was not ill taken: the King, who perceived his gouernment well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the heat of mens affections being well allayed, it was easie to distinguish between their treasons and Gods judgments, which, by their treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were suffered to live: which could not but give contentment to the people, seeing that their King did the office of a just Prince, rather than of a revenging son. This being done, and his own life better secured, by such exemplary justice, against the like attempts, *Amazia* carried himself outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and so continued in rest, about twelve or thirteen years.

As *Amazia* gathered strength in *Juda* by the commodity of a long peace, so *Joas* the *Israelite* grew as fast in power, by following the war hotly against the *Aramites*. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predecessors had been, worshipping the Calves of *Jeroboam*. For this sin had God so plagued the house of *Jehu*, that the ten tribes wanted little of being utterly consumed, by *Hazael* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Jehu* and his son *Jehoahaz*. But as Gods benefits to *Jehu*, sufficed not to withdraw him from this politick Idolatry, so were the miseries, rewarding that impiety, unable to reclaim *Jehoahaz* from the same impious course: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of *Israel*, did condescend unto the prayers of this ungodly Prince, even then when he and his miserable subjects, were obstinate in following their own abominable ways. Therefore in temporal matters the ten Tribes recovered apace; but the favour of God which had been infinitely more worth, I do not find, nor believe that they sought: that they had it not, I find in the words of the Prophet, saying plainly to *Amazia, the Lord is not with* Israel, *neither with all the house of* Ephraim. 2 Chro. 25. 7.

Whether it were so, that the great Prophet *Elisha*, who lived in those times, did foretell the prosperity of the *Israelites* under the reign of *Joas*; or whether *Jehoahaz*, wearied and broken with long adversity, thought it the wisest way, to discharge himself in part of the heavy cares attending those unhappy *Syrian* Wars, by laying the burthen upon his hopeful son; we find that *in the thirty seventh year of* Joas, *King of* Juda, Joas *the son of* Jehoahaz *began to reign over* Israel *in* Samaria; which was in the 15. year of his fathers reign, and some two or three years before his death. 2 King. 13 10.

It appears that this young Prince, even from the beginning of his Rule, did so well husband that poor stock that he received from his Father, often Chariots, fifty Horsemen, and ten thousand Foot, that he might seem likely to prove a thriver. Amongst other circumstances, the words which he spake to *Elisha* the Prophet, argue no less. For *Joas* visiting the Prophet, who lay sick, spake unto him thus, *O my father, my father, the Chariots of* Israel, *and the horsmen of the same*: by which manner of speech he did 2 King. 13 14.

acknowledge,

acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had ſtood his kingdome in more ſtead than all the Horſes and Chariots could doe.

This prophet who ſucceeded unto *Elias*, about the firſt year of *Joram* the ſon of *Ahab* King of *Iſrael* died (as ſome have probably collected) about the third or fourth year of this *Joas*, the Nephew of *Jehu*. To ſhew how the ſpirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did reſt upon him, it exceedeth my faculty. This is recorded of him, that he did not onely raiſe a dead child unto life, as *Elias* had done, but when he himſelfe was dead, it pleaſed God that his dead bones ſhould reſtore life unto a carcaſs, which touched them in the grave. In fine, he beſtowed as a legacie, three victories upon King *Joas*, who thereby did ſet *Iſrael* in a faire way of recovering all that the *Aramites* had uſurped, and weakning the kings of *Damaſco* in ſuch ſort, that they were never after terrible to *Samaria*.

§. VIII.

Of Amazia *his war againſt* Edom; *His Apoſtacy, and overthrow by* Joas.

The happy ſucceſs which *Joas* had found in his war againſt the *Aramites*, was ſuch as might kindle in *Amazia* a deſire of undertaking ſome expedition, wherein himſelf might purchaſe the like honour. His Kingdom could furniſh three hundred thouſand ſerviceable men for the Wars, and his treaſures were ſufficient for the payment of theſe, and the hire of many more. Cauſe of war he had very juſt againſt the *Edomites*, who having rebelled in the time of his grand-father *Jehoram*, had about fifty years been unreclaimed, partly by reaſon of the troubles happening in *Juda*, partly through the ſloth and timerouſneſs of his father *Joas*. Yet, foraſmuch as the men of *Juda* had in many years been without all exerciſe of War (excepting that unhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the *Aramites*) he held it a point of wiſdom to increaſe his forces, with ſouldiers waged out of *Iſrael*, whence he hired for an hundred talents of ſilver, *an hundred thouſand valiant men*, as the Scripture telleth us, though *Joſephus* diminiſheth the number, ſaying that they were but twenty thouſand.

2 Chro. 11. 6. *Joſ. Antiq. Jud. l. 9. c. 10.*

This great Army, vvhich vvith ſo much coſt *Amazia* had hired out of *Iſrael*, he vvas fain to diſmiſs before he had imployed it, being threatned by a Prophet vvith ill ſucceſs, if he ſtrengthened himſelf vvith the help of thoſe men, vvhom God (though in mercy he gave them victory againſt the cruel *Aramites*) did not love, becauſe they vvere Idolaters. The *Iſraelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this diſmiſſion, as an high diſgrace, vvhich to revenge, they fell upon a piece of *Juda* in their return, and ſhewed their malice in the ſlaughter of three thouſand men, and ſome ſpoil, which they carried away. But *Amazia* with his own forces, knowing that God would be aſſiſtant to their journey, entred couragiouſly into the *Edomites* Country; over whom obtaining victory, he ſlew ten thouſand, and took other ten thouſand priſoners, all which he threw from an high rock; holding them, it ſeems, rather as Traytors, than as juſt enemies. This victory did not ſeem to reduce *Edom* under the ſubjection of the Crown of *Juda*, vvhich might be the cauſe of that ſeverity, vvhich vvas uſed to the priſoners; the *Edomites* that had eſcaped, refuſing to buy the lives of their friends and kinſmen at ſo dear a rate, as the loſs of their own liberty. Some towns in Mount *Seir*, *Amazia* took, as appears by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they vvere the places moſt indefenſible, in that he left no garriſons there, vvhereby he might another year the better have purſued the conqueſt of the vvhole countrey. Howſoever it were, he got both honour by the journey, and gains enough, had he not loſt himſelf.

Among other ſpoyls of the *Edomites*, vvere carryed away their gods, vvhich being vanquiſhed and taken priſoners, did deſerve vvell to be led in triumph. But they contrarivviſe, I know not by vvhat ſtrange vvitchcraft, ſo beſotted this unworthy King *Amazia* that *he ſet them up to be his gods, and worſhipped them, and burned incenſe unto them.* 2 Chro. 25. 14.

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet ſent from God, he gave a churliſh and threatning anſwer; asking the Prophet, who made him a Counſeller, and bidding him hold his peace for fear of the worſt. If either the coſtly ſtuffe, whereof theſe Idols were made, or the curious workmanſhip and beauty, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had raviſhed the Kings fancie; methinks, he ſhould have rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as houſehold ornaments and things of pleaſure, than thereby have ſuffered himſelf to be blinded, with ſuch unreaſonable devotion towards them. If the ſuperſtitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to work much upon his imagination; much more ſhould the bad ſervice which they had done to their old Clients, have moved him thereupon to laugh, both at the *Edomites*, and them. Wherefore it ſeems to me, that

the same affections carried him from God, unto the service of Idols, which afterwards moved him to talk so roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. He had already obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and sent away such auxiliarie forces as he had gathered out of *Israel*; which done, it is said, that *he was encouraged, and led forth his people*, thinking belike, that God would now rather assist him by miracle, than let him fail of obtaining all his hearts desire. But with better reason he should have limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was that *Esau* having broken the yoak of *Jacob* from his neck, according as *Isaac* had foretold, should no more become his servant. If therefore *Amazia* did hope to reconquer all the countrey of *Edom*, he failed of his expectation; yet so, that he brought home both profit and honour, which might have well contended with him.

2 *Chro.* 25. 11.

But there is a fooliſh and a wretched pride, wherewith men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe unto God the honour of those actions, in which it hath pleased him to use their own industrie, courage, or foresight. Therefore it is commonly seen, that they, who entring into battell, are carefull to pray for aide from heauen, with due acknowledgment of his power, who is the giver of victory; when the field is won, doe vaunt of there own ex-ploits; one telling how he got such a ground of advantage; another, how he gave check to such a battalion; a third, how he seized on the enemies Canon; every one striving to magnifie himself, whilest all forget God, as one that had not been present in the action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another mans vertue, is, I confesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better successe, than he did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Authour of his happinesse; so he whose meer wisdome and labour hath brought things to a prosperous issue, is doubly bound to shew himself thankful, both for the victory, and for those vertues by which the victory was gotten. And indeed so far from weaknesse is the nature of such thanksgiving, that it may well be called the height of magnanimity; no vertue being so truely heroical, as that by which the spirit of man advanceth it self with confidence of acceptation, unto the love of God. In which sense it is a brave speech that *Evander* in *Virgil* useth to *Æneas*, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition.

Aude hospes contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum
Finge Deo.

With this Philosophy *Amazia* (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had shewed himself a better man of war than any King of *Juda*, since the time of *Jehosaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people should think him little inferiour to *David*; of which honour he saw no reason why the prophets should rob him, who had made him loose an hundred talents, and done him no pleasure; he having prevailed by plain force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That he was distempered with such vain thoughts as these (besides the witnese of his impiety following) *Josephus* doth testifie saying, That he despised God, and that being puft up with his good success, of which nevertheless he would not acknowledge God to be the Authour, he commanded *Joas* King of *Israel* to become his subject, and to let the ten Tribes acknowledge him their Soveraign, as they had done his Ancestours King *David* and *Salomon*. Some think that his quarrel to *Joas* was rather grounded upon the injury done to him by the *Israelites*, whom he dismissed in the Journey against Mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the sense of a late wrong had more power to stirre him up, than the remembrance of an old title, forgotten long since, and by himselfe neglected thirteen, or fourteen years. Nevertheless it might so be, that when he was thus provoked, he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call old matters into question; that so the Kings of *Israel* might, at the least, learn to keep their subjects from offending *Juda*, for fear of endangering their own Crowns. Had *Amazia* desired onely recompence for the injury done to him, it is not improbable that he should have had some reasonable answer from *Joas*, who was not desirous to fight with him. But the answer which *Joas* returned, likening himself to a Cedar, and *Amazia* in respect of him to no better than a thistle, shewes that the challenge was made in insolent termes, stuft perhaps with such proud comparison of Nobility, as might be made (according to that which *Josephus* hath written) between a King of ancient race and one of less Nobility than vertue.

Ios. ant. 9. c. 10.

It is by *Sophocles* reported of *Ajax*, that when going to the warre of *Troy*, his father did bid him to be valiant, and get victory by Gods assistance, he made answer, That by Gods assistance a coward could get victory, but he would get it alone without such help: after which proud speech, though he did many valiant acts, he had small thanks, and finally, killing himself in a madness, whereinto he fell upon disgrace received,

Sophocles in Ajace Lor.

vvas

was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That *Amazia* did utter such words, I do not find, but having once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of such words, he was rewarded with success accordingly. The very first counsell wherein this war was concluded, serves to prove that he was a wise Prince indeed at *Jerusalem*, among his Parasites, but a fool when he had to deal with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weak people, trusting more in the seat of their Countrey, than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with *Joas*, who from so poor beginnings had raised himself to such strength, that he was able to lend his friend a hundred thousand men, and had all his Nation exercised, and trained up in a long victorious war. But as *Amazia* discovered much want of judgment, in undertaking such a match; so in prosecuting the business, when it was set on foot, he behaved himself as a man of little experience, who having once onely tryed his fortune, and found it to be good, thought that in War there was nothing else to do, than send a defiance, fight, and win. *Joas* on the contrary side, having been accustomed to deal with a stronger enemy than the King of *Juda*, used that celerity, which peradventure had often stood him in good stead against the *Aramite*. He did not sit waiting till the enemies brake in & wasted his Countrey, but presented himself with an Army in *Juda*, ready to bid battel to *Amazia*, and save him the labour of a long journey. This could not but greatly discourage those of *Juda*, who (besides the impression of fear which an invasion beats into people, not inured in the like) having devoured in their greedy hopes, the spoile of *Israel*, fully perswading themselves to get as much, and at as easie a rate, as in the journey of *Edom*; were so far disappointed of their expectation that well they might suspect all new assurance of good luck, when the old had thus beguiled them. All this notwithstanding, their King that had stomack enough to challenge the patrimony of *Salomon*, thought like another *David* to winne it by the sword. The issue of which fool-hardiness might easily have been fore-seen in humane reason; comparing together, either the two Kings, or the quality of their Armies, or the first and ominous beginning of the War. But meer humane wisdom, howsoever it might foresee much, could not have prognosticated all the mischief that fell upon *Amazia*. For as soon as the two Armies came in sight, God, whose help this wretched man had so despised, did (as *Josephus* reports it) strike such terrour and amazement into the men of *Juda*, that without one blow given, they fled all away, leaving their King to shift for himself; which he did so ill, that his enemy had soon caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into most abject baseness. That the Army which fled, sustained any other loss than of honour, I neither find in the Scriptures nor in *Josephus*, it being likely that the soon beginning of their flight, which made it the more shamefull, made it also the more safe. But of the mischief that followed this overthrow, it was Gods will that *Amazia* himself should sustain the whole disgrace. For *Joas* carried him directly to *Jerusalem*, where he bad him procure that the gates may be opened to let him in and his Army; threatning him otherwise with present death. So much amazed was the miserable captive, with these dreadful words, that he durst do no other than perswade the Citizens, to yeild themselves to the mercy of the Conquerour. The Town, which afterwards being in weaker state held out two years against *Nebuchadnezzar*, vvas utterly dismaied, when the King that should have given his life to save it, used all his force of command and intreaty to betray it. So the gates of *Jerusalem* vvere opened to *Joas*, vvith vvhich honour (greater than any King of *Israel* had ever obtained) he could not rest contented, but the more to despise *Amazia* and his people, he caused 400. cubits of the wall to be thrown down, and entred the City in his Chariot through that breach, carrying the King before him as in triumph. This done, he sack'd the Temple, and the Kings Palace, and so taking hostages of *Amazia*, he dismissed the poor creature that was glad of his life, and returned to *Samaria*.

Joseph. Antiq. l. 9. c. 10.

§. IX.

A discourse of the reasons hindering Joas *from uniting* Juda *to the Crown of* Israel, *when he had won* Jerusalem, *and held* Amazia *prisoner. The end of* Joas *his reign.*

VVE may justly marvel how it came to pass, that *Joas*, being thus in possession of *Jerusalem*, having the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken, and his own entire, could be so content to depart quietly with a little spoil, when he might have seized upon the whole Kingdom. The reign of *Athalia* had given him cause to hope that the issue of *David* might be dispossessed of that Crown; his own nobility, being the son and grand-child of Kings, together with

the famous acts that he had done, were enough to make the people of *Juda* think highly of him; who might alſo have preferred his form of government before that of their own Kings, eſpecially at ſuch a time, when a long ſucceſſion of wicked Princes had ſmothered the thanks which were due to the memory of a few good ones. The commodity that would have enſued upon the union of all the twelve Tribes under one Prince, is ſo apparent, that I need not to inſiſt on it. That any meſſage from God forbade the *Iſraelite* (as afterwards in the victory which *Peka* the ſon of *Romelia* got upon *Ahaz*) to turn his preſent advantage to the beſt uſe, we do not read. All this makes it the more difficult to reſolve the queſtion, why a Prince ſo well exerciſed as *Joas* had been in recovering his own, and winning from the enemy, ſhould forſake the poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem*, and wilfully neglect the poſſibilities, or rather caſt away the full aſſurance of ſo fair a conqueſt, as the Kingdom of *Juda*.

But concerning that point, which of all others had been moſt material, I mean the deſire of the vanquiſhed people to accept the *Iſraelite* for their King, it is plainly ſeen, that entring *Jeruſalem* in triumphant manner, *Joas* was unable to concoct his own proſperity. For, the opening of the gates had been enough to have let him not onely into the City, but into the Royal Throne, and the peoples hearts, whom by fair intreaty (eſpecially having ſure means of compulſion) he might have made his own, when they ſaw themſelves betrayed, and baſely given away by him whoſe they had been before. The fair mark which this opportunity preſented, he did not aim at, becauſe his ambition was otherwiſe, and more meanly buſied, in levelling at the glory of a triumphant entry through a breach. Yet this errour might afterwards have been corrected well enough, if entring as an enemy, and ſhewing what he could do, by ſpending his anger upon the Walls, he had within the City done offices of a friend, and laboured to ſhew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his covetouſneſs began, and ſought to pleaſe it ſelf with that which is commonly moſt ready to the ſpoyler, yet ſhould be moſt forborn. The Treaſure wherewith *Seſac*, *Hazael*, and the *Philiſtims*, men ignorant of the true God and his Religion, had quenched their greedy thirſt, ought not to have tempted the appetite of *Joas*, who though an Idolater, yet acknowledged alſo and worſhipped the eternal God, whoſe Temple was at *Jeruſalem*. Therefore when the people ſaw him take his way directly to ſeiſe that holy place, and lay his ravenous hands upon the conſecrated veſſels, calling the family of *Obed Edom* (*whoſe children had hereditary charge of the treaſure*) to a ſtrict account, as if they had been officers of his own exchequer; they conſidered him rather as an execrable Church-robber, than as a noble Prince, an *Iſraelite*, and their brother, though of a nother Tribe. Thus following that courſe, which the moſt vertuous King of our age (taxing it with the ſame phraſe) hath wiſely avoyded; by ſtealing a few Apples, he loſt the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people deteſted him, and after the reſpite of a few days, might, by comparing themſelves one to one, perceiue his Souldiers to be no better than men of their own mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of ſo great a City. It is not ſo eaſy to hold by force a mighty town entred by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by unadviſed fear. For when the Citizens, not being diſarmed, recover their ſpirits. and begin to underſtand their firſt errour, they will think upon every advantage, of place, of proviſions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-ſtones; and rather chooſe by deſperate reſolution, to correct the evills grown out of their former cowardiſe, than ſuffer thoſe miſchiefs to poyſon the body, which in ſuch half-conqueſts, are eaſily taſted in the mouth. A more lively example hereof cannot be deſired, than the City of *Florence*, which through the weakneſs of *Peter de Medices*, governing therein as a Prince, was reduced into ſuch hard tearms, that it opened the gates unto the French King *Charles* the eighth, who not plainly profeſſing himſelf either friend or foe to the State, entred the Town, with his Army, in triumphant manner, himſelf and his horſe armed, with his lance upon his thigh. Many inſolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrell miniſtred between them and the Towns-men: ſo far forth that the *Florentines*, to preſerve their liberty, were driven to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intollerable conditions, demanding huge ſums of ready money, and the abſolute Seigniory of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the City in Arms. But *Peter Caponi*, a principal Citizen, catching theſe Articles from the Kings Secretary, and tearing them before his face, bad him ſound his Trumpets, and they would ring their Bels: which peremptory words made the French bethink themſelves, and come readily to this agree-

1 *Chro.* 26 15.

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ment, that for forty thouſand pounds, and not half of that money to be paid in hand, *Charles* ſhould not only depart in peace, but reſtore whatſoever he had of their Dominion, and continue their aſſured friend. So dangerous a matter did it ſeem for that brave Army, which in few moneths after wan the Kingdom of *Naples*, to fight in the ſtreets, againſt the armed multitude of that populous City. It is true, that *Charles* had other buſineſs (and ſo perhaps had *Joas*, as ſhall anon be ſhewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehenſion of imminent danger that made him come to reaſon. In ſuch caſes the firing of houſes, uſually draws every Citizen to ſave his own, leaving victory to the Souldier: yet where the people are prepared and reſolved, women can quench, as faſt as the enemy, having other things to look unto, can ſet on fire. And indeed that Commander is more given to anger than regardful of profit, who upon the uncertain hope of deſtroying a Town, forſakes the aſſurance of a good compoſition. Diverſity of circumſtance may alter the caſe: it is enough to ſay, that it might be in *Jeruſalem*, as we know it was in *Florence*.

How ſtrongly ſoever *Joas* might hold himſelf within *Jeruſalem*, he could not eaſily depart from thence, with his booty ſafe, if the Army of *Juda*, which had been more terrified than weakned in the late encounter, ſhould re-enforce itſelf, and give him a check upon the way. Wherefore it was wiſely done of him, to take hoſtages for his better ſecurity, his Army being upon return, and better loaden than when it came forth; for which cauſes it was the more unapt to fight,

Beſides theſe impediments, within the City and without, ſerving to cool the ambition of *Joas*, and keep it down from aſpiring to the Crown of *Juda*; it appears that ſomewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Eliſha* the Prophet; who, when this *Joas* had ſmitten the ground with his arrows thrice, told him that he ſhould no oftner ſmite the *Aramites*. The three victories which *Iſrael* had againſt *Aram*, are by ſome, and with great probability, referred unto the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh yeares of *Joas*: after which time, if any loſſes enſuing had blemiſhed the former good ſucceſs, ill might the King of *Iſrael* have likened himſelf to a ſtately Cedar, and worſe could he have either lent the *Judæan* one hundred thouſand men, or meet him in battell, who was able to bring into the feild three hundred thouſand of his own. Seeing therefore it is made plain by the words of *Eliſha*, that after three victories *Joaſh* ſhould find ſome change of fortune and ſuffer loſſe; we muſt needs conclude, That the *Aramite* prevailed upon him this yeare, it being the laſt of his Reign. That this was ſo, and that the *Syrians*, taking advantage of *Joas* his abſence gave ſuch a blow to *Iſrael*, as the King at his return was not able to remedie, but rather fell himſelf into new misfortunes which increaſed the calamitie; we may evidently perceive in that which is ſpoken of *Jeroboam* his ſon. For it is ſaid, *That the Lord ſaw the exceeding bitter affliction, of Iſrael*, and that having *not decreed to put out the name of Iſrael from under the Heaven, he preſerved them by the hand of* Jeroboam *the ſonne of* Joas. This is enough to prove, that the victorious Reign of *Joas* was concluded with a ſad cataſtrophe; the riches of the Temple haſtening his miſery and death, as they had done with *Seſac*, *Athalia*, and *Hazael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Craſſus*, and other ſacrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceived againſt him, by the people of *Jeruſalem*, and courage which they took to ſet upon him within the Walls; or through preparation of the Army that lay abroad in the Countrey to bid him battel in open field, & recover by a new charge the honour which was loſt at the former encounter; or through the miſeries daily brought upon his own Countrey, by the *Syrian* in his abſence (if not by all of theſe) *Joas* was driven to lay aſide all thought of winning the Kingdom of *Juda*; and taking hoſtages for his quiet paſſage, made all haſte homewards, where he found a ſad wel-come, and being utterly forſaken of his wonted proſperity, forſook alſo his life in few moneths after, leaving his Kingdom to *Jeroboam* the ſecond, his fortunate and valiant ſon.

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§. X.

The end of Amazia *his Reign and life.*

ANy man is able to gheſs how *Amazia* looked, when the enemy had left him. He that had vaunted ſo much of his own great proweſs and skill in Arms, threatning to work wonders, and ſet up a-new the glorious Empire of *Dauid*, was now uncaſed of his Lions hide, and appeared nothing ſo terrible a beaſt as he had bin painted. Much argument of ſcoffing at him he had miniſtred unto ſuch as held him in diſlike; which at this time doubtleſs were very many: for the ſhame that falls upon an inſolent man, ſeldom fails of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amazia*,

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(beſides that the multitude are alwayes prone to lay the blame upon their Governours, even of thoſe calamities which happen by their own default) there was no child in all *Jeruſalem*, but knew him to be the root of all this miſchief. He had not only challenged a good man of War, being himſelf a Daſtard; but when he was beaten and taken by him, had baſely pleaded for the common enemy, to have him let into the City, that with his own eyes he might ſee what ſpoil there was, and not make a bad bargain by hear-ſay. The father of this *Amazia* was a beaſtly man; yet when the *Aramites* took him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his own life at ſo dear a rate, as the City and Temple of *Jeruſalem*. Had he offered, ſhould they have made his promiſe good? ſurely the haſte which they had made in condeſcending to this hard match, was very unfortunate: for by keeping out the *Iſraelites* (which was eaſie enough) any little while, they ſhould ſoon have been rid of him, ſeeing that the *Aramites* would have made him run home, with greater ſpeed than he came forth. Then alſo, when having truſſed up his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a little courage would have ſerved to perſwade him to leave his load behind; had not their good King delivered up hoſtages, to ſecure his return, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his pains taken.

Such exprobations could not but vex the heart of this unhappy King: it had been well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his fault unto God, that had puniſhed him by all this diſhonour. But we find no mention of his amendment. Rather it appears, that he continued an idolater to the very laſt. For it is ſaid of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, *they wrought treaſon againſt him in Jeruſalem*: a manifeſt proof that he was not reclaimed unto his lives end. And certainly, they which tell a man in his adverſity of his faults paſſed, ſhall ſooner be thought to upbraid him with his fortune, than to ſeek his reformation. Wherefore it is no marvel, that Prieſts and Prophets were leſs welcome to him, than ever they had been. On the other ſide, flatterers, and ſuch as were deſirous to put a heart into him, whereof themſelves might alwayes be maſters, wanted not plauſible matter to revive him. For he was not the firſt, nor ſecond of the Kings of *Juda*, that had been overcome in battel. *David* himſelf had abandoned the City, leaving it before the enemy was in ſight, unto *Abſalom* his rebellious Son. Many beſides him had received loſſes, wherein the Temple bare a part. If *Joas* might ſo eaſily have been kept out; why did their Anceſtors let *Seſac* in? *Aſa* was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his own hands he emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excuſable by neceſſity of the State. Belike theſe traducers would commend no Actions but of dead Princes: if ſo, he ſhould rather live to puniſh them, than die to pleaſe them. Though wherein had he given them any cauſe of diſpleaſure? It was he indeed that commanded to ſet open the gates to *Joas*; but it was the people that did it. Good ſervants ought not to have obeyed their Maſters Commandments to his diſadvantage, when they ſaw him not maſter of his own Perſon. As his captivity did acquit him from blame of all things that he did or ſuffered in that condition; ſo was that misfortune it ſelf, in true eſtimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his loſs. For had he been as haſty to fly as others were, he might have eſcaped as well as others did. But ſeeking to teach the baſe multitude courage by his Royal example, he was ſhamefully betrayed by thoſe in whom he truſted. Unworthy creatures, that could readily obey him, when ſpeaking another mans words, being priſoner, he commanded them to yeild; having neglected his charge, when leading them into the field, he bad them ſtand to it and fight like men. The beſt was, that they muſt needs acknowledge his miſchance, as the occaſion whereby many thouſand lives were ſaved; the enemy having wiſely preferred the ſurpriſe of a Lion that was Captain, before the chaſe and ſlaughter of an Army of Stags that followed him.

2 *Chron.* 25. 27.

Theſe or the like words comforting *Amazia*, were able to perſwade him, that it was even ſo indeed. And ſuch excuſes might have ſerved well enough to pleaſe the people, if the King had firſt ſtudied how to pleaſe God. But he that was unwilling to aſcribe unto God the good ſucceſs foretold by a Prophet; could eaſily find how to impute this late diſaſter unto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it ſeems that he meant to keep himſelf ſafe from her by ſitting ſtill; for in fifteen years following (ſo long he out-lived his honour) we find not that he ſtirred. As for his ſubjects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his government, yet we may ſee by his end, that the middle time was ill ſpent among them, increaſing their hatred to his own ruine. He that ſuſpecteth his own worth or other mens opinions, thinking the leſs regard is had of his perſon than he believeth to be due to his place, will commonly ſpend all the force of his authority in purchaſing the name of a

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ſevere man. For the affected ſowreneſs of a vain fellow, doth many times reſemble the gravity of one that is wiſe: and the fear wherein they live, which are ſubject unto oppreſſion, carries a ſhew of reverence to him that does the wrong; at leaſt it ſerves to dazle the eyes of underlings, keeping them from prying into the weakeneſs of ſuch as have juriſdiction over them. Thus the time, wherein, by well uſing it, men might attain to be ſuch as they ought, they do uſually miſ-ſpend, in ſeeking to appear ſuch as they are not. This is a vain and deceiveable courſe; procuring, in ſtead of the reſpect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous conſequence; eſpecially when an unable ſpirit, being over-perted with ſo high authority, is too paſſionate in the execution of ſuch an office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amazia* thought by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, vvhat did he elſe than ſtrive to make the people think he hated them, vvhen of themſelves they vvere apt enough to believe that he did not love them? the beſt vvas, that he had, by revenging his fathers death, provided well enough for his own ſecurity: but vvho ſhould take vengeance (or upon vvhom?) of ſuch a murther, wherein every one had a part? Surely God himſelf, who had not given commandment or leave unto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in ſhedding the bloud of his Annointed. Yet as *Amazia* careleſs of God, was carried headlong by his own affections; ſo his ſubjects, following the ſame ill example, without requiring what belonged unto their duties, roſe up againſt him, with ſuch headlong fury, that being unable to defend himſelf in *Jeruſalem*, he was driven to forſake the City, and fly to *Lachis*, for ſafeguard of his life. But ſo extream was the hatred conceived againſt him, and ſo general, that neither his abſence could allay the rage of it in the Capital City, nor his preſence in the Country abroad procure friends to defend his life. Queſtionleſs he choſe the Town of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other beſt affected to him; yet found he there none other favour, than that the people did not kill him with their own hands; for when the Conſpirators (who troubled not themſelves about raiſing an Army for the matter) ſent purſuers after, he was abandoned to death. *Lachis* was the utmoſt City of his Dominion Weſtward, ſtanding ſomewhat without the border of *Juda*; ſo that he might have made an eaſie eſcape (if he durſt adventure) into the Territory of the *Philiſtims*, or the Kingdom of *Iſrael*. Therefore it may ſeem that he was detained there, where certain it is that he found no kind of favour: for had not the people of this Town added their own treaſon to the general inſurrection; the murderers could not at ſo good leiſure as they did, have carried away his body to *Jeruſalem*, where they gave him burial with his fathers.

§. XI.

Of the Inter-regnum, *or vacancy, that was in the Kingdom of* Juda, *after the death of* Amazia.

IT hath already been ſhewed, that the Reigns of the Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael* were ſometimes to be meaſured by compleat years, otherwhiles, by years current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the laſt years of his fathers Reign, or the foremoſt of his ſons. But we are now arrived at a meer vacation, wherein the Crown of *Juda* lay void eleven whole years: a thing not plainly ſet down in Scriptures, nor yet remembred by *Joſephus*, and therefore hard to be believed, were it not proved by neceſſary conſequence.

Twice we find it written, that *Amazia, King of Juda, lived after the death of* Joas *King of Iſrael, fifteen years*; whereupon it follows, that the death of *Amazia*, was about the end of fifteen years compleat, which *Jeroboam* the ſecond (who *in the fifteenth year of Amazia was made King over Iſrael*) had reigned in *Samaria*. But the ſucceſſion of *Uzzia*, who is alſo called *Azaria*, unto his father in the Kingdom of *Juda*, was eleven years later than the ſixteenth of *Jeroboam*: for it is expreſſed, that *Azaria began to reign in the ſeven and twentieth year of Jeroboam*; the ſixteenth year of his life, being joyned with the firſt of two and fifty that he reigned. So the *Inter-regnum* of eleven years cannot be divided, without ſome hard means uſed, of interpreting the Text otherwiſe than the letter ſounds.

2 *Chron.* 25. 2. & 2 *King.* 14. 17.

2 *King.* 14. 23.

2 *King.* 15. 1

Yet ſome conjectures there are made, which tend to keep all even, without acknowledging any void time. For it is thought that in the place laſt of all cited, by the ſeven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam*, we ſhould perhaps underſtand the ſeven and twentieth year of his life; or elſe (becauſe the like words are no where elſe interpreted in the like ſenſe) that *Azaria* was eleven years under age, that is, five years old, when his father died, and ſo his ſixteenth year might

might concur with the ſeven and twentieth of *Jeroboam*; or that the Text it ſelf might have ſuffered ſome vvrong, by miſwriting twenty ſeven for ſeventeen years; and ſo, by making the ſeventeenth year of *Jeroboam* to be newly begun, all may be ſalved. Theſe are the conjectures of that worthy man *Gerard Mercator:* concerning the firſt of vvhich, it may ſuffice, that the Author himſelf doth eaſily let it paſs, as improbable; the laſt is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that upon every doubt, vve ſhould call the text in queſtion; vvhich could not be falſified in all copies, if perhaps it vvere in one: as for the ſecond, it may be held vvith ſome qualification, that *Azaria* began his Reign being five years old; but then muſt vve add thoſe eleven years vvhich paſſed in his minority, to the two and fifty that followed his ſixteenth year, vvhich is all one in a manner, vvith allowing an *Inter-regnum.*

But vvhy ſhould vve be ſo careful to avoid an *Inter-regnum* in *Juda*, ſeeing that the like neceſſity hath inforced all good Writers to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening vvithin few years, in the Kingdom of *Iſrael?* The ſpace of time between *Jeroboam*'s death, and the beginning of *Zachariah*'s reign, and ſuch another gap found between the death of *Peka*, and the beginning of *Hoſea*, have made it eaſily to be admitted into *Samaria*; vvhich the conſideration of things as they ſtood in *Juda*, vvhen *Amazia* vvas ſlain, doth make more probable to have happened there, yea, although the neceſſity of computation vvere not ſo apparent.

For the publick fury having ſo far extended it ſelf, as unto the deſtruction of the Kings own perſon, was not likely to be appeaſed without order taken for obtaining ſome redreſs of thoſe matters, which had cauſed it at the firſt to break forth into ſuch extremity. We need not therefore wonder how it came to paſs, that they which already had thrown themſelves into ſuch an horrible treaſon, ſhould afterwards dare to withhold the Crown from a Prince of that age, which being inveſted in all ornaments of Regality, is nevertheleſs expoſed to many injuries, proceeding from head-ſtrong, and forgetful ſubjects.

As for their conjecture, who make *Azaria* to have been King but one and forty years after he came out of his non-age; I dare not allow it, becauſe it agrees too harſhly with the Text. The beſt opinion were that which gives unto *Jeroboam* eleven years of reign with his Father, before he began to reign ſingle in the fifteenth of *Amazia*; did it not ſwallow up almoſt the whole reign of *Joas*, and extending the years of thoſe which reigned in *Iſrael* (by making ſuch of them compleat as were onely current) and take at the ſhorteſt the reigns of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not ſtand to diſpute further of this: every man may follow his own opinion, and ſee mine more plainly in the Chronological Table, drawn for theſe purpoſes.

§. XII.

Of Princes Contemporary with Amazia, *and more particularly of* Sardanapalus.

THe Princes living with *Amazia*, and in the eleven years that followed his death, were *Joas* and *Jeroboam* in *Iſrael*; *Cephrenes* and *Mycerinus* in *Egypt*; *Sylvius Alladius*, and *Sylvius Aventinus* in *Alba*; *Agamemnon* in *Corinth*; *Diognetus Pheredus*, and *Ariphron* in *Athens*; in *Lacedæmon Thelectus*, in whoſe time the *Spartans* wan from the *Achaians*, *Gerauthæ*, *Amyclæ*, and ſome other Towns.

But more notable than all theſe, was *Aſſyrian Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth year of *Amazia*, ſucceeding his father *Ocrazapes* or *Anacyndaraxes*, reigned twenty years, and was ſlain the laſt of the eleven void years which fore-went the reign of *Azaria*. In him ended (as moſt agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thouſand two hundred and forty years. A moſt luxurious and effeminate Palliard he was, paſſing away his time among ſtrumpets, whom he imitated both in apparel and behaviour.

In theſe voluptuous courſes he lived an unhappy life, knowing himſelf to be ſo vile, that he durſt not let any man have a ſight of him; yet ſeen he was at length, and the ſight of him was ſo odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who governed *Media* under him, finding means to behold the perſon of his King, was ſo incenſed with that beaſtly ſpectacle, of a man diſguiſed in womans attire, and ſtriving to counterfeit an harlot, that he thought it a great ſhame to live under the command of ſo unworthy a creature. Purpoſing therefore to free himſelf and others from ſo baſe ſubjection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Beleſis* or *Beloſus* a *Chaldæan*, who told him plainly, that the Kingdom of *Sardanapalus* ſhould fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well pleaſed with the Prophecy, did promiſe unto

to

to *Belosus* himself the government of *Babylon*; and so concluding how to handle the business, one of them stirred up the *Medes*, and allured the *Persians* into the quarrel, the other perswaded the *Babylonians* and *Arabians* to venture themselves in the same cause. These four Nations armed forty thousand men against *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himself, but gathering such forces as he could out of other Nations, encountred the rebels, as one that would by deeds refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that War, answer to the manner of his retiredness. For in three battels he carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into such fearful terms, that had not *Belosus* promised them constantly some unexpected succours, they would forthwith have broken up their Camp. About the same time, an Army out of *Bactria* was coming to assist the King; but *Arbaces* encountring it upon the way, perswaded so strongly by promise of liberty, that those forces joyned themselves with his. The sudden departure of the enemy seeming to be a flight, caused *Sardanapalus* to feast his Army, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being strengthened with this new supply, came upon him by night, and forced his Camp, which through overgreat security was unprepared for resistance.

This overthrow did so weaken the Kings heart, that leaving his Wives brother *Salamenus* to keep the field, he withdrew himself into the City of *Nineve*; which, till new aids that he sent for should come, he thought easily to defend; it having been prophesied, that *Nineve* should never be taken, till the River were enemy to the Town. Of the greatness and strength of *Nineve*, enough hath been spoken in our discourse of *Ninus*. It was so well victualled, that *Arbaces* (having in two battels overthrown the Kings Army, and slain *Salamenus*) was fain to lye two whole years before it, in hope to win it by famine; whereof yet he saw no appearance. It seems that he wanted Engines and skill to force those walls, which were an hundred foot high, and thick enough for three Chariots in front to pass upon the rampire. But that which he could not do in two years, the River of *Tigris* did in the third: for being high swoln with rains, it not onely drowned a part of the City through which it ran, but threw down twenty furlongs of the wall, and made a fair breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified with the accomplishment of the old Oracle, or seeing no means of resistance left, shutting up himself into his Palace, with his Wives, Eunuchs, and all his Treasures, did set the house on fire, wherewith he and they were together consumed. *Strabo* speaks of a Monument of his, that was in *Anchiale*, a City of *Cilicia*, whereon was found an inscription, shewing that he built that City and *Tharsus* upon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eat and drink, and make merry, encouraged others with verses well known, to a voluptuous life, by his own example testified that his nature was more prone to sensuality, than to any vertue beseeming a Prince. *Strab. l. 9.*

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end; saying that *Arbaces*, when he first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that suddenly he slew him with a dagger. But the more general consent of Writers agrees with this relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Ctesias* a Greek Writer, that lived in the Court of *Persia*, where the truth might best be known. *Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 7.*

Concerning the Princes which reigned in *Assyria*, from the time of *Semiramis*, unto *Sardanapalus*, though I believe that they were sometimes (yet not, as *Orosius* hath it, incessantly) busied in offensive, or else defensive arms; yet for the most part of them I do better trust *Diodorus Siculus*, who saith that their names were overpassed by *Ctesias*, because they did nothing worthy of memory. Whatsoever they did, that which *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath said of them is very true; *Silence and Oblivion hath oppressed them.* *Diod. l. 2. c. 6.* *Theophilus Antiochenus l. 21.*

CHAP. XXIII.
Of UZZIA.

§. I.

The proſperity of Uzzia, *and of* Jeroboam *the ſecond, who reigned with him in* Iſrael. *Of the Anarchy that was in the ten Tribes after the death of* Jeroboam. *Of* Zacharia, Sallum, Menahem, *and* Pekahia.

UZZIA, who is called *Ahazia*, the ſon of *Jotham*, was made King of *Juda*, when he was ſixteen years old, in the ſeven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas* King of *Iſrael*. He ſerved the God of his father *David*, and had therefore good ſucceſs in all his enterpriſes. He built *Eloth*, a Town that ſtood near to the Red Sea, and reſtored it to *Juda*. He overcame the *Philiſtims*, of whoſe Towns he diſmantled ſome, and built others in ſundry parts of their Territories. Alſo he got the maſtery over ſome parts of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites* to pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of his proſperous Wars, wherein (as *Joſephus* rehearſeth his acts) he began with the *Philiſtims*, and then proceeded unto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His Army conſiſted of three hundred and ſeven thouſand men of War, over which were appointed two thouſand and ſix hundred Captains. For all this multitude the King prepared *ſhields, and ſpears, and helmets*, and other Arms requiſite; following therein happily a courſe quite oppoſite unto that which ſome of his late predeceſſors had held, who thought it better policy to uſe the ſervice of the Nobility, than of the multitude; carrying forth to war *the Princes, and all the Chariots*.

2 Chron 26 14.

2 Chron. 21.9.

As the victories of *Uzzia* were far more important, than the atchievments of all that had reigned in *Juda*, ſince the time of *David*; ſo were his riches and magnificent works, equal, if not ſuperiour to any of theirs that had been Kings between him and *Salomon*. For, beſides that great conqueſts are won to repay the charges of War with triple intereſt, he had the ſkill to uſe, as well as the happineſs to get. He turned his lands to the beſt uſe, keeping Ploughmen and Dreſſers of Vines, in grounds convenient for ſuch huſbandry. In other places he had Cattel feeding; whereof he might well keep great ſtore, having won ſo much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*, that had abundance of waſte ground ſerving for paſturage. For defence of his Cattel and Heardſmen, he built Towers in the Wilderneſs. He alſo digged many Ciſterns or Ponds. *Joſephus* calls them Water-courſes; but in ſuch dry grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the moſt likely places. If by theſe Towers he ſo commanded the water, that none could without his conſent, relieve themſelves therewith, queſtionleſs he took the onely courſe, by which he might ſecurely hold the Lordſhip over all the Wilderneſs; it being hardly paſſable, by reaſon of the extream drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the uſe of Travellers.

Beſides all this coſt, and the building both of *Eloth* by the Red Sea, and of ſundry Towns among the *Philiſtims*; he repaired the wall of *Jeruſalem*, which *Joas* had broken down, and fortified it with Towers, whereof ſome were an hundred and fifty Cubits high.

The ſtate of *Iſrael* did never ſo flouriſh, as at this time, ſince the diviſion of the twelve Tribes into two Kingdoms. For as *Uzzia* prevailed in the South, ſo (if not more) *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas*, King of the ten Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories againſt the *Syrians*, he wan the Royal City of *Damaſcus*, and he wan *Hamath*, with all the country thereabout *from the entring of* Hamath, *unto the Sea of the Wilderneſs*, that is (as the moſt expound it) unto the vaſt deſarts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was undiſcovered. So the bounds of *Iſrael* in thoſe parts, were in time of this *Jeroboam*, the ſame (or not much narrower) which they had been in the reign of *David*.

2 King. 14. 25. 28.

But it was not for the piety of *Jeroboam*, that he thrived ſo well, for he was an Idolater: it was only the compaſſion which the Lord had on *Iſrael*, ſeeing the exceeding bitter affliction whereinto the *Aramites* had brought his people, which cauſed him to alter the ſucceſſion of war, and to throw the victorious *Aramites* under the feet of thoſe whom they

they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of *Jehu* to which God had promised the Kingdom of *Israel unto the fourth generation*, was now not far from the end; and now again
1 Reg. 10. 13. it was invited unto repentance by new benefits, as it hath been at the beginning. But the sin of *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat* was held so pretious, that neither the Kingdom it self given to him by God, was able to draw *Jehu* from that politick Idolatry; nor the misery falling upon him and his posterity, to bring them to a better course of Religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperity of *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas*, to make him render the honour that was due to the onely giver of victory. Wherefore the promise of God made unto *Jehu*, that his sons, *unto the fourth generation*, should sit on the throne of *Israel*, was not enlarged; but being almost expired, gave warning of the approaching end, by an accident (so strange, that we who find no particulars recorded, can hardly ghess at the occasions) foregoing the last accomplishment.

When *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas*, after a victorious reign of one and forty years, had ended his life; it seems in all reason that *Zacharia* his son should forthwith have been admitted to reign in his stead; the Nobility of that race having gotten such a lustre by the immediate succession of four Kings, that any Competitor, had the Crown passed by election, must needs have appeared base; and the vertue of the last King having been so great, as might well serve to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish the already confirmed right of a family so rooted in possession. All this notwithstanding, two or three and twenty years did pass before *Zacharia* the son of *Jeroboam* was, by uniform consent, received as King. The true original causes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Bethel*, where the golden Calves did stand; yet second instruments of this disturbance are likely not to have been wanting upon which the wisdom of man was ready to cast an eye. Probable it is, that the Captains of the army (who afterwards slew one another so fast, that in fourteen years there reigned five Kings) did now by head-strong violence, rend the Kingdom asunder, holding each what he could, and either despising or hating some qualities in *Zacharia*; untill, after many years, wearied with dissention, and the principal of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they consented to yeild all quietly to the son of *Jeroboam*. That this Anarchy lasted almost three and twenty years, we find by the difference of time between the fifteenth year of *Uzzia*, which was the last of *Jeroboam* his one and fortieth (his seven and twentieth concurring with the first of *Uzzia*) and the eight and thirtieth of the same *Uzzia*, in the last six moneths whereof *Zacharia* reigned in *Samaria*. There are some indeed that by supposing *Jeroboam* to have reigned with his father eleven years, do cut off the *interregnum* in *Juda* (before mentioned) and by the same reason abridge this Anarchy that was before the reign of *Zacharia* in *Israel*. Yet they leave it twelve years long: which is time sufficient to prove that the Kingdom of the ten Tribes was no less distempered than as is already noted. But I choose rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the World, than this doubtful conjecture, that gives to *Jeroboam* two and fifty years, by adding three quarters of his fathers reign unto his own; which was it self indeed so long, that he may well seem to have begun it very young; for I do not think that God blessed this Idolater both with a longer reign, and with a longer life than he did his servant *David*.

Thus much being spoken of the time wherein the Throne of *Israel* was void, before the reign of *Zacharia*; little may suffice to be said of his reign it self, which lasted but a little while. Six months only was he King; in which time he declared himself a worshipper of the golden Calves; which was enough to justifie the judgment of God; whereby he was slain. He was the last of *Jehu*'s house, being (inclusively) the first of that line; which may have been some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly succession: the prophesie having determined that race in the fourth generation. But (besides that Gods promise was extended unto the utmost) there was no warrant given to *Sallum*, or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had been given to *Jehu* for the slaughter of *Jehoram*, and for the eradication of *Ahabs* house.

Zacharia having been six moneths a King, was then slain by *Sallum*, who reigned after him, *the space of a moneth in Samaria*. 2 King. 15. 13. What this *Sallum* was, I do not find; save onely that he was a Traytor, and the son of one *Jabesh*, whereby his father got no honour. It seems that he was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for himself, and now when all other Competitors were sitten down, thought easily to prevail against that King, in whose person the race of *Jehu* was to fail. Manifest it is, that *Sallum* had a strong party: for *Tiphsah* or *Thapsa*, and the coast thereof even from *Tirzah*, where *Menahem* his enemy and sup-

planter then lay, refuſed to admit, as King in his ſtead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, *Sallum* received the reward of his treaſon, and vvas ſlain by *Menahem* who reigned in his place.

Menahem the ſon of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* ten years. In oppoſition to *Sallum*, his hatred vvas deadly, and inhumane, for he not onely deſtroyed *Tiphſah*, and all that vvere therein, or thereabouts, but he ript up all their women with child, becauſe they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty been uſed in revenge of *Zacharia*'s death, it is like that he would have been as earneſt, in procuring unto him his Fathers Crown when it was firſt due. But in performing that office, there was uſed ſuch long deliberation, that we may plainly diſcover Ambition, Diſdain, and other private paſſions, to have been the cauſes of this beaſtly outrage.

In the time of *Menahem*, and (as it ſeems) in the beginning of his Reign, *Pul*, King of *Aſſyria*, came againſt the Land of *Iſrael*, whom this new King appeaſed, with a thouſand talents of ſilver, levied upon all the ſubſtantial men in his Countrey. With this money the *Iſraelite* purchaſed, not onely the peace of his Kingdom; but his own eſtabliſhment therein: ſome factious man (belike) having either invited *Pul* thither, or (if he came uncalled) ſought to uſe his help, in depoſing this ill-beloved King. *Joſephus* reports of this *Menahem*, that his reign was no milder than his entrance. But after ten years, his tyranny ended with his life: and *Pekahia* his Son occupied his room. *Joſ. ant l. 9. 11.*

Of this *Pekahia* the ſtory is ſhort: for he reigned onely two years; at the end whereof, he was ſlain by *Peka* the ſon of *Ramalia*, whoſe treaſon was rewarded with the Crown of *Iſrael*, as, in time comming, another mans Treaſon againſt himſelf ſhall be. There needs no more to be ſaid of *Menahem* and his ſon, ſave that they were both of them Idolaters, and the ſon (as we find in *Joſephus*) like to his father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Aſſyrian* King, who firſt opened unto thoſe Northern Nations the way into *Palæſtina*; it will ſhortly follow in order of the Story, to deliver our opinion: whether he were that *Beloſus* (called alſo *Beleſes*, and by ſome *Phul Belochus*) who joyned with *Arbaces* the *Median*, againſt *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were ſome other man. At the preſent it is more fit that we relate the end of *Uzzia*'s life, who out-lived the happineſs wherein we left him. *Joſ. ibid.*

§. II.

The end of Uzzia *his Reign and Life.*

AS the zeal of *Jehojada* that godly Prieſt vvas the mean to preſerve the linage of *David* in the perſon of *Joas*, ſo it appears; that the care of holy men vvas not vvanting to *Uzzia*, to bring him up and advance him to the Crown of *Juda*, vvhen the hatred born to his Father *Amazia* had endangered his ſucceſſion. For it is ſaid of *Uzzia*, That *he ſought God in the days of* Zacharia (*which underſtood the viſions of God*) *and when as he ſought the Lord, God made him proſper.* 2 Chro. 26. 5.

But, when he was ſtrong, his heart was lifted up to his deſtruction: for he tranſgreſſed againſt the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burn incenſe upon the Altar of incenſe. Verſe 16. Thus he thought to enlarge his own authority, by medling in the Prieſts office, vvhoſe power had in every extremity been ſo helpful to the Kings of *Juda*, that meer gratitude and civill policy, ſhould have held back *Uzzia* from incroaching thereupon; yea, though the Law of God had been ſilent in this caſe, and not forbidding it. Howſoever, the King forgot his duty, the Prieſts remembred theirs, & God forgat not to aſſiſt them. *Azaria* the high Prieſt interrupted the Kings purpoſe, and gave him to underſtand how little to his honour it vvould prove, that he took upon him the office of the ſons of *Aaron*. There vvere vvith *Azaria* fourſcore other Prieſts, valiant men, but their valour vvas ſhewed onely in aſſiſting the high Prieſt, vvhen (according to his duty) he reprehended the Kings preſumption. This was enough the reſt God himſelf performed. We find in *Joſephus*, that the King had apparelled himſelf in Prieſtly habit, and that he threatned *Azaria* and his Companions, to puniſh them vvith death, unleſs they would be quiet. *Joſephus* indeed inlargeth the Story, by inſerting a great Earth-quake, which did tear down half an Hill, that rowled four furlongs, till it reſted againſt another Hill, ſtopping up the high-ways, and ſpoiling the Kings Garden in the paſſage. With this Earth-quake he ſaith, that the roof of the Temple did cleave, and that a Sun-beam did light upon the Kings face, vvhich vvas preſently infected vvith leproſie. All this may have been true; and ſome there are vvho think that this Earth-quake is the ſame, vvhich is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*; vvherein they do much miſ-reckon the times. For the Earth-quake ſpoken of by *Amos*, vvas in the days of *Jeroboam* King of *Iſrael*, vvho dyed ſeven and thirty years before *Uzzia*, ſo that *Jotham* the *Joſ. ant. l. 9 c. 11.*

the ſon of *Uzzia*, vvhich ſupplyed his Fathers place in government of the Land, ſhould, by this accompt, have been then unborn: for he vvas but five and twenty years old, vvhen he began ro reign as King. Therefore, thus far onely vve have aſſurance; that
2 Chro. 26. 20. *while* Uzzia *was wroth with the Prieſts, the leproſie roſe up in his fore-head, before the Prieſts.* Hereupon he vvas cauſed, in all haſte, to depart the place, & to live in a houſe by himſelf untill he dyed, the rule over the Kings houſe, and over all the Land, being committed to *Jotham*, his Son and Succeſſour. *Jotham* took not upon himſelf the ſtile of a King, till his Father vvas dead; vvhom they buried in the ſame field wherein his Anceſtors lay interred; yet in a Monument apart from the reſt, becauſe he was a Leper.

§. III.

Of the Prophets which lived in the time of Uzzia; *and of Princes then ruling in* Egypt, *and in ſome other Countries.*

IN the time of *Uzzia* were the firſt of the leſſer Prophets, *Hoſea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadia* and *Jonas*. It is not indeed ſet down, when *Joel* or *Obadia* did prophecy but if the Prophets, whoſe times are not expreſſed, ought to be ranged (according to Saint *Hierome*'s rule) with the next before them; then muſt theſe two be judged contemporary with *Hoſea* and *Amos*, who lived under King *Uzzia*. To enquire which of theſe five was the moſt ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at leaſt, a ſuperfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* lived, hath ſo plentifully been ſought, without reprehenſion, how can he be taxed, which offers to ſearch out the antiquity of theſe holy Prophets? It ſeems to me, that the firſt of theſe, in order of time, was the Prophet *Jonas*; who foretold the great
2 Chro. c. 24. v. 25. 26. victories of *Jeroboam* King of *Iſrael*, and therefore is like to have propheſied in the days of *Joas*, whileſt the afflictions of *Iſrael* was *exceeding bitter*; the Text it ſelf intimating no leſs: by which conſequence he was elder than the other Prophets, whoſe works are now extant. But his prophecies that concerned the Kingdom of *Iſrael* are now loſt. That which remaineth of him, ſeems, not without reaſon unto ſome very learned, to have belonged unto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whoſe days *Nineve* was firſt of all deſtroyed. This Prophet rather taught Chriſt by his ſufferings, than by his writings, now extant: in all the reſt are found expreſs promiſes of the Meſſias.

In the reign of *Uzzia* likewiſe it was, that, *Eſay*, the firſt of the four great prophets, began to ſee his viſions. This difference of *great and leſſer* prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they have left written (as S. *Auguſtine* gives reaſon of the diſtinction) becauſe the greater have written larger Books. The prophet *Eſay* was great indeed, not only in regard of his much writing, or of his Nobilitie, (for their opinion is rejected, who think him to have been the ſon of *Amos* the Prophet) and the high account wherein he lived; but for the excellencie both of his ſtile and argument, wherein he ſo plainly foreteleth the Birth, Miracles, Paſſion, and whole Hiſtory of our Saviour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that he might as well be called an Evangeliſt, as a Prophet; having written in ſuch wiſe, That (as *Hierome* ſaith) *one would think he did not foretell of things to come, but compile an Hiſtory of matters already paſt.*

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 29.

Hier. in præf. ſuper Iſaiam.

Bocchoris was King of *Egypt*, and the ninth year of his reign, by our computation (whereof in due place we will give reaſon) was current, when *Uzzia* took poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Juda*.

After the death of *Bocchoris*, *Aſchis* followed in the Kingdom of *Egypt*: unto him ſucceeded *Amyſis*, and theſe two occupied that Crown ſix years. Then *Sabacus*, an *Æthiopian*, became King of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years, whereof the ten firſt ran along with the laſt of *Uzzia* his Reign and Life. Of theſe and other *Egyptian* Kings, more ſhall be ſpoken, when their affairs ſhall come to be intermedled with the buſineſs of *Juda*.

In *Athens*, the two laſt years of *Ariphron* his twenty, the ſeven and twentieth of *Theſpaius*, the twentieth of *Agamneſtor*, and the three firſt of *Æſchilus* his three and twenty, made even with the two and fifty of *Uzzia*: as likewiſe did in *Alba* the laſt ſeven of *Silvius Aventinus* his ſeven and thirty, together with the three and twenty of *Silvius Procas*, and two and twenty the firſt of *Silvius Amulius*. In *Media Arbaces* began his new Kingdom in the firſt of *Uzzia*, wherein, after eight and twenty years, his ſon *Soſarmus* ſucceeded him, and reigned thirty years. Of this *Arbaces*, and the diviſion of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, between him and others, when they had oppreſſed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it convenient to uſe more particular diſcourſe, that we may not wander in too great uncertainty in the ſtory of the *Aſſyrian* Kings, who have already found the way into *Paleſtina*, and are not likely to forget it.

Of

§. IV.

Of the Assyrian *Kings, descending from* Phul: *and whether* Phul *and* Belosus *were one person, or heads of sundry Families, that reigned a part in* Nineve *and* Babylon.

BY that which hath formerly been shewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparent, that the chief therein was *Arbaces* the *Medyan*; to vvhom the rest of the Confederates did not onely submit themselves in that War, but vvere contented afterwards to be judged by him, receiving by his authority sentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited lives. The first example of his power, vvas shewn upon *Belosus* the *Babylonian*, by vvhose special advice and help, *Arbaces* himself vvas become so great: Yet vvas not this power of *Arbaces* exercised in so tyrannical a manner, as might give offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had assisted him, or to the generality of the people. For in the condemnation of *Belosus*, he used the counsel of his other Captains, and then pardoned him of his own grace; allowing him to hold not onely the City and Province of *Babylon*, but also those treasures, for embezelling vvhereof his life had been endangered.

In like manner, he gave rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Provinces; retaining (as it appears) onely the Soveraignty to himself, vvhich to use immoderately he did naturally abhor. He is said, indeed, to have excited the *Medes* against *Sardanapalus*, by propounding unto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promise, he destroyed the City of *Nineve*, permitting the Citizens nevertheless to take and carry away every one his own goods. The other Nations that joyned with him, as the *Persians* and *Bactrians*, he drew to his side, by the allurement of liberty; which he himself so greatly loved, that by slacking too much the reins of his own Soveraignty, he did more harm to the general estate of *Media*, than the pleasure of the freedom, which it enjoyed, could recompence. For both the Territory of that Countrey was pared narrower by *Salmanassar*, (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) vvhom vve find in the Scriptures to have held some Towns of the *Medes*; and the civil administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation, which *Deioces* the fift of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that government, by reducing them into stricter terms of obedience.

How the force of the *Assyrians* grew to be such as might in fourscore years, if not sooner, both extend it self unto the conquest of *Israel*, and tear away some part of *Media*, it is a question hardly to be answered; not onely in regard of the destruction of *Nineve*, and subversion of the *Assyrian* Kingdom, whereof the *Medes*, under *Arbaces*, had the honour, who may seem at that time to have kept the *Assyrians* under their subjection, when the rest of the Provinces were set at liberty; but in consideration of the Kings themselves, who reigning afterwards in *Babylon* and *Nineve*, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their History is made uncertain.

I will first therefore deliver the opinion generally received, and the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the objections made against it, I will compare together the determination of that worthy man *Joseph Scaliger*, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the judgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or have followed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Neither shall it be needfull to set down a-part the severall authorities and arguments of sundry men, adding somwhat of weight, or of clearnesse one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: which I will doe as briefly as I can, and without fear to be taxed of partialitie, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancie of mine own, but meerly led by those reasons, which upon examination of each part, seemed to me most forceable, though to others they may perhaps appear weak.

That which, until of late, hath passed as current, is this; That *Belosus* was the same King, who, first of the *Assyrians*, entred *Palæstina* with an Armie; being called *Pul*, or *Phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Annius* his authors with such as follow them, *Phul Belochus*. Of this man it is said, that he was a skilfull Astrologer, subtile, and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by composition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Assyria*: finally that he reigned eight and fortie years, and then dying, left the Kingdome to *Teglat-phalassar* his son, in whose Posterity it continued some few descents, till the house of *Merodach* prevailed. The truth of this, if *Annius* his *Metasthenes* were sufficient proof, could not be gainsaid; for that Author (such as he is) is peremptorie herein. But, howsoever *Annius* his Authors deserve to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that wee should conclude all to be false which they affirme.

They

They, who maintaine this Tradition, juſtifie it by divers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumſtances found in all Authors, and repugnant unto no hiſtorie at all. For it is manifeſt by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeed the foundation whereupon all have built) that *Arbaces* and *Beloſus* were partners in the action againſt *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bactrians*, who joyned with them, were thought well rewarded with libertie, as likewiſe other Captains were with governments: but that any third perſon was ſo eminent, as to haue *Aſſyria* it ſelfe, the cheiſe Countrey of the Empire beſtowed upon him, it is a thing whereof not the leaſt appearance is found in any Hiſtorie. And certainly it ſtood with little reaſon, that the *Aſſyrians* ſhould be committed unto a peculiar King, at ſuch time as it was not meet to truſt them in their own walls and houſes. Rather it is apparent, that the deſtruction of *Nineve* by *Arbaces*, and the tranſplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policy, becauſe thereby the people of that Nation might be kept down from aſpiring to recover the Soveraignty, which elſe they would have thought to belong, as of right, unto the Seat of the Empire.

Upon ſuch conſiderations did the *Romans*, in ages long after following, deſtroy *Carthage* and diſſolve the Corporation, or Body politick, of the Citizens of *Capua*; becauſe thoſe two Towns were capable of the Empire: a matter eſteemed over-dangerous, even to *Rome* it ſelfe, that was Miſtreſſe of them both. This being ſo, how can it be thought that the *Aſſyrians* in three or foure years had erected their Kingdome a-new, under one *Pul*? or what muſt this *Pul* have been (of whoſe deſervings or entermedling, or indeed of whoſe very name, we find no mention in the Warre againſt *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principall parts of the Empire fell either by generall conſent in diviſion of the Provinces, or by his owne power and purchaſe very ſoon after? Surely he was none other than *Beloſus*; whoſe neer neighbourhood gave him opportunity (as he was wiſe enough to play his own game) both to get *Aſſyria* to himſelf, and to empeach any other man that ſhould have attempted to ſeize upon it. The Province of *Babylon*, which *Beloſus* held, being (as *Herodotus* reports) in riches and power, as good as the third part of the *Perſian* Empire, was able to furniſh him with all that was requiſite for ſuch a buſineſs: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his own hands all the gold and ſilver that had been in the Palace of *Nineve*. And queſtionleſs, to reſtore ſuch a City as *Nineve*, was an enterpriſe fit for none to take in hand, except he had ſuch means as *Beloſus* had, which *Pul*, if he were not *Beloſus*, is likely to have wanted.

Tull. comiva Rullum. or. 2.

Herodot. l. 1.

Beſides all this, had *Pul* been a diſtinct perſon from *Beloſus*, and Lord of *Aſſyria*, which lay beyond the Countries of *Babylon* and *Meſopotamia*, it would not have been an eaſie matter for him, to paſs quite through another mans Kingdom with an Army, ſeeking booty a far off in *Iſrael*: the onely action by which the name of *Phul* is known. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Pul* or *Phul*, was the ſame whom prophane writers have called *Beloſus*, *Beleſes*, and *Beleſtis* (in like manner as *Joſephus* acknowledgeth, that he, whom the Scriptures called never otherwiſe than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the ſon of *Aſtiages*, and called of the *Greeks* by another name, that is, *Cyaxeres*) then is this ſcruple utterly removed. For *Babylon* and *Meſopotamia* did border upon *Syria* and *Palæſtina*: ſo that *Beloſus* having ſettled his affairs in *Aſſyria* towards the Eaſt and North, might with good leiſure encroach upon the Countries that lay on the other ſide of his Kingdom, to the South and Weſt. He that looks into all particulars, may find every one circumſtance concurring, to prove that *Phul*, who invaded *Iſrael*, was none other than *Beloſus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who joyned with *Arbaces*, and brought no ſmall part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was overthrown, did enter into that action, meerly for the love of *Beloſus*. The friendſhip of theſe *Arabians* was a thing of main importance, to thoſe that were to paſs over *Euphrates* with an Army into *Syria*. Wherefore *Beloſus*, that held good correſpondence with them, and whoſe moſt fruitfull Province, adjoyning to their barren quarters, might yearly do them ineſtimable pleaſures, was not only likely to have quiet paſſage through their borders, but their utmoſt aſſiſtance: yea, it ſtands with good reaſon, that they who loved not *Iſrael*, ſhould for their own behoofe have given him intelligence of the deſtructions and civil broyles among the ten Tribes; whereby as this *Pul* got a thouſand talents, ſo it ſeems that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heavy neighbour of *Jeroboam*, recovered their own, ſetting up a new King in *Damaſco*, and clearing the coaſt of *Arabia* (from the Sea of the Wilderneſs to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* Garriſons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations, divided by *Euphrates*, hold together in ſo good terms of friendſhip: it was ancient conſanguinity, the memory whereof was availeable to the *Syrians*,

Joſ. Ant. l. 10 c. 12.

in

in the time of *David*, when the *Aramites* beyond the river came over willingly, to the ſuccour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damaſco*. So *Beloſus* had good reaſon to look into thoſe parts: what a King reigning ſo far off as *Nineve*, ſhould have to do in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdom had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to ſhew.

But concerning this laſt argument of the buſineſs which might allure the *Chaldæans* into *Palæſtina*, it may be doubted, leſt it ſhould ſeem to have ill coherence with that which hath been ſaid of the long Anarchy that was in the ten Tribes. For if the Crown of *Iſrael* were worn by no man in three and twenty years, then is it likely that *Beloſus* was either unwilling to ſtir, or unable to take the advantage when it was faireſt and firſt diſcovered. This might have compelled thoſe, who alone were not ſtrong enough to ſeek after help from ſome Prince that lay further off; and ſo the opinion of thoſe that diſtinguiſh *Phul* from *Beloſus*, would be ſomewhat confirmed. On the other ſide, if we ſay, that *Beloſus* did paſs the river of *Euphrates*, as ſoon as he found likelihood of making a proſperous journey, then may it ſeem that the *inter-regnum* in *Iſrael* was not ſo long as we have made it: for three and twenty years leiſure would have afforded better opportunity, which ought not to have been loſt.

For anſwer, hereunto we are to conſider, what *Oroſius* and *Euſebius* have written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they layd hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they prevailed and grew mighty, between the times of *Arbaces* and *Deioces* the *Medes*. Now, though it be held an errour of *Oroſius*, where he ſuppoſeth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldæans* was in a manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Euſebius* do concur, that the authoriry of *Arbaces* did reſtrain the ambition, which by his abſence grew bold, and by his death, regardful onely of it ſelf. Now, though ſome have conjectured that all *Aſſyria* was given to *Beloſus* (as an overplus, beſides the Provinces of *Babylon* which was his by plain bargain made aforehand) in regard of his high deſervings; yet the opinion more commonly received, is, that he did onely incroach upon that Province by little and little, whileſt *Arbaces* lived, and afterwards dealing more openly, got it all himſelfe. Seeing therefore, that there paſſed but twelve years between the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menahem* his Reign; manifeſt it is, that the conqueſt of *Aſſyria*, and ſettling of that Countrey, was work enough to hold *Beloſus* occupyed, beſides the reſtauration of *Nineue*, which alone was able to take up all the time remaining of his reign, if perhaps he lived to ſee it finiſhed in his own days. So that this argument may rather ſerve to prove that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were one perſon, foraſmuch as the journey of *Phul* againſt *Iſrael* was not made until *Beloſus* could find leiſure; and the time of advantage which *Beloſus* did let ſlip, argued his buſineſs in ſome other quarter, namely, in that Province of which *Phul* is called King. Briefly, it may be ſaid, that he who conquered *Aſſyria*, and performed ſomewhat upon a Country ſo far diſtant as *Palæſtina*, was likely to have been, at leaſt, named in ſome Hiſtory, or, if not himſelf, yet his Country to have been ſpoken of for thoſe victories: but we neither hear of *Phul*, in any prophane Author; neither doth any Writer, ſacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatſoever of the *Aſſyrians*, done in thoſe times; whereas of *Beloſus*, and the power of the *Chaldæans*, we find good Record.

Surely, that great ſlaughter of ſo many thouſand *Aſſyrians*, in the quarrel of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and unfortunate war, which overwhelmed the whole Country, ending but with the ruine and utter deſolation of *Nineve*, muſt needs have ſo weakened the ſtate of *Aſſyria*, that it could not in thirty years ſpace be able to invade *Palæſtina*, which the ancient Kings, reigning in *Nineve*, had, in all their greatneſs, forborn to attempt. Yet theſe afflictions, diſabling that Countrey, did help to enable *Beloſus* to ſubdue it; who having once extended his Dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (eſpecially if he had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interpoſition of that Countrey, ſecure of the *Scythians*, and other warlike Nations on that ſide, might very well turn Southward, and try his fortune in thoſe Kingdoms, whereinto civill diſſention of the inhabitants, and the bordering envy of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damaſco*, Friends and Couſins to the *Chaldæans* and *Meſopotamians*, did invite him. For theſe, and the other before alledged reaſons, it may be concluded, That what is ſaid of *Pul* in the Scriptures, ought to be underſtood of *Beloſus*; even as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, *Artaſhaſht*, and *Ahaſhueroſh*, with the like, are thought, or known, to be meant the ſame whom prophane Hiſtorians, by names better known in their own Countreys, have called

called *Nabopollaſſer*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: eſpecially conſidering, that hereby we ſhall neither contradict any thing that hath been written of old, or need to trouble our ſelves or others with framing new conjectures, This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted, other things of more importance will of themſelves eaſily follow. For it is a matter of no great conſequence to know the truth of this point (conſidering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Pul* were *Beloſus*, or ſome other man: the whole race of theſe *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, wherein are found thoſe famous Princes, *Nabonaſſar*, *Mardocempadus*, and *Nabopollaſſar* (famous for the Aſtronomicall obſervations recorded from their times) is the main ground of this contention. If therefore *Beloſus* or *Beleſes* were that *Phul* which invaded *Iſrael*; if he and his poſterity reigned both in *Nineve* and in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Teglat-Phul-Aſer*, from whom *Salmanaſar*, *Senacherib*, and *Aſarhaddon* deſcended; then it is manifeſt, that we muſt ſeek *Nabonaſſar* the *Babylonian* King, among thoſe Princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other than *Salmanaſar*, who is known to have reigned in thoſe years which *Ptolomy* the Mathematician hath aſſigned unto *Nabonaſſar*. As for *Merodech*, who ſupplanted *Aſar-haddon*, manifeſt it is, that he and his ſucceſſors were of another houſe. This is the ſcope and end of all his diſputation.

But they that maintain the contrary part, will not be ſatisfied with ſuch conjectures. They lay hold upon the concluſion, and by ſhaking that into peices, hope to overthrow all the premiſſes upon which it is inferred. For (ſay they) if *Nabonaſſar* that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanaſar*, or any of thoſe other *Aſſyrian* Kings, then it is manifeſt that the races were diſtinct, and that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were ſeverall Kings. This conſequence is ſo plain, that it needs no confirmation. To prove that *Nabonaſſar* was a diſtinct perſon from *Salmanaſſar*, are brought ſuch arguments as would ſtagger the reſolution of him that had ſworn to hold the contrary. For firſt, *Nabonaſſar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Aſſyria*. This is proved by his name, which is meerly *Chaldean*, whereas *Salman*, the firſt part of *Salmanaſſars* name, is proper to the *Aſſyrians*.

It is likewiſe proved by the Aſtronomicall obſervations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Aſſyrians*, do ſhew that *Nabonaſſar*, from whom *Ptolomy* draws that *Epocha*, or account of times, was a *Babylonian*, and no *Aſſyrian*. Thirdly, and more ſtrongly, it is confirmed by the ſucceſſor of *Nabonaſſar*, which was *Mardocempadus*, called in his own language *Mero-dac-ken-pad*, but more breifly in *Eſay* his prophecie, *Merodac* by the former Part of his name; or *Merodach Baladan* the ſon of *Baladan*. Now if *Merodach* the ſon of *Baladan* King of *Babel*, were the ſonne of *Nabonaſſar*, then was *Nabonaſſar* none other than *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanaſſar* King of *Aſſyria*. *Eſay* 39. 1.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of theſe two names, *Nabonaſſar* and *Salmanaſſar*, which in *Greek* or *Latine* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanaſſar* carried captive ſome part of the ten Tribes, it may well be granted, that in the Province of *Babylon*, *Salmanaſſar* had gotten ſomewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it ſelfe. To conclude, *Merodach* began his reign over *Babylon* in the ſixt year of *Hezikia*, at which time *Salmanaſſar* took *Samaria*; therfore if *Salmanaſſar* were King of *Babylon*, then muſt we ſay that he and *Merodach*, yea, and *Nabonaſſar*, were all one man. Theſe are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Joſeph Scaliger*; who not contented to follow the common opinion founded upon likelihood of conjectures, hath drawn his proofes from matter of more neceſſary inference.

Touching all that was ſaid before of *Phul Beloſus*, for the proving that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were not ſundry Kings; *Joſeph Scaliger* pities their ignorance, that have ſpent their labour to ſo little purpoſe. Honeſt and painfull men he confeſſeth that they were, who by their diligence might have won the good liking of their Readers, had they not, by mentioning *Annius* his Authors, given ſuch offences that men refuſed thereupon to read their Bookes and Chronologies. A ſhort anſwer.

For mine own part, howſoever I beleeve nothing that *Annius* his *Beroſus*, *Metaſthenes*, and others of that ſtamp affirm, in reſpect of their bare authority; yet am I not ſo ſqeamiſh, but that I can well enough digeſt a good Book, though I find the names of one or two of theſe good fellows alledged in it: I have (ſomewhat peradventure to often) already ſpoken my mind of *Annius* his Authors: Nevertheleſſe, I may ſay here again, that where other Hiſtories are ſilent, or ſpeak not enough, there may we without ſhame borrow of theſe, as much as agrees

with that little which elsewhere we find, and serveth to explain or inlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeed are those honest and painful men (as *Scaliger* terms them, meaning, if I mistake him not, good silly fellows) who set down the *Assyrian* Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords also of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Belosus*, and *Salmanassar* for *Nabonassar*, such Writers as a man should be ashamed or unwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annius*, though disliking him in general) *Gerard Mercator* is not so slight a Chronologer, that he should be laughed out of doors with the name of an honest meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons between *Scaliger* and *Mercator*; they were both of them men notably learned: let us examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and see whether they be of such force as cannot either be resisted or avoided. It will easily be granted, that *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*; that he was not King of *Assyria*, some men doubt whether *Scaligers* reasons be enough to prove. For though *Nabonassar* be a *Chaldæan* name, and *Salmanassar* an *Assyrian*; yet what hinders us from believing that one man in two languages might be called by two several names? That Astronomy flourished among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to prove *Nabonassar* either an Astrologer or a *Chaldæan*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himself calls them. *Prophetas nescio quos, qui* Nabonassarum *Astronomum fuisse in somnis viderunt*; *Prophets I know not who, that in their sleep have dreampt of* Nabonassar, *that he was an Astrologer.*

Scal Canon l 3.

Whether *Nabonassar* were an Astrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintain the negative: But as his being Lord over the *Chaldæans*, doth not prove him to have been learned in their sciences; so doth it not prove him not to have been also King of *Assyria*. The Emperour *Charles* the fift, who was born in *Gant*, and *Philip* his Son, King of *Spain*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had men far more learned in all Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, than were any that I read of then living in *Spain*, if *Spain* at that time had any; yet I think, Posterity will not use this as an argument, to prove that *Spain* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanassar* or *Nabonassar* did use the *Assyrian* Souldiers, and *Babylonian* Scholars; but it seems, that he and his posterity, by giving themselves wholly to the more warlike Nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued, as likewise King *Philip* lost partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazzard all the *Netherlands*, by such a course. As for the two unanswerable arguments, (as *Scaliger* terms them, being me-thinks none other than answers to somewhat that is or might be alledged on the contrary side) one of them which is drawn from the unlike sound and writing of those names, *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man will dispute; for it is not likeness of sound, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted, which is, that *Salmanassar* might be Lord of some places in the Province of *Babylon*, yet not King of *Babylon* it self: this indeed might be so, and it might be otherwise. Hitherto there is nothing save conjecture. But in that which is alledged out of the Prophet *Esay* concerning *Merodach* the son of *Baladan*; and in that which is said of this *Merodach*, and *Mardokenpadus*, his being the Successor of *Nabonassar* and his beginning to reign in the sixt year of *Hezekia*, I find matter of more difficulty, than can be answered in hast. I will therefore defer the handling of these objections untill I meet with their subject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of *Hezekia*, wherein *Merodach* lived, and was King. Yet that I may not leave too great a scruple in the mind of the Reader, thus far will I here satisfie him; that how strong soever this argument may seem, *Scaliger* himself did live to retract it, ingenuously confessing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the son of *Nabonassar*, he had been deceived.

Now therefore let us consider, in what sort they have fashioned their Story, who taking *Pul* to be a distinct person from *Belosus* or *Belesis*, have in like sort, as was necessary, distinguished their off-spring, making that of *Pul* to fail in *Asarhaddon*, which left all to *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And here I must first confess my want of Books, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present unto us the body of this History, in one view. Divers, indeed, there are, whom I have seen, that since *Joseph Scaliger* delivered his opinion, have written in favour of some one or other point thereof: but *Sethus Calvisius* himself, who hath abridged *Scaligers* learned Work, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not been careful to give us notice, how long *Belosus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Pulassar* did reign, (perhaps because he found it not expressed in *Scaliger*) but is content to set down *Baladan*, for the same

same person with *Nabonassar*, which *Scaliger* himself revoked. In this case therefore I must lay down the plot of these divided Kingdoms, in such sort as I find it conceived by *Augustinus Torniellus*; who onely of all that I have seen, sets down the succession, continuance, and acts, of those that reigned in *Assyria* after *Sardanapalus*, distinguishing them from *Belosus*, and his Posterity, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Torniellus* is a Regular Clark of the congregation of S. *Paul*, whose Annales were printed the last year; he appears to me a man of a curious industry, sound judgment, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetful of thanking, or mentioning those *Protestant* Writers, by whose Books he hath received good information, and enriched his works by inserting somewhat of theirs. But in this business he hath openly professed to follow *Scaliger*, whose help, without wrong or dishonour to himself, he hath both used and acknowledged. For mine own part, I will not spare to do right unto *Torniellus*; but confess my self to have received benefit by his writing; and wish that his Annals had sooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed me in some things, so would he have instructed and imboldened me to write more fully and less timerously in other things, which now I have no leisure to revise. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly delivered, and yet feared lest it had over-hastily passed out of my hand, and been exposed to other mens constructions) of the four Kings
c.1. sect.13. that invaded the Valley of *Siddim*, and were slain by *Abraham*, I find him adventuring as I have done, to say, that they may probably be thought to have been some petty Lords; the contrary opinion of all Writers notwithstanding. But now let us consider how he hath ordered these last *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings. After the destruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces*, being the most mighty, sought to get all to himself, but was opposed by *Belosus*; in which contention, one *Phul* a powerful man in *Assyria*, sided with *Belosus*, and they two prevailed so far, that finally *Arbaces* was content to share the Empire with them, making such a division thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* Empire between *Octavian*, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Torniellus* offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certainty) that *Arbaces* made himself Soveraign Lord of all, and placed the seat of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Belosus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Assyria*. But in short space, that is, in four years, it came to pass by the just judgment of God, that *Phul* and *Belosus* rebelled against *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done against *Sardanapalus*; and instead of being Vice-Roys, made themselves absolute Kings. And to this later opinion *Torniellus* himself leans, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Histories. Why he did make and publish the former supposing, resolving to hold the later, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to ghess. Having thus devised how *Phul* and *Belosus* might at the first, attain to be Kings, he orders their time and their successors in this manner.

Four years after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to reign, and continues eight and forty years. *Theglatphalasar* (whose name, and the names of other Princes, I write diversly, according to the Authors whom I have in hand are pleased to diversifie them) succeeding unto *Phul*, reigned three and twenty. *Salmanassar* followed him, and reigned ten. After him *Senacherib* reigned seven: and when he was slain, *Asarhadden* his son ten years; in whom that line failed.

The same time that *Phul* took upon him as King of *Assyria*, or not long after (why not rather afore? for so it had been more likely) *Belosus* usurped the Kingdom of *Babylon*, and held it threescore and eight years; at the least threescore and eight years did pass, before *Nabonassar* followed him in the possession.

To *Nabonassar*, whom (with *Scaliger*) he thinks to be *Baladan*, are assigned six and twenty years: then two and fifty to *Merodach*, or *Mardocempadus*: four and twenty to *Ben Merodach*: and lastly, one and twenty to *Nabolassar* the father of *Nebuchodonosor*; who is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the original of these *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdoms, I may truly say, That the conjectures of other men, who give all to *Belosus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appear to me more nearly resembling the truth. Neither do I think, that *Torniellus* would have conceived two different waies, by which *Phul* might have gotten *Assyria* (for how *Belosus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plain enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Historians. But he perceived, that to make *Phul* on the sudden King of *Assyria*; or to give him so noble a Province, as would, of it self, invite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing most unlikely to have happened, unless his

deserts(whereof we find no mention) had been proportionable to so high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath he devised the means, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of so great a share in the Empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arise, Why this *Phul* being one of the three that divided all betweene them, was utterly forgotten by all Historians? yea, why this division it selfe, and the civill Warres that caused it, were never heard of? Questionlesse; the enterverting of some treasures by *Belosus*, with his Judgment, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre lesse note. Therefore I doe not see,how one of the two inconveniences can this way be avoyded; but that either we must confesse the Dominion given to *Phul* to have been exceeding his merits;or else his merits, and name withall, to have been strangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make us thinke, that rather the conjecture,inferring such a sequel, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul*,and *Belosus*, against *Arbaces*, it was almost impossible for the *Assyrians* to recover such strength in foure years, as might serve to hold out in rebellion: for *Belosus* it was needlesse to rebell, considering,that *Arbaces* did not seek to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an over-great favourer of liberty) even the *Medes* that were vnder his own Government, to doe what they listed.

But it is now fit that we peruse the Catalogue of these Kings; not passing through them all (for some will require a large discourse in their own times) but speaking of their order and time in generall. If it be soe unlawfull to think, that some of *Annius* his tales(let them all be counted his tales,which are not found in other Authors as well as in his) may be true, especially such as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparent likelihood; why then is it said, that *Phul* did reign in *Assyria* eight and forty years? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true that painful and judicious Writers have found this number of years to agree fitly with the course of things in History: yet all of them took it from *Annius*.Let it therefore be the punishment of *Annius* his forgery (as questionles he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tels truth, or probability, he be not believed for his own sake; though for our own sakes we make use of his boldnes, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) we are unwilling our selves to be Authors of new, though not unprofitable conjectures. Herein we shall have this commodity, that we may without blushing after a little, to help our own opinions,and lay the blame upon *Annius*, against whom we shall be sure to find friends that will take our part.

The reigns of *Theglathalasar* and *Salmanassar* did reach, by *Annius* his measure, to the length of five and twenty years the one, and seventeen the other; *Torniellus* hath cut off two from the former, and seven from the latter of them,to fit(as I think) his own computation; using the liberty whereof I spake last: for that any Author, save our good *Metasthenes*,or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did reign,it is more than I have yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Asarhaddon*,*Torniellus* gives the same length of reign, which is found in *Metasthenes*, I think there are not many, that will arrogate so much unto themselves,as may very well be allowed unto a man so judicious as is *Torniellus*: and yet I could wish that he had forborn to condemn the followers of *Annius* in this busines, wherein he himself hath chosen, in part,rather to become one of them, than to say, as else he must have done, almost nothing.

The like liberty we find that he used in the measuring the reigns of the *Chaldæans*, filling up all the space between the end of *Sardanapalus* and the beginning of *Nabonassar*, with the threescore and eight years of *Belosus*. In this respect it was,perhaps,that he thought *Belosus* might have begun his reign somewhat later than *Phul*: for threescore and eight years would seem a long time for him to hold a Kingdom,that was no young man when he took possession of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by shortning his reign, seeing his life reacheth to the end of such a time,as were alone without adding the time wherein he was a private man, enough for a long liver? Indeed eight and forty years had been somewhat of the most, considering that he seems by the story to have been a little less at such time as he joyned with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twenty years, did well deserve that note (which *Torniellus* advisedly gives) that if his reign extended not so far,then the reign of such as came after him, occupied the middle time, unto *Nabonassar*.

I neither do reprehend the boldnes of *Torniellus*, in conjecturing, nor the modesty of *Scaliger* and *Sethus Calvisius*,in forbearing to set down as warrantable, such things as depend onely upon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from us by Antiquity,must be described

in

in History, as Geographers in their Maps describe those Countreys, whereof as yet there is made no true discovery, that is, either by leaving some part blank, or by inserting the Land of Pigmies, Rocks of Load-stone, with Head-lands, Bayes, great Rivers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrary to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from distance of place, allows not such liberty to a Describer, as that which ariseth from the remedilesse oblivion of consuming time. For it is true that the Poet saith.

——*Neque fervidis*
Pars inclusa caloribus
Mundi, nec Boreæ finitimum latus,
Duratæque sole Niues,
Mercatorem abigunt; horrida callidi
Vincunt æquora Navitæ,

Nor Southern heat, nor Northern Snow
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The subjects Regions can fence,
And keep the greedy Merchant thence:
The subtile Shipmen way to find,
Storm never so the Seas with Wind.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe serve only to mis-lead such discoverers as rashly believe them; drawing upon the publishers, either some angry curses or well deserved scorn; but to keep their owne credit, they cannot serve alwayes. To which purpose I remember a pretty jest of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy *Spanish* gentleman, who had been imployed by his King in planting a Colony upon the Streights of *Megellan*: for when I asked, him being then my Prisoner, some questions about an Island in those Streights, which, me thought, might have done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merily, that it was to be called the *Painters wives Iland*; saying, That whilest the fellow drew that Map, his wife sitting by, desired to put in one Countrey for her; that she in imagination, might have an Island of her own. But in filling up the blankes of old Histories, we need not be soe scrupulous, For it is not to be feared, that time shall runne backward, and by restoring the things themselves to knowledge, make our conjectures appear ridiculous: What if some good Copy of any ancient Author, could be found, shewing (if we have it not already) the perfect truth of these uncertainties? would it be more shame to have believed in the mean while, *Annius* or *Torniellus*, than to have believed nothing? Here I will not say, that the credit which we gave to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to be given to one of those Authors whose names he pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Torniellus*, than *Annius*, yet him than them, of his assertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approved Histories than their conjecture, as in this point it seems to me; it having moreover gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanly learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions as have once gotten the credit of being general, so to deal as *Pacuvius* in *Capua* did with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the Senators of the City to death. He lockt the Senators up within the Statehouse, and offered the lives of the Peoples mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, untill the Commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hasty; for as fast as every name was read, all the town cryed, Let him dye: but the execution required more leisure; for in substituting of another, some notorious vice of the person, or baseness of his condition, or sufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered to be rejected: so that finding the worse and less choice, the further and the more that they sought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept for lack of better.

§. V.

Of the Olympiads, *and the time when they began.*

After the division of the *Assyrian* Empire, follows the instauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the reign of the same King *Uzzia* and in his one and fiftieth year. It is, I know, the general opinion, that these games were established by *Iphitus*, in the first of *Jotham*: yet is not that opinion so general, but that Authors, weighty enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things unto the sacred History, which are found in prophane Authors, we should not be too careful of drawing the *Hebrews* to those works of time, which had no reference to their affairs, it is enough, that setting in due order these beginnings of accounts, we joyn them to matters of *Israel* and *Juda*, where occasion requires.

These *Olympian* games and exercises of activity, were first instituted by *Hercules*, who measured

measured the length of the race by his own foot; by which *Pythagoras* found out the state and likely strength of *Hercules* his body. They took name, not from the Mountain *Olympus*, but from the City *Olympia*, otherwise *Pisa*, near unto *Elis*; where also *Jupiter*'s Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Grecians*, and reputed among the Wonders of the World, was known by the name of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. These games were exercised from every fourth year compleat, in the plains of *Elis*, a City of *Peloponesus*, near the River *Alpheus*.

Aul Gell. l. 1 ex Plut. Plut. out of Hermippus.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings were discontinued for many years, till *Iphitus*, by advice from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-established them, *Licurgus* the Law-giver then living: from which time they were continued by the *Grecians*, till the reign of *Theodosius* the Emperour, according to *Cedrenus*: others think that they were dissolved under *Constantine* the Great.

From this institution, *Varro* accompted the *Grecian* times and their stories to be certain: but reckoned all before, either doubtful or fabulous: and yet *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the reign of *Cyrus*, who began in the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, as *Eusebius* out of *Diodore*, *Castor*, *Polybius*, and others, hath gathered, in whose time the seven wise *Grecians* flourished. For *Solon* had speech with *Crœsus*, and *Crœsus* was overthrown and taken by *Cyrus*.

Plin 36. c 4.

Many patient and piercing brains have laboured to find out the certain beginning of these *Olympiads*, namely, to set them in the true year of the World, and the reign of such and such Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first accompt, that is, of the Worlds year, they can hardly jump in particulars thereon depending.

Cyril against *Julian* and *Dydimus* begin the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of *Osias*, or *Azariah*.

Eusebius, who is contrary to himself in this reckoning, accounts with those that find the very first *Olympiad* in the beginning of the four hundreth and sixth year after *Troy*; yet he telleth us that it was in the fiftieth year of *Uzziah*, which is (as I find it) two years later.

Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 3.

Eratosthenes placeth the first *Olympiad* four hundred and seven years after *Troy*, reckoning the years that passed between; to whom *Dionysius*, *Halicarnassæus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere.

Eratosth. apud. Clem. Alex. Strom l. 1.

The distance between the destruction of *Troy* and the first *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Eratosthenes*. From the taking of *Troy* to the descent of *Hercules* his posterity into *Peloponnesus*, were fourscore years; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, threescore years; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his government in *Sparta*, one hundred fifty nine; and thence to the first *Olympiad*, one hundred and eight years. In this account the first year of the first *Olympiad* is not included.

But vain labour it were to seek the beginning of the *Olympiads* by numbring the years from the taking of *Troy*, which is of date far more uncertain. Let it suffice that by knowing the instauration of these games to have been in the four hundreth and eight year current after *Troy*, we may reckon back to the taking of that City, setting that, and other accidents which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the *Olympiads* must needs teach us how to find when they began.

To this good use we have the ensuing years unto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus divided by the same *Eratosthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads* to the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundreth fourscore and seventeen years; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War, eight and forty years; forwards to the victory of *Lysander*, seven and twenty; to the battel of *Leuctra*, thirty four; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, five and thirty; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelve. The whole sum ariseth to 453. years; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the institution of the *Olympiads* in the one and fiftieth year of *Uzzia*, we have arguments grounded upon that which is certain, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his reign, and the death of *Alexander*; as also upon the Astronomical calculation of sundry Eclipses of the Sun; as of that which happened when *Xerxes* set out of *Sardis* with his Army to invade *Greece*; and of divers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his reign as King before he was Lord of the great Monarchy, began the first year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that he reigned thirty years: they who give him but twenty nine years of reign (following *Herodotus* rather than *Tully*, *Justin*, *Eusebius*, and others) begin a year later, which comes all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* set by all good Writers in the first year of the hundreth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This latter note of *Alexanders* death serveth well to lead us back to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like observations do. For if we reckon upwards from the time of *Alexander*,

Tul de Div. l. 1. Just. l. 1. Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 3. & de Dem. Evang l. 8. c. 1.

ander, we shal find all to agree with the years of the *Olympiads*; wherein *Cyrus* began his reign, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to signifie a Lord of many Kingdoms) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the first year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, unto the end of the *Persian* Empire, which was in the third of the hundreth and twelfth *Olympiad*, we find two hundred and thirty years compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchy, which lasted but seven years, we find compleat two hundred and seven years, which was the continuance of the *Persian* Empire.

Now therefore seeing that the first year of *Cyrus* his Monarchy (which was the last of the sixtieth *Olympiad*, and the two hundreth and fortieth year from the institution of those games by *Iphitus*) followed the last of the seventy years of the captivity of *Juda*, and desolation of the Land of *Israel*: manifest it is, that we must reckon back those seventy years, and one hundred threescore, and ten years more, the last which passed under the Kings of *Juda*, to find the first of these *Olympiads*; which by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of *Uzziah*, as we have already noted.

The Eclipses whereof we made mention, serve well to the same purpose. For examples sake; that which was seen when *Xerxes* mustered his Army at *Sardis*, in the two hundred threescore and seventh year of *Nabonassar*, being the last of the threescore and fourteenth *Olympiad*, leads us back unto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we have a fair way through the threescore and ten years, unto the destruction of *Jerusalem*; and so upwards through the reigns of the last Kings of *Juda*, to the one and fiftieth year of *Uzzia*.

Thus much may suffice, concerning the time wherein these *Olympiads* began.

To tell the great solemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all *Greece*, they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say that all bodily exercises, or the most of them, were therein practised; as Running, Wrestling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the Mastery in those feats, whereof there was good use, but in running of Chariots, fighting with whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kinds of exercises that served only for ostentation. Thither also repaired Orators, Poets, Musicians, and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable quality, to make tryal of their skill. Yea, the very Cryers which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them should get the honour of having plaid the best part.

The *Eleans* were presidents of those Games, whose justice, in pronouncing without partiality who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards given to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palm, or Olive, without any other commodity following than the reputation. Indeed there needed no more. For that was held so much, that when *Diagoras* had seen his three sons crowned for their several victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morere*, Diagoras, *non enim in cœlum ascensurus es*, that is, *Die*, Diagoras, *for thou shalt not clime up to heaven*: as if there could be no greater happiness on earth, than what already had befallen him. In the like sense *Horace* speaks of these Victors, calling them,

Quos Elæa domum reducit
Palma Cœlestes.

Such as like heavenly wights do come
With an *Elæan* Garland home. *Horat. Carm. l. 4. Ode. 2.*

Neither was it only the voyce of the People, or songs of Poets, that so highly extolled them, which had won these *Olympian* prizes; but even grave Historians thought it a matter worthy of their noting. Such was (as *Tully* counts it) the vanity of the *Greeks*, that they esteemed it almost as great an honour to have won the victory at Running or wrestling in those games, as to have triumphed in *Rome* for some famous victory, or conquest of a Province. *Tull. in Orat. pro Flacco.*

That these *Olympian* games were celebrated at the full of the Moon; and upon the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Hecatombæan*, which doth answer to our *June*; and what means they used to make the Moneth begin with the new Moon, that the fifteenth day might be the full, I have shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now return unto the Kings of *Juda*, and leave the merry *Greeks* at their games, whom I shall meet in more serious imployments, when the *Persian* quarrels draw the body of the History into the coasts of *Ionia* and *Hellespont*.

§. VI.
Of Jotham *and his Contemporaries.*

JOtham the sonne of *Uzziah*, when he was five and twenty years old, and in the second of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, was anointed King in *Jerusalem*, his Father yet living. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple of threescore cubits upright, and therefore called *Ophel*: besides divers Cityes in the 2 King. 15. 33.

Hills

Hills of *Judæ*, and in the Forrest, Towers and Palaces: he inforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundred talents, and of Wheat and Barly two thousand measures: he reigned six and twenty years: of whom *Josephus* gives this testimonie: *Ejusmodi verò Princeps hic fuit, ut nullam in eo virtutis genus desideres: ut qui Deum adeo Pie coluerit, hominibus suis adeo juste prefuerit, urbem ipsam tantæ sibi curæ esse passus sit, & tantopere auxerit, ut universum regnum hostibus quidem minimè contemnendum, domesticis autem ejus incolis atque civibus fœlix, faustum & fortunatum sua virtute effecerit*; *This was such a Prince, as a man could find no kind of vertue wanting in him: he worshipped God so religiously, he governed his men so righteously, he was so provident for the City, and did so greatly amplify it, that by his vertue and proweſs he made his whole Kingdom not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Servants, Inhabitants and Citizens, prosperous and happy.*

This is all that I find of *Jotham*: his reign was not long, but as happy in all things, as he himself was devout and vertuous.

Auchomenes about this time succeeded *Phelesteus* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected Magistrates, which governed from year to year. And yet *Pausanias* in his second book with *Strabo* & *Plutarch*, in many places are of opinion, That *Corinth* was governed by Kings of the race of the *Bacidæ*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who drove them out.

Teglathphalassar, or *Teglathpeleser*, the son of *Phul* the second of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* that was of this new race, about this time invaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who murthered his master *Pekeiah*) was King thereof. In which expedition he took most of the Cities of *Nephtali* and *Galilee*, with those of *Gilead* over *Jordan*, and carried the inhabitants captive. This *Tiglath* reigned five and twenty years, according to *Metasthenes*. But *Krentzhemius* finds, that with his son *Salmanassar* he reigned yet two years longer; which years I would not ascribe to the son, because the *Aera* of *Nabonassar* begins with his single reign, but reckon them to *Tiglath Phulassar* himself, who therewith reigned 27. years.

2 King. 15

Æschylus, the son of *Agamnestor*, about the same time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled 25. years. *Alcamenes* governed *Sparta*: after whom, the Estate changed, according to *Eusebius*. But therein surely *Eusebius* is mistaken: for *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others, witness the contrary. *Pausanias* affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent vertues, succeeded his father, and reigned 60. years, and out-lived the *Messeniack* war: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the son of *Nicander*, his royal companion.

Paus. l. 3.

At this time lived *Nahum* the Prophet, who fore-told the destruction of the *Assyrian* Empire, and of the city of *Nineve*, which succeeded (saith *Josephus*) a hundred and fifteen years after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media*, *Sosarmus* and *Medidus* reigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

§. VII.

Of Achaz *and his Contemporaries.*

AHas, or *Achaz*, succeeded unto *Jotham* in the seventeenth year of *Peka*, the son of *Remalia*: the same being also the last year of his fathers reign, who began in the second of the same *Peka*, and reigned 16. but not compleat years. This *Ahaz* was an Idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. He made molten Images for *Baalim*, and burnt his son for sacrifice before the Idol *Moloch*, or *Saturn* which was represented by a man-like brazen body, bearing the head of a Calfe, set up not far from *Jerusalem*, in a valley shadowed with Woods, called *Gehinnom*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is used for Hell. The children offered, were inclosed within the carkass of this Idol, and as the fire encreased, so the sacrificers, with a noise of Cimbals, and other Instruments, filled the air, to the end the pittifull cries of the children might not be heard: which unnatural, cruel, and divillish Oblation, *Jeremy* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which S. *Hierome* upon the tenth of *Matthew* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leviticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible sin was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuternomy*, it is called an abhomination which God hateth. That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many Nations remote from *Judæa*, divers Authors witness; as *Virgil* in the second of *Æneids*—— *Sanguine Placastis, &c.* and *Silvius*—— *Poscere cæde Deos. Saturn* is said to have brought this custom into *Italy*; besides the casting of many souls into the River of *Tyber*, in stead of which, *Hercules* commanded, that the waxen Images of men should be thrown in and drowned. The Devil also taught the *Carthaginians* this kind of butchery, insomuch, that when their City was besieged, and in distress, the Priest made them believe, that because they had spared their own children, and had bought and brought up others to be offered, that therefore *Saturn* had stirred up and strengthened their Enemies

2 *Kin.* 16. 11. 2 *Chro.* 28.

Ier. 7. 19, 31.

Euſeb. de Præp. Evan. lib. 6 Dion lib 1. Diod. lib. 20.

Enemies againſt them: whereupon they preſently cauſed two hundred of the nobleſt youths of their City to be ſlain, and offered to *Saturn* or *Satan*, to appeaſe him: who beſides theſe forenamed Nations, had inſtructed the *Rhodians*, the people of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Meſſena*, of *Galatia*, with the *Maſſagetes*, and others, in theſe his ſervices. Further, as if he were not content to deſtroy the ſoules of many Nations in *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, (as *Acoſta* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other people of *America*, were brought by the Devil under this fearful ſervitude, in which he alſo holdeth the *Floridans* and *Virginians* at this day.

Acoſt de Hiſtor. nat. & mor. Ind.

For the wickedneſſe of this King *Ahaz*, God ſtirred up *Rezen* of *Damaſcus*, and *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah*, King of *Iſrael* againſt him, who invaded *Judæa*, and beſieged *Jeruſalem*, but entred it not.

The King of *Syria*, *Rezin*, poſſeſt himſelf of *Elah* by the Red Sea, and caſt the *Jewes* out of it; and *Pekah* ſlaughtered in one day an hundred and twenty thouſand *Judæans*, of the ableſt of the Kingdome, at which time *Maaſeiah*, the Sonne of *Achaz*, was alſo ſlaine by *Zichri*, with *Azrikam* the Governor of his houſe, and *Elcanath* the ſecond perſon unto the King. Beſides all this, two hundred thouſand priſoners of women and children, the *Iſraelites* lead away to *Samaria*: but by the counſell of the Prophet *Oded*, they were returned and delivered back again.

2 Chron. 28. 6.

As *Iſrael* and *Aram* vexed *Juda* on the North, ſo the *Edomites* and the *Philiſtims*, who evermore attended the ruine of *Judæa*, entred upon them from the South, and took *Bethſemes*, *Ajalon*, *Gaderoth*, *Shocho*, *Timnah*, and *Gemzo*, ſlew many people, and carried away many priſoners. Whereupon when *Achaz* ſaw himſelf environed on all ſides, and that his Idols and dead gods gave him no comfort, he ſent to the *Aſſyrian Tiglathpileſer*, to deſire ſome aid from him againſt the *Iſraelites* and *Aramites*, preſenting him with the ſilver and gold both of the Temple, and Kings houſe.

2 Chro. 28.

2 Kings. 16.

Tiglathpileſer wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the trouble that roſe in *Paleſtina*. His Father having lately made himſelf from a Provincial Leiutenant, King of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, had a little before led him the way into *Judæa*, invited by *Menahem*, King of *Iſrael*. Wherefore now the Son willingly harkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the advantage. As for *Belochus* himſelf, he was content to aſſign ſome other time for going through with this enterprize: becauſe (as I have ſaid before) he was not firmly ſettled at home, and the *Syrian* Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet ſtrong both in men and fame. But *Tiglath*, having now, with the treaſures of *Jeruſalem*, prepared his Army, firſt invaded the Territory of *Damaſcus*, wan the City, and killed *Rezin* the laſt of the race of the *Adads*, who began with *David*, & ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damaſcus*, *Achaz* met *Tiglath*, and taking thence a pattern of the Altar, ſent it to *Uriah* the Prieſt, commanding the like to be made at *Jeruſalem*, whereon at his return he burnt Sacrifice to the gods of the *Syrians*. In the mean while *Tiglath* poſſeſt all *Baſan*, and the reſt beyond *Jordan*, which belonged to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manaſſe*. And then paſſing the River, he maſtered the Cities of *Galilee*, invaded *Ephraim*, and the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, and made them his Vaſſals. And notwithſtanding that he was invited and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the ſpoil of *Iſrael*, he poſſeſt himſelf of the greater part of *Juda*, and, as it ſeemeth, inforced *Achaz* to pay him tribute. For in the ſecond of *Kings*, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechia*, that he revolted from *Aſſur*, or rebelled againſt him, and therefore was invaded by *Sennacherib*. After *Ahaz* had beheld and born theſe miſeries, in the end of the ſixteenth year of his reign he died; but was not buried in the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*.

With *Ahaz* lived *Medidus*, the third Prince in *Media*, who governed 40. years, ſaith *Euſebius*: *Diodorus* and *Cteſius* find *Anticarmus* inſtead of this *Medidus*, to have been *Soſarmus* his ſucceſſor, to whom they give 50. years.

Euſeb. in Chron.

Tiglath Pileſer held the Kingdom of *Aſſyria*, all the reign of *Ahaz*: yet ſo, that *Salmanaſſar* his Son may ſeem to have reigned with him ſome part of the time. For we find that *Ahaz* did *ſend unto the Kings of* Aſhur *to help him*. The *Geneva* note ſays, that theſe Kings of *Aſhur*, were *Tiglath Pileſer*, and thoſe Kings that were under his Dominion. But that he or his Father had hitherto made ſuch conqueſts, as might give him the Lordſhip over other Kings, I do neither find any Hiſtory, nor circumſtance that proveth. Wherefore I think that theſe Kings of *Aſhur*, were *Tiglath*, and *Salmanaſſar* his Son, who reigned with his Father, as hath been ſaid before: though how long he reigned with his Father, it had been hard to define.

2 King 16.

At this time began the *Ephori* in *Lacedæmon*, a hundred and thirty years after *Lycurgus*, according to *Plutarch*. *Euſebius* makes their beginning far later, namely, in the fifteenth *Olympiad*. Of theſe *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the firſt; *Theopompus* and *Polydorus* being then

Plutarch. in vita Solo.

joynt Kings. These *Ephori*, chosen every year, were controllers, as well of their Senators, as of their Kings, nothing being done without their advice and consent. For (saith *Cicero*) they were opposed against their Kings as the *Roman* Tribunes against the Consuls. In the time of *Ahaz* died *Æschylus*, who had ruled in *Athens* ever since the fiftieth year of *Uzzia*. *Alcamenon* the thirteenth of the *Medontidæ*, or Governours of the *Athenians* (so called of *Medon* who followed *Codrus*) succeeded his Father *Æschylus*, and was the last of their Governors: he ruled only two years. For the *Athenians* changed first from Kings (after *Codrus*) to Governors for life; which ending in this *Alcemenon*, they erected a Magistrate, whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kind of *Burgho-Master*, or Governour of their City for ten years.

This alteration *Pausanias* in his fourth Book begins in the first year of the eight *Olympiad*, *Eusebius* and *Halicarnassæus* in the first of the seventh *Olympiad*: at which time indeed, *Carops* the first of these, began his ten years rule.

The Kingdom of the *Latines*, governed about three hundred year by the *Silvii*, of the race of *Æneas*, took end in the same *Ahaz* time: the foundation of *Rome* being laid by *Romulus* and *Remus* in the eighth year of the same King, *Codoman* builds it in the eleventh of *Achaz*. *Bucholzer* in the eighth, as I think he should; others somewhat later, and in the reign of *Ezechias*, *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and others square the time of the foundation to the third year of the sixt *Olympiad*. But *Halicarnassæus*, *Solinus Antiochenus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*, to the first year of the seventh; who seem not only to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to have kept herein the best account.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Antiquity of Italy, *and foundation of* Rome *in the time of* Ahaz.

§. I.

Of the Inhabitants, and the name of Italy.

AND here to speak of the more ancient times of *Italy*, and what Nations possest it before the arrival of *Æneas*, the place may seem to invite us: the rather because much fabulous matter hath been mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. *Italy* before the fall of *Troy*, was known to the *Greeks* by divers names; as first *Hesperia*, then *Ausonia*, the one name arising of the seat, the other of the *Ausones*, a people inhabiting part of it; one ancient name of it was also *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotrii*, whom *Halicarnassæus*, thinks to have been the first that brought a Colony of *Arcadians* into that Land. Afterward it was called *Italy* of *Italus*; concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* speaks thus:

Halicarn. lib. 1.

Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere gleba:
Oenotrii coluere viri, nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.

There is a Land which *Greeks Hesperia* name,
Ancient, and strong, of much fertility:
Oenotrians held it, but we hear by fame,
That by late ages of Posterity,
'Tis from a Captains name call'd *Italy*.

Who this Captain or King may have bin, it is very uncertain. For *Virgils* speaks no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long upon the whole Country, and worn out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to find out the original of this name, and the first planters of this noble Country, *Reyneccius* hath made a very painful search, and not improbable conjecture. And first of all he grounds upon that of *Halicarnassæus*, who speaks of a Colony which the *Eleans* did lead into *Italy*, before the name of *Italy* was given to it; Secondly, upon that of *Justine*, who saith, that *Brundusium* was a Colony of the *Ætolians*; Thirdly, upon that of *Strabo*, who affirms the same of *Temesa* or *Tempsa*, a City of the *Brutii* in *Italy*; Lastly, upon the authority of *Pliny*, who shews that the *Italians* did inhabit onely one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was derived over all. Concerning that which is said of the *Eleans* and *Ætolians* who

Halicarn. lib. 1. *Just. lib. 12.* *Strabo lib. 6* *Plin lib. 3. c. 5.*

who (as he shews) had one original; from them he brings the name of *Italy*. For the word *Italia*, differs in nothing from *Aitolia*, save that the first Letter is cast away, which in the *Greek* words is common; and the letter (*o*) is changed into (*a*) which change is found in the name of *Ætholia* an Island near *Italy*, peopled by the *Ætholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Æolic* Dialect; of which Dialect (being almost proper to the *Ætolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the Grammarian teach.

Hereunto appertains that of *Julian* the Apostata, who called the *Greeks* cousins of the *Latines*. Also the common Original of the *Greeks* and *Latines* from *Javan*; and the Fable of *Janus*, whose Image had two faces, looking East and West, as *Greece* and *Italy* lay, and was stamped on Coins, with a Ship on the other side; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Javan*, father of the *Greeks* and *Latines*; who sayling over the *Ionian* Sea, that lyes between *Ætolia* and the Western parts of *Greece* and *Italy*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reineccius* thinks, that the names of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, & thereto applyes that of *Berosus*, who called *Cethim*, *Italus*; though it may seem strengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whilest he abode in *Italy* with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and stronger, easily disproved. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moses*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kittim*, then was he the son of *Javan*, and Nephew of *Japheth*, the eldest son of *Noah*: which antiquity far exceeds the the name of *Italy*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the Countrey, not long before the War of *Troy*.

Likewise *Virgil*, who speaks of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus* his marriage with *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in *Italy*, but calleth *Electra* and her sister *Maia* (poetically) daughters of the Mountain in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the Kings of the *Aborigenes*; which he would not have done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* been one person.

As for the authority of *Berosus* in this case, we need the less to regard it, for that *Reyneccius* himself, whose conjectures are more to be valued than the dreams wherewith *Annius* hath filled *Berosus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italy* began long after *Atlas*, it appears by the verses of *Virgil* last rehearsed, wherein he would not have said,

——*Nunc fama minores Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem*,

had that name been heard of ere *Dardanus* left the Countrey, But seeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few years before the War of *Troy*, had left in *Italy* a Colony of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the same Nation with the *Ætolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pausanias* teach) then the name of *Italy* began: and seeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldness to say, that *Italus* was Commander of these *Eleans*. For though I remember not that I have read of any such *Greek* as was named *Italus*; yet the name of *Ætolus* written in *Greek Aitolus*, was very famous among the *Ætolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being son of a King of *Elis*, and founder of the *Ætolian* Kingdom. Neither is it more hard to derive the name of *Italus* from *Ætolus*, than *Italia* from *Ætolia*. So may *Virgil's* authority stand well with the collections of *Reyneccius*; the name of *Italy* being taken both from a Captain, and from the Nation, of which he and his people were.

§. II.

Of the Aborigenes, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reason of the names of Latini and Latium.

IN *Italy* the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* were most famous; the *Hetrurians* having held the greatest part of it under their subjection; and the *Latines* by the vertue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, subduing all *Italy*, and in a few ages whatsoever Nation was known in *Europe*: together with all the Western parts of *Asia*, and North of *Africk*.

The Region called *Latium*, was first inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnassæus*, *Varro*, and *Reyneccius* (following them) think to have bin *Arcaians*: and this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other significations that are strained) imports as much as Original, or Native of the place, which they possessed: which title the *Arcadians* are known in vaunting manner to have always usurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the Moon; because indeed, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* inforced to forsake their seats so oft as other *Greeks* were, who did dwell without that halfe Island, neither had the *Arcadians* so unsure a dwelling as the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, because their Countrey was less fruitfull in land, mountainous, and hard of access, and they themselves

(as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore having occupied a great part of *Latium*, and held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, stile themselves *Aborigenes*, in that language, which either their new Seat, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might be that the *Arcadians*, who dwelt somewhat farr from the Sea, and are alwaies noted as unapt men to prove good Mariners, should have bin Authors of new discoveries, were a question not easie to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulnesse of children, in which those ages abounded, inforced the superfluous company to seek another seat, & that some expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as especially that of *Evander*, into the same parts of *Italy*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigenes*, were the *Pelasgi*, an ancient Nation, who sometimes gave name to all *Greece*: but their antiquities are long since dead, for lacke of good records. Neither was their glory such in *Italy*, as could long sustaine the name of their owne Tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Ausones*, *Arunci*, *Rutili*, and other people, did in ages following disturbe the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturne* was brought to some civility; and he therefore cannonized as a god.

This *Saturne* S. *Augustine* calleth *Sterces* or *Sterculius*, others term him *Stercutius*, and say, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* took his name of *Saturn*, because he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Jupiter*, it is questionless a fable. For as in Heathenish superstition, it was great vanity to think that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one fled from another; so in the truth of History, it is well known, that no King reigning in those parts was so mighty, that it shonld be hard to find one Countrey or another, wherein a man might be safe from his pursuit, And yet, as most fables and poeticall fictions were occasioned by some ancient truth, which either by ambiguity of speech, or some allusion, they did maimedly and darkly expresse (for so they feigned a passage over a River in Hell, because death is a passage to another life: and because this passage is hateful, lamentable, and painfull, therefore they named the River *Styx*, of hate; *Cocytus* of lamentation, and *Acheron*, of Pain: so also because men are stonie-hearted; and beeause the *Greek* λαοὶ, people, and λᾶες, stones, are neer in sound, therefore they feigned in the time of *Ducalion* stones converted into men, as at other times men into stones:) in like manner it may be, that the original of *Saturus* hiding himself was some allusion to that old opinion of the wisest of the Heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in the *Acts*; whence also *Esay* of the true God saies, *tu Deus abdens te*. For it cannot be in vain, that the word *Saturnus* should also have this very signification, if it be derived (as some think) from the *Hebrew Satar*, which is to hide: Howbeit I deny not but that the original of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be sought elsewhere.

Acts 17. 23. *Esay* 45. 15.

Reyneccius doth conjecture that the *Ceteans*, who descended of *Cethim*, the Son of *Javan*, were the men who gave the name to *Latium*. For these *Ceteans* are remembred by *Homer* as aiders of the *Trojans* in their war. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them subjects to the Crown of *Troy*. Hereupon *Reyneccius* gathers, that their abode was in *Asia*: viz. *in agro Elaitico, in the Elaitian Territory*, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a City which the *Æolians* held in *Asia*, called *Elæa*, or *Elaia*, *Pausanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidæmis*, or (according to the *Greek* writing) *Cidamis*, which name last rehearsed hath a very neer sound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the *Greek* Letter (*D*) having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (*TH*) differing onely in the strength or weakness of utterance, which is found between many English words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these *Ceteans*, being descended of *Cethim*, *Cittim*, or *Kittim*, the Son of *Javan*, who was Progenitor of the *Greeks*, might very well take a denomination from the City, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Eleites*, or *Elaites*, it is very likely, considering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Ætolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Æolique* Tribe, are found the names of the Mountain *Elæus*, the Haven *Elæus*, the people *Elaitæ*, the City *Elæus*, *Elaia*, and *Elateia*; of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then *Elatini*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now vvhereas both the *Cetæi* and *Arcadians*, had their original from *Cethim*, it is nothing unlikely, that agreeing in language & similitude of names, they might nevertheless differ in sound and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom some (deriving the *Sabines* from him) give the name of *Sabus*: in the like manner might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* (of which name they had a Prince that foun-

See lib. 1. cap. 6. sect. 1 & seq.

founded the City *Elateja*) be named of the *Ceteans Latinus*. *Reyneccius*, purſuing this likelihood, thinks that when *Euripylus*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, (being the Son of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat upon *Auge*, the daughter of *Aleus* King of *Arcadia*) was ſlain by *Achilles* in the *Trojan* War: then did *Telephus*, brother to *Euripylus*, conduct the *Ceteans*, who (fearing what evill might befall themſelves by the *Greeks*, if the affairs of *Troy* ſhould go ill) paſſed into that part of *Italy*, whereas the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrius*. And *Reyneccius* farther thinks, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among the *Oenotrian Arcadians*, by the memory of his Grand-mother *Auge*, an *Arcadian* Lady, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was firſt *Elatinus*, and then *Latinus*. That this name of *Elatus* may have bin taken or impoſed by the *Arcadians*, it is the more eaſie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Iphidas*, the other of *Elatus*, who were Sons of *Arcas* King of *Arcadia*, which gave name to the Countrey: and between theſe two families the ſucceſſion in that Kingdom did paſs, almoſt interchangeably, for many ages, till at the end of the *Trojan* war it fell into the hand of *Hippotheus* of the race of *Elatus*, in whoſe Poſterity it continued untill the laſt. Again, the name of *Latinus*, having a derivative ſound, agrees the better with the ſuppoſition of ſuch an accident. This is the conjecture of *Reyneccius*, which if he made over-boldly, yet others may follow it with the leſs reproofe, conſidering that it is not eaſy to find either an apparent truth, or fair probability among theſe diſagreeing Authors, which have written the originals of *Latium*.

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§. VI.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines *untill* Æneas *his comming.*

THe Kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arrival of *Æneas*, were *Saturnus Picus*, *Faunus*, & *Latinus*. Of *Saturn* there is nothing remembred, ſave what is mentioned already, and many Fables of the *Greeks*, which whether they be applyable to this man, it is for him to judge, who ſhall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturn* of the *Greeks* called by them κρόνος, or ſome other, ſtiled *Saturn* by the *Aborigines*. For the age wherein he lived, may very well admit him to have bin the ſame: but the names of *Sterces*, and *Stercutius* (for it may be, this name was not borrowed from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the ſoil which they laid on their grounds had that appellation from him) do rather make him ſeem ſome other man.

Ezekiel often calls the Idols of the Heathen *deos ſtercoreos*: and hence it may be that in the Evangeliſt we read of *Belzebub*, *Belzebul*, which is interpreted *Dominus ſtercoreus*: and it may be that after that *Saturn* became the name of an Idol, it pleaſed God that in a like ſenſe this name *Stercutius* ſhould ſtick unto him. *Æneid.* 7.

Of *Picus* it is ſaid, that he was a good horſe-man. The fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a Py, may well ſeem (as it is interpreted) to have grown from the skill which he had in ſooth-ſaying, or divination, by the flight and chattering of Fowles. *Faunus*, the Son of *Picus*, reigned after his Father: He gave to *Evander* the *Arcadian* (who having ſlain by miſchance his father *Echemus* King of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italy*) the waſt grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

Fauna, called *Fatua*, the ſiſter of *Faunus*, who was alſo his wife, as all Hiſtorians agree, ſhe was held a Propheteſs, and highly commended for her chaſtity, which praiſe in her muſt needs have bin much blemiſhed by her marriage, it ſelf being meerly inceſtuous.

It is uot mentioned that *Faunus*, had by his ſiſter any child, neither do we read of any other Wife which he had, ſave only that *Virgil* gives unto him *Latinus* as his Son, by a Nymph called *Marica*.

But who this *Marica* was, it is not found, ſave onely that her aboad was about the River *Lyris* near *Minturnæ*.

Of the name *Latinus*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted four: one, the Son of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Ulyſſes* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* takes notice only of the ſecond, of whom he ſaith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the *Cetii*, were from his ſurname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reyneccius*, the difference conſiſting almoſt in this only, that *Suidas* cals *Telephus* the ſon of *Hercules*, whereas *Reyneccius* makes him his Nephew, by a ſon of the ſame name. This *Latinus* having obtained the ſucceſſion in that Kingdom after *Faunus*, did promiſe his only Daughter and Heir *Lavinia*, to *Turnus* the ſon of *Venilia*, who was ſiſter to *Amata Latinus* his Wife.

Suidas in the word *Latini*.

But when *Æneas* arrived in thoſe parts with fifteen ſhips, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be imbarked, according to the rate which *Thucydides* allows to the Veſſels then uſed, about one thouſand & two hundred men: then *Latinus* finding that it would ſtand beſt with his aſſurance, to make alliance with the *Trojan*, and moved with the great reputation of *Æneas*, which himſelf had heard of in the war of *Troy*, gave his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*: who incenſed herewith, ſought to avenge himſelf by war: which was ſoon ended with his own death.

Of

Of *Amata* the Wife of *Latinus*, it is very certain, that were she an *Italian*, she could not have born a Daughter marriageable at the arrival of *Æneas*; unless we should wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather give the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italy*, to *Telephus* the Father, than to his Son, who served in the last year of the *Trojan* War. But *Reyneccius* holds her an *Asiatique*, and thinks withall, that *Lavinia* was born before *Telephus* came into *Italy*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicarnassæus* call her, was not proper, but rather a surname, it may seem by *Varro*; who calleth her *Palatia*: which name very well might be derived from the *Greek* name *Pallas*. *Amata*, which signifieth beloved, or dear, was the name by which the High Priest called every Virgin whom he took to serve as a Nun of *Vesta*; wherefore it is the more easie to be thought a surname, howsoever *Virgil* discourse of her and *Venilia* her sister.

Lavinia, the daughter of *Latinus*, being given in marriage to *Æneas*, the Kingdom of *Latium*, or the greatest part of that Country, was established in that race: wherein it continued until it was overgrown by the might and greatness of the *Romans*.

§. IV.

Of Æneas, and of the Kings and Governours of Alba.

ÆNeas himself being of the Royal bloud of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardanians*: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Trojans*. By his Wife *Creusa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, he had a son called *Ascanius*; whose surname was *Julus*, having before the ruine of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) been surnamed *Ilus*. But when *Æneas* was dead, his Wife *Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being great with child by him, and fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fled into the Woods, where she was delivered of a son, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and surnamed *Posthumus*, because he was born after his fathers Funeral. This flight of *Lavinia* was so evil taken by the people, that *Ascanius* procured her return, entreated her honourably, and using her as a Queen, did foster her young son his half-brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place; *Ascanius* leaving to his mother in law the City *Lavinium*, which *Æneas* had built and called after his new Wives name, founded the City *Alba Longa*, and therein reigned. The time of his reign was, according to some, eight and twenty years: *Virgil* gives him thirty; others five and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his decease, there arose contention between *Sylvius*, the son of *Æneas*, and *Julus* the son of *Ascanius*, about the Kingdom: but the people inclining to the son of *Lavinia*, *Julus* was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leaving the Kingdom to *Sylvius Posthumus*, whose posterity were afterwards called *Sylvii*.

The reign of the *Alban* Kings, with the continuance of each mans reign, I find thus set down:

1	*Sylvius Posthumus.*	29	
2	*Sylvius Æneas.*	31	
3	*Sylvius Latinus.*	50	
4	*Sylvius Alba.*	39	
5	*Sylvius Atis.*	26	
6	*Sylvius Capys.*	28	
7	*Sylvius Capetus.*	13	
8	*Sylvius Tiberinus.*	8	years.
9	*Sylvius Agrippa.*	41	
10	*Sylvius Alladius.*	19	
11	*Sylvius Aventinus.*	37	
12	*Sylvius Procas.*	23	
13	*Sylvius Amulius.*	44	
	Sylvius Numitor.		

Ilia, called also *Rhea* and *Sylvia*.
Romulus. *Remus*.

The most of these Kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

Latinus founded many Towns in the borders of *Latium*: who standing much upon the honour of their original, grew thereby to be called *Prisci Latini*. Of *Tiberinus* some think that the River *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula*: but *Virgil* gives it that denomination of another called *Tibris*, before the coming of *Æneas* into *Italy*. The Mountain *Aventinus* had name (as many write) from *Aventinus* King of the *Albanes*, who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwise. *Julius* the brother of *Aventinus*, is named by *Eusebius* as father of another *Julius*, and grandfather of *Julius Proculus*, who leaving *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome*: *Numitor*, the elder son of *Procas*, was deprived of his Kingdom by his brother *Amulius*; by whom also his son *Ægesthus* was slain, and *Ilia* his daughter made a Nun of *Vesta*, that thereby the issue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But she conceived two sons, either by her Uncle *Amulius*, as some think; or by *Mars*, as the Poets feign; or perhaps by some man of war. Both the children, their Uncle commanded to be drowned, and the mother buried quick, according to the law; which so

ſo ordained, when the Veſtal Virgins brake their chaſtity. Whether it was ſo, that the mother was pardoned at the entreaty of *Antho*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or puniſhed as the Law required (for Authors herein do vary) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preſerved, who afterward revenged the cruelty of their Uncle, with the ſlaughter of him and all his, and reſtored *Numitor* their grandfather to the Kingdom: wherein how long he reigned, I find not, neither is it greatly material to know; for as much as the Eſtates of *Alba* and of *Latinum* were preſently eclipſed by the ſwift increaſe of *Rome*; upon which the computation of Time following (as far as concerns the things of *Italy*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the Kingdom of *Alba* ceaſed; for *Numitor* left no male iſſue. *Romulus* choſe rather to live in *Rome*; and of the Line of *Sylvius* none elſe remained. So the *Albanes* were governed by Magiſtrates; of whom onely two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Cluilius*, who in the dayes of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, King of the *Romans*, making War upon *Rome*, dyed in the Camp; and *Metius Suffetius*, the ſucceſſor of *Cluilius*, who ſurrendred the Eſtate of *Alba* unto the *Romans*, having committed the hazard of both Signories to the ſucceſs of three men of each ſide, who decided the quarrel by Combat: in which, the three brethren *Horatii*, the Champions of the *Romans*, prevailed againſt the *Curiatii*, Champions of the *Albanes*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hoſtilius* with the *Albane* forces againſt the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his Companies out of the battel, hoping thereby to leave the *Romans* to ſuch an overthrow, as might make them weak enough for the *Albanes* to deal with; *Tullus*, who notwithſtanding this falſhood, obtained the victory, did reward *Metius* with a cruel death, cauſing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and ſo torn in pieces. Then was *Alba* deſtroyed, and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they made free Denizens, the noble Families being made *Patricians*; among which were the *Julii*: of whom *C. Julius Cæſar* being deſcended, not onely gloried in his ancient, royal, and forgotten pedigree, in full aſſembly of the *Romans*, then governed by a free Eſtate of the People: but by his rare induſtry, valour, and judgment, obtained the Soveraignty of the *Roman* Empire (much by him enlarged) to himſelf and his poſterity; whereby the name of *Æneas*, and honour of the *Trojan* and *Alban* Race, was ſo revived, that ſeldom, if ever, any one Family hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

§. V.

Of the beginning of Rome, *and of* Romulus *birth and death.*

OF *Rome*, which devoured the *Alban* Kingdom, I may here beſt ſhew the beginnings, which (though ſomewhat uncertain) depend much upon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-child of *Numitor*, the laſt that reigned in *Alba*. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations between *Euphrates* and the Ocean, were broken in pieces by the iron teeth of this fourth Beaſt, it is not to be deſcribed in one place, having been the work of many Ages; whereof I now do handle onely the firſt, as incident unto the diſcourſe preceding. *Fabius Pictor, Portius Cato, Calphurnius Piſo, Sempronius*, and others, ſeek to derive the *Romans* from *Janus*: but *Herodotus, Marſylus*, and many others of equal credit, give the *Græcians* for their Anceſtors: and as *Strabo* reporteth in his fifth Book, Cæcilius *rerum Romanarum Scriptor, eo argumento colligit, Romam à Græcis eſſe conditam, quod Romani Græco ritu, antiquo inſtituto*, Herculi *rem ſacram faciunt: matrem quoque* Evandri *venerantur Romani*; Cæcilius (ſaith he) *a Roman Hiſtoriographer, doth by this argument gather, that Rome was built by the Greeks, becauſe the Romans, after Greekiſh faſhion, by ancient ordinance, do ſacrifice to* Hercules: *the Romans alſo worſhip the mother of* Evander. Strab. 5. f. 159.

Plutarch in the life of *Romulus* remembreth many Founders of that City: as *Romanus* the ſon of *Ulyſſes* and *Circe*; *Romus* the ſon of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* ſent thither from *Troy*; or that one *Romus*, a Tyrant of the *Latines*, who drave the *Tuſcans* out of that Countrey, built it. *Solinus* beſtows the honour of building *Rome* upon *Evander*, ſaying, That it was beforetimes called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* gives the denomination to a captive Lady, brought thither by the *Græcians*: others ſay, That it was anciently called *Febris*, after the name of *Februa*, the mother of *Mars*; witneſs S. *Auguſtine* in his third Book *de Civitate Dei*. But *Livie* will have it to be the work of *Romulus*, even from the foundation: of whom and his conſort, *Juvenal* to a *Roman* Citizen, vaunting of their original, anſwered in theſe Verſes:

Attamen ut longè repetas longéque revolvas,
Majorum quiſquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut paſtor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

Yet

Yet though thou fetch thy pedegree so far;
Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepheard was, or else, that I'll forbear.
meaning, either a Shepheard or a Theif.

Now of *Romulus* begetting, of his education and preservation, it is said, That he had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* supposed to be his father; that he was nurst by a Wolf, found and taken away by *Faustula* a Shepheards wife. The same unnatural nursing had *Cyrus*, the same incredible fostering had *Semiramis*; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as *Plutarch* saith, it is like enough that *Amulius* came covered with armour to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with child: and therein it seemeth to me that he might have two purposes; the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heir of his elder brother, from whom he injuriously held the Kingdom; the other, to satisfie his appetite, because she was fair and goodly. For she being made a Nun of the goddess *Vesta*, it was death in her, by the Law, to break her chastity. I also find in *Fauchet* his *Antiquitez de Gaule*, that *Meroüee*, King of the *Francs*, was begotten by a Monster of the Sea: but *Fauchet* sayes, *Let them believe it that list; Il le croira qui voudra:* Also of *Alexander*, and of *Scipio African*, there are poetical inventions: But to answer these imaginations in general, It is true, that in those times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were Kings, or passions of the mind, or as there were of vices and vertues, then did many women greatly born, cover such slips as they made, by protesting to be forced by more than humane power: so did *Oenone* confess to *Paris*, that she had been ravished by *Apollo*. And *Anchyses* boasted that he had known *Venus*. But *Rhea* was made with child by some man of War, or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the god of battel, according to the sense of the time. *Oenone* was overcome by a strong wit, and by such a one as had those properties ascribed to *Apollo*. The Mother of *Meroüee* might fancy a Sea Captain, to be gotten with young by such a one: as the Daughter of *Inachus* fancied, according to *Herodotus*. *Æneas* was a bastard, and begotten upon some fair Harlot, called for her beauty *Venus*, and was therefore the child of lust, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nurst by a Wolf, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*; for the Curtesans in those dayes were called Wolfs, *Quæ nunc* (saith *Halicarnassæus*) *honestiori vocabulo amicæ appellantur*; *Which are now by an honester name called friends*. It is also written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken up into heaven, or rather out of the world, by his father *Mars*, in a great storm of thunder and lightning: so was it said that *Æneas* vanished away by the River *Numicus*: but thereof *Livie* also speaketh modestly; for he rehearseth the other opinion that the storm was the fury of the Senators, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking up; and many Authors agree, that there was an unnatural darkness, both at his birth, and at his death; and that he might be slain by thunder or lightning, it is not unlikely. For the Emperor *Anastasius* was slain with lightning; so was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* slain with a thunder-bolt: so *Carus* the Emperour (who succeeded *Probus*) whilest he lodged with his Army upon the River *Tygris*, was there slain with lightning. But a *Mars* of the same Kind might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of War, and by violence destroyed. And that he died by violence (which destiny followed most of the *Roman* Emperours) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*, who was the seventh King after him: who when he had murthered his Father-in-law, commanded that he should not be buried, for (said he) *Romulus* himself died and was not buried. But let *Halicarnassæus* end this dispute; whose words are these: *They* (saith he) *who drew neareſt to the truth, say that he was slain by his own Citizens; and that his cruelties in punishment of offenders, together with his arrogancy, were the cause of his slaughter. For it is reported, that both when his mother was ravished, whether by some man, or by a god, the whole body of the Sun was eclipsed, and all the earth covered with darkness like unto night, and that the same did happen at his death.*

Fauchet f. 114.

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*: whose life historified by *Plutarch*, doth contain (besides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a few miles, which had soon been forgotten, if the *Roman* greatness built upon that foundation, had not given it memory in all ages following, even unto this day. A valiant man he was, very strong of body, patient of travel, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the use of wine and delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, and neglect to revenge the death of *Tatius*, his companion in the Kingdom, that he himself might be Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He reigned 37. years, first alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death, single, till he was slain, as is already shewed: after which time, the Soveraignty fell into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him unknown, and more Priest-like than King-

like;

like: wherein *Rome* it ſelf in her latter times hath ſomewhat reſembled this King. For having long bin ſole Governeſs, till *Conſtantinople* ſhared with her: afterwards, when as the *Greek* Emperour was cruſhed by forreign enemies, and the *Latines* diſpoyled of Imperial power, ſhe fell into the ſubjection of a Prelate, ſwelling by degrees from the Sheep-hook to the Sword, and therewith victorious to exceſſive magnificence, from whence by the ſame degrees it fell, being driven from luxury to defenſive arms, and therein having bin unfortunate, at length betakes her ſelf again to the Croſier ſtaff.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place, by occaſion of the ſtory of the times of King *Ahaz*, during whoſe reign in *Jury*, the foundations of this famous City were laid.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezechia, *and his Contemporaries.*

§. I.

Of the beginning of Ezechias, *and of the agreeing of* Ptolemy, Nabonaſſar, Nabopolaſſar, *and* Mardocempadus, *with the hiſtory of the Bible.*

AS the firſt year of *Ahaz* his reign was confounded with the laſt of his father *Jotham*, ſo was the later end of his ſixteen years taken up in the three firſt of *Ezechias* his ſon. This appears by the Reign of *Hoſea*, over *Iſrael*, which began in the twelfth of *Ahaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Ahaz* his fourteenth. But the third of *Hoſea* was the firſt of *Ezechia*; ſo it follows, that *Ezechia* began to reign in this Fathers fourteenth year. Like enough it is, that the third year of *Hoſea*, the ſame being the fourteenth of *Ahaz*, was almoſt ſpent when *Ezechia* began, and ſo the fifteenth year of *Ahaz* may have been concurrent, for the moſt part, with the firſt of *Ezechia*.

By ſuppoſing that *Hoſea* began his Kingdom, when the twelfth year of *Ahaz* was almoſt compleat, ſome would find the means how to diſ-joyn the firſt of *Hezechia* from the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, placing him yet one year later, of which year, *Ahaz* may perhaps have lived not many days. But ſeeing that the fourteenth and fifteenth years of *Ezechia* may not be removed out of their places, it is vain labour to alter the firſt year.

2 Kin. 19. 35. In the fourteenth year of *Ezechia*, *Senacherib*, invaded *Juda* and the Countries adjoyning, loſt his Army by a miraculous ſtroak from Heaven, fled home, and was ſlain. The year following it was that God added ſixteen years to the life of *Ezechia*, when he had already reigned fourteen of his nine and twenty: and the ſame year was that miracle ſeen of the Suns going back; of which wonder (as I hear) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for skill in Aſtronomy, hath by calculation found the very day, which anſwered unto the twenty fift of *April*, in the *Julian* year, being then Thurſday. I have not ſeen any works of *Scultet*; but ſurely to find a motion ſo irregular and miraculous, it is neceſſary that he produce ſome record of obſervation made at ſuch a time. Howſoever it be, the fifteenth year of *Ezechia* agreed upon; and therefore we may not alter the firſt. As for that ſaying, which is uſual in like caſes, that Ahaz *ſlept with his Fathers*, & Ezechia *his Son reigned in his ſtead*, it doth no more prove that *Ezechia* reigned not with his Father, than the like ſaying doth inferr the like at the death of *Jehoſaphat*, and ſucceſſion of *Jehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Son to reign whileſt his Father lived, we have already ſaid enough. 2 Chro. 28. 27.

Of this godly King *Ezechias*, we find, that his very beginning teſtified his devotion and zeale. For whether it were ſo, that his unfortunate and ungracious father (who had out-worn his reputation) gave way to his Sons proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather think) the firſt year and firſt moneth of his reign, wherein *Ezechias* opened the doors of the Temple, were to be underſtood as the beginning of his ſole government; we plainly find it to have been his firſt work, that he opened the doors of the houſe of the Lord, which *Achaz* had ſhut up, cleanſed the City and Kingdom of the Idols, reſtored the Prieſts to their offices and eſtates, commanded the Sacrifices to be offered which had bin for many years neglected, and brake down the braſen ſerpent of *Moſes*, becauſe the 2 Chro 29. v. 3. 2 Chro. 30.

people burnt incenſe before it, and he called it *Nehuſhtan*, which ſignifieth a lumpe of braſſe. He did alſo celebrate the paſſe-over with great magnificence, inviting thereunto the *Iſraelites* of the ten Tribes. Many there were, even out of thoſe Tribes, that came up to *Jeruſalem*, to this feaſt: But the generall multitude of *Iſrael* did laugh the Meſſengers of *Ezechia* to ſcorne.

It was not long ere they that ſcorned to ſolemnize the memoriall of their deliverance out of the *Egyptian* ſervitude, fell into a new ſervitude; out of which they never were delivered. For in the fourth of *Ezechia* his reign, *Salmanaſſar* the Son of *Tiglath* the Son of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hoſea* King of *Iſrael* had practiſed with *So* King of *Egypt*, againſt him, invaded *Iſrael*, beſieged *Samaria*, and in the third year (after the inhabitants had endured all ſorts of miſeries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Aſſyria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias*, and his Son of the ſame name, with *Anna* his Wife, were ſent to *Nineve*; in whoſe Seats and Places the *Aſſyrians* ſent ſtrangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Iſraelites*, as thoſe of *Cutha*, *Ana*, *Hamah*, and *Sphernaim*, beſides *Babylonians:* whoſe Places and Nations I have formerly deſcribed in the Treatiſe of the Holy Land.

Theſe latter *Aſſyrian* Kings, and the *Perſians*, which followed them, are the firſt of whom we find mention made both in Prophane and Sacred books. Theſe therefore ſerve moſt aptly to joyne the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets have written otherwiſe then fabulouſly) with the Ages following that were better known, and deſcribed in courſe of Hiſtory. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and ſome other *Perſians*, we find in the Bible the ſame names by vvhich other Authors have recorded them: but of *Phul* and *Salmanaſſar*, vvith other *Aſſyrian*, *Chaldæan* Kings, diverſity of name hath bred queſtion of the perſons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe ſpeak of *Salmanaſſar*, King of *Aſſur*, vvho reigned in the time of *Ahaz* and *Ezechia*, Kings of *Juda*, and of *Hoſea* King of *Iſrael*, vvhom he carried into captivity: and whereas *Ptolomy* makes mention of *Nabonaſſar*, ſpeaking preciſely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to ſhew, that *Salmanaſſar* and *Nabonaſſar* were one and the ſame man. The like reaſon alſo requireth, that it be ſhewed of *Nebuchadnezzer*, that he was the ſame whom *Ptolemy*, calleth *Nabopolaſſar*.

Of both theſe points *Bucholerus* hath well collected ſufficient proofe from the exact calculations of ſundry good Mathematicians. For by them it appears, that between *Nabonaſſar* and the birth of *Chriſt*, there paſſed ſeven hundred forty and ſix years: at which diſtance of time the reign of *Salmanaſſar* was. One great proofe hereof is this, which the ſame *Bucholerus* alledgeth out of *Eraſmus Reinholdus*, in the *Prutenick* Tables. *Mardocempadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolemy*, ſpeaking of three Eclipſes of the Moon, which were in his time, doth mention) was the ſame whom the Scriptures call *Merodach*, who ſent Embaſſadours to *Hezekia* King of *Juda*. So that if we reckon backward to the difference of time between *Merodach* and *Salmanaſſar*, we ſhall find it the ſame which is between *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonaſſar*. Likewiſe *Functius* doth ſhew, that whereas from the deſtruction of *Samaria*, to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzer*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the diſtance of one hundred thirty and three years: the ſelf-ſame diſtance of time is found in *Ptolemy*, between *Nabonaſſar* and *Nabopolaſſar*. For whereas *Ptolemy* ſeems to ſuffer from this accompt, making *Nabonaſſar* more ancient by an hundred and forty years, than the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, wee are to underſtand that he took *Samaria* in the eighth year of his reign; ſo that the ſeven foregoing years added to theſe one hundred thirty and three, make the accompt of the Scriptures fall even with that of *Ptolemy*, *Ptolemies* computation is, that from the firſt of *Nabonaſſar*, to the fifth of *Nabopolaſſar*, there paſſed one hundred twenty and ſeven years. Now if wee add to theſe one hundred twenty ſeven, the thirteen enſuing of *Nebuchadnezzers* years, before the City and Temple were deſtroyed, wee have the ſum of one hundred and forty years. In ſo plain a caſe more proofes are needleſs, though many are brought, of which this may ſerve for all, that *Ptolemy* placeth the firſt of *Nabopolaſſar*, one hundred twenty and two years after the firſt of *Nabonaſſar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To theſe notes are added the conſent of all Mathematicians: which in accompt of times I hold more ſure than the authority of any Hiſtory; aud therefore I think it folly to make doubt, whereas Hiſtorians and Mathematical obſervations do ſo throughly concurr.

Yet foraſmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth reſt unanſwered, whereby he proved *Baladan* the Father of *Merodach*, to have been this *Nabonaſſar*, *I* will not ſpare to loſe a word or two in giving the Reader ſatisfaction herein. It is true, that the

next obſervations of the heavenly Bodies, which *Ptolomy* recorded, after the time of *Nabonaſſar*, were in the reign of *Mardocempadus*; the ſecond year of whoſe reign, is, according to *Ptolomy*, concurrent in part with the twenty ſeven of *Nabonaſſar*. For the ſecond of three ancient Eclipſes which he calculates, being in the ſecond year of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonaſſar* twenty ſeven years, ſeventeen dayes, and eleven hours: the accompt from *Nabonaſſar*, beginning at high-noon the firſt day of the *Egyptian* Moneth *Thot*, then anſwering to the twenty ſixt of *February*; and this Eclipſe being fifty minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the firſt day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *February*; ſo that the difference of time between the two Kings *Nabonaſſar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolomy*, according to the *Egyptian* years. But how doth this prove, that *Mardocempadus* or *Meradach*, was the Son of *Nabonaſſar*? yea, how doth it prove, that he was his next Succeſſour, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to ſatisfie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himſelf did afterwards believe *Mardocempadus* to have been rather the Nephew than the Son of *Baladan*, or *Nabonaſſar*. For if he might be either the Nephew, or the Son; he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But becauſe our Country-man *Lidyat* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Torniellus*, who follows *Scaliger* herein, and *Sethus Calviſius*, who hath drawn into form of Chronology, that learned work, *De Emendatione Temporum*, do hold up the ſame aſſertion, confounding *Baladan* with *Nabonaſſar*, I have taken the pains to ſearch, as far as my leiſure & diligence could reach, after any ſentence that might prove the Kindred or Succeſſion of theſe two: Yet cannot I find in the *Almageſt* (for the Scriptures are either ſilent in this point, or adverſe to *Scaliger*; and other good authority, I know none, in this buſineſs) any ſentence more nearly proving the ſucceſſion of *Merodach* to *Nabonaſſar*, than the place now laſt rehearſed: which makes no more, to ſhew that the one of theſe was father to the other, than (that I may uſe a like example) the as near ſucceſſion of *William* the *Conqueror*, declares him, to have been Son, or Grand-child to *Edward* the *Confeſſor*. This conſidered, we may ſafely go on with our account from *Nabonaſſar*, taking him for *Salmanaſſar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will be driven from our Book, when they find ſomething in it, agreeing with *Annius*, foraſmuch as theſe Kings mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, in thoſe very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolomy* are aſſigned to *Beloſus*, *Nabonaſſar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the reſt: no good Hiſtory naming any others that reigned there in thoſe ages; and all Aſtronomical obſervations, fitly concurring with the years that are attributed to theſe, or numbred from them.

Ptol. Almag. l. 4. c. 8.

§. II.

Of the danger and deliverance of Judæa *from* Senacherib.

WHen *Salmanaſſar* was dead, and his ſon *Senacherib* in poſſeſſion of the Empire, in the fourteenth year of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him ſuch Tribute as was agreed on, at ſuch time as *Tiglath*, the Grandfather of *Senacherib*, and Father of *Salmanaſſar*, invited by *Ahaz*, invaded *Rezin* King of *Damaſcus*, and delivered him from the dangerous War which *Iſrael* had undertaken againſt him. This Tribute and acknowledgment when *Ezechias* denied, *Senacherib*, having (as it ſeems) a purpoſe to invade *Egypt*, ſent one part of his Army to lye before *Jeruſalem*. Now though *Ezechias* (fearing this powerful Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchaſed his peace, as he hoped, with thirty hundred talents of ſilver, and thirty talents of gold, wherewith he preſented *Senacherib*, now ſet down before *Lachis* in *Judæa*; yet under the colour of better aſſurance, and to force the King of *Judæa* to deliver hoſtages, the *Aſſyrian* invironed *Jeruſalem* with a groſs Army, and having his ſword in his hand, thought it the fitteſt time to write his own conditions. 2 *Kin.* 18. 21.

Ezechias directed his three great Counſellers, to parly with *Rabſaces* over the Wall; and to receive his demands: who uſed three principal arguments to perſwade the people to yeild themſelves to his Maſter *Senacherib*. For though the Chancellour, Steward, and Secretary, ſent by *Ezechias*, deſired *Rabſaces* to ſpeak unto them in the *Syrian* tongue, and not in the *Jewiſh*, yet he with a louder voice directed his ſpeech to the multitude in their own language. And for the firſt, he made them know, That if they continued obſtinate, and adhered to their King, that they would in a ſhort time be inforced to eat their own dung, and drink their own urine: Secondly, he altogether diſabled the King of *Egypt*, from whom the *Judæans* hoped for ſuccour; and compared him to a broken ſtaffe, on which whoſoever leaneth, pierceth his own hand: Thirdly, that the gods who ſhould help them, *Ezechias* had formerly 2 *Kin.* 18. 21.

broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by some) the brasen Serpent, which had been preserved ever since *Moses* time: and withall he bade them remember the gods of other Nations, whom, notwithstanding any power of theirs, his Master had conquered and thrown down; and for God himself, in whom they trusted, he perswaded them by no means to rely upon him, for he would deceive them. But finding the people silent (for so the King had commanded them) after a while, when he had understood that the King of *Arabia* was marching on with a powerful Army, he himself left the *Assyrian* forces in charge to others, and sought *Senacherib* at *Libna* in *Judæa*, either to inform him of their resolution in *Jerusalem*, or to confer with him concerning the Army of *Turhaca* the *Arabian*. Soon upon this there came letters from *Senacherib* to *Ezechias*, whom he partly advised, and partly threatned to submit himself, using the same blasphemous outrage against the all-powerful God, as before. But *Ezechias* sending those Counsellers to the Prophet *Esay*, which had lately been sent to *Rabsaces*, received from him comfort, and assurance, that this heathen Idolater should not prevail; against whom the King also besought aid from Almighty God, repeating the most insolent and blasphemous parts of *Senacherib's* letter, before the Altar of God in the Temple, confessing this part thereof to be true, *That the King of* Ashur *had destroyed* 2 Kin. 19. *the Nations and their Lands, and had set fire on their gods, for they were no gods, but the works of mans hands, even wood and stone, &c.*

The reason that moved *Senacherib* to desire to possess himself in haste of *Jerusalem*, was, that he might thereinto have retraited his Army, which was departed as it seemeth from the siege of *Pelusium* in *Egypt*, for fear of *Terhaca*: and though the Scriptures are silent of that enterprise (which in these Books of the *Kings*, and of the *Chronicles* or *Paralipomenon*, speak but of the affairs of the *Jews* in effect) yet the ancient *Berosus*, and out of him *Josephus* and Saint *Hierom*, together with Herod. l. 2. p. 69. *Herodotus*, remember it as followeth. *Herodotus* calleth *Senacherib* King of *Arabia* and *Assyria*: which he might justly do, because *Tiglath* his Grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wrested from *Pekah* King of *Israel*: as *Gilead* over *Jordan*, and the rest of *Arabia Petræa* adjoyning: the same *Herodotus* also maketh *Sethon* King of *Egypt*, to be *Vulcan's* Priest; and reporteth that the reason of *Senacherib's* return from *Pelusium* in *Egypt*, which he also besieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in sunder the Bow-strings of his Archers, and spoiled the rest of their Weapons in that kind, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Tarhaca*, remembred by *Josephus* and *Berosus*, was the more urgent. Saint *Hierome* upon the seven and thirtieth of *Esay*, out of the same *Berosus*, as also in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Josephus* citeth somewhat otherwise than his words lye, reports *Senacherib's* retrait in these words: *Pugnasse autem* Senacherib *Regem Assyriorum contra Ægyptios, & obsedisse Pelusium, jamque extructis aggeribus urbi capiendæ, venisse* Taracham *Regem Æthiopum in auxilium, & una nocte juxta Jerusalem, centum octoginta quinque millia exercitus Assyrii pestilentia corruisse, narrat* Herodotus: *& plenissime* Berosus *Chaldaicæ scriptor Historiæ, quorum fides de propriis libris petenda est*; *That* Senacherib *King of the* Assyrians *fought against the* Ægyptians, *and besieged* Pelusium, *and that when his Mounts were built for the taking of the City,* Tarhacas *King of the* Æthiopians *came to help them, and that in one night, near* Jerusalem, *one hundred eighty five thousand of the* Assyrian *Army perished by pestilence*; *of these things* (saith Hierome) * Herodotus *reports: and more at large* Berosus *a writer of* Chaldæan *Story, whose credit is to be taken from their own Books.* Out of *Esay* it is gathered, that this destruction of the *Assyrian* Army was in this manner: *Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of Hosts with thunder and shaking, and a great noise, a whirlewind, and a tempest, and a flame of devouring fire.* But *Josephus* hath it more largely out of the same *Berosus*, an authority (because so well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted; Senacherib *autem ab Ægyptiaco bello revertens, offendit ibi exercitum quem sub* Rabsacis *imperio reliquerat peste divinitus immissâ deletum, primâ nocte post eaquam Urbem oppugnare cœperat, abjumptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis centum octoginta quinque millibus Militum; qua clade territus, & de reliquis copiis sollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum suum contendit, ad regiam quæ Ninus dicitur. Ubi paulo post per insidias Seniorum è filiis suis,* Adramelechi, *&* Selennari, *vitam amisit: occisus in ipso Templo quod dicitur* Arasci, *quem præcipuo cultu dignabitur; quibus ob patricidium à popularibus pulsis, & in Armeniam fugientibus,* Asaracoldas *minor filius in Regnum successit*; Senacherib (*saith* Josephus) *returning from the* Ægyptian *War, found there his Army, which he had left under the command of* Rabsaces, *destroyed by a pestilence sent from God, the first night that he had begun to assault*

Jos. ant. l. 10. c. 1. Her. Euterp. l. 2.

* To wit in part, for Herodotus mentioneth nothing, neither of Tarhaca nor of Jerusalem, nor of the Army there.

Esay 29. 6.

Jos. ant. l. 10. c. 1.

Selennar otherwise Sharezer, who slew him, as he was praying to Nesroe his god. 2 King. 19.

aſſault the Town: one hundred fourſcore and five thouſand of the Souldiers being conſumed with their Chieftains and Colonels. With which deſtruction being terrified, and withall afraid what might become of the reſt of his Armie, he made great marches into his Kingdome, to his Royall Citie, which is called Ninus, where ſhortly after by the treaſon of two of the eldeſt of his Sons, Adramelch *and* Selenner *or* Sharezer, *he loſt his life in the Temple dedicated to* Araſces, *or* Neſroth; *Whom he eſpecially worſhiped. Theſe his Sons being for their paracide chaſed away by the people, and flying into* Armenia, 2 King. 19 37. 1 Eſd. 4. 2. Aſaracoldas *his younger Son ſucceeded in the Kingdome.* Who in the beginning of his reign ſent new troops out of *Aſſyria* to *Samaria*, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his Grand-father *Salmanaſſar*. What this *Neſroth* was, it is uncertain: *Hierome* in his Hebrew traditions hath ſomewhat of him, but nothing poſitively. It is certain, that *Venus Urania* was worſhiped by the *Aſſyrians*; and ſo was *Jupiter Belus*, as *Dion*, *Euſebius*, and *Cyrillus* witneſſe. Many fancies there are, what cauſe his Sons had to murther him; but the moſt likely it is, that he had formerly diſ-inherited thoſe two, and conferred the Empire on *Aſſarhaddon*. *Tobit* tels us, that it was fiftie five dayes after *Senacherib's* returne, ere he was murthered by his Sons, during which time he ſlew great numbers of the *Iſraelites* in *Nineve*, till the moſt juſt God turned the ſword againſt his own breaſt. Lyr.

§. III.

Of Ezechias *his ſickneſſe and recoverie; and of the* Babylonian *King that congratulated him.*

AFter this marvellous deliverie, *Ezechias* ſickned, and was told by *Iſaiah* that he muſt dye: but after he had beſought God with tears for his delivery, *Iſaiah*, as he was going from him, returned again, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promiſe him recovery after three dayes, and a prolongation of life for fifteen years. But *Ezechias* ſomewhat doubtfull of this exceeding grace, prayeth for a ſign to confirme him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Iſaiah*, the ſhadow of the Sunne caſt it ſelf the contrary way, and went back ten degrees, upon the Dyall of *Achaz*. The cauſe that moved *Ezechias* to lament (ſaith Saint *Hierome*) was, becauſe he had as yet no ſon, and then in deſpair that the *Meſſias* ſhould come out of the houſe of *David*, or at leaſt of his Seed. His diſeaſe ſeemeth to be the peſtilence, by the medicine given him by the Prophet, to wit, a maſſe of Figs, laid to the Botch or Sore. 2 Kin. 20.

This wonder when the Wiſe-men of *Chaldæa* had told to *Merodach*, King of *Babylon*, the firſt of that houſe, he ſent to *Ezechias*, to be informed of the cauſe: at which time *Ezechias* ſhewed him all the Treaſure he had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, who told him; *The dayes are at hand, that all that is in thine houſe, and whatſoever thy Fathers have laid up in ſtore to this day, ſhall be carried into Babel*; nothing ſhall be left, ſaith the Lord. It may ſeeme ſtrange, how *Ezechia* ſhould have got any treaſure worth the ſhewing: for *Senacherib* had robbed him of all, the year before. But the ſpoyl of the ſame *Senacherib* his Camp repayed all with advantage, and made *Ezekia* richer upon the ſudden than ever he had been: which unexpected wealth was a ſtrong temptation to boaſting. After this time *Ezekia* had reſt, and ſpending without noiſe that addition which God had made unto his life, he dyed having reigned nine and twenty years. One only offenſive War he made, vvhich vvas againſt the *Philiſtims*, vvith good ſucceſs. Among his other acts (ſhortly remembred in *Eccleſiaſticus*) he deviſed to bring vvater to *Jeruſalem*. Eſay 39. Eccluſ. 28.

In two reſpects they ſay that he offended God: the one, that he rejoyced too much at the deſtruction and lamentable end of his enemy: the other, that he ſo much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to ſhew them to ſtrangers. But the reaſon vvhich moved *Ezechias* (ſpeaking humanely) to entertain the Embaſſadours of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, vvas becauſe he came to viſit him, and brought him a preſent, congratulating the recovery of his health; as alſo in that *Merodach* had weakned the houſe of *Senacherib*, his fearfull enemy. For *Merodach*, who was Commander and Lieutenant under *Senacherib* in *Babylon*, uſurped that State himſelf, in the laſt year of that King, and held it by ſtrong hand againſt his ſon *Aſſarhaddon*; who was not onely ſimple, but impaired in ſtrength, by the moleſtation of his brothers. This advantage *Merodach* eſpied, and remembring that their anceſtor *Phul Belochus* had ſet his own Maſter *Sardanapalus* beſides the cuſhion, thought it as lawfull for himſelf to take the opportunity which this Kings weakneſs did offer, as it had been for *Belochus* to make uſe of the others wickedneſs, and ſo, finding himſelf beloved of the *Babylonians*, and ſufficiently powerfull, he did put the matter to hazzard, and prevailed, the aſſertion of this hiſtory is made by the ſame arguments

ments that were in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here again rehearſe. So of this new race, which cut aſunder the Line of *Ninus*, there were onely five Kings.

Phul Belochus	reigned	48	years.
Tiglath Philaſſar		27	
Salmanaſſar		10	
Senacherib		7	
Aſſarhaddon		10	

But foraſmuch as the laſt year of *Salmanaſſar* was alſo the firſt of *Senacherib* his ſon, we reckon the time, wherein the houſe of *Phul* held the *Aſſyrian* Kingdom, to have been an hundred and one years, of which, the laſt five and twenty were ſpent with *Ezechia*, under *Salmanaſſar*, *Senacherib*, and *Aſſarhaddon*.

§. IV.

The Kings that were in Media *during the reign of* Ezechia: *Of the difference found between ſundry Authors in rehearſing the* Median *Kings. Other contemporaries of* Hezekia: *Of* Candaules, Gyges, *and the Kings deſcended from* Hercules.

IN the time of *Ezekia*, *Medidus*, and after him *Cardiceas*, reigned in *Media*. Whether it were ſo, that variety of names, by which theſe Kings were called in ſeveral Hiſtories, hath cauſed them to ſeem more than indeed they were; or whether the ſons reigning with the fathers, have cauſed not onely the names of Kings, but the length of Time wherein they governed *Media*, to exceed the due proportion, or whether the Copies themſelves of *Cteſias* and *Annius* his *Metaſthenes*, have been faulty, as neither of theſe two Authors is over-highly commended of truſtineſs; ſo it is, that the names, number, and length of reign, are all very diverſly reported of theſe *Median* Kings, that follow *Arbaces*: therefore it need not ſeem ſtrange, that I reckon *Medidus* and *Cardiceas* as contemporaries with *Ezechia*. For to reconcile ſo great a difference, as is found in thoſe writers that vary from *Euſebius*, is more than I dare undertake. I will only here ſet down the roll of Kings that reigned in *Media*, accordingly as ſundry Authors have delivered it.

Annius his *Metaſthenes* orders them and their reigns thus:

Arbaces	reigned	28	years.
Mandanes		50	
Soſarmon		30	
Articarmin		50	
Arbianes		22	
Artæus		40	
Artines		22	
Aſtybarus, with his ſon *Apanda*		20	
Apanda alone		30	
Darius with *Cyrus*		36	

Diodorus Siculus following *Cteſias* (as perhaps *Annius* made his *Metaſthenes* follow *Diodore*, with ſome little variation, that he might not ſeem a borrower) placeth them thus;

Arbaces	reigned	28	years.
Mandanes		50	
Soſarmus		30	
Articas		50	
Arbianes		22	
Arfæus		40	
Artines		22	
Artabanus		40	

Aſtybara } the continuance of theſe two he
Aſtyages } doth mention.

Mercator hath laboured, with much diligence, to reconcile theſe Catalogues, and to make them alſo agree with *Euſebius*. But foraſmuch as it ſeems to me an impoſſible matter, to attain unto the truth of his forgotten times, by conjectures founded upon *Cteſias* and *Metaſthenes*, I will lay the burden upon *Euſebius*, who lived in an age better furniſhed than ours, with books of this argument. Let it therefore ſuffice, that theſe two Kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medidus* and *Cardiceas*, are found in *Euſebius*: for whether *Cardiceas* were *Diodorus* his *Arbianes*, I will not ſtay to ſearch. The Kings of *Media*, according to *Euſebius*, reigned in this order.

Arbaces	reigned	28	years.
Soſarmus		30	
Medidus		40	
Cardiceas		15	
Deioces		54	
Phraortes		24	
Cyaxares		32	
Aſtyages		38	

Theſe names, and this courſe of ſucceſſion I retain; but adde unto theſe, *Cyaxares*, the ſon of *Aſtyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and ſometimes follow *Herodotus*, in ſetting down the length of a Kings reign, otherwiſe than *Euſebius* hath it: of which variations I will render my reaſons in due place.

The twenty nine years of *Ezekia* were concurrent,

concurrent, in part, with the rule of the four firſt that were choſen Governours of *Athens* for ten years, that is, of *Charops*, *Æſimedes*, *Elidicus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the firſt of theſe I hear nothing, ſave that *Rome* was built in his firſt year; of which perhaps himſelf did not hear. Of the ſecond and third I find only the names. The fourth made himſelf known by a ſtrange example of juſtice, or rather of cruelty, that he ſhewed upon his own Daughter. For he finding that ſhe had offended in unchaſtity, cauſed her to be lockt up with an Horſe, giving to neither of them any food: ſo the Horſe, conſtrained by hunger devoured the unhappy Woman.

In *Rome*, the firſt King, and founder of that City *Romulus*, did reign both before, and ſomewhat after *Ezekia*.

In *Lydia*, *Candaules* the laſt King ruled in the ſame age.

This Region was firſt called *Mæonia*. *Lydus* the ſon of *Atys* reigning in it, gave the name of *Lydia*, if we believe ſuch authority as we find. This Kingdom was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred upon *Argon*, who came of *Alcæus* the ſon of *Hercules*, by *Jardana*, a bond-woman. The race of theſe *Heraclidæ* continued reigning fifty five years (in which two and twenty Generations paſſed) the ſon continually ſucceeding the father. *Candaules* the ſon of *Myrſus* was the laſt of his race, who doated ſo much upon the beauty of his own wife, that he could not be content to enjoy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges* the ſon of *Daſcylus* to behold her naked body, and placed the unwilling man ſecretly in her chamber, where he might ſee her preparing to bedward. This was not ſo cloſely carried, but that the Queen perceived *Gyges* at his going forth, and underſtanding the matter, took it in ſuch high diſdain, that ſhe forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with treaſon. So *Gyges* being brought again into the ſame chamber by the Queen, ſlew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdom of *Lydia*. He reigned thirty eight years, beginning in the laſt of *Ezekia* one year before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his ſon *Ardys* reigned nine and forty years; then *Sadyattes* twelve; *Halyattes*, fifty ſeven, and finally *Cræſus* the ſon of *Halyattes*, fourteen years: who loſt the Kingdom, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Perſia*.

And here by the way we may note that as the *Lydian* Kings whom *Cræſus* his Progenitor diſpoſſeſt, are deduced from *Hercules*, ſo of the ſame *Hercules* there ſprang many other Kings, which governed ſeveral Countreys very long; as in *Aſia*, the *Myſians*, in *Greece*, the *Lacædemonians*, *Meſſenians*, *Rhodians*, *Corinthians* and *Argives*; and from the *Argives*, the *Macedonians*, as likewiſe from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracuſans*: beſides many great and famous, though private families.

But of the *Heraclidæ* that reigned in *Lydia*, I have not troubled my ſelf to take notice of the time of their ſeveral reigns: for little is found of them beſide the bare names, and the folly of this laſt King *Candaules*.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt, *between the deliverance of* Iſrael *from thence, and the reign of* Ezekiah *in* Juda *when* Egypt *and* Juda *made a league againſt the* Aſſyrians.

§. I.

That many names of Egyptian *Kings, found in Hiſtory, are like to have belonged only to Viceroys. An example proving this out of* William *of* Tyre *his Hiſtory of the Holy War.*

THE emulation and quarrels ariſing in theſe times, between, the mighty Kingdoms of *Egypt* and *Aſſyrians*, do require our pains, in collecting the moſt memorable things in *Egypt*, and ſetting down briefly the ſtate of that Countrey, which had continued long a flouriſhing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with *Aſſyria* for the maſtery. Of *Cham* the ſon of *Noah*, who firſt planted that Country, and of *Oſiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient Kings that reigned there, untill the *Iſraelites* were thence delivered, more hath been ſaid already than I can ſtand to; though I hold it no ſhame to fail in ſuch conjectures. That which I have delivered, in ſpeaking mine opinion of the *Egyptian* Dynaſties, muſt here again help me. For it may truly be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are ſaid to have reigned

reigned in *Egypt*, vvere none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, ſuch as *Joſeph* vvas, and ſuch as vvere the Soldans in latter ages. Therefore I will not onely forbear to ſeek after thoſe, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have reckoned up, from the mouths of *Egyptian* Prieſts, delivering them by number, without rehearſing their names; but will ſave the labour of marſhalling them in order, whoſe names onely are found; the years of their reigns, and other circumſtances proving them to have been Kings indeed, being not recorded.

But that I may not ſeem before hand to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I may build what I liſt; it were not amiſſe, to give unto the Reader ſuch ſatisfaction in this point, as apparent reaſon, and truth of Hiſtorie doth afford, Firſt therefore, we ought not to believe thoſe numbers of Generations, which the lying Preiſts have reckoned up, to magnifie their Antiquities. For we know, that from *Abraham* our *Saviour Chriſt* was removed onely forty two deſcents; which makes it evident, that in farre ſhorter time, namely before the *Perſian* Empire, there could not have paſſed away twice as many ſucceſſions in *Egypt*: eſpecially conſidering, that many of theſe, whoſe continuance is expreſſed, having reigned longer than forty years. It follows that we ſhould ſquare the number of the *Egyptian* Kings in ſome even proportion, to thoſe which did bear rule in other Countries. As for the reſt whoſe names we find ſcattered here and there; any man that will take the paines to read the nineteenth book of the Holy Warr, written by *William* Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, may eaſily perſwade himſelf, that it is not hard to find names enow, of ſuch as might be thought to have reigned in *Egypt*, being none other than Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here inſert as breifly as I can, ſome things making to that purpoſe, for the pleaſure and information of ſuch as will not trouble themſelves with turning over many Authors.

When *Elahdech* the Caliph ruled in *Egypt*, one *Dargan*, a powerfull and a ſubtile man, made himſelf Soldan, by force and cunning, chaſing away *Sanar* an *Arabian*, who was Soldan before and after him. This *Dargan* miniſtred matter of quarrel to *Amalrick* King of *Jeruſalem*; and ſuſtained, with little loſſe, an invaſion, which *Amalrick* made upon *Egypt*. hereupon he grew ſo inſolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former Soldan hoped to make his partie good againſt him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter *Egypt*. Briefly, *Sanar* ſueth to *Noradine*, King of *Damaſco*, for ayde, who ſends an Armie of his Turks, under the command of *Syracon*, againſt the *Soldan Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The victorie was *Dargans*; but he enjoyed it not: For in few dayes after, he was ſlain by treaſon, whereby *Sanar* did recover his Dignitie: which to eſtabliſh, he ſlew all the kindred and freinds of *Dargan*, that he could find in the great Citie of *Cairo*.

To all theſe doings, the *Caliph Elhadech* gave little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them lived, and had the adminiſtration of the kingdome, whileſt he might have the profit of it, and his pleaſure. But new troubles preſently ariſe, which (one would think) do neerly touch the *Caliph* himſelfe. *Syracon* with his Turks, whom *Sanar* had gotten to come into *Egypt*, will not now be intreated there to leave him, and quietly go their way home. They ſeize upon the Town of *Belbeis*, which they fortifie, and there attend the arrivall of more companie from *Damaſco*, for the conqueſt of all *Egypt*. The *Soldan* perceives their intent, and finds himſelf not ſtrong enough to expell them, much leſſe to expell the Turkiſh Armie that was likely to ſecond them: He therefore ſends Meſſengers to King *Almarick* of *Jeruſalem*, whom with large promiſes he gets to bring him ayde, and ſo drives out the Turks: Of all this trouble the great *Caliph* hears nothing, or not ſo much as ſhould make him look to the playing of his own game.

A greater miſchief ariſeth, concerning the *Caliph Elhadech* particularly in his own Title. *Syracon*, Captain of the Turks that had been in *Egypt*, goes to the *Caliph* of *Baldach* (who was oppoſite to him of *Egypt*, each of them claiming as heir to *Mahomet* that falſe Prophet, the Soveraigntie over all that were of the Saracen Law) and tels him the weakneſs of the *Egyptian*, with his own abilitie of doing ſervice in thoſe parts; offering his beſt means for the extirpation of the Schiſmaticall *Caliph*, and the reduction of all *Egypt*, with the Weſtern parts, under the ſubjection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the Eaſtern Provinces are up in Arms, and *Syracon*, with a mighty power, deſcendeth into *Egypt*. The noyſe of this great expedition ſo affrighteth King *Almarick*, that with all his forces he haſteth into *Egypt*, well knowing how neerly it concerned him and his kingdome of *Jeruſalem*, to keep the Saracens from joyning all under one head. *Sanar* the Soldan perceiving the faithfull care of the Chriſtians his friends, welcomes them, and beſtirs himſelfe in giving them all manner of content, as it behoved him:

him: for by their admirable valour, he finally drave the enemies out of the Countrie. But this victory was not ſo ſoon gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which moſt concerns our preſent purpoſe) that of ſo deſperate a danger, the *Caliph*, as yet, ſeems to know nothing. May we not think him to have been King in title onely, who meddled ſo little in the Government? The Soldan, finding that the Chriſtians (without whoſe help all was loſt) could not well ſtay ſo long as his neceſſities required, makes large offers to King *Almarick*, upon condition that he ſhould abide by it. He promiſeth a great Tribute (*William* of *Tyre* calls it a Tribute; the Sarazens, perhaps, called it a Penſion) which the Kings of *Jeruſalem* ſhould receive out of *Egypt*, for this behoveful aſſiſtance. But the Chriſtians underſtanding that the Soldan (how much ſoever he took upon him) was ſubject to a higher Lord, would make no bargain of ſuch importance with any other than the *Caliph* himſelf. Hereupon *Hugh* Earl of *Cæſarea*, and a Knight of the Templers, are ſent unto *Elhadech* to ratifie the covenants. Now ſhall we ſee the greatneſs of the *Caliph* and his eſtate.

Theſe Embaſſadours were conveighed by the Soldan to *Cairo*, where arriving at the Palace, they found it guarded by great Troops of Souldiers. The firſt entrance was through dark Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Ethiopians*, which with all diligence did reverence to the Soldan as he paſſed along. Through theſe ſtreights the Warders lead them into goodly open Courts, of ſuch beauty and riches, that they could not retain the gravity of Embaſſadours, but were inforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they ſaw goodly Marble Pillars, gilded Beams, all wrought over with embоſſed Works, curious Pavements, Fiſhponds of Marble with clear Waters, and many ſorts of ſtrange Birds, unknown in thoſe parts of the World, as comming perhaps from the Eaſt Indies, which then was undiſcovered. The further they went, the greater was their magnificence; for the *Caliph* his Eunuches conveyed them into other Courts within theſe, as far excelling the former, as the former did ſurpaſs ordinary houſes. It were tedious perhaps to rehearſe how the further they entred, the more high ſtate they found, and cauſe of marvaile; ſuffice it, that the good Archbiſhop, who wrote theſe things, was never held a vain Author. Finally they were brought into the *Caliph*'s own lodgings, which were yet more ſtately and better guarded; where entring the Preſence, the Soldan having twice proſtrated himſelf, did the third time caſt off his Sword that he wore about his neck, and throw himſelf on the ground before the Curtain, behind which the *Caliph* ſate. Preſently the traverſe wrought with Gold and Pearls was opened, and the *Caliph* himſelf diſcovered, ſitting with great Majeſty on a Throne of Gold, having few of his moſt inward ſervants and Eunuches about him. When the Soldan had humbly kiſſed his Maſters feet, he briefly told the cauſe of his comming, the danger wherein the Land ſtood, and the offers that he made unto King *Almerick*, deſiring the *Caliph* himſelf to ratifie them in preſence of the Embaſſadors. The *Caliph* anſwered, That he would throughly perform all which was promiſed. But this contented not the Embaſſadors: They would have him to give his hand upon the bargain; which the *Egyptians* that ſtood by thought an impudent requeſt. Yet his greatneſs condeſcenced at length, after much deliberation, at the earneſt requeſt of the Soldan, to reach out his hand. When the Earl of *Cæſaria* ſaw that the *Caliph* gave his hand neither willingly nor bare, he told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, Truth ſeeks no holes to hide it ſelf; Princes that will hold Covenant, muſt deal openly, nakedly, and ſincerely; Give us therefore your bare hand, if you mean that we ſhall truſt you, for we will make no bargain with your Glove. Much adoe there was about this: for it ſeemed againſt the Majeſty of ſuch a Prince to yield ſo far. But when it would none otherwiſe be, with a ſmiling chear (though to the great grief of his Servants) he vouchſafed to let the Earl take him by the bare hand; and ſo rehearſing the covenants word by word, as the Earl ſpake them, he ratified all; diſmiſſing finally the Embaſſadors with ſuch rewards as teſtified his greatneſs.

In this Caliph and his Sultan, we may diſcern the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his Viceroy: we ſee a Prince of great eſtate, ſitting in his Palace, and not vexing himſelf with the great preparations made againſt him, which terrifie his neighbour Countries: we ſee his Viceroy, in the mean ſeaſon, uſing all Royal power; making War and Peace; entertaining and repelling Armies of ſtrangers; yea, making the Land of *Egypt* tributary

to a forrain Prince. What greater authority was given to *Joseph*, when *Pharaoh* said unto him, *Thou shalt be over mine house, and at thy word shall all my people be armed, only in the Kings throne will I be above thee. Behold I have set thee over all the Land of Egypt?*

I do not commend this form of Government; neither can I approve the conjecture of mine Author, where he thinks, that the *Egyptians*, ever since *Joseph's* time, have felt the burden of that servitude which he brought upon them, when he bought them and their Lands for *Pharaoh*. Herein I find his judgement good; that he affirms this manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, in taking their ease, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient customs practised by the *Pharaohs*. For we find, that even the *Ptolemies* (excepting *Ptolomæus Lagi*, and his son *Philadelphus*, founder and establisher of that race) were given, all of them wholly, to please their own appetites, leaving the charge of the Kingdom to Women, *Eunuches*, and other Ministers of their desires. The pleasures which that Country afforded, were indeed sufficient to invite the Kings thereof unto a voluptuous life, and the awful regard wherein the *Egyptians* held their Princes, gave them security, whereby they might the better trust their Officers with so ample commission. But of this matter, I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to have shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroys governing *Egypt*, is set down by *Moses*, and that a lively example of the same is found in *William* of *Tyre*, who lived in the same age, was in few years after Chancellor of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and had full discourse with *Hugh* Earl of *Cæsaria* touching all these matters. Wherefore it remains, that we be not carried away with a vain opinion, to believe that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous *Egyptians* have honoured with that stile; but rest contented with a Catalogue of such, as we find by circumstance, likely to have reigned in that Countrey; after whom it follows that we should make inquiry.

§. II.

Of Acherres; *whether he were* Uchoreus *that was the eighth from* Osymandyas. *Of* Osymandyas *and his Tomb.*

IN this businesse I hold it vain to be too curious. For who can hope to attain to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Eusebius* from both of them; and late Writers that have sought to gather the truth out of these and others, find no one with whom they can agree? In this case *Annius* would doe good service, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to be beholding to him when others do either say nothing, or that which may justly be suspected. I will therefore hold my self contented with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Orus*, and those antiquities removed so far out of sight: as for the Kings following the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, it shall suffice that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Eusebius* have not been silent, and that *Reyneccius* hath taken pains to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or else found scattering in others.

From the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, unto the reign of *Thuoris* (who is generally taken to be the same that the Greeks call *Proteus*) there is little or no disagreement about the *Egyptian* Kings. Wherefore I set down the same which are found in *Eusebius*, and give to every one the same length of reign.

Acherres was the first of these, who succeeded unto *Chencres*, that perished in the Red Sea. This King seems to *Reyneccius* to be the same whom *Diodorus* calls *Uchoreus*, the founder of *Memphis*. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great King named *Osymandyas*, from whom *Uchoreus* is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timaus* (as *Reineccius* conjectures was the great *Osymandyas*; or else that this *Acherres* was *Uchoreus*: for the distance between them was more than eight generations. *Mercator* judgeth *Osymandyas* to have been the husband of *Ancheres*, *Orus* the seconds daughter; thinking that *Manethon* (cited by *Josephus*) doth omit his name, and insert his wives into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his wives right. As for *Uchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to find him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdous*, not to signifie in this place of *Diodore* (as that Greek word else doth) the eighth, but to be an

Egyp-

Egyptian name, belonging alſo to *Vchoreus*, who might have had two names, as many of the reſt had. I will not vexe my braines in the unprofitable uſe of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Oſymandyas*, was wrought upon his monument; the moſt thereof in figures, which I thinke the *Egyptians* did fabulouſly expound. For whereas there was portrayed a great Army, with the ſeige of a Town, the captivity of the people, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this the *Egyptians* ſaid to denote the conqueſt of *Bactria* made by that King: which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly peice of work, which *Diodore* ſo particularly deſcribes, to have been erected for a common place of buriall to the ancient Kings and Queens of *Egypt*, and to their Viceroyes; whilſt yet they were not ſo ambitious, as every one to have his own particular monument, ſtriving therein to exceed all others. This appears by the many ſtatues therein placed, by the Wars, the judgement ſeate, the receiving of Tribute, the offering ſacrifice to God, the account of revenues, and plenty of all cattell and food: all which were there curiouſly wrought, ſhewing the ſeverall Offices of a Governour. On the Tomb of *Oſymandy* as was this inſcription. *I am* Oſymandyas *King of Kings; if any deſire to know what I am, or where I lye, let him exceed ſome of my works.* Let them that hope to exceed his works, labour to know what he was. But ſince by thoſe words, *Or where I lye*, it ſhould ſeem that he lay not there interred, we may lawfully ſuſpect that it was *Joſeph*, whoſe body was preſerved among the Hebrews, to be buried in the land of *Canaan*, and this empty monument might King *Orus*, who out lived him, erect in honour of his high deſerts, among the royall ſepulchres. To which purpoſe the plenty of Cattel and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name of *Oſymandyas* doth not hinder this conjecture; ſeeing *Joſeph* had one new name given him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the dream, and might, upon further occaſions, have another to his increaſe of honour. As for that ſtile, *King of Kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerberg*, as the *Turkiſh Baſſaes* are called, that is, Great above the Great.

Now although it be ſo, that the reckoning fals out right, between the times of *Joſeph* & *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eighth in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whoſe Viceroy *Joſeph* was) yet will I hereby ſeek, neither to fortifie mine own conjecture, as touching *Joſeph*, nor to infer any likelihood of *Acherres* his being *Vchoreus*. For it might well be that *Memphis* was built by ſome ſuch King as was *Gehoar*, Lieutenant unto the Caliph *Elcaim*; who having to his Maſters uſe conquered *Egypt*, and many other Countries, did build, not far from old *Memphis*, the great Citie of *Cairo* (corruptly ſo pronounced) naming it *El Cahira*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Miſtreſſe, though he himſelf were a *Dalmatian* ſlave. *John Leo. Hiſt. Africa. l. 1. & l. 8.*

§. III.

Of Cherres, Armeus, Rameſſes, *and* Amenophis. Of Myris, *and the Lake that bears his name.*

WHen *Archerres* had reigned eight years, *Cherres* ſucceeded and held the kingdome fifteen years: then reigned *Armeus* five years, and after him *Rameſſes* threeſcore and eight. Of *Armeus and Rameſſes* is that Hiſtorie underſtood by *Euſebius*, which is common among the *Greeks*, under the names of *Danaus* and *Egyptus*. For it is ſaid that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Egypt* by his brother, fled into *Greece*, where he obtained the Kingdome of *Argos*: that he had fifty Daughters, whom upon ſeeming reconciliation, he gave in marriage to his brothers fiftie ſons, but commanded every one of them to kill her husband the firſt night; that onely *Hipermneſtra*, one of his Daughters, did ſave her husband *Linceus*, and ſuffered him to eſcape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloudy ſiſters, when they dyed, were enjoyned this fooliſh puniſhment in Hell, to fill a leaking veſſel with water.

The reign of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus* was *Danaus*, and *Rameſſes*, *Ægyptus*, is more than *Reineccius* believes: he rather takes *Armeus* to have been *Myris*, or *Meris*, who cauſed the great lake to be made which bears his name. For my own part, as I can eaſily beleive, that he which fled out of *Egypt* into *Greece*, was a man of ſuch qualitie as the Soldan *Sanar*, of whom we ſpake before; ſo do I not find how in ſo ſhort a reign, as five years, a work of that labour could be finiſhed, which was required unto the Lake of *Myris*, and the Monuments therein; whereof his own Sepulchre and his wives being ſome part, it is manifeſt that he was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other Kings, whoſe age is uncertain, and of whoſe reigns we have no aſſurance, I may truly ſay, that their great vvorks are not enough to prove

were those of *Joseph*, who bought all the people of *Egypt* as bondmen, and all their land for bread; of *Gehoar*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the Country Tributary; were performed by none of them.

It shall therefore be enough to set down the length of their reigns whom we find to have followed one another in order of succession: but in rehearsing the great acts which were performed, I will not stand to examine, whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris*, is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thousand six hundred furlongs in compass, and fifty fadoms deep. It served to receive the waters of *Nilus*, when the overflow, being too great, was harmful to the Country: and to supply the defect, by letting out the waters of the lake, when the river did not rise high enough. In opening the sluces of this lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were spent fifty talents; but the lake it self defraied that cost; seeing the tribute imposed upon fish taken therein was every day one talent, which *Myris* gave to his Wife to buy sweet Ointments and other Ornaments for her body. In the middest of it was left an Iland, wherein were the Sepulchres of *Myris* and his Wife, and over each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fifty paces high; having on the tops their statues, sitting in Thrones. I find not the description of this Lake in Maps, answerable to the report of Historians: yet it is very great. The years of *Armeus* are by *Manethon* divided, by inserting one *Armesis* (whom *Eusebius* omits) that should have reigned one year and odd moneths of the time: but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After *Rameses*, his son *Amenophis* held the Kingdom forty years. Some give him only nineteen years; and *Mercator* thinks him to have been the King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I have already spoken in the first Book.

§. IV.

Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynasty of the Larthes.

Sethosis, or *Zethus*, reigned after his Father *Amenophis*, fifty five years. To him are ascribed the famous acts of that antient *Sesostris*. But the state of the World was not such at these times, that so great an expedition as the old *Sesostris* made, could have been either easily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he passed, had it now been performed; as any man will perceive, if he look upon my Chronological Table, and consider who lived with this *Zethus*. With this King began the Dynasty of the *Larthes*; which *Reineccius* conjectures to have had the same signification, wherein the old Kings of *Hetruria* were called *Lartes*, (the *Hetrurians* being issued out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Egypt*) and to have signified as much as *Imperator*, or *General*. The Wars in which these Kings were Generals, I take to have been against the *Æthiopians*: for sure I am, that they troubled not the Country of *Palæstina*, that lay next unto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they travelled over the desart sands, on the other hand, to seek matter of conquest, in the poor Countries of *Africa*. But these Generals (if the *Larthes* were such) were not many. Five only had that title; and the last of these took it, perhaps, as hereditary from the first; in such sort as the *Roman* Emperours were proud, for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the most unsuitable conditions of *Heliogabalus*, made his successors forbear the name.

Here it may be objected, that the Dynasties (as appears by this particular) took name from the Kings; that the Kings also did administer the government themselves, and that therefore I am deceived in ascribing so much unto the Viceroys. But it is to be considered, that what is said of these *Larthes*, depends only upon conjecture, and that the authority of the Regents, or Viceroys, might be great enough, though some few Kings took the conduct of Armies into their own hands. For so we find in *John Leo*, that the Soldan of *Egypt* (after such time as the Soldan *Saladine*, murdering the Caliph, got the Soveraignty to himself) had under him a Viceroy, stiled *Eddaguadare*, who had authority to place, or displace, any Magistrates, or Officers; and that this mans Family was almost as great as the Soldans own. Yet was there also the *Amir Cabir*, or Lord General of the Soldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might, as he thought good, spend of the Soldans treasure. So might the office of the Viceroys continue, though the Kings themselves, taking the charge, or title of Generals upon them, did somewhat abridge the greatness of that second place. As for the names of the Dynasties, it skills not whence they were drawn; whether from their Country, as those of the *Thebans* and *Diapolitans*; or from some eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time; as many think, that the seventeenth *John Leo* 8.

Dynasty

Dynasty was called of the Shepheards, because *Joseph* governed in part thereof; or from the Kings themselves that reigned; as this was said to be of the *Larthes* or Generals. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Annius* his *Manetho*) hath it, was without any *Larthes* or Generals, yet was it not without Kings, forasmuch as *Vaphres*, and *Sesac*, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let us now return to the business which we left.

Rameses was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethosis*, threescore and six years. He is mistaken for that second *Sesostris*, of whom I have spoken in the first book. I find nothing worth rehearsal of this *Rameses*, or of *Amenophis* and *Annemenes*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned forty, the latter six and twenty years. Wherefore it may very well be, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by these as hereditary.

Thuoris, the last of the *Larthes*, reigned only seven years; yet is he thought to have been that *Proteus*, of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, saying, That he took *Helena* from *Paris*, and after the sack of *Troy*, restored her to *Menelaus*. I need say no more in refutation of this, than that the time of *Thuoris* his reign lasted not so long as from the Rape of *Helen* to her restitution.

This *Proteus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by some) together with *Thon*, and others mentioned by *Greek* Writers in this business, or in other such matters, may seem to be under-Officers: for such only are like to have had their residence about *Pharos*, and the sea-coast where *Menelaus* arrived.

Of *Proteus*, who detained *Helen*, it is said that he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himself into all shapes: whereby is signified his crafty head, for which he is grown into a Proverb. The Poets feigned him a Sea-God, and keeper of *Neptune*'s Seal-fishes, for belike he was some under-Officer to the Admiral, having charge of the Fishing about the Isle of *Pharos*, as was said before.

Remphes the son of *Proteus* is reckoned the next King, by *Diodore*, as also by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramsinitus*, and tells a long tale fit to please children of his covetousness, and how his treasure-house was robbed by a cunning thief, that at last married his Daughter. But of this a man may believe what he list. How long this King reigned I know not, nor think that either he or his father did reign at all.

§. V.

Of the Egyptian *Kings, whose names are found scattering in sundry Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of* Egypt, *according to* Cedrenus. *Of* Vaphres *and* Sesac.

MAny other names of *Egyptian* Kings are found scattered here and there; as *Tonepherfobis*, of whom *Suidas* delivers only the bare name and title; *Senemures*, or *Senepos*, mentioned in *Macrobius*, who perhaps was the same that by *Suidas* is called *Senyes*, or *Enenes*, noted by occasion of a great Physician that lived under him; *Banchyris*, recorded by the same *Suidas* for his great justice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tells great matters; as, that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gave name to the Isle of *Thule*, which some take to be *Iseland*; and that he consulted with the Devil, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, desiring to know, who before him had been, or after him should be so mighty as himself. The answer or confession of the Devil was remarkable; which I find Englished in the translation of *Plessis* his work *Of the trueness of Christian Religion*. The *Greek* Verses are somewhat otherwise, and much more imperfect in those Copies that I have of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the sense is all one; which is this:

First God, *and next* The Word, *and then*
The Spirit,
Which Three be One, *and joyn in* One *all*
Three:
Whose force is endless. Get thee hence frail
Wight,
The man of Life unknown excelleth thee.

I should have thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found somewhat more in *Suidas* than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the form of invocation which *Thulis* used, and that clause of his giving name to the Iland: though in this last point I hold *Suidas* to be deceived; as also *Cedrenus* is, or (at least) seems to me, in giving to this King such profound antiquity of reign. Indeed the very name of that book, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Genesis*, is alone enough to breed suspicion of some imposture: but the Frierly stuffe that he alledgeth out of it, is such as would serve to discredit himself, were it not otherwise apparent that he was a man both devout, and of good judgment in matters that fell within his compass. I will here set down the list of old

old *Egyptian* Kings delivered by him, and leave the censure to others.

The first King of *Egypt* that he sets down, is *Mizraim* the son of *Cham*. After him he finds many of a new race, deriving their pedegree thus: *Nimrod* the son of *Chus* was also called *Orion*, and further took upon him the name of the Planet *Saturn*, had to Wife *Semiramis*, who was of his own Linage, and by her three sons; *Picus*, surnamed *Jupiter*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*. *Picus* chasing his Father out of *Assyria* into *Italy*, reigned in his stead thirty years, and then gave up that Kingdom to *Juno* his sister and wife, and to *Belus* his son: after which *Belus*, who reigned only two years, *Ninus* had the Kingdom, and married his own Mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italy* to visit his old Father *Saturn*; *Saturn* forthwith resigned the Kingdom unto him. *Picus Jupiter* reigned in *Italy* threescore and two years, had threescore and ten Wives or Concubines, and about as many children: finally dyed, and lyes buried in the Isle of *Crete*. The Principal of *Jupiter*'s sons were *Faunus*, *Perseus*, and *Apollo*. *Faunus* was called by the name of the Planet *Mercury*: he reigned in *Italy*, after his Father, five and thirty years, and then (finding that all his brethren conspired against him) he went into *Egypt*, with abundance of Treasure, where, after the death of *Misraim*, he got the Kingdom, and held it nine and thirty years. After *Mercury*, *Vulcan* reigned in *Egypt*, four years and a half. Then *Sol*, the son of *Vulcan*, reigned twenty years and a half. There followed in order *Sosis*, *Osiris*, *Orus* and *Thules*, of whom we spake before: the length of their several reigns is not set down. After *Thules*, was the great *Sesostris* King twenty years. His successor was *Pharaoh*, called *Narecho*, that held the Crown fifty years, with which there passed from him the surname of *Pharaoh*, to a very long posterity.

These reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to set down as I find them: let their credit rest upon the Author.

Others yet we find, that are said to have reigned in *Egypt*, without any certain note, when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vain curiosity, in the search made after these already rehearsed, than of negligence, in omitting such as might have been added.

Clem. Strom. l. 1. Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 9. c 4. 1 Kings 9 16 & 11. v. 18. 19, &c.

Vaphres, the father in law to *Salomon*, and *Sesac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, lead us again into fair way, but not far. The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the Scriptures; but we are beholding to *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Eusebius* for it. These give us not the length of his reign; but we know that he lived in the times of *David* and of *Salomon*. He came into *Palestina* with an Army, took *Gezar* from the *Canaanites*, and gave it to his daughter, *Salomon's* wife: though for her sake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Sesac* his son did favour the enemies of *Salomon*, who kept so many Wives and Concubines, besides this *Egyptian* Princess. In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath been written that I find of *Sesac*, excepting the length of his reign, which must have been six and twenty years, if he were that *Smendis* with whom *Eusebius* begins the one and twentieth *Dynasty*.

Now forasmuch as it would serve to no great purpose, that we knew the length of *Sesac* his reign, and of theirs that followed him, unless therewithall we knew the beginning of *Sesac*, upon which the rest have dependance; this course I take. From the fourth year of *Jehojakim* King of *Juda*, in which *Pharao Neco* was slain, I reckon upwards the years of the same *Neco*, and of his Predecessors, unto the beginning of *Sesac*: by which accompt, the first year of *Sesac* is found concurrent with the twentieth of *Salomon*'s reign, and the twenty sixt of *Sesac* with the fifth of *Rehoboam*, wherein *Sesac* spoiled the Temple, and dyed, enjoying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer than *Joas* the *Israelite*, and *Crassus* the *Roman* did; who after him spoiled the Temple of *Jerusalem*.

To fill up the time between *Sesac* and *Neco*, I have rather taken those Kings that I find in the *Greek* Historians, than them which are in *Eusebius* his Catalogue. For of those that are delivered by *Eusebius*, we find no Name nor Act recorded elsewhere, save only of *Bocchoris*, who is remembred by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appear to have been a King. Hereunto I may add, that the succession is often interrupted in *Eusebius* by *Æthiopians*, which got the Kingdom often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appears by the Prophet *Esay*, that the Counsellors of *Pharaoh* did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that house, insomuch that they said of *Pharaoh*, *I am the son of the wise, I am the son of the ancient King.* But that which overthrows the reckoning of *Eusebius*, is the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the Kings of *Juda*. For though it please him well to see how the reigns of *Josias* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed mars all, the reign of *Josias* being misplaced. This errour grows from his omitting to compare the reigns of the Kings of *Juda* with theirs of *Israel*: by which occasion *Joram* King of *Israel* is made to reign three

Esay 19. 11.

years

years after *Ahazia* of *Juda*; *Samaria* is taken by *Salmanassar* before *Hezechia* was King: and in a word, all, or most of the Kings have their beginnings placed in some other year of their collaterals than the Scriptures have determined.

§. VI.

Of Chemnis, Cheops, Cephrenes, *and other Kings recited by* Herodotus *and* Diodorus Siculus, *which reigned between the times of* Rehoboam *and* Ezechia.

FOllowing therefore the *Greek* Historians, I place *Chemnis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chembis*, first in the rank of those that were Kings after *Sesac*. He reigned fifty years, and built the greatest of the three Pyramides, which was accounted one of this Worlds Wonders. The Pyramis hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottom upwards narrower and narrower to the top. This of *Chemnis* being four-square, had a Base of seven acres every way, and was about six acres high. It was of a very hard and durable stone, which had lasted, when *Diodore* saw it, about a thousand years, without complaining of any injury that it had suffered by weather in so long space. From the reign of *Chemmis*, unto the age of *Augustus Cæsar*, wherein *Diodore* lived, are indeed a thousand years; which doth give the better likelihood unto this time wherein *Chemnis* is placed. As for this and other Pyramides, late Writers do testifie, that they have seen them yet standing.

Diodor. l. 1. After *Chemnis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his Brother; but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his son *Chabreus* *Herod. l.* 2. succeeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be *Chabreas*) and *Cephrenes* after him. These are said to have been brethren; but the length of their reigns may argue the latter to have been son to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fifty years; *Cephrenes* fifty six. These were, as *Chemmis* had been, builders of *Pyramides*, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who already had overlaboured themselves in erecting the first. These Pyramides were ordained to be Tombs for those that raised them; but the malice of the *Egyptians* is said to have cast out their bodies, and to have called their Monuments by the name of an Heardsman that kept his Beasts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honour, and entituling a poor fellow to their works, was held to be the casting out of their bodies; otherwise it is hard to conceive how it might be, that they, who had not power to avoid the like slavery laid upon them by the younger brother or son, should have power or leisure to take such revenge upon his Predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale devised against *Cheops* his Daughter; That her Father wanting money, did prostitute her, and that she getting of every man that accompanied her, one stone, did build with them a fourth Pyramis, that stood in the midst of the other three. Belike she was an insolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery for her sake, longer a while than they thought to have done, in raising a Monument with the superfluity of her Fathers provisions.

Mycerinas the son of *Cephrenes* reigned after his Father six years. He would have built as his fore-goers did, but prevented by death, finished not what he had begun. The people thought him a good King, for that he did set open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept shut. But an Oracle threatned him with a short life of six years only, because of this his devotion; *For* (said the Oracle) *Egypt should have been afflicted an hundred and fifty years, which thy Predecessors knew, and performed for their parts; but thou hast released it, therefore shalt thou live but six years.* It is very strange, that the gods should be offended with a King for his piety; or that they should decree to make a Country impious, when the people were desirous to serve them; or that they having so decreed, it should lye in the power of a King to alter destiny, and make the ordinance of the gods to fail in taking full effect. But these were *Egyptian* gods. The true god was doubtless more offended with the institution of such Idolatry, than with the interruption. And who knows whether *Chemnis* did not learn somewhat at *Jerusalem* in the last year of his Father *Sesac*, that made him perceive, and deliver to those that followed him, the vanity of his *Egyptian* superstition? Most sure it is, that his reign, and the reigns of *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* were more long and more happy than that of *Mycerinas*, who, to delude the Oracle, revelled away both dayes and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, he had changed his nights into dayes, and so doubled the time appointed: a service more pleasing to the Devil, than the restitution of Idolatry durst then seem, when it could speed no better. I find in *Reineccius* fifty years assigned to this King; which I verily believe to have been some errour of the print, though I find it not corrected among other such oversights: For I know no Author that

that gives him so many years, and *Reineccius* himself takes notice of the Oracle, that threatned *Mycerinus* with a short life, as is before shewed.

Bocchorus is placed next unto *Mycerinus*, by *Diodore*, who speaks no more of him than this, that he was a strong man of body, and excelling his predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by divers Authors, as one that loved justice; and may be taken for that *Banchyris* whom *Suidas* commends in that kind: *Eusebius* reckons 44. years of his reign.

After *Bocchorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Æthiopian* follows in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certain ages after him. *Herodotus* quite omitting *Bocchorus*, hath *Asychis*; who made a sharp law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition, till the debt were paid. This *Asychis* made a Pyramis of brick, more costly and fair, in his own judgment, than any of those that the former Kings had raised. Besides this *Asyckis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anysis*, a blind man, before the *Æthiopian*. The reigns of these two are perhaps those many ages which the *Egyptians*, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted between *Bocchorus* and him that followed them. But all this could make but six years; and so long doth *Functius*, so long doth *Reineccius* hold, that these two Kings between them both did govern. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it unprobable that the reigns of two Kings should have been so soon spent; he may do it by taking some years from *Sethon* or *Psammiticus*, and adding them to either of these. To add unto these without subtracting from some other, would breed a manifest inconvenience: forasmuch as part of *Sesac* his reign, must have been in the fifth of *Rehoboam*, as also the last of *Pharao Neco* was the fourth of *Jehojakim*, and the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*. For mine own part, I like it better to allow six years only to these two Kings, than to lose the witness of *Herodotus*, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speak of *Sennacherib*'s War, at which time *Sethon* was King of *Egypt*. I will not therefore add years unto these obscure names; for by adding unto these men three years, we shall thrust the beginning of *Sethon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Sennacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him in his *Egyptian* Kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great envy to leave both *Asychis* and *Anysis* out of the roll, which were easily done by placing *Sesac* lower,, and extending his life yet six years further, or more (if the like abridgment shall be required of *Psammiticus* his reign) into the years of *Rehoboam*.

1 *King.* 14. 25. 2 *Chron.* 12. *v.* 2.

Of *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian*, who took the Kingdom from *Anysis*, it is agreed by the most, that he reigned fifty years. He was a merciful Prince, not punishing all capital offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour upon malefactors; by whose toil he both got much wealth into his own hands, letting out their service to hire, and performed many works of more use than pomp, to the singular benefit of the Countrey. *Zonoras* calls this King *Sua*; the Scriptures call him *So*. *Hosea*, the last King of *Israel*, made a league with him against *Salmanassar*, little to his good: for the *Egyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preserve the *Israelite* from destruction.

It seems, that the encroaching power of the *Assyrian* grew terrible to *Egypt* about these times; the victories of *Tiglath Phulassar* and *Salmanassar* having eaten so far into *Syria*, in the reign of this one King *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his dayes (for his reign began in the fourth of *Menahem*) that *Phul* himself did make the first entrance into *Palæstina*. This caused *So* to animate the half-subdued people against their Conquerors; but the help which he and his Successor gave them was so faint, that *Sennacherib*'s Embassador compared the *Egyptian* succour to a broken staffe of Reed. Such indeed had *Hosea* found it, and such *Ezechia* might have found it, had he not been supported by the strong staffe of him that ruleth all Nations with a rod of iron. It appeareth by the words of *Rabsake*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the *Egyptian* forces, *for Chariots and Horse-men*; but this power, whatsoever it was, grew needful, within a little while, for the defence of *Egypt* it self, which *So* left unto *Sethon* his Successor, having now fulfilled the fifty years of his reign. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have both one tale, from the relation of *Egyptian* Priests, concerning the departure of this King; saying, that he left the Country, and willingly retired into *Æthiopia*, because it was often signified unto him in his dreams, by the god which was worshipped at *Thebes*, that his reign should be neither long nor prosperous, unless he slew all the Priests in *Egypt*; which rather than to do, he resigned his Kingdom. Surely, these *Egyptian* gods were of a strange quality, that so ill rewarded their servants, and invited Kings to do them wrong. Well might the *Egyptians* (as they likewise did) worship Dogs as gods, when their chief gods had the

2 *King.* 18. 25.

property

property of Dogs, vvhich love their Maſters the better for beating them. Yet to vvhat end the Prieſts ſhould have feigned this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I think that it might be ſome device of the fearful old man, vvho ſeeing his Realm in danger of an invaſion, ſought an honeſt excuſe for his departure out of it, and vvithdrawing himſelf into *Æthiopia*, vvhere he had been bred in his youth. What if I ſhould ſay, that the *Æthiopia* into vvhich he vvent, vvas none other than *Arabia*, vvhereof *Tirhaka* the King (perhaps at the inſtigation of this man) raiſed an Army againſt *Sennacherib*, vvhen he meant to invade *Egypt* vvithin two or three years after? but I vvill not trouble my ſelf vvith much enquiry. This I hold, that *So*, or *Sabacus* vvas not indeed an *Æthiopian* (for in his time lived the Prophet *Eſay*, who mentioneth the antiquity of *Pharaohs* houſe) but only ſo ſurnamed for his education, and becauſe iſſuing from thence, he got the Kingdom from *Anyſis*, who was his oppoſite. The quiet and mild form of his government, his holding the Kingdom ſo long without an Army, and many other circumſtances argue no leſs. But whether finally he betook a private life, or whether he fore-went his life and Kingdom at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and ſpeak of *Sethon* his next Succeſſor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembred by *Herodotus*, by a ſure token of his having been King.

§. VII.

Of Sethon *who reigned with* Ezechia, *and ſided with him againſt* Sennacherib.

THE firſt year of *Sethon's* reign falls into the twelfth of *Ezechia*, which was the fift of *Sennacherib*. It was a troubleſome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdoms of *Aſſyria* and *Egypt*, being then ingaged in a War, the iſſue whereof was to determine whether of them ſhould rule or ſerve. The *Aſſyrian* had the better men of War; the *Egyptian* better proviſion of neceſſaries: the *Aſſyrian* more Subjects; the *Egyptian* more Friends: and among the new conquered half Subjects of *Aſſur*, many that were *Egyptian* in heart, though *Aſſyrian* in outward ſhew.

Of this laſt ſort were *Ezechia* and his people; who knowing how much it concerned *Pharao*, to protect them againſt his own great Enemy, preferred the friendſhip of ſo near and mighty a Neighbour, before the ſervice of a terrible, yet far removed King. But herein was great difference between *Ezechia* and his Subjects: For the good King fixing his eſpecial confidence in God, held that courſe of policy, which he thought moſt likely to turn to the benefit of his Country; the multitude of *Judæa* looking into the fair hopes which this *Egyptian* league promiſed, were puffed up with vain conceits, thinking that all was ſafe, and that now they ſhould not need to fear any more of thoſe injuries which they had ſuffered by the *Aſſyrians*; and ſo became forgetful of God, *taking counſel, but not of him.* The Prophet *Eſay* complained much of this preſumption; giving the people of *Juda* to underſtand, That *the* Egyptians *were men, and not God, and their Horſes fleſh, and not ſpirit*; that God himſelf ſhould defend *Iſrael* upon repentance, and that Aſſur *ſhould fall by the ſword, but not of man.* As for the *Egyptians* (ſaid the Prophet) *they are vanity, and they ſhall help in vain: their ſtrength is to ſit ſtill.*

Eſay 30. 1.

Eſay 31. vl. 3. and 8.

Eſay 30. 7.

Eſay 3. 4.

According to the Prophets words it came to paſs. For in the treaty of Confederacy that was held at *Zoan*, all manner of contentment and aſſurance was given to the *Jews* by *Sethon*, or his Agents, who filled them with ſuch reports, of Horſes and Chariots, that they did *not look* (as *Eſay* ſaith) *unto the holy One of* Iſrael, *nor ſeek unto the Lord. But he yet is wiſeſt.*

Eſay 31. 1, 3

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his Army, and wakened them out of theſe dreams; for *Sethon* their good Neighbour, as near as he was, did ſeem far off, being unready, when his help was moſt needful. It may ſeem that he purpoſed rather to make *Palæſtina*, than *Egypt*, the ſtage whereon this great War ſhould be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Aſſyrians* and *Jews*, weakning one another, ſhould yeild unto him a fair advantage over both. Yet he fought with mony; for he ſent Horſes and Camels laden with treaſure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom *Eſay* calleth *a people that cannot profit.* Theſe *Arabians* did not profit indeed; for (beſides that it ſeems by the ſame place of *Eſay*, that the rich treaſures miſcarried, and fell into the enemies hands before any help appeared from *Tirhaca*) all the ſtrong Cities of *Juda* were taken by *Sennacherib*, except *Libna*, *Lachis*, and *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, which were in ſore diſtreſs, till the ſword of God and not of Man, defeated the *Aſſyrian*, who did go, *for fear, to his Tower*, that is, he fled to *Nineve*, where he was ſlain.

Eſay 30. 6.

Eſay 31. 9.

Concerning this expedition of *Sennacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it: That it was purpoſed againſt *Egypt*, where the men of War, being offended with *Sethon* their King, who had taken away their allowance, re-

fuſed to bear arms in defence of him and their Country; that *Sethon* being *Vulcan's* Prieſt bemoaned himſelf to his god, who by dream promiſed to ſend him helpers; that hereupon *Sethon*, with ſuch as would follow him, (which were craftſ-men, ſhop-keepers, and the like) marched towards *Peluſium*; and that a great multitude of field-mice entring the Camp of *Senacherib* by night, did ſo gnaw the bows, quivers, and ſtraps of his mens armour, that they were fain the next day to fly away in all haſte, finding themſelves diſarmed. In memory hereof (ſaith *Herodotus*) the ſtatue of this King is ſet up in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Mouſe in his hand, with this inſcription, *Let him that holds me ſerve God.* Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, wherein how far they ſwarved from the truth, being deſirous to magnifie their own King, it may eaſily be perceived. It ſeems that this Image of *Sethon* was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or elſe perhaps, the Prieſts did forbear to tell it him (which cauſed him to omit it) for that the nation of the *Jews* was then well known to the world, whereof every child could have told how much falſhood had been mingled with the truth.

We find this hiſtory agreeable to the Scriptures, thus far forth; That *Senacherib* King of the *Aſſyrians* and *Arabians*, (ſo *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peradventure ſome borderers upon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) lived in this age, made War upon *Egypt*, and was miraculouſly driven home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleaſure that *Vulcan* did unto his Prieſt, happy it was (if *Sethon* were a Prieſt) that he took his god now in ſo good a mood: For within three or four years before this, all the Prieſts in *Egypt* ſhould have been ſlain, if the merciful King had not ſpared their lives, as it were half againſt the gods will. Therefore this laſt good turn was not enough to ſerve as an example, that might ſtir up the *Egyptians* to piety, ſeeing that their devotion, which had laſted ſo long before, did bring all the Prieſts into danger of ſuch a bad reward. Rather I think, that this Image did repreſent *Senacherib* himſelf, and that the Mouſe in his hand, ſignified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* manner of expreſſing things) the ſhameful iſſue of his terrible expedition, or the deſtruction of his Army, by means which came no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, ſhewed upon this ungodly King, was indeed a very good motive to piety. But the Emblem, together with the Temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chief Temple in that Town vvhere this Image was erected) might give occaſion to ſuch a fable; the Divel helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that vve may not belie the Devil, I hold it very likely, that *Sethon* finding himſelf in danger, did call upon his gods, that is, upon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had moſt devotion. But ſo had other of his predeceſſors done in the like need: yet which of them had obtained ſuccour by the like miracle? Surely the *Jews* (even ſuch of them as were moſt given to Idolatry) would have been aſhamed of the confidence which they repoſed *in the Chariots of Egypt, becauſe they were many, and in the Horſemen, becauſe they were very ſtrong*; had it been told them, that *Sethon*, inſtead of ſending thoſe Horſ-men and Chariots, was beſeeching *Vulcan* to ſend him and them good luck; or elſe (for theſe alſo were *Egyptian* gods) addreſſing their prayers to ſome Onyon or Cat. Howſoever it was, doubtleſs the Prophecy of *Eſay* took effect, which ſaid, *They ſhall be all aſhamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor help, nor do them good, but ſhall be a ſhame & alſo a reproach.* Such is commonly the iſſue of humane vviſdom, when reſting ſecure upon proviſion that it ſelf hath made, it vvill no longer ſeem to ſtand in need of God. Eſay 31. 1.

Some there are who take *Sethon* to have been ſet down by *Euſebius* under the name of *Tarachus* the *Æthiopian*; and therefore the twenty years which are given to *Tarachus*, they allow to the reign of *Sethon*. Theſe have well obſerved that *Tarachus* the *Æthiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that Country, or at leaſt an enemy to *Sennacherib*, in the war laſt ſpoken of; the *Æthiopians* (as they are engliſhed) over which he reigned, being indeed *Chuſhites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they ſuppoſe aright, that *Euſebius* hath miſtaken one King for another. But whereas they think that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaka* is placed in the room of *Sethon*, and therefore give to *Sethon* the twenty years of *Tarachus*, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this *Æthiopian* (as he is called) began his reign over *Egypt*, by *Euſebius* his accompt, after the death of *Sennacherib* and of *Ezechia*, in the firſt year of *Manaſſes* King of *Juda*. Therefore he or his years have no reference to *Sethon*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Sethon* reigned; *Funccius* peremptorily citing no Author, nor alledging reaſon for it, ſets him down thirty three years; many omit him quite; and they that name him are not careful

ful to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that rule which I propounded unto my self at the first, for measuring the reigns of these *Egyptian* Kings. The years which passed from the fifth of *Rehoboam*, unto the fourth of *Jehojakim*, I so divide among the *Egyptians*, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the Author in whom he is found, the rest is to be conferred upon him whose length of reign is uncertain; that is, upon this *Sethon*. By this accompt I find the thirty three years that are set down by *Functius*, to agree very nearly, if not precisely, with the time of *Sethon*'s reign; therefore I conform my own reckoning to his, though I could be content to have it one year less. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Psammiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the course of this History will shortly bring me, the *Egyptian* affairs growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Juda*, to which it is meet that I return.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Manasses, *and his Contemporaries.*

§. I.

The wickedness of Manasses. *His imprisonment, repentance, and death.*

MAnasse the Son of *Ezechias*, forgetting the piety of his Father, and the prosperity which followed him, set up, repaired, adorned and furnished all the Altars, Temples and high Places, in which the Devil was by the Heathen worshipped. Besides, he himself esteemed the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, with all the Hoast of heaven, as gods, and worshipped them: and of all his acts the most abominable was, that he burnt his sons for a Sacrifice to the Devil *Moloch* or *Melchor*, in the Valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benhinnon*: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Devils.

He also gave himself to all kind of Witchcraft and Sorcery, accompanied and maintained those that had familiar Spirits, and all sorts of Enchanters: besides, he shed so much innocent bloud, as *Jerusalem* was repleniished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reverent Prophet *Esay* (who was also of the Kings race, and as the *Jews* affirm, the Father-in-law of the King) he caused the Prophet near unto the Fountain of *Siloe*, to be sawn in sunder with a wodden Saw, in the eightieth year of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and monstrous than hath been heard of. The Scriptures indeed are silent hereof, yet the same is confirmed by *Epiphanius*, *Isidore*, *Eusebius*, and others, too many to rehearse, and too good to be suspected. *Therefore the Lord brought upon them the Captains of the Hoast of the Kings of* Ashur, *which took* Manasse, *and put him in fetters, and bound him in chains, and carried him to Babel:* Where, after he had lyen twenty years as a captive, and dispoiled of all honour and hope; yet to his hearty repentance and continual prayer, the God of infinite mercy had respect, and moved the *Assyrians* heart to deliver him: 2 Chron. 33. 11.

It is also likely that *Merodach*, because he loved his father *Ezechias*, was the easilier perswaded to restore *Manasse* to his liberty and estate. After which, and when he was again established, remembring the miseries which followed his wickedness, and Gods great mercies toward him, he changed form, detested his former fooliish and devilliish Idolatry, and cast down the Idols of his own erecting, prepared the Altar of God, and sacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of *Jerusalem*: and dyed after the long reign of fifty five years. *Glycas* and *Suidas* report, that *Manasse* was held in a cage of iron by the *Assyrians*: and therein fed with bread of bran and water, which men may believe as it shall please their fancies.

Just. Martyr. Cedrenus c. 91. Glycas pa. 275. Tertull. de Pat.

§. II.

Of troubles in Egypt *following the death of* Sethon. *The reign of* Psammiticus.

THat the wickedness of King *Manasses* was the cause of the evil which fell up-

on his Kingdome and person, any Christian must needs believe: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the state of things in those parts of the World such, at that time, as would have invited any Prince (and did perhaps invite *Merodach*, who fulfilled Gods pleasure, upon respect born to his own ends, desirous to enlarge his Empire) to make attempt upon *Juda*. For the kingdom of *Egypt*, which was become the pillar whereon the state of *Juda* leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with civill dissention, and after two years ill amended by a division of the government between twelve Princes. After some good agreement between these, eleven of them fell out with the twelfth of their collegues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himself absolute King of all. This *Inter-regnum*, or meer *Anarchie* that was in *Egypt*, with the division of the Kingdome following it, is placed by *Diodore* who omitteth *Sethon*, between the reign of *Sabacus* and *Psammiticus*: but *Herodotus* doth set the *Aristocratie*, or twelve Governours immediatly before *Psammiticus*, who was one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occasion of this dissention seems to have bin the uncertainty of title to that Kingdom (for that the crown of *Egypt* passed by succession of bloud, I have often shewed) which ended for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, though things were not settled untill one had obtained the Soverainty.

These twelve Rulers governed fifteen years in good seeming agreement, which to preserve, they made strait covenant and alliances one with another, being jealous of their estate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that he should make a drink-offering in *Vulcan's* Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whilest this unity lasted, they joyned together in raising a Monument of their Dominion; which was a Labyrinth, built near unto the Lake of *Meris*; a work so admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, who beholding it, affirms) no words could give it commendation answerable to the statelinesse of the work it self, I will not here set down that unperfect description which *Herodotus* makes of it, but think enough to say that he prefers it far before the Pyramides, one of which (as he saith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, or any of the fairest works in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this Labyrinth to have bin the work of *Marus* or *Menides*, a King which lived five generations before *Proteus*, that is before the Warr of *Troy*, and from this Labyrinth (saith he) *Dædalus* took the pattern of that which he made for *Minos* in *Crete*. Who this *Marus*, or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reyneccius* takes him to have bin *Annemenes*, which reigned immediately before *Thuoris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*, for *Dædalus* & *Minos* were both dead long before *Annemenes* was King. Belike *Reyneccius*, desiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Manethon*, *Chæremon* and others, that are found in *Josephus*, touching *Amenophis* and his children to the story of *Amasis* and *Actisanes* the *Æthiopian* mentioned by *Diodore*; held it consequent, after he had conjectured *Manethon's Amenophis* to be *Diodorus* his *Amasis*; that *Sethon* should be *Actisanes*, and that *Annemenes* should be *Marus*. If in this case I might intrude a conjecture, the times which we now handle are those about which *Reyneccius* hath erred in making search *Amasis* was *Anysis*, *Actisanes* was *Sabacus*; and *Marus* was one of these twelve Princes to whom *Herodotus* gives the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Actisanes* the *Æthiopian* deposed *Amasis*; *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian* deposed *Anysis*; *Actisanes* governed well, and was mild in punishing offenders; so likewise was *Sabacus*; *Marus* the next King after *Actisanes* built this Labyrinth; and the next (saving *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the same work, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to hear the truth, as living nearer to the Age wherein it was performed. The variety of names, and difference of times wherein *Diodore* believed the Priests, might be a part of the *Egyptian* vanity, which was familiar with them in multiplying their Kings, and boasting of their antiquities. Here I might add, that the twelve great Halls, Parlours, and other circumstances remembred by *Herodotus*, in speaking of this building, do help to prove that it was the work of these twelve Princes. But I hasten to their end.

Jos. cont. App. l.

At a solemn feast in *Vulcan's* Temple, when they were to make their drink-offerings, the Priest, forgetting himself, brought forth no more than eleven Cups, Hereupon, *Psammiticus*, who standing last, had not a Cup, took off his brazen Helmet; and therewith supplyed the want, This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him as a Traytor, yet, when they found that it was done by him upon set purpose or ill intent, they forbear to kill him, but being jealous of their estate, they banished him into the marish Countries by the Sea side. This Oracle, and the event is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which

I believe to have bin none other: In the reſt *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, ſaying that *Pſammiticus* hired Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whoſe aid he vanquiſht his Companions, and made himſelf ſole King.

The years of his reign, according to *Herodotus*, were fifty four; according to *Euſebius*, forty four; *Mercator*, to reconcile theſe two, gives forty four years to his ſingle reign, and ten to his ruling joyntly with the Princes before ſpoken of. Indeed, he that was admitted, being a man grown (for he cannot in reaſon be ſuppoſed to have been then a young fellow) into the number of the twelve Governours, muſt be thought to have lived unto extream age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threeſcore and nine years. I therefore yield rather to *Euſebius*; but will not adventure to cut five years from the *Ariſtocraty*: though peradventure *Pſammiticus* was not at firſt one of the twelve, but ſucceeded (either by election, or as next of blood) into the place of ſome Prince that dyed, and was ten years companion in that government.

Another ſcruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The years of the *Egyptians*, as we find them ſet down, are more by one, than ſerve to fill up the time between the fift of *Rehoboam* and the fourth of *Jehojakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we muſt abate one year from *Sethon's* reign, that was of uncertain length, or elſe (which I had rather do, becauſe *Funccius* may have followed better authority than I know, or than himſelf alledgeth, in giving to *Sethon* a time ſo nearly agreeing with the truth) we muſt confound the laſt year of one reign with the firſt of another. Such a ſuppoſition were not inſolent. For no man can ſuppoſe, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are ſet down in Chronologicall tables, reigned preciſely ſo many years as are aſcribed unto them, without any fractions: it is enough to think that the ſurpluſage of one mans times ſupplyed the defect of anothers. Wherefore I confound the laſt year of thoſe fifteen, wherein the twelve Princes ruled, with the firſt of *Pſammiticus*; who ſurely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himſelf Lord alone all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the firſt in *Egypt* who entertained any ſtrait amity with the *Greeks*; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom he gave large rewards and poſſeſſions; and that he greatly offended his *Egyptian* Souldiers, by beſtowing them in the left wing of his Army, whileſt his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honourable place) in an expedition that he made in *Syria*. Upon this diſgrace it is ſaid, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thouſand, forſook their natural Country of *Egypt*, and went into *Æthiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be revoked by kind Meſſages, nor by the King himſelf, who over-took them on the way; but when he told them of their Countrey, their Wives and Children, they anſwered, that their weapons ſhould get them a Countrey, and that nature had enabled them to get other Wives and Children.

It is alſo reported of him, That he cauſed two Infants to be brought up in ſuch ſort, as they might not hear any word ſpoken; by which means, he hoped to find out what Nation or Language was moſt ancient; foraſmuch as it ſeemed likely, that nature would teach the children to ſpeak that Language which men ſpake at the firſt. The iſſue hereof was, that the children cryed, *Beccus*, *Beccus*, which word being found to ſignifie Bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, ſerved greatly to magnify the *Phrygian* antiquity. *Goropius*, *Becanus* makes no ſmall matter of this, for the honour of his *Low-Dutch*; in which the word *Becker* ſignifies (as Baker in Engliſh) a maker of bread. He that will turn over any part of *Goropius* his works, may find enough of this kind, to perſwade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarks uſed none other tongue than the *Low-Dutch*, before the confuſion of languages at *Babel*, the name it ſelf of *Babel* being alſo *Dutch*, and given by occaſion of this confuſion; for that there they began to babble and talk one knew not what.

But I will not inſiſt upon all that is written of *Pſammiticus*. The moſt regardable of his acts was the ſiege of *Azotus* in *Paleſtina*, about which he ſpent nine and twenty years. Never have we heard (ſaith *Herodotus*) that any City endured ſo long a ſiege as this; yet *Pſammiticus* carryed it at the laſt. This Town of *Azotus* had been won by *Tartan* a Captain of *Sennacherib*, and was now, as it ſeemeth, relieved, but in vain, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out ſo well.

§. III.

What reference theſe Egyptian matters might have to the impriſonment and enlargement of Manaſſes. *In what part of his reign* Manaſſes *was taken priſoner.*

WEre it certainly known, in what year of his reign *Manaſſes* was taken priſoner,

soner, and how long it was before he obtained liberty, I think we should find these *Egyptian* troubles to have been no small occasion both of his captivity and enlargement: God so disposing of humane actions, that even they, who intended onely their own business, fulfilled onely his high pleasure. For either the civil Wars of *Egypt* that followed upon the death of *Sethon*, or the renting of the Kingdom, as it were, into twelve pieces, or the War between *Psalmmiticus* and his Collegues, or the expedition of *Psalmmiticus* into *Syria*, and the siege of *Azotus*, might minister unto the *Babylonian*, either such cause of hope to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts, or such necessity of sending an Army into those parts, to defend his own, as would greatly tempt him to make sure work with the King of *Juda*. The same occasion sufficed also to procure the delivery of *Manasses*, after he was taken. For he was taken (as *Josephus* hath it) by subtilty, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, win his Countrey, but onely wast it. So that the *Jews*, having learned wit by the ill success of their folly, in redeeming *Amazia*, were like to be more circumspect, in making their bargain upon such another accident: and the *Babylonian* (to whom the *Egyptian* matters presented more weighty argument of hope and fear, than the little Kingdom of *Juda* could afford) had no reason to spend his forces in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficulty as a greater, whereby he should compell his mightiest enemies to come to some good agreement; when by quiting his present advantage over the *Jews*, he might make his way the fairer into *Egypt*.

Now concerning the year of *Manasses* his reign, wherein he was taken prisoner; or concerning his captivity it self, how long it lasted, the Scriptures are silent, and *Josephus* gives no information. Yet I find cited by *Torniellus* three opinions: the one of *Bellarmine*, who thinks that *Manasses* was taken in the fifteenth year of his reign; the other of the Author of the greater *Hebrew Chronology*, who affirms, that it was in his twenty seventh year; the third of *Rabbi Kimki* upon *Ezechiel*, who saith, that he was forty years an Idolater, and lived fifteen years after his repentance. The first of their conjectures is upheld by *Torniellus*, who rejects the second, as more unprobable, and condemns the third as most false. Yet the reasons alledged by *Torniellus* in defence of the first, and refutation of the opinion, are such, as may rather prove him to favour the *Cardinal* as far as he may, (for where need requires, he doth freely dissent from him) than to have used his accustomed diligence in examining the matter, before he gave his judgment. Two arguments he brings to maintain the opinion of *Bellarmine:* the one, that *Ammon* the son of *Manasses*, is said by *Josephus* to have followed the works of his fathers youth; the other, that had *Manasses* grown old in his sins, *it is like that he should have continued, as he did*, in his amendment unto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason why the sins of *Manasses* might not be distinguished from his repentance in his old age, by calling them *works of his youth*, which appeared when he was twelve years old; though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimki*) untill he was but fifteen years from death. Touching the second; howsoever it be a fearfull thing, to cast off unto the last those good motions unto repentance, which we know not whether ever God will offer unto us again; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the sins which are not forsaken before the age of two and fifty years, shall be punished with finall impenitencie. But against these two collections of *Torniellus*, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not unlikely, That *Manasses* continued longer in his wickedness than *Bellarmine* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimki* hath affirmed. In the second book of *Kings*, the evill which *Manasses* did, is remembred at large, and his repentance utterly omitted; so that his amendment may seem to have taken up no great part of his life? the storie of him being thus concluded in the one and twentieth Chapter: *Concerning the rest of the Acts of* Manasses, *and all that he did, and his sin that he sinned, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of* Juda? the other place is in the four and twentieth Chapter of the same Book, where, in rehearsing the calamities with which that Nation was punished in the time of *Jehojakim*, the great Grand-child of this *Manasses*, it is said; *Surely by the commandement of the Lord came this upon* Juda, *that he might put them out of his sight, for the sins of* Manasses, *according to all that he did, and for the innocent blood that he shed (for he filled* Jerusalem *with innocent blood) therefore the Lord would not pardon it.* Who so considers well these places, may find small cause to pronounce it most false, That the repentance and amendment of *Manasses* was no earlier than fifteen years before his death; or most probable, That when he was twenty seven years old, he repented,

2 *King.* 21. 17.

2 *King.* 24. 3, 4.

and

and becomming a new man, lived in the fear of God forty years after. I will no longer diſpute about this matter, ſeeing that the truth cannot be diſcovered. It ſufficeth to ſay, that two years of civill diſſentions in *Egypt* fourteen or fifteen years following, wherein that Kingdome was weakened by partition of the Soveraigntie: the war of *Pſammiticus* againſt his Aſſociates: and four and twenty years of the nine and twenty, wherein the ſiege of *Azotus* continued, being all within the time of *Manaſſes*, did leave no one part of his reign (after the firſt fifteen years) free from the danger of being oppreſſed by the *Babylonian*, whoſe men of war had continuall occaſions of viſiting his Countrey. All which I will adde hereto, is this; that the fifteenth of *Manaſſes* was the laſt year of *Sethon* in *Egypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach* his reign, or (accounting from the death of *Aſarhaddon*) the twentieth: The ſeven and twentieth of *Manaſſes* was the tenth of the twelve Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth, was the twenty third of *Pſammiticus*. and the fifth of *Nabulaſſar*, the ſon of *Merodach*, in *Babylon:* but which of theſe was the year of his impriſonment, or whether any other, I forbear to ſhew mine opinion, leſt I ſhould thereby ſeem to draw all matters over-violently to mine own computation.

This was the firſt great maſterie that the *Babylonians* had of the kingdome of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promiſed Tribute to *Salmanaſſar*, yet *Ezechias* never payed it. True it is, that he hoped to ſtay *Senacherib's* enterpriſe againſt him, by preſenting him with three hundred talents of ſilver, and thirty of gold, beſides the plate which covered the doores and pillars of the Temple. 2 Kin. 18.

But *Manaſſes* being preſſed with great neceſſitie, could refuſe no tolerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impoſe upon him; among which it ſeems, that this was one, (which was indeed a point of ſervitude) that he might not hold peace with the *Egyptians*, whileſt they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appears not only by his fortifiing with men of war all the ſtrong Cities of *Juda* after his return (which was rather againſt *Pſammiticus*, whoſe party he had forſaken than againſt the *Babylonian*, with whom he had thenceforth no more controverſie) but likewiſe by that oppoſition, which *Joſias* made afterwards to *Pharao Neco*, in favour of *Nabulaſſar*, which had been againſt all reaſon and policie, if it had not been his dutie by covenant. Of this I will ſpeak more in convenient place.

§. IV.

Of the firſt and ſecond Meſſenian *Wars, which were in the reigns of* Ezechia *and* Manaſſes, *Kings of* Juda.

NOw concerning ſuch actions as were performed abroad in the world, about theſe times of *Manaſſes*, the moſt remarkable were the *Meſſenian* Wars; which happened in this age, and being the greateſt action performed in *Greece*, between the *Trojan* and *Perſian* Wars, deſerve not to be paſſed over with ſilence.

The firſt *Meſſenian* War began and ended in the daies of *Ezechia*; the ſecond in the reign of *Manaſſes:* but to avoyd the trouble of interrupting our Hiſtorie, I have thought it beſt to rehearſe them both in this place. Other introduction is needleſſe, than to ſay, that the poſteritie of *Hercules*, driving the iſſue of *Pelops* and the *Achæans* out of their ſeats, divided their lands between themſelves, and erected the kingdomes of *Lacedæmon*, *Argos*, *Meſſene*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a vvhile, did afterwards forget the bond of kindred, and ſought one anothers ruine with bloody wars; whereof theſe *Meſſenian* were the greateſt.

The pretended grounds of the *Meſſenian* war are ſcarce worth remembrance, they were ſo ſlight. Ambition was the true cauſe of it: vvherewith the *Lacedæmonians* were ſo tranſported, that any thing ſerved them as a colour to accompliſh their greedy deſires. Yet other matter was alledged; namely, that one *Polychares* a *Meſſenian* had ſlain many *Lacedæmonians*, for which the Magiſtrates of *Sparta* deſiring to have him yeilded into their hands, could not obtain it. The *Meſſenians* on the other ſide, excuſed *Polychares*, for that he was grown frantick, through injuries received from *Euæphnes* a *Lacedæmonian*. This *Euæphnes* had bargained to give paſture to the Cattel of *Polychares*, and was therefore to receive part of the increaſe: but not contented with the gain appointed, he ſold the Cattel, and ſlaves that keep them, to Merchants; which done, he came with a fair tale to his friend, ſaying, that they were ſtollen. Whilſt the lye was yet ſcarce out of his mouth, one of the ſlaves that had eſcaped from the Merchants came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedæmonian* being thus deprehended, confeſſed all, and promiſed large amends; which to receive he carried the ſon of *Polychares* home with him, but having him at home, he villanouſly ſlew him. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* having refuſed, after long ſute made by the wretched

Father,

Father, to do him right against this Theife and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrel out of those things which he did in that madness, whereinto they themselves had cast him. So said the *Messenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compremise, or stand unto the judgement of the *Amphictyones*, who were as the general Council of *Greece*, or to any other fair course. But the *Lacedæmonians*, who had a great desire to occupie the fair Country of *Messene*, that lay close by them, were not content with such allegations. They thought it enough to have some shew for their doings; which the better to colour, they reckoned up many old injuries, and so without sending any defiance, secretly took an oath to hold War with *Messene* till they had mastered it: which done, they seized upon *Amphia*, a frontier Town of that Province, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercy, very few escaped.

Hereupon the *Messenians* took Arms, and were met by the Enemy. A furious battel was fought between them, which ended not until dark night, with uncertain victory. The *Messenians* did strongly encamp themselves; The *Lacedæmonians*, unable to force their Camp, returned home. This War began in the second year of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the first of the fourteenth *Olympiad*, having lasted twenty years. The two enemy Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces, the *Lacedæmonians* wasting the inland parts of *Messene*; and the *Messenians*, the Sea-coast of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends, on both sides, were called in to help. The *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, took part with *Messene*; the *Spartans* had, besides many Subjects of their own, aid from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Crete*. So a second, third, and fourth battel were fought, with as great obstinacy as the first; saving that in the fourth battel the *Lacedæmonians* were enforced to turn their backs; in the other fights, the victory was still uncertain, though in one of them the *Messenians* lost *Euphaes* their King, in whose stead they chose *Aristodemus*.

Many years were spent ere all this blood was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of money to entertain Souldiers, caused the war to linger. And for the same reasons, did the *Messenians* forsake all their inland towns, excepting *Ithome*, which was a Mountain with a Town upon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to do. But, as some Authors tell us, the *Lacedæmonians* were so obstinate in this War, because of their vow, that having absented themselves ten years from *Sparta*, their wives sent them word, that their City would grow unpeopled, by reason that no children had been born them in all that time: Whereupon they sent back all their ableſt young men, promiscuously to accompany the young women, who got so many of them with child, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called *Parthenians*. *Diodorus* refers the begetting of these *Parthenians* to a former time. But in process of this *Messenian* War, when the Devil in an Oracle had advised the *Messenians* to sacrifice a Virgin of the stock of* *Ægyptus*, that so they might be victorious against the *Lacedæmonians*; the lot falling upon the Daughter of one *Lyciscus*, *Epibolus* the Priest, willing to save her, said, she was only a fostered child, and not born of the wife of *Lyciscus*: which answer giving delay to the execution of the Maid, *Lyciscus* secretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Aristodemus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his own Daughter: but a young Nobleman, being in love with the Maid, when otherwise he could not prevail, said openly that she was no Virgin, but that he had defloured her, & got her with child: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped up his innocent Daughters belly to disprove the Lovers slander: at the grave of which Daughter of his, afterwards falling, by other superstitions, into dispair of prevailing against the *Lacedæmonians*, he slew himself, to the great hurt of his Countrey, which he loved most dearly. For after his death the *Messenians* lost their courage, and finding themselves distressed by many wants, especially of victuals, they craved peace, which they obtained with most rigorous conditions. Half the yearly fruits of their Land they were bound to send unto *Sparta*; and they, with their Wives, to make solemn lamentations at the death of every *Spartan* King; they were also sworn to live in true subjection to the *Lacedæmonians*; and part of their Territory was taken from them, which was given to the *Asmæi*, and such as had followed the *Spartans* in this War.

This peace being made upon so uneven terms, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirty years it continued (the *Messenians* not finding how to help themselves) and then brake out into a new and more furious War than the former. The able young men, that were grown up in the room of those *Messenians* whom the former War had consumed, began to consider their own strength and multitude, thinking themselves equal to the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore scorned

Diod. l. 15.

* This *Ægyptus* was the youngest son of *Crespbon* by *Merope*, the daughter of *Cypselus* King of *Arcadia*: of which *Crespbon* the chief Nobility of the *Messenians* was propagated.

Strab. l. 6. Oros. l. 2. c. 21.

to

to serve such Masters as had against all right, oppressed their Fathers. The chief of these was *Aristomenes*, a Noble Gentleman of the house of *Ægyptus*; who perceiving the uniform desires of his Country-men, adventured to become their Leader. He therefore sounding the affections of the *Argives* and *Arcadians*, which he found throughly answerable to his purpose, began open war upon the State of *Lacedæmon*. This was in the fourth year of the three and twentieth *Olympiad*; when the *Lacedæmonians* hasted to quench the fire before it should grow too hot, with such forces as they could raise of their own without troubling their friends, meaning to deal with their enemies, ere any succour were lent them. So a strong battel was fought between them, and a doubtfull; save that the *Messenians* were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords to think them their equalls. Particularly; the valour of *Aristomenes* appeared such in this fight, that his people would have made him their King: but he, refusing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one year another battel was fought, whereunto each part came better provided. The *Lacedæmonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and some other friends to help; the *Messenians* had the *Argives*, *Arcadians*, and *Sicyonians*. This also was a long and bloudy fight; but *Aristomenes* did so behave himself, that finally he made the Enemies run for their lives. Of such importance was this victory, that the *Lacedæmonians* began to bethink themselves of making some good agreement. But one *Tyrtæus* an *Athenian* Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, re-inforced their spirits with his Verses. After this, *Aristomenes* took by surprise a Town in *Laconia*, and vanquished in fight *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*, who did set upon him in hope to have recovered the booty.

But all those victories of *Aristomenes* perished, in the loss of one battell, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or surely the profit, fell upon the *Lacedæmonians*, through the treason of *Aristocrates*, King of *Arcadia*, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the *Messenians* exposed to a cruel butchery. The loss was so great, that together with *Andania* their principal City, all the Towns of *Messene*, standing too far from the Sea, were abandoned for lack of men to defend them, and the Mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be safe abroad, was conveyed into a place of safety. Here the *Lacedæmonians* found a tedious work, that held them eleven years. For besides that *Era* it self was a strong piece, *Aristomenes* with three hundred stout Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the siege. He wasted all the fields of *Messene*, that were in the enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking away Corn, Wine, Cattel, and all provisions, necessary for his own people, the Slaves and houshold stuffe he changed into money, suffering the owners to redeem them. To remedy this mischief, the *Lacedæmonians* made an Edict, that neither *Messene*, nor the adjoyning parts of their own Countrey, should be tilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among private men, that were almost undone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrtæus* appeased this uprore with pleasing Songs. But *Aristomenes* grew so bold, that he not onely ranged over all the fields, but adventured upon the Towns, surprised, and sackt *Amyclæ*, and finally caused the enemies to encrease and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing these and other services, thrice *Aristomenes* was taken prisoner; yet still he escaped. One escape of his deserves to be remembred, as a thing very strange and marvellous. He had with too much courage adventured to set upon both the Kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken up senseless, and carried away prisoner, with fifty of his Companions. There was a deep natural Cave into which the *Spartans* used to cast head-long such as were condemned to dye for the greatest offences. To this punishment were *Aristomenes* and his companions adjudged. All the rest of these poor men dyed with their falls; *Aristomenes* (howsoever it came to pass) took no harm. Yet was it harm enough to be imprisoned in a deep Dungeon, among dead carkasses, where he was like to perish through hunger and stench. But after a while he perceived by some small glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a Fox that was gnawing upon a dead body. Hereupon he bethought himself, that this beast must needs know some way to enter the place and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold upon it, and catching it by the tail with one hand, saved himself from biting with the other hand, by thrusting his coat into the mouth of it. So letting it creep whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, untill the way was too strait for him; and

then dismissed it. The Fox being loose, ran through a hole at which came in a little light; and there did *Aristomenes* delve so long with his nails, that at last he clawed out his passage. When some fugitives of *Messene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Aristomenes* was returned home, their tale sounded alike, as if they had said, that a dead man was received. But when the *Corinthian* forces that came to help the *Lacedæmonians* in the siege of *Era*, were cut in pieces, their Captains slain, and their Camp taken; then was it easily beleived, that *Aristomenes* was alive indeed.

Thus eleven years passed whilest the enemies hovering abour *Era*, saw no likelihood of getting it; and *Aristomenes* with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slave that had fled from *Sparta*, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdness the wife of a *Messenian*, and was entertained by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rainy-winter-night, that the husband came home unlooked for, whilst the Adulterer was within. The Woman hid her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him by what good fortune hee was returned so soon. He told her, that the storm of foul weather was such, as had made all his fellows leave their Stations, and that himself had done as the rest did; as for *Aristomenes*, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not look abroad neither was it to be feared, that the enemies would stir in such a dark rainy night as this was. This slave that heard these tidings, rose up secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedæmonian* Camp with the news. There he found *Emperamus* his Master commanding in the Kings absence. To him he uttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Army into the town. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarm was presently taken; and the extream darkness, together with the noise of wind and rain, hindred all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruel fight; one part being incited by meer hope ending a long work, the other enraged by meer desperation. The great advantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompenced partly by the assistance which women and children (to whom the hatred of servitude had taught contempt of death) gave to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrowness of the streets and other passages, which admitted not many to fight at once. But the *Messenians* were in continual toyl; their Enemies fought in course, refreshing themselves with meat and sleep, and then returning supplyed the place of their weary fellows with fresh Companions. *Aristomenes* therefore, perceiving that his men for want of relief were no longer able to hold out, (as having been three days and three nights vexed with all miseries, of labour, watchings, fighting, hunger and thirst, besides continual rain and cold) gathered together all the weaker sort, whom he compassed round with armed men, and so attempted to break out through the midst of the Enemies. *Emperamus* General of the *Lacedæmonians* was glad of this; and to further their departure, caused his Souldiers to give an open way, leaving a fair passage to these desperate mad-men. So they issued forth, and arrived safe in *Arcadia*, where they were most lovingly entertained.

Upon the first bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Arcadians* had prepared themselves to the rescue: but *Aristocrates* their fall-hearted King, said it was too late, for that all was already lost. When *Aristomenes* had placed his followers in safety, he chose out five hundred the lustiest of his men, with whom he resolved to march in all secret hast into *Sparta*, hoping to find the Town secure, and ill manned, the people being run forth to the spoyl of *Messene*. In this enterprise, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedæmonians* would be glad to recover their own, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred *Arcadians* that offered to joyn with him; but *Aristocrates* marred all, by sending speedy advertisement thereof to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Epistle which *Anaxander* sent back to *Aristocrates* was intercepted by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falshood, which being published in open assembly, the *Arcadians* stoned him to death, and casting forth his body unburied, erected a monument of his treachery, with a note, That the Perjurer cannot deceive God.

Of *Aristomenes* no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people, to the charge of his son *Gorgus* and other sufficient Governours, who should plant them in some new seat abroad, he resolved himself to make aboad in those parts, hoping to find the *Lacedæmonians* work at home. His daughters he bestowed honourably in marriage. One of them *Demagetus*, who reigned in the Ile of *Rhodes*, took to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marry the daughter of the best man in *Greece*. Finally *Aristomenes* went with his

his daughter to *Rhodes*, when he purpoſed to have travelled unto *Ardys* the Son of *Gyges* King of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* King of *Media*: but death prevented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Meſſenians* vvere invited by *Anaxilas* (vvhoſe great Grandfather vvas a *Meſſenian*, and vvent into *Italy* after the former war) being Lord of the *Rhegians* in *Italy*, to take his part againſt the *Zanclæans* in *Sicily*, on the other ſide of the Streights. They did ſo; and vvinning the Town of *Zancle*, called it *Meſſene*, vvhich name it keeps to this day.

This ſecond *Meſſenian* vvar ended in the firſt year of the twenty eighth *Olympiad*. Long after vvhich time, the reſt of that Nation, vvho ſtaying at home ſerved the *Lacedæmonians*, found means to rebell; but vvere ſoon vanquiſhed, and being driven to forſake *Peloponneſus*, they vvent into *Acarnania*; vvhence likewiſe, after few ages, they were expelled by the *Lacedæmonians*, and then followed their ancient Country-men into *Italy* and *Sicily*; ſome of them went into *Africa*, where they choſe unto themſelves a ſeat.

It is very ſtrange, that during two hundred and fourſcore years, this baniſhed Nation retained their name, their ancient cuſtoms, language, hatred of *Sparta*, and love of their forſaken Country; with a deſire to return unto it. In the third year of the hundred and ſecond *Olympiad*, the great *Epaminondas*, having tamed the pride of the *Lacedæmonians*, revoked the *Meſſenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Peloponneſus*. There did *Epaminondas* reſtore unto them their old poſſeſſion, and help them in building a fair City; which by the name of the Province, was called *Meſſene*, and was held by them ever after, in deſpight of the *Lacedæmonians*, of whom they never from thenceforth ſtood in fear.

§. V.

Of the Kings that were in Lydia *and* Media, *while* Manaſſes *reigned. Whether* Deioces *the* Mede *were that* Arphaxad *which is mentioned in the Book of* Judith. *Of the Hiſtory of* Judith.

Ardys King of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are ſpoken of by *Pauſanias*, as reigning ſhortly after the *Meſſenian* war, *Ardys* ſucceeding unto his father *Gyges*, began his reign of nine and forty years, in the ſecond of the five and twentieth *Olympiad*. He followed the ſteps of his father, vvho encroached upon the *Ionians* in *Aſia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like maner *Ardys* wan *Priene*, and aſſailed *Miletus*; but went away without it. In his reign, the *Cimmerians*, being expelled out of their own country by the *Scythians*, over-ran a great part of *Aſia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this mans Grandchild, by whom they were driven out. They had not onely broken into *Lydia*, but wan the City of *Sardes*; though the Caſtle or Citadel thereof was defended againſt them and held ſtill for King *Ardys*; whoſe long reign was unable, by reaſon of this great ſtorm, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King until the third year of the nine and twentieth *Olympiad*, which was ſix years after the *Meſſenian* war ended; the ſame being the laſt years of *Manaſſes* his reign over *Juda*.

Deioces the father of this *Phraortes*, vvas King of *Media*, three & fifty of theſe five and fifty years in which *Manaſſes* reigned. This *Deioces* was the firſt that ruled the *Medes* in a ſtrict form, commanding more abſolutely than his Predeceſſours had done. For they, following the example of *Arbaces*, had given to the people ſo much licence, as cauſed every one to deſire the wholeſome ſeverity of a more Lordly King. Herein *Deioces* anſwered their deſires to the full. For he cauſed them to build for him a ſtately Palace; he took unto him a Guard; for defence of his perſon; he ſeldom gave preſence; vvhich alſo vvhen he did, it vvas vvith ſuch auſterity, that no man durſt preſume to ſpit or cough in his ſight. By theſe and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly upheld the Majeſty which his predeceſſours had almoſt letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his Royal Office, he did uprightly and ſeverely adminiſter juſtice, keeping ſecret ſpies to inform him of all that vvas done in the Kingdom. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion by encroaching upon others, but ſtudied how to govern well his own. The difference found between this King, and ſuch as were before him, ſeems to have bred that opinion which *Herodotus* delivers, that *Deioces* was the firſt who reigned in *Media*. *Herod. l. 1.*

This was he that built the great City of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he ſhould be that king *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the ſtory of *Judith*, as alſo *Ben Merodach*, by the ſame account, ſhould be *Nabuchodonoſor* the *Aſſyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was ſlain, and *Holofernes* ſent to work wonders upon *Phul* and *Lud*, and I

know not what other Countries. For I reckon the last year of *Deioces* to have been the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwise, some earlier, in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, some later, in the reign of *Nabulassar*, who is also called *Nabuchodonosor*.

In fitting this book of *Judith* to a certain time, there hath been much labour spent with ill success. The reigns of *Cambyses*, *Darius Hystaspis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, have been sought into, but afford no great matter of likelyhood and now of late, the times foregoing the destruction of *Jerusalem*, have been thought upon, and this age that we have in hand, chosen by *Bellarmine*, as agreeing best with the story; though others herein cannot (I speak of such as fain would) agree with him. Whilst *Cambyses* reigned, the Temple was not re-built, which in the story of *Judith* is found standing and dedicated. The other two *Persian* Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes*, are acknowledged to have been very favourable to the *Jews*; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonosor*, whose part they refused to take, and who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath some conveniences, aptly fitting this History; and above all, the opinion of a few ancient Writers (without whose judgment the authority of this Book were of no value) having placed this argument in the *Persian* Monarchy, inclines the matter to the reign of this vain-glorious King. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the business. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this History, there must be a return from captivity lately foregoing; the Temple re-built; *Joachim* High Priest; and a long peace of threescore and ten years, or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the Jews. Likewise on the other side, we must find a King that reigned in *Nineve*, eighteen years at the least; that vanquished and slew a King of the *Medes*; one whom the *Jews* refused to assist; one that sought generally to be adored as God, and that therefore commanded all temples, of such as were accounted gods, to be destroyed; one whose Viceroy or Captain General knew not the Jewish Nation, but was fain to learn what they were of the bordering people.

Of all these circumstances; the Priesthood of *Joachim*, with a return from captivity, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manasses* before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the re-building of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the reign of *Xerxes*; the rest of circumstances requisite, are to be found all together, neither before nor after the captivity of the *Jews*, and desolation of the City. Wherefore the brief decision of this controversie is, *That the book of* Judith *is not Canonical.* Yet hath *Torniellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that under *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps restored and re-edified the City of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly been built by *Deioces*) and *Nabuchodonosor* might be another. This granted; he adds, that from the twelfth year to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, that is, five or six years, the absence and ill fortune of *Xerxes* in his *Grecian* expedition (which he supposeth to have been so long) might give occasion unto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonosor*, having vanquished and slain *Arphaxad*, might then seek to make himself Lord of all, by the Army which he sent forth unto *Holofernes*. So should the *Jews* have done their duty, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Sovereign Lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also the other circumstances rehearsed before, be well applyed to the argument. For in these times, the affairs of *Jury* were agreeable to the History of *Judith*, and such a King as this supposed *Nabuchodonosor*, might well enough be ignorant of the *Jews*, and as proud as we shall need to think him: But the silence of all Histories, takes away belief from this conjecture: and the supposition it self is very hard, that a Rebell, whose King was abroad, with an Army consisting of seventeen hundred thousand men, should presume so far, upon the strength of twelve hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand Archers on horse back, as to think that he might do what he list, yea that there was none other God than himself. It is indeed easie to find enough that might be said against this device of *Torniellus*: yet if there were any necessity of holding the book of *Judith* to be Canonical, I would rather choose to lay aside all regard of prophane Histories, and build some defence upon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all do, the text it self. That *Judith* lived under none of the *Persian* Kings, *Bellarmine* (whose works I have not read, but find him cited by *Torniellus*) hath proved by many arguments. That she lived not in the Reign of *Manasses*, *Torniellus* hath proved very substantially, shewing how the Cardinal is driven, as it were to break through a wall, in saying that the text was corrupted, where it spake of the

the deſtruction of the Temple foregoing her time, that the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonoſor*, found out by *Torniellus*, are the children of meer fantaſie, it is ſo plain that it needs no proof at all. Wherefore we may truly ſay, that they, which have contended about the time of this Hiſtory, being well furniſhed of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themſelves (like naked men in a ſtony field) have chaſed *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *Extra anni ſoliſque vias*, in an age that never was, and in places that were never known.

Surely, to find out *the borders of* Japheth, *which were towards the South, and over againſt* Arabia; or the Countries of *Phul* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I think it would as much trouble Coſmographers, as the former queſtion hath done Chronologers. But I will not buſie my ſelf herewith; having already ſo far digreſſed, in ſhewing who lived not with *Manaſſes*, that I think it high time to return unto mine own work, and rehearſe what others I find, to have had their part, in the long time of his Reign.

Judit. 2. 13 & 25.

§. VI.

Of other Princes and actions that were in theſe times.

THE firſt year of *Manaſſes* was the laſt *Romulus*; after whoſe death, one year the *Romans* wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabyne* choſen, a peaceable man, and ſeeming very religious in his kind. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed only in Wars, to ſome good civility, and a more orderly faſhion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with ſuperſtition; as perſwading them, that he had familiarity with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies which he delivered unto the *Romans* as things of great importance. But all theſe devices of *Numa* were in his own judgement, no better than meer deluſions, that ſerved only as rudiments to bring the ſavage multitude of theeves and out-laws, gathered into one body by *Romulus*, to ſome form of milder diſcipline, than their boyſterous and wild natures were otherwiſe apt to entertain. This appeared by the Books that were found in his grave, almoſt ſix hundred years after his death, wherein the Superſtition taught by himſelf was condemned as vain. His grave was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffins or Cheſts of ſtone were in it, with an inſcription in Greek and Latine letters, which ſaid, that *Numa Pompilius*, the ſon of *Pompo*, King of the *Romans*, lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his body being utterly conſumed. In the other were his Books, wrapped up in two bundles of wax; of his own conſtitutions ſeven, and other ſeven of Philoſophy. They were not onely uncorrupted, but in a manner freſh and new. The Pretour of the City deſiring to have a ſight of theſe Books, when he perceived whereunto they tended, refuſed to deliver them back to the owner, and offered to take a ſolemn oath that they were againſt the Religion then in uſe. Hereupon the Senate, without more adoe, commanded them to be openly burnt. It ſeems that *Numa* did mean to acquit himſelf unto wiſer ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not been ſo fooliſh as to believe the Doctrine wherein he inſtructed his own barbarous times. But the poyſon wherewith he had infected *Rome*, when he ſate in his Throne, had not left working, when he miniſtred the Antidote out of his grave. Had theſe Books not come to light untill the days of *Tully* and *Cæſar*, when the miſt of ignorance was ſomewhat better diſcuſſed: likely it is that they had not only eſcaped the fire, but wrought ſome good (and peradventure general) effect. Being as it was, they ſerved as a confutation, without remedy, of Idolatry that was inveterate.

Numa reigned three and forty years in continual peace. After him *Tullus Hoſtilius* the third King was choſen, in the ſix and fortieth of *Manaſſes*, and reigned two and thirty years, buſied, for the moſt part, in War. He quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cauſe to fear, that might grow unto them from the *Thuſcanes*, cauſed them to bethink themſelves of a courſe, whereby without effuſion of ſo much bloud, as might make them too weak for a common enemy, it might be decided, who ſhould command, and who obey.

There were in each Camp three Brethren, Twins, born at one birth (*Dionyſius* ſays that they were Couſin Germans) of equal years and ſtrength, who were appointed to fight for their ſeveral Countries. The end was, that the *Horatii*, Companions for the *Romans*, got the victory, though two of them firſt loſt their lives. The three *Curatii* that fought for *Alba* (as *Livy* tels it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when

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two of their oppoſites were ſlain; but the third *Horatius*, pretending fear, did run away, and thereby drew the others, who by reaſon of their hurts, could not follow him with equal ſpeed, to follow him at ſuch diſtance one from another, that returning upon them, he ſlew them, as it had been in ſingle fight, man after man, ere they could joyn together and ſet upon him at once. *Dionyſius* reports it ſomewhat otherwiſe, telling very particularly, what wounds were given and taken, and ſaying, that firſt one of the *Horatii* was ſlain, then one of the *Curatii*, then a ſecond *Horatius*, and laſtly the two *Curatii*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly ſever the one from the other, as is ſhewed before.

This is one of the moſt memorable things in the old *Roman* Hiſtory, both in regard of the action it ſelf, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were in a wager, againſt *Alba*; and in reſpect of the great increaſe which thereby the *Roman* State obtained. For the City of *Alba* did immediately become ſubject unto her own Colony, and was ſhortly after, upon ſome treacherous dealing of their Governour, utterly razed, the people being removed unto *Rome* where they were made Citizens. The ſtrong Nation of the *Latines*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother City, had been chief, became ere long dependent upon *Rome*, though not ſubject unto it, and divers petty States adjacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were ſmall, yet many, I will forbear to rehearſe (as being the works of ſundry ages, and few of them remarkable conſidered apart by themſelves) until ſuch time as the fourth Empire, that is now in the infancy, ſhall grow to be the main ſubject of this Hiſtory.

The ſeventh year of *Hippomenes* in *Athens*, was current with the firſt of *Manaſſes*. Alſo the three laſt Governours for ten years, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the ſame Kings time. Of theſe I find only names, *Leocrates*, *Abſander*, and *Erizias*. After *Erizias* yearly Rulers were elected.

Theſe Governours for ten years were alſo of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of rule was ſhortned, and from term of life reduced unto ten years, it being thought likely that they would govern the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to live private men under the command of others. I follow *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, in applying their times unto thoſe years of the *Olympiads*, wherein the Chronological Table, following this work, doth ſet them. For he not only profeſſeth himſelf to have taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted alwaies the years of the *Greeks*, how they did anſwer unto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of this Hiſtory. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the firſt year of the ſeventh *Olympiad*, and affirms, that the ſame was the firſt year of *Charops* government of *Athens*; I hope I ſhall not need excuſe, for varying from *Pauſanias*, who ſets the beginning of theſe *Athenians* ſomewhat ſooner. *Dion. Halic. l. 1. fol. 43. & 45.*

In the reign of *Manaſſes* it was, that *Midas*, whom the Poets feigned to have had Aſſes ears, held the Kingdom of *Phrygia*. Many fables were deviſed of him; eſpecially that he obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which he ſhould touch might immediately be changed into Gold: by which means he had like to have been ſtarved (his meat and drink being ſubject to the ſame transformation) had not *Bacchus* delivered him from this miſerable faculty, by cauſing him to waſh himſelf in the River *Pactolus*, the ſtream whereof hath ever ſince, forſooth, abounded in that precious metall. Finally, it is ſaid he dyed by drinking Bulls blood; being invaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flouriſhed that *Antimachus*, who (ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) obſerved the Moons Eclipſe at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Mileſians*, or, (as *Euſebius* hath it) the *Athenians* having obtained ſome power by Sea, founded *Macicratis* a City on the Eaſt of *Egypt*. *Pſammiticus* herein ſeems to have aſſiſted them, who uſed all means of drawing the *Greeks* into *Egypt*, accounting them his ſureſt ſtrength. For neither *Miletus* nor *Athens* were now of power ſufficient to plant a Colony in *Egypt* by force.

About this time *Archias* and his companion *Miſcellus*, and other *Corinthians*, founded *Syracuſæ* in *Sicily*, a City in after times exceeding famous. *Plut. & Euſeb.*

The City of *Nicodemia*, ſometime **Aſtacus*, was enlarged and beautified in this age by *Zipartes* native of *Thrace*. *Sybilla* of *Samus*, according to *Pauſanias*, lived much about this time. * Whence in *Strabo* there is *ſinus Aſtacenus* a part of *Propontis* where this City ſtandeth.

About theſe times alſo was *Croton* founded upon the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Miſcellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracuſæ*. *Strabo* makes it ſomewhat more ancient, and ſo doth *Pauſanias*. *Pauſ. l. 5. Hal. l. 3. Strab l. 6.*

About the ſame time the *Parthenians* being of age, and baniſhed *Lacedæmon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italy*; where it is ſaid they founded *Tarentum*: but *Juſtine* and *Pauſanias* find it built before, and by *Juſtin. l. 3. Pauſ. l. 10.*

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them conquered and amplified: and about the ſame time, *Manaſſe* yet living, the City *Phaſelis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Gela* in *Sicily*, *Interamne* in the Region of the *Umbrii*, now *Urbin* in *Italy*. About which time alſo *Chalcedon* in *Aſia*, over againſt *Byzantium* (now *Conſtantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenſes*, who therefore were upbraided as blind, becauſe they choſe not the other ſide of *Boſphorus*. It were a long work to rehearſe all that is ſaid to have been done in the five and fifty years of *Manaſſes*: that which already hath been told is enough; the reſt being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, reſerving only *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulaſſar*, to the buſineſs that will ſhortly require more mention of them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of Manaſſes *to the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem.

§. I.

Of Ammon *and* Joſias.

2 *Kin.* 21. 2 *Chro* 33. *Ammon* the ſon of *Manaſſe*, a man no leſs wicked than was his Father before his converſion, reſtored the exerciſe of all ſorts of Idolatry: for which God hardned the hearts of his own ſervants againſt him, who ſlew him after he had reigned two years. *Philo*, *Euſebius*, and *Nicephorus* give him ten years, following the Septuagint.

Joſias ſucceeded unto *Ammon*, being but a child of 8. years old, he began to ſeek after the God of *David* his Father; and in his twelfth year he purged *Juda* and *Jeruſalem* *from the high places, and the groves, and the carved and molten Images: and they brake down in his ſight the Altars of* Baalim: He cauſed all the Images, as well thoſe which were graven, as molten, to be ſtampt to powder, and ſtrewed on their graves that had erected them; and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. He alſo ſlew thoſe that ſacrificed to the Sun and Moon, and cauſed the Chariots and Horſes of the Sun to be burnt. Of *Joſias* it was propheſied in the time of *Jeroboam* the firſt, when he erected the Golden Calf at *Bethel*, that a child ſhould be born unto the houſe of *David*, *Joſias* by name, and upon thee (ſaid the Prophet, ſpeaking to the Altar) ſhall he ſacrifice the Prieſts of the high places, that burn Incenſe upon thee: a prophecy very remarkable.

2 *Kin.* 22. 2 *Chro.* 34. 1 *Kin.* 13.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, he rebuilt and repaired the Temple, at which time *Helkiah* the Prieſt found the Book of *Moſes*, called *Deutronomy*, or, of the Law, which he ſent to the King: which when he had cauſed to be read before him, and conſidered of the ſevere commandements therein written, the proſperity promiſed to thoſe that obſerve them, and the ſorrow and extirpation to the reſt, he rent his garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to ask counſel of the Propheteſs *Huldah*, or, *Olda*, concerning the Book; who anſwered the meſſengers in theſe words: *Thus ſaith the Lord, Behold, I will bring evil upon the place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curſes that are written in the Book which they have read before the King of* Juda, *becauſe they have forſaken me, and burnt Incenſe to other gods.* Only for the King himſelf, becauſe he was a lover of God and his Laws, it was promiſed that this evil ſhould not fall on *Juda* and *Jeruſalem* in his daies, but that he himſelf ſhould inherit his grave in peace.

2 *Chro.* 34. 21. 2 *King.* 22. 15. 2 *Chro.* 34.

Joſias aſſembled the Elders, cauſed the Book to be read unto them, made a covenant with the Lord, and cauſed all that were found in *Jeruſalem* and *Benjamin* to do the like, promiſing thereby to obſerve the Laws and Commandements in the Book contained.

The execution done by *Joſias* upon the Altar, Idols, Monuments, and bones of the falſe Prophets at *Bethel*, argueth his Dominion to have extended unto thoſe Countries, that had been part of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. Yet I do not think, that any victory of *Joſias* in war got poſſeſſion of theſe places; but rather that *Ezechias*, after the flight and death of *Senacherib*, when *Merodach* oppoſed himſelf againſt *Aſarhaddon*, did uſe the advantage which the faction in the North preſented unto him, and laid hold upon ſo much of the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, as he was able to people. Otherwiſe alſo it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding himſelf

self unable to deal with *Psammiticus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raise the siege of *Azotus*, though the Town held out nine and twenty years) did give unto *Manasses*, together with his liberty, as much in *Israel* as himself could not easily defend. This was a good way to break the amity that the Kings of *Juda* had so long held with those of *Egypt*, by casting a bone between them, and withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territories with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendship of the Jews, which had been lost by injuries done, in seeking to bereave them of their own. When it is said, that *Manasses* did after his deliverance from imprisonment, *put Captains of War in all the strong Cities of* Juda; it may be that some such business is intimated, as the taking possession and fortifying of places delivered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he took much pains, in making *Jerusalem* it self more defensible; yet I should rather believe, that he, having already compounded with the *Babylonian*, did fortifie himself against the *Egyptians*, whose side he had forsaken, than that he travelled in making such provisions only for his minds sake. The earnestness of *Josias* in the King of *Babel* his quarrel, doth argue, that the composition which *Manasses* had made with that King or his Ancestor, was upon such friendly terms, as required not only a faithful observation, but a thankfull requital. For no perswasions could suffice to make *Josias* sit still, and hold himself quiet in good neutrality, when *Pharao Necho* King of *Egypt* passed along by him, to war upon the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*.

2 *Chro.* 33 14.

The last year of *Josias* his reign it was, when as *Necho* the son of *Psammiticus*, came with a powerful Army towards the border of *Judæa*, determining to pass that way, being the neerest toward *Euphrates*, either to strengthen the passages of that River about *Carchemish*, or *Cercusium*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this, *Diocletian* is said by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to have done,) or perhaps to invade *Syria* it self. For it seemeth that the travail of *Psammiticus* had not been idlely consumed about that one Town of *Azotus*, but had put the *Egyptians* in possession of no small part of *Syria*, especially in those quarters that had formerly belonged unto the *Adades* Kings of *Damasco*.

2 *Chro.* 35 20.

Neither was the industry of *Necho* less than his Fathers had been, in pursuing the war against *Babel*. In which war, two things may greatly have availed the *Egyptians*, and advanced their affairs and hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenary *Greeks*, that were far better Souldiers than *Egypt* of it self could afford; and the danger wherein *Assyria* stood, by the force of the *Medes*, which under the command of more absolute Princes, began to feel it self better, and to shew what it could do. These were great helps, but of shorter endurance than was the war; as in place more convenient shall be noted. At the present it seems, that either some preparation of the *Chaldæans* to reconquer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs to make resistance, did invite the King of *Egypt* into the Countries bordering upon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharao Necho* ascended with a mighty Army.

These two great Monarchs, having their Swords drawn, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Josias* advised with himself to which of these he might adhere, having his Territory set in the midway between both, so as the one could not invade the other, but that they must of necessity tread upon the very face and body of his Country. Now though it were so that *Necho* himself desired, by his Embassadours, leave to pass along by *Judæa*, protesting that he directed himself against the *Assyrians* only, without all harmful purpose against *Josias*; yet all sufficed not, but the King of *Israel* would needs fight with him. 2 *Chro.* 35.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendship of *Egypt* could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of *Hosea* the last King of *Israel*, who when he fell from the dependance of the *Assyrian*, and wholy trusted to *Sabacus* or *Sous* King of *Egypt*, was utterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life and estate, which the *Assyrian* so rooted up and tare in pieces, as it could never after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fell upon *Juda* in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of *Ezechia*, whilst that good King and his people relied upon *Sethon*; and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasses*, were documents of sufficient proof, to shew the ill assurance that was in the help of the *Egyptians*, who (near neighbours though they were) were alwaies unready, when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why *Neco* did not seek to have the Jews renew their ancient league with him, but only craved that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the pastime between him and the *Assyrians*. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an Army, as did, soon after this, out-face *Nabulassar* upon his

own

own borders, left unto the *Jews*, a lawful excuſe of fear, had they forborn to give it any check upon the way. Wherefore I believe that this religious and vertuous Prince *Joſias*, was not ſtirred up only by politick reſpects, to ſtop the way of *Neco*; but thought himſelf bound in Faith and Honour, to do his beſt in defence of the *Babylonian* Crown; whereunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by Covenant made at the enlargement of *Manaſſes*, or by the gift of ſuch part as he held in the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. As for the Princes and people of *Juda*, they had now a good occaſion to ſhew, both unto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendſhip was, and to the *Egyptians*, what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemy.

Some think that this Action of *Joſias* was contrary to the advice of *Jeremy* the Prophet; which I do not find in the Prophecie of *Jeremy*, nor can find reaſon to believe. Others hold opinion that he forgat to aſk the Counſel of God: and this is very likely; ſeeing he might believe that an enterpriſe grounded upon fidelity and thankfulneſs due to the King of *Babel*, could not but be diſpleaſing unto the Lord. But the wickedneſs of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken ſuch root, as all the care of *Joſias* in reforming the Land, could not pluck up) was queſtionleſs far from hearkening how the matter would ſtand with Gods pleaſure, and much farther from enquiring into his ſecret Will, wherein it was determined that their good King, whoſe life ſtood between them and their puniſhment, ſhould now be taken from among them, and that in ſuch ſort, as his death ſhould give an entrance to the miſeries enſuing. So *Joſias* levying all the ſtrength he could make, near unto *Megiddo*, in the half Tribe of *Manaſſes*, encountred *Neco:* and there he received the ſtroke of death, which lingring about him till he came to *Jeruſalem*, brought him to the Sepulchres of his Anceſtors. His loſs was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of *Juda*, eſpecially of *Jeremy* the Prophet, who inſerted a ſorrowful remembrance thereof in his Book of Lamentations.

Lam 4.10.

§. II.

Of Pharao Neco *that fought with* Joſias: *Of* Jehoahaz *and* Jehojakim *Kings of* Iſrael.

OF theſe Wars, and particularly of this Victory, *Herodotus* hath mention among the Acts of *Neco*. He tells us of this King, that he went about to make a Channel, whereby Ships might paſs out of *Nilus* into the Red Sea. It ſhould have reached above an hundred miles in length, and been wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the middeſt of the work, an Oracle foretold that the *Barbarians* ſhould have the benefit of it, which cauſed *Neco* to deſiſt when half was done. There were conſumed in this toylſome buſineſs twelve hundred thouſand *Egyptians*; a loſs great enough to make the King forſake his enterprize, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. Howſoever it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore he built a Fleet, and levied a great Army, wherewith he marched againſt the King of *Babel*. In this Expedition, he uſed the ſervice, as well of his Navy, as of his Land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein are found recorded, ſave only this victory againſt *Joſias*, where *Herodotus* calls the place *Magdolus*, and the Jews *Syrians*; which is a ſmall error, ſeeing that *Judæa* was a Province of *Syria*, and *Magdolus* or *Magdala* is taken to have been the ſame place (though diverſly named) in which this battel was fought. After this, *Necus* took the City of *Cadytis*, which was perhaps *Carchemiſh*, by *Euphrates*, and made himſelf Lord, in a manner, of all *Syria*, as *Joſephus* witneſſeth.

Joſ. Ant. Jud. lib. 10. cap. 7.

Particularly we find, that the *Phœnicians* one of the moſt powerful Nations in *Syria*, were his Subjects, and that by his command they ſurrounded all *Africa*, ſetting ſail from the Gulf of *Arabia*, and ſo paſſing along all the coaſt, whereon they both landed, as need required, and ſowed Corn for their ſuſtenance in that long voyage, which laſted three years. This was the firſt Navigation about *Africa*, wherein that great Cape, now called *Of good hope*, was diſcovered; which after was forgotten, until *Vaſco de Gama* the *Portingal* found it out, following a contrary courſe to that which the *Phœnicians* held; for they beginning in the Eaſt, ran the way of the Sun, South and then Weſtward, after which they returned home by the pillars and ſtreights of *Hercules* (as the name was

Herod. l. 4.

then) called now the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, having *Africk* ſtill on the right hand; but the *Portingals*, beginning their voyage not far from the ſame ſtreights, leave *Africk* on the Larboord, and bend their courſe unto the Eaſt. That report of the *Phœnicians*, which *Herodotus* durſt not believe, how the Sun in this journey was on their right hand, that is, on the North ſide of them, is a matter of neceſſary truth; and the obſervation then made hereof, makes me the better to believe, that ſuch a voyage was indeed performed. But leaving theſe diſcourſes of *Neco* his magnificence, let us tell what he did, in matters more importing his eſtate. The people of *Juda*, while the *Egyptians* were buſie at *Charchemiſh*, had made *Jehoahaz* their King, in the room of his father *Joſias*. The Prophet *Jeremy* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the ſhort reign of *Shallum* King of the ten Tribes: for *Shallum* of *Iſrael* reigned but one moneth; *Jehoahaz* no more than three. He was not the eldeſt ſon of *Joſias*: Wherefore it may ſeem that he was ſet up as the beſt affected unto the King of *Babel*; the reſt of his houſe being more inclined to the *Egyptian*, as appears by the ſequel. An Idolater he was, and thrived accordingly. For when as *Neco* had diſpatched his buſineſs in the North parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affairs of *Judæa*. This Country was now ſo far from making any reſiſtance, that the King himſelf came from *Riblah* in the land of *Hamath*, where the matter went ſo ill on his ſide, that *Neco* did caſt him into bonds, and carry him priſoner into *Egypt*, giving away his Kingdom to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. The City of *Riblah*, in after times called *Antiochia*, was a place unhappy to the Kings and Princes of *Juda*, as may be obſerved in divers examples. Yet here *Jehojakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdom; an ill gain, ſince he could no better uſe it. But however *Jehojakim* thrived by the bargain, *Pharao* ſped well, making that Kingdom Tributary, without any ſtroke ſtricken; which three moneths before was too ſtout to give him peace, when he deſired it. Certain it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater task lying upon his hands, than would permit him to waſt his forces upon *Judæa*: but now the reputation of his good ſucceſs at *Megiddo*, and *Charchemiſh*, together with the diſſention of the Princes *Joſias* his ſons (of whom the eldeſt is probably thought to have ſtormed at the preferment of his younger brother) gave him power to do even what ſhould pleaſe himſelf. Yet he did forbear to make a conqueſt of the Land, perhaps upon the ſame reaſon, which had made him ſo earneſt in ſeeking to hold peace with it. For the *Jews* had ſuffered much in the *Egyptians* quarrel, and being left by theſe their friends, in time of need, unto all extremities, were driven of neceſſity to forſake that party, and to joyn with the enemies; to whom if they ſhewed themſelves faithful, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaim them; ſeeing they were ſuch a people as would not upon every occaſion ſhift ſide, but endure more than *Pharao*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth ſhould lay upon them: ſo good a Patron did he mean to be unto them. Nevertheleſs, he laid upon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of ſilver, and one Talent of gold; that ſo he might both reap at the preſent ſome fruit of his pains taken, and leave unto them ſome document in the future, of greater puniſhment than verbal anger, due to them, if they ſhould rebel. So he departed, carrying along with him into *Egypt* the unfortunate King *Johoahaz*, who died in his Captivity.

Jer. 22. 32

2 *King.* 34 32.

The reign of *Jehoahaz* was included in the end of his Fathers laſt year; otherwiſe it would hardly be found, that *Jehojakim* his ſucceſſor did reign ten whole years; whereas the Scriptures give him eleven, that are current and incomplete. If any man will rather caſt the three moneths of this ſhort reign, into the firſt year of the brother, than into the fathers laſt, the ſame arguments that ſhall maintain his opinion, will alſo prove the matter to be unworthy of diſputation; and ſo I leave it.

Jehojakim in impiety was like his brother, in faction he was altogether *Egyptian*, as having received his Crown at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickedneſs of theſe laſt Kings being expreſſed in Scriptures none otherwiſe, than by general words, with reference to all the evil that their Fathers had done, makes it apparent, that the poyſon wherewith *Ahaz* and *Manaſſes* had infected the Land, was not ſo expelled by the zealous goodneſs of *Joſias*, but that it ſtill cleaved unto the chief of the people, *Yea, unto the Prieſts alſo*; and therefore it was not ſtrange, that the Kings had their parts therein. The Royal authority was much abaſed by the dangers wherein the Countrey ſtood, in this troubleſome age: the Princes did in a manner what they liſted; neither would the Kings forbear to profeſs, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Jehojakim* had the countenance of the *Egyptian* to grace it, which made him inſolent and cruel;

2 *Chron.* 36. 14.

as

as we find by that example of his dealing with *Uria* the Prophet: though herein alſo the Princes do appear to have been inſtigators. This holy man denounced Gods judgements againſt the City and Temple, in like ſort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the ſame age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poor man fled into *Egypt*: but ſuch regard was had unto *Jehojakim*, that *Uria* was delivered unto his Embaſſadour, and ſent back to the death; contrary to the cuſtom uſed, both in thoſe dayes, and ſince, among all civil Nations, of giving refuge unto ſtrangers, that are not held guilty of ſuch inhuman crimes, as for the general good of mankind ſhould be exempted from all priviledge.

It concerned *Pharao* to give all contentment poſſible to *Jehojakim*: for the *Aſſyrian* Lyon, that had not ſtirred in many years, began about theſe times to roar ſo loud upon the banks of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard unto *Nilus*, threatning to make himſelf Lord of all the Forreſt. The cauſes that hitherto had withdrawn the houſe of *Merodach* from oppoſing the *Egyptian* in his conqueſt of *Syria*, require our conſideration in this place, before we proceed to commit them together at *Carchemiſh*, where ſhortly after this the glory of *Egypt* is to fall.

§. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon *and* Media. *How it came to paſs that the Kings of* Babel *could not give attendance on their buſineſs in* Syria; *which cauſed them to loſe that Province.*

Merodach the ſon of *Baladan*, who taking the advantage that *Sennacherib's* miſadventure and death, together with the diſſention between his children, preſented, made himſelf King of *Babylon*, was eleven years troubled with a powerful Enemy, *Aſarhaddon* the ſon of *Sennacherib*, reigning over the *Aſſyrians* in *Nineve*; from whom whileſt he could not any other way divert his cares, he was fain to omit all buſineſs in *Syria*, and (as hath been formerly ſhewed) to make over unto *Ezechia* ſome part of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. From this moleſtation, the death of *Aſarhaddon* did not only ſet him free, but gave unto him ſome part of *Aſſyria*, if not (as is commonly, but leſs probably thought) the whole Kingdom. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Aſſyrians*, I will not here ſtand to enquire: his long reign following, and his little intermedling in matters of *Syria*, make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or eſtabliſhing that which he had gotten. *Joſephus* gives him the honour of having won *Nineve* it ſelf, which we may believe; but ſurely he did not hold it long. For in the times ſoon following, that great City was free, and vanquiſhed *Phraortes* the *Median*. Perhaps it yielded upon ſome capitulation: and refuſed afterwards to continue ſubject, when the Kings, being of the *Chaldæan* race, preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some think that this was the *Aſſyrian* King, whoſe Captains took *Manaſſes* priſoner, but I rather believe thoſe that hold the contrary, for which I have given my reaſons in due place. To ſay truth, I find little cauſe why *Merodach* ſhould have looked into thoſe parts, as long as the *Jews* were his friends, and the *Egyptians*, that maligned the Northern Empire, held themſelves quiet at home, which was until the time of *Pſammiticus*, about the end of this Kings Reign, or the beginning of his ſon.

Ben Merodach the ſon and ſucceſſour of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is he named by good conſent of Authors, and that ſpeak little of his doings. The length of his Reign is gathered by inference to have been one and twenty years; for ſo much remaineth of the time that paſſed between the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephews Reigns (which is a known ſum) deducting the years of his Father, and of his ſon *Nabulaſſar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manaſſes* Priſoner, and releaſed him. He ſped ill in *Syria*; where *Pſammiticus*, by the vertue of his Mercenary *Grecks*, did much prevail. This may have been ſome cauſe that he releaſed *Manaſſes*, and did put into his hands ſome part more of the Kingdom of *Samaria*: which is made probable by circumſtances alledged before.

Nabulaſſar that reigned in *Babylon* after his Father *Ben Merodach*, had greater buſineſs in his own Kingdom, than would permit him to look abroad: inſomuch as it may be thought to have been a great negligence or over-ſight of *Pſammiticus* and *Necho*, that they did not occupy ſome good part of his Dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the *Medes* invaded *Aſſyria*, and beſieged *Nineve*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulaſſar*, but conſtrained to remove by the coming of the *Scythians*, who in theſe ages did overflow thoſe parts of the world, laying hold upon all that they could maſter by ſtrong hand. Of theſe *Scythians*, and the Lordſhip that they held in *Aſia*, it is conve nient

that I ſpeak in this place; ſhewing briefly afore-hand, how the *Medes*; upon whom they firſt fell, were buſied in the ſame times with hopes of conquering *Aſſyria*.

Phraortes, the ſon of *Deioces*, King of the *Medes*, having by many victories enlarged his Dominions, conceived at length a fair poſſibility of making himſelf Lord of *Nineve*.

Herod lib. 1 That City (as *Herodotus* reports it) having been a Soveraign Lady was not forſaken of all her dependants; yet remained in ſuch caſe, that of her ſelf ſhe was well enough.

This makes it plain, that howſoever *Merodach* had gotten poſſeſſion of this imperial ſeat, and made it ſubject as was the reſt of the Country, yet it found the means to ſet it ſelf at liberty: as after this again it did, when it had been regained by *Nabulaſſar* his Grand-child.

Sharp war, and the very novelty of ſudden violence, uſe to diſmay any State or Country, not inured to the like: but cuſtom of danger hardeneth even thoſe that are unwarlike. *Nineve* had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it had ſuffered, and reſiſted, all the fury, wherewith either Domeſtical tumults between the ſons of *Sennacherib*, or forreign war of the *Babylonians*, could afflict it: and therefore it is the leſs wonderful, that *Phraortes* did ſpeed ſo ill in his journey againſt it. He and the moſt of his Army periſhed in that expedition: whereof I find no particular circumſtances (perhaps they undervalued their forces, and brought a leſs power than was needful.) It is enough, that herein we may believe *Herodotus*.

Cyaxares the ſon of *Phraortes*, a braver man of War than his Father, wan as much of *Aſia* the leſs, as lay Eaſtward, from the River of *Halys*; he ſought revenge upon the *Aſſyrians* for the death of his father, and beſieged *Nineve* it ſelf, having a purpoſe to deſtroy it. I rather believe *Euſebius*, *That he took the City, and fulfilled his diſpleaſure upon it*, than *Herodotus*, *That the Scythian Army came upon him whileſt he lay before it.* For where equal authorities are contradictory (as *Euſebius*, though far later than *Herodotus*, yet having ſeen other Authors that are now loſt, it is to be valued according to his great reading) there do I hold it beſt, to yield unto the beſt likelihoods.

To think that the *Scythians* came upon *Cyaxares*, whileſt he lay before *Nineve*, were to accuſe him of greater improvidence than ought to be ſuſpected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to ſuppoſe that he was fain to leave the Town, when a War ſo dangerous fell upon his own Country, doth well agree both with the condition of ſuch buſineſs as that *Scythian* expedition brought into thoſe parts, and with the State of the *Chaldæan* and *Aſſyrian* affairs enſuing.

The deſtruction of this great City is both foretold in the Book of *Tobit*, and there ſet down as happening about theſe times; of which Book whoſoever was the Author, he vvas ancient enough to know the ſtory of thoſe ages, and hath committed no ſuch error in reckoning of times, as ſhould cauſe us to diſtruſt him in this. As for the Prophecy of *Nahum*, though it be not limited unto any certain term, yet it appears to have taken effect, in the final deſtruction of *Nineve* by *Nabuchodonoſor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a conqueſt of *Egypt*, foregoing this calamity, vvhereof vve vvill ſpeak in due place. Some that aſcribe more authority than the reformed Churches yield, to the book of *Tobit*, are careful, as in a matter of neceſſity, to affirm, that about theſe times, *Nineve* was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victory over it to *Ben Merodach*: a needleſs conjecture, if the place of *Euſebius* be vvell conſidered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulaſſar* the ſon of *Ben Merodach* did ſeize upon it, and place a King or Viceroy therein, about ſuch time as the Country of *Aſſyria* was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the *Scythian* War overwhelmed *Media*. For then was the Conqueſt wrought out ready to his hand; the ſwelling ſpirits of the *Ninevites* were allayed, and their malice to *Babylon* ſo much aſſwaged, that it might be thought a great favour, if *Nabulaſſar*, appointing unto them a peculiar King, took him and them in protection: though afterwards to their confuſion, this unthankful People and their King rebelled again, as ſhall be ſhewed in the Reign of *Nabuchodonoſor*.

§. IV.

The great expedition of the Scythians, *who ruled in* Aſia *eight and twenty years.*

‖. 1.

The time of his expedition.

NOw that I have ſhewed what impediment was given by the *Aſſyrians* and the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby were much diſabled to perform any action of worth upon the *Egyptians* in *Syria*; it is time that I ſpeak of that great *Scythian* expedition,

pedition, which grievouſly afflicted not only the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians*, with the Countries adjacent, in ſuch wiſe, that part of the trouble redounded even to the *Egyptians* themſelves. Of the *Scythian* people in general, *Herodotus* makes very large diſcourſe, but interlaced, as of matter ill known, with many Fables; of this expedition he tells many particulars, but ill agreeing with conſent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needleſs to recite them; for they are far enough diſtant from the buſineſs in hand. The computation of times which by inference out of his relations, may ſeem very ſtrange, needeth ſome anſwer in this place: leſt otherwiſe I ſhould either ſeem to make my ſelf too bold with an Author, in citing him after a manner different from his own tale; or elſe to be too forgetful of my ſelf, in bringing to act upon the Stage, thoſe perſons, which I had already buried. Eight and twenty years, he ſaith, that the *Scythians* reigned in *Aſia*, before *Cyaxares* delivered the Country from them. Yet he reports a War between *Cyaxares* and *Haliattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the ſiege of *Nineve*; the ſiege of *Nineve* being ere the *Scythians* came. And further he tells, how the *Scythians*, having vanquiſhed the *Medes*, did paſs into *Syria*, and were encountred in *Paleſtina* by *Pſammiticus* King of *Egypt*, who by gifts and entreaty procured them to depart from him. Theſe narrations of *Herodotus* may, every one of them, be true; though not in ſuch order of time, as he hath marſhalled them. For *Pſammiticus* was dead before *Cyaxares* began to reign: and *Cyaxares* had ſpent half of his forty years, ere *Halyattes* was King of *Lydia*, ſo that he could not, after thoſe *Lydian* Wars, reign eight and twenty years together with the *Scythians*. It is true, that *Euſebius* doth alſo call *Pſammis* the ſon of *Pharao Neco*, by the name of *Pſammiticus*; and this King *Pſammis* may, by ſome ſtrained conjecture, be thought to have been he that met with the *Scythians*: for he lived with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Euſebius* himſelf refers all that buſineſs of the *Scythian* irruption into *Palæſtina* to *Pſammiticus* the Father of *Necho*, whom he leaves dead before the Reign of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not rely upon *Herodotus*, in this matter, otherwiſe than to believe him, that ſuch things were in theſe ages, though not in ſuch order as he ſets them down.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can, thoſe memorials which I find of this expedition ſcattered in divers places: a work neceſſary, for that the greatneſs of this action was ſuch, as ought not to be omitted in general Hiſtory; yet not eaſie, the conſent of thoſe that have written thereof, being nothing near to uniformity.

I have noted before, that in the reign of *Ardys* King of *Lydia*, the *Cimmerians* overran that Kingdom, and were not expelled, until *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardys* got the upper hand of them. In theſe times therefore of *Ardys*, *Sardiattes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to find the eight and twenty years, wherein the *Scythians* reigned over *Aſia*. Now foraſmuch as *Pſammiticus* the *Egyptian* had ſome dealings with the *Scythians*, even in the height of their proſperity, we muſt needs allow more than one or two of his laſt years unto this their Dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes* his Reign in *Lydia*, being three and twenty years compleat after the death of *Pſammiticus*, leaves the ſpace very ſcant, either for the great victories of the *Scythians*, neceſſarily ſuppoſed before they could meet the *Egyptian* in *Syria*, or for thoſe many loſſes, which they muſt have received ere they could be driven quite away. To increaſe this difficulty, the victorious Reign of *Nabuchodonoſor* in *Babylon*, is of no ſmall moment. For how may we think it poſſible, that he ſhould have adventured the ſtrength of the Kingdom againſt the *Egyptians* and *Jews*, had he ſtood in daily fear of loſing his own, to a more mighty Nation, that lay upon his neck? To ſpeak ſimply as it appears to me, the victories aſcribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* over theſe warlike people, were not obtained againſt the whole body of their Army, but were the defeatures of ſome troops that infeſted their ſeveral Kingdoms; other Princes, and among theſe *Nabulaſſar* having the like ſucceſs, when the pleaſures of *Aſia* had mollified the courages of theſe hardy Northern Lads. Wherefore we may probably annex the eight and twenty years of the *Scythians* rule, to as many almoſt the laſt of *Nabulaſſar*'s Reign, in compaſs whereof their power was at the greateſt. This is all that I can ſay of the time, wherein *Aſia* ſuffered the violence of their oppreſſors.

§. II.

What Nations they were that brake into Aſia; *with the cauſe of their Journey.*

TOuching the expedition it ſelf, *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Cimmerians* being driven out of their Country by the *Scythians*, invaded and waſted ſome part of *Aſia*; and that the *Scythians*, not contented with having won the land of the *Cimmerians*, did

did follow them, I know not why, into far removed quarters of the World, so (as it were by chance) falling upon *Media* and *Egypt*, in this pursuit of men that were gone another way into *Lydia*. Hereby we may gather that the *Cimmerians* were an odious and base people; the *Scythians*, as mischievous and fooliſh; or else *Herodotus*, and some other of his Country-men, great ſlanderers of those, by whom their Nation had been beaten, and *Ionia*, more than once, grievously ranſackt. The great valour of the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbrians* is so well known, and their many Conqueſts so well teſtified in Hiſtories of divers Nations, that the malice of the *Greeks* is inſufficient to ſtain them with the note of Cowards. Theſe were the poſterity of *Gomer*, who peopled the greateſt part of our Weſtern World; and whoſe re-flow did overwhelm no ſmall portion of *Greece* and *Aſia*, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now entreat. He that would more largely inform himſelf of their original and actions, may peruſe *Goropius Becanus* his *Amazonica*, of many things in which Book, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is ſaid to have ſpoken of all *Goropius* his works, *that it is eaſie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them:* There we find it proved, by ſuch arguments and authorites as are not lightly to be regarded, that the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, were all of one Linage and Nation; howſoever diſtinguiſhed in name, by reaſon of their divers tribes, profeſſions, or perhaps dialect of ſpeech. *Homer* indeed hath mention of the *Cimmerians*; whoſe Country whether he placeth in the Weſt, as near unto the Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the North, as being far from the Sun, and covered with eternal darkneſs; certain it is that he would have them near neighbours to Hell: for he had the ſame quarrel to them which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would have made them ſeem a kind of Goblins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirms) to inſert into his Works the names of ſuch as lived in his own time, making ſuch mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himſelf deſerved. And for this reaſon it is proved by *Euſtathius*, that the *Cimmerians* were ſo diſgraced by him, becauſe they had waſted his Country. Perhaps that invaſion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus* his diſcourſe with *Helen*, was the very ſame, which *Euſebius* noteth to have happened ſomewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the *Cimmerians* with the *Amazons*, together invaded *Aſia*.

This is certain, that both the *Amazons* and the *Cimmerii* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often break into *Greece* and *Aſia*; which though it be not in expreſs terms written, that they did with joynt-forces, yet ſeeing they invaded the ſelf-ſame places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One journey of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned alſo by *Euſebius*, was by the ſtreights of the *Cimmerians*, as we find in *Diodore*, who further telleth us, that the *Scythians* therein gave them aſſiſtance. *Diod. lib. 4. c. 2.*

The ſame Author, before his entry into thoſe diſcourſes of the *Amazons*, which himſelf acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to have been Wives of the *Scythians*, and no leſs War-like than their Huſbands; alledging the example of that Queen who is ſaid to have ſlain the great *Perſian Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carry their Wives along with them to the wars; and how deſperate the courage was of thoſe Women; the terrible deſcent of them into *Italy*, when *Marius* the *Roman* overthrew them, gives proof ſufficient. I will not here enter into a diſcourſe of the *Amazons*; another place will give me better leiſure to ſpeak of them: but ſeeing that they are noted by divers Hiſtorians to have belonged unto the *Cimmerians*, to the *Scythians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, we may therefore the better approve *Goropius* his concluſion, That theſe three Nations were one, at leaſt that they were near alies. *Diod. lib. 2. c. 11.*

Now as concerning the expulſion of the *Cimmerians* by the *Scythians*, it appears to have been none other than the ſending of a Colony of them forth into *Aſia*, with an Army of *Scythians* to help them, in purchaſing a new ſeat, and eſtabliſhing the Plantation.

The *Sarmatians* alſo were companions in this journey. For the City of *Novograd* in *Ruſſia* (which Country is the ſame that was called *Sarmatia*) ſtood in their way homewards, as ſhall anon be further ſhewed. So that all the North was up in Arms: and therefore it is no marvel though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the ſame people made five hundred years and more after this, when they were encountred by the *Romans*. For they iſſued from the parts about the Lake *Mæotis*; they were then likewiſe aſſiſted (ſaith *Plutarch* in the moſt likely report of them) by the *Scythians* their neighbours; they had in their Army above three hundred thouſand fighting men, beſides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandred over many Countries, beating all down before them; and finally, *Plutarch* in the life of *Marius*.

finally, thinking to have ſetled themſelves in *Italy*, they divided their Company, for the more eaſie paſſage thither, and were conſumed in three terrible battels by the *Roman* Conſuls. Meer neceſſity enforced theſe poor Nations to trouble the World, in following ſuch hard adventures. For their Country being more fruitful of men than of ſuſtenance, and ſhut up on the North ſide with intollerable cold, which denied iſſue that way to their over-ſwelling multitudes; they were compelled to diſcharge upon the South, and by right or wrong to drive others out of poſſeſſion, as having title to all that they had power to get, becauſe they wanted all, that weaker, but more civil, people had. Their ſturdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardneſs, gave them great advantage over ſuch as were accuſtomed unto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thouſand ſuperfluities. Wherefore moſt commonly they prevailed very far; their next neighbours giving them free paſſage, that they might the ſooner be rid of them; others giving them, beſides paſſage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great preſents; ſo as the farther they went on, the more pleaſant Lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

§. III.

Of the Cimmerians *War in* Lydia.

THe firſt Company of theſe, conſiſting for the moſt part of *Cimmerians*, held the way of the Euxine Seas, which they had ſtill on the right hand; leaving on the other ſide, and behind them, the great Mountains of *Caucaſus*. Theſe having paſſed through the Land of *Colchis*, that is now called *Mengrelli*, entred the Country of *Pontus*, and being arrived in *Paphlagonia*, fortified the *Promonto-*
Herod. l. 4. *ry*, whereon *Synope*, a famous Haven Town of the *Greeks*, was after built. Here it ſeems that they beſtowed the weakeſt and moſt unſerviceable of their train, together with the heavieſt part of their carriages, under ſome good guard: as drawing near to thoſe Regions, in conqueſt whereof they were to try the utmoſt hazzard. For in like ſort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I ſpake even now) diſpoſe of their impediments, leaving them in a place of ſtrength, where *Antwerp* now ſtands, when they drew near unto *Gaul*, upon which they determined to adventure themſelves in the purchaſer. From *Sinop*, the way unto *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, was fair and open to the *Cimmerians*, without any ladg of Mountains, or any deep Rivers at all to ſtay their march: for *Iris* and *Halys* they had already paſſed.

What battels were fought between theſe Invaders and the *Lydians*, and with what variable ſucceſs the one or other part wan and loſt, I find not written, nor am able to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of *Ardys*, the *Cimmerians* got poſſeſſion of *Sardes* the capital City of *Lydia*; only the Caſtle holding out againſt them. Further I obſerve, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Gyges* and *Ardys* Kings of *Lydia*, before this invaſion, and by *Halyattes* and *Cræſus* in the times following, all that *Ardys* did againſt the *Cimmerians*, and all, ſave burning the *Mileſians* Corn fields, that was done in twelve years by *Sadyattes* his ſon (who perhaps had his hands ſo full of this buſineſs, that he could turn them to nothing elſe) is quite omitted: whereby it may ſeem, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in thoſe Wars, but were glad enough that they did loſe all.

Certainly the miſeries of War are never ſo bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forſaking their own ſeats, labour to root out the eſtabliſhed poſſeſſors of another Land; making room for themſelves, their wives and children. They that fight for the maſtery, are pacified with tribute, or with ſome other ſervices and acknowledgements; which had they been yielded at the firſt, all had been quiet, and no ſword bloudied. But in theſe migrations, [illegible] and ſailants bring ſo little with them, that they [illegible]ed all which the defendants have; their Lands and Cattel, their houſes and their goods, even to the cradles of the ſucking Infants. The mercileſs terms of this controverſie, arm both ſides with deſperate reſolution: ſeeing the one part muſt either win, or periſh by famine; the other defend their goods, or loſe their lives without redemption. Moſt of the Countries in *Europe* have felt examples thereof; and the mighty Empire of *Rome* was overthrown by ſuch invaſions. But our Iſle of *Britain* can beſt witneſs the diverſity of Conqueſts; having by the happy victory of the *Romans*, gotten the knowledge of all Civil Arts, in exchange of liberty, that was but ſlenderly inſtructed therein before; whereas the iſſue of the *Saxon* and *Daniſh* Wars, was, as were the cauſes, quite contrary. For theſe did not ſeek after the Dominion onely, but the entire poſſeſſion of the Country, which the *Saxons* obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the Britiſh Race, and defacing all memorial of the ancient inhabitants through the

the greater part of the Land. But the *Danes* (who are alſo of the *Cimmerian* bloud) found ſuch end of their enterprize, as it may ſeem that the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, and *Scythians* in the higher *Aſia*, did arrive unto. So that by conſidering the proceſs of the one, we ſhall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many battels the *Danes* won, yet none of ſuch importance, as ſufficed to make them abſolute Conquerours: Many the *Saxons* won upon the *Danes*, yet not ſo great, as could drive them quite away, and back from hence, after they had gotten firm footing. But in courſe of time, the long continuance even of utter enmity, had bred ſuch acquaintance between them, as bowing the natures of both theſe people, made the one more pliant unto the other. So their diſagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced in one mild temper, no ſmall number of the *Danes* became peaceable cohabitants with the *Saxons* in *England*, where great ſlaughter had made large room; others returning home, found their own Country wide enough to receive them, as having diſburthened it ſelf of many thouſands, that were ſent to ſeek their graves abroad. And ſuch (as I think) was the end of the *Cimmerian* War in *Lydia*; whereunto though ſome victory of *Halyattes* may have haſtened the concluſion, yet the weariſome length of time ſeems to have done moſt, in compelling them to deſire of reſt. I know not why I ſhould fear to add hereunto my further conjecture, which is, that the matter was ſo compounded between the *Cimmerians* and *Halyattes*, that the River *Halys* ſhould divide their Territories. For *Halys* was henceforth the border of the *Lydians*, and on the Eaſtern ſide of the River was the Country of the *Amazons*, that is indeed, of the *Cimmerians*, and other *Scythian* people; whoſe wives and daughters theſe warlike women are ſuppoſed to have been.

And hereunto the quarrel enſuing between *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is ſaid) fought in defence of certain *Scythians*, upon whom the *Median* ſought revenge. And it ſtands with reaſon, that the *Lydians* and *Cimmerians*, being much weakened with mutual ſlaughters, ſhould have joyned in a league of mutual defence for their common ſafety: though otherwiſe it had been dangerous to *Halyattes*, if he had permitted the *Median* to extend his Kingdom ſo far Weſtward, whatſoever the pretences might be, of taking revenge upon ſuch as had ſpoiled each of their Countries. As for that occaſion of the War between theſe two Kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I find it of little weight, and leſs probability. He tells of *Scythians*, that being chaſed out of their Country by faction, came unto *Cyaxares*, who committed unto them certain Boys, to be inſtructed in the *Scythian* tongue, and feat of *Archery*. Now it ſo fell out (ſaith he) that theſe *Scythians* uſing much to hunt, and commonly bringing home ſomewhat with them, did nevertheleſs other-whiles miſs of their game, and came home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward and cholerick, bitterly reviled them; and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boys that was under their charge, whom, dreſſing like Veniſon, they preſented unto him; which done, they fled unto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* delivers, as the ground of a War that laſted ſix years between the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one King demanding theſe Fugitives to be delivered into his hand, the other refuſing to betray ſuch men as were become his ſuppliants. To this I will ſay no more, than that I ſee no cauſe that might induce the *Scythians* to betake themſelves to either of theſe Kings, unto whom their Nation had wrought ſo much diſpleaſure. Particularly, they had reaſon to diſtruſt *Cyaxares*, for the treachery that he ſhewed in the maſſacring of their Country-men that were in his Kingdom, of whom it is now meet that we ſhould ſpeak. *Herod lib.* 1.

§. IV.

The War of the Scythians *in the higher* Aſia.

AS the *Cimmerians* held their courſe Weſterly, along the ſhores of the *Euxine* ſea, ſo the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* took the other way, and having the *Caſpian* ſea on their left hand, paſſed between it and *Caucaſus*, through *Albania*, *Colthene*, and other obſcure Nations, where now are the Countries of *Servan* and *Georgia*, and ſo they entred into *Media*. The *Medes* encountred them in Arms, but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whileſt *Pſammiticus* reigned in *Egypt*. If it were in the ſixt year of *Nabulaſſar*'s Reign over *Babylon* (ſuppoſing him to have reigned five and thirty; otherwiſe we muſt allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then do the eight and twenty years of their Dominion end, one year before the great *Nabuchodonoſor* was King; ſo giving him good leave to provide ſecurely for the invaſion of *Syria*; which

which expedition he began while his Father yet lived, as *Joſephus* out of *Beroſus* relates the Hiſtory.

Now the *Medes*, deſirous to ſave themſelves as vvell as they might, from this terrible nation, vvhich vvhen they had no luſt to a ſecond trial of the ſword, refuſed not to undergo the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing diſhonourable, that would ſerve to remove theſe troubleſome gueſts into ſome other lodging. On the other part, the *Scythians* finding ſtill the Countries pleaſanter and better, the further that they marched into the South, did ſuffer themſelves to be perſwaded, that a little more travail would add a great deal more to their content. For they relyed ſo much upon their own valour, that they feared no reſiſtance, and being the braveſt men, they thought it reaſon that they ſhould dwell in the beſt Region. That *Phraortes* perſwaded them into *Egypt*, I do not think; *Babylon* was near enough; whither if he could ſend theſe Locuſts to graze, then ſhould not his unfriendly Neighbours have cauſe to laugh at his misfortune. What ſhift *Nabulaſſar* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I do not read. But it is well known that his Dominions lay in the middeſt between *Media* and *Egypt*; as alſo, that they made all thoſe parts of *Aſia* Tributary; wherefore we may very well believe, that they watered their horſes in his Rivers, and that he alſo was content to give them provender.

Pſammiticus hearing of their progreſs (like the jealous Husband of a fair Wife) took care that they might not look upon *Egypt*, leſt the ſight thereof ſhould more eaſily detain them there, than any force or perſwaſion that he could uſe would ſend them going. Therefore he met them in *Syria*, preſuming more on the great gifts which he meant to beſtow upon them, than on his Army that ſhould keep them back. *Egypt* was rich; and half the riches had not been ill ſpent in ſaving all. Yet *Pſammiticus* took the moſt likely courſe, whereby to make his part good againſt them by ſtrong hand, in caſe they had been ſo obſtinate as to refuſe all indifferent compoſition. For he lay cloſe upon the edge of the Wilderneſs in *Gaza* (as I take it) the Southermoſt border of *Palæſtina*: whence he never advanced to meet with the *Scythians*, but gave them leave to feel as much of the ſcalding Sun-beams, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of *Syria* could beat upon them. When they were come as far as *Aſcalon*, the next City to *Gaza*, then did he allay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work ſo much the better, by how much the worſe they were pleaſed with the heat of a Climate ſo far different from their own. *Pſammiticus* had at his back a vaſt wilderneſs, over the ſcorching ſands whereof, the *Scythians* more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary diſtempers, could ill have endured to purſue him through unknown ways, had they fought with him and prevailed, eſpecially the Kingdom of *Egypt* being ready to entertain him vvith relief, and them vvith nevv trouble at the end of their vveary journey. Wherefore they vvere content to be intreated, & taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to viſit their acquaintance in the high Countries. The *Egyptian* King (beſides that hee preſerved his own Eſtate from a dangerous adventure, by hyring this great Army to depart from him) found all his Coaſt vvell repayed in the proceſs of his vvars in *Syria*, vvhere the Nations beyond *Euphrates* had no power to moleſt him, being more than ever troubled themſelves with the return of their oppreſſors. For the *Scythians*, reſolving novv to ſeek no further, began to demand more than the tribute formerly impoſed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals vvith grievous exactions, they preſumed to live at diſcretion upon the Country, taking vvhat they liſted from the owners; and many times (as it vvere to ſave the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This tyrannous Dominion they long uſed over the higher *Aſia*, that is, over the Country lying between the *Caſpian* and *Red Seas*: and between *India* and *Aſia* the leſs. Happy it was for the poor people, that in ſo large a ſpace of ground, there was room enough for theſe new comers otherwiſe the calamity that fell, as it vvere by chance, upon thoſe private men, to whoſe wealth any *Scythian* did bear a fancy, would have lighted in general upon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieve their fellowes. Yet it ſeems that the heavieſt burthen lay upon *Media*; for it was a fruitfull Countrey, not far from their own home, and lay under a Climate well agreeing with the conſtitution of their bodies there alſo it vvas that they had the fatal blow, by vvhich their inſolent Rule vvas taken from them.

Cyaxares King of the *Medes*, vvho in this extremity vvas no better than a Rent-gatherer for the *Scythians*, perceiving that his Land lay unmanured and waſte, through the negligence of his people, that vvere out of heart by daily oppreſſions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force reſolved to prove what might be done by *Herod. lib. 1.*

ſtratagem. The managing of the buſineſs is thus delivered in brief; That he, and his *Medes*, feaſted the better part of the *Scythians*, made them drunk, and ſlew them; recovering hereby the poſſeſſion of all that they had loſt.

Such another ſlaughter was committed upon the *Danes* in *England*; but it was revenged by their Countrymen, with greater cruelty than ever they had practiſed before. That the *Scythians* which eſcaped this bloody feaſt made any ſtir in *Media*, I do not find; neither do I read that either in revenge hereof, or upon other pretence, the *Medes* were troubled by invaſion from *Scythia* in time following.

This is the more ſtrange, for that the Army returning home out of *Media*, was very ſtrong, & encountred with oppoſition (as *Herodotus* reports it) no leſs than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of *Cyaxares* to free his Countrey, took good effect, with leſs blood-ſhed than hath been ſuppoſed. For if he ſurpriſed all the chief of them, it was no hard matter to make a good compoſition. Many of them doubtleſs in eight and twenty years had ſo well ſetled themſelves, that they were deſirous of reſt, & might be permitted, without any danger, to remain in the Country; many (of whom I ſhall ſpeak anon) having done what they could in the buſineſs, for which they came forth, were willing to return home with what they had gotten; ſuch as were not pleaſed with either of theſe two courſes, might go joyn with the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, or ſeek their fortunes in other Provinces among their own *Companions*. Whereas all the Families of the North are ſaid to have been with *Nebuchadnezzar*, it may be underſtood, that a great part of the *Scythians*, upon hope of gain, or deſire to keep what they had already gained, were content to become ſubject unto *Nabulaſſar*; mens love of their wealth being moſt effectual, in taming the more unquiet love of inordinate liberty. This is certain, that *Nebuchadnezzer*, as ever after, ſo in his firſt beginning of war, did beat the *Egyptians*, who in ages foregoing had been accuſtomed to deal with the *Babylonians* after another faſhion: and this new ſucceſs of that King may be imputed, in regard of human means, to ſuch addition as this of new forces.

Herod. lib. 4.

Jer. 35. 9.

Of the *Scythian* Army returning out of *Media*, divers authors report a Story, which confirms me in the opinion, that this Company went forth to aſſiſt their kindred and friends, in acquiring a new ſeat, and eſtabliſhing their plantation. For theſe had left their wives behind them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come again. The *Scythian* women, to comfort themſelves in their husbands abſence, became bed-fellows to their ſlaves. Theſe got a luſty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers-in-law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their return. If they were onely the children of ſlaves, which compounded an Army (as *Herodotus* would have it, who tels us, that the *Scythians* were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it muſt needs be that they were very boys, or elſe that the Women did very little while continue chaſt. Wherefore I rather believe that tale as it is told by the *Ruſſes* themſelves, who agreeing in the reſt with the conſent of Hiſtories, make that report of their Anceſtors returning homewards, which I will ſet down, as I find it in Maſter *Doctor Fletcher* his exact diſcourſe of the *Ruſs Commonwealth*. *They underſtood by the way, that their Chrolopey, or Bond-ſlaves, whom they left at home, had in their abſence poſſeſſed their towns, lands, houſes, wives, and all; At which news being ſomewhat amazed, and yet diſdaining the Villany of their ſervants, they made the more ſpeed home, and ſo not far from* Novograd *met them in warlike manner marching againſt them. Whereupon adviſing what was beſt to be done, they agreed alſo to ſet upon them with no other ſhew of weapon but with their horſe-whips (which as their manner is, every man rideth withal) to put them in remembrance of their ſervile condition, thereby to terrifie them, & abate their courage. And ſo marching on, and laſhing all together with their whips in their hands, they gave the onſet; which ſeemed ſo terrible in the ears of their Villains, and ſtrook ſuch a ſenſe into them of the ſmart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like Sheep before the Drivers, In memory of this victory, the* Novogradians ever *ſince have ſtamped their Coin (which they call a* Dingoe Novogradskoy, *currant through all* Ruſſia) *with the figure of a Horſeman ſhaking a whip aloft in his hand.* It may ſeem, that all the women of that Country have fared the worſe ever ſince, in regard of the univerſal fault: For ſuch a Pudkey or whip, as terrified thoſe ſlaves, curiouſly wrought by her ſelf, is the firſt preſent that the *Muſcovian* wife, even in time of wooing, ſends to him that ſhall be her husband, in token of ſubjection, being well aſſured to feel it often on her own loins. But this was a Document unto the *Scythians*, or rather *Samarians* (for *Novograd* ſtands in the Country that was called *Sarmatia*) to beware of abſenting themſelves any more ſo long from their wives; which after this, I find not that they did.

Ruſ. Commonw. cap. 4.

Thus

Thus much I thought good to set down of the *Scythian* expedition; not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, & terrible to many Countries; but for that it appears to have been a great cause of the *Egyptians* prevailing hitherto in *Syria*, and about *Judæa*, which continues yet a while the center of our discourse.

§. V.

Of Princes living in divers Countries, in these ages.

HAving thus far digressed from the matters of *Juda*, to avoyd all further occasion of doing the like, I will here insert a note of such Kings, and men of mark, as were between the death of *Manasses*, and the ruin of *Jerusalem*. Of the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, and *Lydians*, I have spoken as much as I thought needful. In *Rome*, *Tullus Hostilius* held the Kingdom until the one and twentieth year of *Josias*; at which time *Ancus Martius* succeeding, reigned four and twenty years. After him *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, a newcome stranger, but very rich, prevailed so far by his graciousness among the people, that he got the Kingdom to himself, disappointing the sons of *Ancus*, over whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth year of *Zedekia*, and reigned eight and thirty years. In this time it was, namely, in the second year of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the *Lacedæmonians* bethinking them how to be avenged of the *Arcadians*, who gave succour to the *Messenians* against them in the former war, entred their Territory, took the City of *Phigalia* or *Phialia*, from whence their Garrisons were soon after beaten out. *Cypselus* expelling the race of the *Bacidæ*, made himself Lord of *Corinth* about these times, and governed it in peace thirty years; leaving for successour his son *Periander*, one of the seven Sages, but a cruel Tyrant: who among other vile acts, slew his own wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the *Corinthian* women stark naked, burning their apparel, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceive, that the wisdom of the *Grecks* was not excellent in those days, when such a one as this could be admired as excelling all the Country.

In these times also were *Zaleucus* and *Draco*, famous lawgivers, the one among the *Locrians* in *Italy*, the other in the City of *Athens*. The Laws of *Draco* were so rigorous, that he was said to have written them with blood: for he rewarded every small offence with death. Wherefore his Constitutions were soon abrogated, and power given to *Solon* by the *Athenians*, to make new in their stead. But the Laws of *Zaleucus* were very mild. He forbad any Gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, *unless it were when she was drunk*; or to go forth of the Town by night, unless it were to some sweet-hearts bed; or to dress her self up in immodest bravery, unless it were to inveigle a lover. By which pleasant ordinances he effected his desire: for none would seem, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a singular example of justice, that when his own son had committed adultery, and was therefore to lose both his eyes, he did not cause him to be pardoned, but gave one eye of his own to save the young man (who also lost one) from utter blindness.

I shall not therefore need so far to wander, as hitherto I often have done, in pursuing of actions collateral to the History, for inserting them in their order of time. The *Chaldæans* will soon fall under the *Persians*; ere long, encounter with the *Greeks*; the *Greeks*, with the *Romans*; the *Romans*, with many Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successively present themselves, in their flourishing Estate, it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befell them in their Minority. But in the long space of more than thirteen hundred years, which passed between the calling of *Abraham*, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*, we find little matter, wherein the History of *Israel* had any dealing with other Nations, than the very neerest borderers. Yet read we of many Kingdoms, that in these many ages were erected and thrown down; as likewise many memorable acts were performed in *Greece* and elsewhere, though not following one another at any near distance; all which must have been quite omitted, or else reserved unto a very unseasonable rehearsal, had they not been disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conveniency, may pardon the necessity.

§. VI.

The oppression of Judæa, *and destruction of* Jerusalem *by the* Chaldæans.

NOw to return to the Jewish Story, from whence we have so far digressed. In the third year of *Jehojakim*, *Nabuchodonosor*

the ſecond, his Father yet living, entred *Judæa* with a great Army, who beſieging and forcing *Jeruſalem*, made *Jehojakim* his vaſſal in deſpight of *Necho*, that had eſtabliſhed him King, and took with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a child, with *Ananias*, *Miſael*, and *Azarias*. Alſo he took a part of the Church treaſures; but ſtayed not to ſearch them throughly; for *Necho* haſted to the ſuccour of *Jehojakim*, hoping to find *Nabuchodonoſor* in *Judæa*: wherein this great *Babylonian* had no diſpoſition to hazard himſelf and his Army, it being a Country of an evil affection towards him, as alſo far off from any ſuccour or ſure place of retrait. If he had, as may be ſuppoſed, any great ſtrength of *Scythian* horſe-men in his Army, it was the more wiſely done of him, to fall back, out of the rough, mountainous, and over-hot Country, into places that were more even and temperate. But beſides all theſe reaſons, the death of his father happening at the ſame time, gave him juſt occaſion to return home, and take poſſeſſion of his own Kingdom, before he proceeded further in the ſecond care, of adding more unto it. This he did at reaſonable good leiſure; for the *Egyptian* was not ready to follow him ſo far, and to bid him battel, until the new year came in; which was the fourth of *Jehojakim*, the firſt of *Nabuchodonoſor*, and the laſt of *Necho*. In this year the *Babylonian* lying upon the Bank *Euphrates* (his own territory bounding it on the North-ſide) attended the arrival of *Necho*. There, after a reſolved contention for victory, *Necho* was ſlain, and his Army remaining forced to ſave it ſelf; which full ill it did, by a violent retrait. This victory *Nabuchodonoſor* ſo well purſued, as he recovered all *Syria*, and whatſoever the *Egyptians* held out of their proper Territory towards the North. The *Egyptians* being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the preſent diſcouraged, *Jehojakim* held himſelf quiet, as being friend in heart unto the *Egyptians*, yet having made his peace with the *Chaldæan* the year before; who contented with ſuch profit as he could then readily make, had forborn to lay any Tribute upon *Juda*. But this cool reſervedneſs of *Jehojakim*, was, on both ſides, taken in ill part. The *Egyptian* King *Pſammis*, who ſucceeded unto *Necho*, began to think upon reſtoring *Jehoahaz*, taken priſoner by his Father, and ſetting him up as a Domeſtical Enemy, againſt his ungrateful brother. Againſt all ſuch accidents, the *Judæan* had prepared the uſual remedy practiſed by his forefathers: for he had made his own ſon *Jechonia* King with him long before, in the ſecond year of his own Reign, when the Boy was but eight years old. As for this rumour of *Jehoahaz* his return, the Prophet *Jeremy* foretold, that it ſhould prove idle, ſaying: *He ſhall not return thither, but he ſhall die in the place whither they had led him captive, and ſhall ſee this Land no more.* The *Egyptians* indeed, having ſpent all their Mercenary forces, and received that heavy blow at *Carchemiſh*, had not remaining ſuch proportion of ſharp ſteel, as of fair gold, which without other help, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Pſammis Apres*, who reigning after *Pſammis*, did once adventure to ſhew his face in *Syria*; but after a big look, he was glad to retire, without adventuring the hazard of a battel. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought only with brave words, telling ſuch frivolous tales, as men that mean to do nothing, uſe, of their glorious acts fore-paſſed, againſt *Joſias* and *Jehoahaz*. In this caſe it was eaſie for *Jehojakim* to give them ſatisfaction, by letting them underſtand the ſincerity of his affection towards them, which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonoſor* went to work more roundly. He ſent a peremptory meſſage to *Jehojakim*, willing him not to ſtand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himſelf a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto ſuch fearful threats, as made the poor *Judæan* lay aſide all thoughts of *Pharaoh*, and yield to do, as the more mighty would have him. So he continued in the obedience of *Nabuchodonoſor* three years. At this time *Jeremy* the Prophet cried out againſt the *Jews*, putting them in mind that he had now three and twenty years exhorted them to repentance, but becauſe they had ſtopt their ears againſt him, and the reſt of the Prophets, he now pronounced their captivity at hand, and that they ſhould endure the yoke of bondage full ſeventy years. The ſame calamity he threatned to all the neighbouring Nations, to the *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumæans*, and the reſt; foretelling that they ſhould all drink out of the *Babylonian* Pitcher, the wine of his fury, whom they had forſaken; and after the ſeventy years expired, that the *Babylonians* themſelves ſhould taſte of the ſame Cup, and be utterly ſubverted by the *Medes*, and the *Judæans* permitted to return again into their own Fields and Cities. The firſt impriſonment of the Prophet *Jeremy* ſeems to have been in the fourth year of this *Jehojakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrought all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he ſent to read them unto the People, and afterwards to the Princes, who offered them to the

2 *Chro.* 36. 9.

Jer. 22. 11 & 12.

Joſep. Antiq. lib. 10. *c.* 7.

Jerem. 25.

the King: but fearing the Kings fury, they had firſt ſet *Jeremy* at liberty, and adviſed him and *Baruch* to hide themſelves.

Jehojakim, after he heard a part of it, and perceived the ill newes therein delivered, made no more adoe, but did cut the Book in peices and caſt it into the fire. All which *Jeremy* cauſed to be new written with this addition; that the dead body of *Jehojakim* ſhould be caſt out, expoſed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the froſt, and there ſhould be none of his ſeed to ſit on the Throne of *David*.

Time thus running on, while *Jehojakim* reſted ſecure of all danger, as Tributary to the *Babylonian*, yet well thought of by the *Egyptian*; the mighty City of Tyre oppoſed it ſelf againſt the *Chaldæan* forces, and upon juſt confidence of her own ſtrength, deſpiſed all preparation that could be made againſt her. Now foraſmuch as the terme of ſeventy years was preſcribed unto the deſolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Jeruſalem*, and other towns and countries; it is apparent, that they which referre the expugnation of this City unto the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonoſor*, have ſure authority for their warrant. Whereupon likewiſe it followes of neceſſity, that the ſiege thereof began in the ſeventh of his Reign, as having laſted thirteen years.

Here I will take leave to intrude a brief note, concerning the ſeveral beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath riſen much diſputation. The third year of *Jehojakim*, was the laſt of *Nabnlaſſar*, who being delivered from other cares, took notice of ſuch as had revolted from him unto *Pharao Necho*, and ſent this Noble Prince his ſon, with an Army into *Syria*, to reclaim them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the ſame year. The year next following, being the fourth of *Jehojakim*, was the firſt of *Nebuchadnezzar*; which *Jeremy* affirmeth in expreſſe words; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth year he conquered *Egypt*; & then began ro reign as a great Monarch, finding none that durſt offend him. The ſecond from this year it was, wherein he ſaw that viſion, of the Image conſiſting of ſundry Metals; which did prefigurate the ſucceſſion of great Kingdomes, that ſhould rule the Earth, before the comming of Chriſt. I will not ſtand to diſpute about this, which is the beſt concluſion that I find, of long diſputations: but return unto the ſiege of *Tyre*, which began in the ſeventh of his Reign.

Dan. 1. 1. *Jer.* 25. 1.

The City of *Tyre* covered all the ground of an Iſland, that was divided from the main, by a deep and broad channell of the Sea. The *Chaldæans* had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the *Tyrians*, in multitude of goodly Ships, and skill to uſe them, excelled all other Nations; and every wind, from one part or other, brought needfull proviſions into the City. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof nevertheleſſe the judgments of God (denounced againſt it by *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezechiel*) had threatned the deſtruction; & the obſtinate reſolution of *Nabuchodonoſor* had fully determined to performe it. This high-minded King, impatient of reſiſtance, undertook a vaſt peice of work, even to fill up the Sea that parted the Iſland from the Continent. The City of old *Tyrus*, that ſtood oppoſite to the new, upon the firm Land, and the mountain of *Lybanus* neer adjoyning that was loaden with Cedars, and abundance of other trees, might furniſh him with materials. Thirteen years were ſpent in this laborious, and almoſt hopeleſſe buſineſſe. Which needeth not ſeem ſtrange: for *Alexander* working upon that foundation which was remaining of *Nabuchodonoſor*'s Peere, and being withall aſſiſted by a ſtrong Fleet, was yet ſeven moneths ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that wherewith *Alexander* laboured to cover a ſhelve; with much more violence could it overturn, and as it were conſume, the work of *Nabuchodonoſor*, who laid his foundations in the bottom of the deep; ſtriving as it were, to fill the empty belly of this Cormorant, whereas the *Macedonian* did only ſtop the throat of it. Every man knows, God could have furthered the accompliſhment of his own threats, againſt this place (though it had not pleaſed him to uſe, either Miracle, or ſuch of his more immediate weapons, as are Earthquakes, and the like) by making at leaſt the Seas calm, and adding the favorable concurrance of all ſecond helps. But ſo it pleaſeth him oftentimes, in chaſtiſing the pride of man, to uſe the hand of man; even the hand of man ſtriving, as may ſeem, againſt all reſiſtance of nature and fortune. So in this exceſſive labour of the *Chaldæans*, *Every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was made bare*. Yet *Nabuchodonoſor* would not give over till he was maſter of the Town.

Eſay 22. *Jerem.* 25. *Ezek.* 26.

Ezek. 29.

When he was entred upon this deſperate ſervice; whether it were ſo, that ſome loſſes received, ſome mutiny in his Army, or (which is moſt likely, and ſo *Joſephus* reports it) ſome glorious rumour of the *Egyptians*, gave courage

Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. l. 10. c. 7.

courage to his evill willers; *Jehojakim* renounced his subjection, and began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fell out. For *Nabuchodonosor* gave him no leisure to doe much hurt: but with part of his Army marched directly into *Judea*, where the amazed King made so little resistance (the *Egyptians* having left him, as it were, in a dream) that he entred *Jerusalem*, and layed hands on *Jehojakim*, whom he first bound and determined to send to *Babylon*, but changing counsell, he caused him to be slain in the place, and gave him the sepulchre of an Asse, to be devoured by beasts and ravenous birds, according to the former Prophecies: leaving in his place *Jehojakim* or *Jechonias* his son; whom, after three moneths and ten dayes *Nabuchodonosor* removed, and sent prisoner to *Babylon*, with *Ezekiel*, *Mardochæus* and *Josedech*, the high Priest. The mother of *Jechonias*, together with his servants Eunuches, and all the ablest men, and best Artificers of the land, were also then carried away Captives. This *Jechonias*, following the counsell of *Jeremy* the Prophet, made no resistance; but submitted himself to the Kings will: wherein he both pleased God, and did that which was best for himself; though at the present it might seem otherwise, to such as considered the evill that befell him, rather than the greater evill that he thereby avoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded, which was good. But it seems that he was partaker, at least of his Fathers faults, if not an instigator, which was the cause, that his submitting himself to Gods pleasure did not preserve his Estate: for so we read in generall words, that *he did evill in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done.* In his stead *Nabuchodonosor* established *Mathania* his Uncle in the Kingdom of *Iuda*, and called him *Zedechias*, which is as much to say, as *the justice of God.* For like as *Neco* King of *Egypt* had formerly displaced *Iehoahaz*, after his Father *Josias* was slain, and set up *Jehojakim*, the son of another mother, so *Nabuchodonosor* slew *Jehojakim*, who depended on the *Egyptians*, and carrying his son *Jechonias* Prisoner to *Babel*, gave the Kingdom to this *Zedechias*, that was whole Brother to that *Jehoahaz*, whom *Neco* took with him into *Egypt*. From *Zedechias* he required an oath for his faithfull obedience, which *Zedechias* gave him, and called the living God to witnesse in the same, that he would remain assured to the Kings of *Chaldæa.*

In the first year of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* saw and expounded the Vision of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one signifying those *Judæans* that were carried away captive, the other those that stayed and were destroyed.

In the fourth of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* wrote in a book all the evill that should fall upon *Babylon*, which book or scrole he gave to *Sheraiah*, when he went with the King *Zedechias* to *Babylon*, to visit *Nabuchodonosor*; willing him first to read it to the Captive *Jewes*; and then to bind it to a stone, and cast it into *Euphrates*, pronouncing these words: *Thus shall* Bable *be drowned, and shall not rise from the evill that I will bring upon her.* This journey of *Zedechias* to *Babel* is probably thought to have been in a way of visitation, carrying some presents. But I further think, that he had some sute there to make, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his return all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him (as it seems) to those unquiet courses, from which *Jeremy* dehorted both him and them. The prophet, by Gods appointment, made bonds and yokes, one of which he wore about his own neck, others he sent unto the five Kings, of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre* and *Zidon*, by those Messengers which came to visit *Zedechias:* making them know, that if they and the Kings of *Juda* abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they should then possesse and enjoy their own countries; if not, they should assuredly perish by the sword, by fire and pestilence.

He also foretold them, that those Vessels which as yet remained in *Jerusalem*, should also travell after the rest, and at length they should be restored again.

The same year *Ananias*, the false Prophet, took off the woodden Chain which *Jeremy* wore in sign of the Captivity of the *Jews*, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two years God would break the strength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he laid on all Nations; restore *Jechonias* and all the *Jewes*, with the Vessels and riches of the Temple, and give an end to all these troubles. But *Jeremy*, instead of his woodden yoke, wore a Coller of yron: and in sign that *Ananias* had given a deceitfull and false hope to the people, he foretold the death of this cold Prophet, which seized upon him in the second Moneth. After this, when *Zedechias* had wavered long enough between Faith and Passion, in the eighth year of his reign, he practised more seriously against *Nabuchodonosor*, with his Neighbours the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrians*, and others that were promised great aydes of the *Egyptians*: in confidence of whose resistance, he determined to shake off the *Babylonian* yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonosor* had

had knowledge, he marched with his Army in the dead of Winter, toward *Jerusalem*, and besieged it. *Jeremy* perswaded *Zedechias* to render the City and himself: but being confident of the help from *Egypt*, and being perswaded by his Counsellors and false Prophets, that it was impossible that the kingdome of *Juda* should be extirpate, untill the comming of *Silo* (according to the Prophecy of *Jacob*) he despised the words of *Jeremy*, and imprisoned him. For *Jeremy* had told the King that the City should be taken and burnt; that the King should not escape, but be taken prisoner, and brought to the presence of *Nabuchodonosor*; that he should not perish by the sword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his naturall death.

Gen 49. 10
Jer. 32. & 34.

Jerusalem being the following year surrounded by *Nabuchodonosors* Armie; the King of *Egypt*, *Pharao Hophra*, according to *Jeremy*, (*Herodotus* calleth him *Apries*) entred the border of *Juda* with his Army to succour *Zedechias*, of whose revolt he had been the principall Author. But *Jeremy* gave the *Jewes* faithfull counsell, willing them not to have any trust in the succours of *Egypt*: for he assured them that they should return again, and in no sort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldæans* removed from *Jerusalem* to encounter the *Egyptians*, these vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterprise, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward, returned into *Egypt*, as if they had already done enough, leaving the poor people of *Jerusalem* to their destined miseries.

Jer. 44.
Herod. lib 2.

In the mean while the *Jewes*, who in their first extremity had manumised their *Hebrew* Bond-men (as Gods law required at the year of *Jubile*) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now upon the breaking up of the *Chaldæan* Army, repent them of their Charity: and thinking all had been at an end, held them perforce to their former slavery. But the *Chaldees* being returned to the siege, the Prophet *Jeremy*, when the state of *Jerusalem* began now to grow to extremity, counselled *Zedechias* to render himself unto them; assuring him of his own life, and the safety of the City, if he would so do. But his obstinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelity and perjurie, had provided for him.

Levit. 25. 39, 40. &c.
Jer. 34.
Jer. 39.

Three and twenty Moneths (as some do reckon it) or, according to *Josephus*, eighteen, the *Babylonian* Army laid before *Jerusalem*, and held it exceeding straightly besieged. For *they built Forts against it round about*, or (as *P. Martyr* hath it) *extruxerunt contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum: They surrounded the City with woodden Towers*, so as the besieged could neither sally out, nor receive into the City any supply of men or victuals. *Josephus* reports, that they overtopped the Walls with high Towers raised upon Mounts; from which they did so beat upon the Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to forsake their Stations. Now although it were so that the besieged also raised Counter-buildings, like unto these, yet the great King of *Babel*, who commanded all the Regions there-abouts, and had the Woods and Rivers to obey him, found means to overthrow all the Citizens endeavours; and to beat down as fast from without, as they raised from within; the body and foundation of his own works being guarded by the Walls of *Jerusalem* interposed; and theirs within, laid open to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both Famine and Pestilence (which commonly accompany men straightly besieged) grew on fast upon them, whereby, when the number, strength, and courage of the *Jews* failed, the *Chaldæans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their Princes did seat themselves, as Lords of the Town, in the middle gate. *Zedechias* beholding this uncomfortable sight, and finding no remedy of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hopes at once; and shifted himself, together with his Wives, Children, Princes, and principal servants, out of the City, by a way under ground; leaving his amazed and guideless people to the mercileſs swords of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Jeremy* the Prophet perswaded him to render himself, despised both the counsel of God, and the force of *Nabuchodonosor*, used now that remedy, which *Wolphius* truly termeth, *Triste, turpe, & infœliz: Woful, shameful, and unfortunate.*

Jer. 39.
Jos. Ant. Jud. lib 10 c. 11.

By this secret subterrane vault, *Zedechias* making his stealth, recovered (by the help of the dark night) the Plains or Desarts of *Jericho*: but by reason of the train that followed him and his (every one leading with him those whom they held most dear unto them) he was easily traced and pursued. How great soever the company was that attended on him, yet, as *Josephus* reports it, they, on whose fidelity he most reposed himself, no sooner beheld the *Chaldæans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted themselves into the Desarts, as they could. For whom God had forsaken, no man followed, but the ministers of his vengeance; by whom *Zedechias* being made Prisoner, with his Children and Princes, he was con-

2 King. 25. 1.

veyed

veyed to *Rebla* or *Reblath*, a City (as some think) of *Nephtalim*, where *Nabuchodonosor* then lay, as a place indifferent between *Jerusalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at once he had to do.

Now after *Nabuchodonosor* had laid before *Zedechias* the many graces and benefits conferred upon him, together with the notable falshood and perjury, wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his Children, Princes and Friends to be slain before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last that ever he should behold in the world, he caused his eyes to be torn out of his head, and so carried him in a slavish manner to *Babel*, where he consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetual imprisonment. Herein this most marvellous Prophecy of *Ezechiel* was performed; *Adducam eum in Babyloniam, & ipsam non videbit: I will bring him into* Babylon, *and he shall not see it.* Ezek. 12.

Thus in the eleventh and last year of *Zedechias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, the *Chaldæans* entred the City by force, where sparing no sex nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

3534 In the next year following, *Nabuzaradan* General of the Army, burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of *Jerusalem*: and after this fire had lasted from the seventh to the tenth day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had stood four hundred thirty and one years.

After this, upon a second search, *Nabuzaradan* (not yet satiated with blood) commanded seventy and two others to be slaughtered, which had hidden themselves from the first fury, to wit, the chief, and the second Priest, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of War, five of his House-hold servants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ablest of the people throughout all *Judæa*; and leaving the poorest labouring souls, with some that followed the party of *Nabuchodonosor*, to till the ground: over whom he left Governour, *Godoliah* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Josias* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his justice and equity, by *Josephus* highly commended. This man, a *Jew* by Nation, left *Zedechias*, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the War: and by *Jeremies* desire to live with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same advice which the Prophet gave unto *Zedechias*; which was, to submit himself altogether to the *Babylonian*; who being ordained by God to exercise his justice, was therefore resistless. The Prophet *Jeremy* being left to his own choice, either to live in *Chaldæa*, or elsewhere, he made election of *Godoliah*, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced *Jeremy*, but gave comfort to all the other *Jewes* that were left under his charge, promising them favour and liberty, so long as they remained obedient subjects to *Nabuchodonosor*, by whom he was established Provincial Governour of his own Nation. 2 Kin. ult.

But ere that year was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of *Jerusalem*, had kept himself out of the storm, with *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other chosen men, while *Godoliah* feasted them in *Maspha* or *Mitspa*, the City of his residence, traiterously slew him, together with divers *Chaldæans* and *Jews* that accompanied him. This done, he made an escape, and in his way encountering with eighty persons, repairing towards *Godoliah* with presents, he slew the most of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discover unto him some Treasures hidden in the fields during the war. He also took with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godoliah* by *Nabuchodonosor*. This practice and intent of *Ismael* had been formerly discovered unto *Godoliah* by *Johanan*, one of the Leaders of the few remaining *Jews*; but *Godoliah* was incredulous.

Judæa being now left without a Governour (for *Ismael* durst not take it upon him, but retired himself, or rather fled as fast as he could to the *Ammonites*) the residue of the *Jews*, fearing the revenge of the *Chaldæans*, resolved to fly away into *Egypt*, and besought *Jeremy* to ask counsel of God for them: who readily made them answer, that if they remained in *Judæa*, God would provide for them, and shew them mercy; but if they sought to save themselves in *Egypt*, that they should then undoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this advice, the *Jews* held their determination; and despising the Oracle of God, and constraining *Jeremy* and *Baruch* to accompany them, they travelled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permission of *Pharao*, neer unto *Taphnes*: where when *Jeremy* often reprehended them for their Idolatry, foretelling both the destruction of themselves, and the *Egyptians*, also, he was by these his own hard-hearted and ungrateful Countrymen, stoned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly reverenced him, buried neer the Sepulchre of their own Kings.

Finis Libri secundi.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, to the Time of PHILIP of MACEDON.

THE THIRD BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Time paſſing between the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem, *and the fall of the* Aſſyrian *Empire.*

§. I.

Of the Connexion of Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory.

THE courſe of time, which in prophane Hiſtories might rather be diſcerned through the greateſt part of its way hitherto paſſed, in ſome out-worn foot-ſteps, than in any beaten path, having once in *Greece* by the *Olympiads*, and in the Eaſtern Countries by the accompt from *Nabonaſſar*, left ſurer marks, and more appliable to actions concurrent, than were the War of *Troy*, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruine of *Jeruſalem*, to diſcover the connexion of antiquity fore-ſpent, with the ſtory of ſucceeding Ages. Manifeſt it is, that the original and progreſs of things could ill be ſought in thoſe that were ignorant of the firſt Creation: as likewiſe that the affairs of Kingdoms and Empires afterwards grown up, are not to be found among thoſe that have now no ſtate nor policy remaining of their own. Having therefore purſued the hiſtory of the World unto that age, from whence the memory of ſucceeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous diſcourſe derived unto us. I hold it now convenient, briefly to ſhew, by what means and circumſtances the Hiſtory of the *Hebrews*, which of all other is the moſt ancient, may be conjoyned with the following times, wherein that Image of ſundry metals diſcovered by God unto *Nebuchadnezzar*, did reign over the earth, when *Iſrael* was either none, or an unregarded Nation.

Herein I do not hold it needfull to insist upon those authorities which give, as it were by hear-say, a certain year of some old *Assyrian* King unto some action or event, whereof the time is found expressed in Scripture: for together with the end of *Ninus* his line in *Sardanapalus*, if not before, all such computations were blotted out; the succession of *Belochus* and his Issue that occupied the Kingdom afterwards, depending upon the uncertain relations of such as were neither constant in assigning the years of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relye upon. Let it therefore suffice that the consent and harmony which some have found in the years of those over-worn Monarchs, doth preserve their names, which otherwise might have been forgotten. Now concerning the latter Kings of that Nation, howsoever it be true, that we find the names of all, or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Historians, yet hereby could we only learn in what Age each of them lived, but not in what year his reign began or ended, were it not that the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* is more precisely applyed to the times of *Jehojakim* and *Zedekias*. Hence have we the first light whereby to discover the means of connecting the sacred and prophane Histories. For under *Nebuchadnezzar* was the beginning of the Captivity of *Judah*, which ended when seventy years were expired; and these seventy years took end at the first of *Cyrus*, whose time being well known, affords us means of looking back into the Ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first year of *Cyrus* his reign in *Persia*, by general consent, is joyned with the first year of the 55 *Olympiad*; where, that he reigned three and twenty years before his Monarchy, and seven years afterwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controversie. Giving therefore four hundred and eight years unto the distance between the fall of *Troy*, and the instauration of the *Olympiad* by *Iphitus*; we may easily arrive unto those antiquities of *Greece*, which were not meerly fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilst in sundry parts of the World, St. *Augustine* and others may be trusted in setting down their times, which they had by Tradition from Authors of well-approved faith and industry.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned unto *Alexander*, and from him to the battell of *Actium*, it were (peradventure) in this place impertinent to set down. But seeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* Captivity, are marks whereby we are chiefly directed, in passing from the first unto the latest years of the World through any story, with least interruption; it is very expedient that we take some pains to inform our selves truly of the Seventy years during which it continued, even from *Nebuchadnezzar* unto *Cyrus*.

§. II.

A brief rehearsal of two Opinions touching the beginning of the Captivity: with an answer to the cavils of Porphyrie, *inveighing against* St. Matthew *and* Daniel, *upon whom the latter of these Opinions is founded.*

MAny Commentators, and other Historians and Chronologers find, that the Captivity then began, when *Jechonia* was carried prisoner into *Babylon*; eleven years before the final destruction of *Jerusalem* under *Zedekias*. This they prove out of divers places in *Ezekiel*, especially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plain distinction between the beginning of the Captivity, and utter destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Nebuzaradan*, in these words; *In the five and twentieth year of our being in Captivity, in the beginning of the year, in the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth year after that the City was smitten.* In which words he beginneth the Captivity in plain terms, eleven years before the City was destroyed. *Beroaldus* is of opinion, that it began in the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the fourth of *Joakim*; which he endeavours to prove out of the second of *Chronicles*, but more especially out of Saint *Matthew*, and *Daniel*, whose words afford matter of disputation, but serve not to make good so much as *Beroaldus* would enforce. That place of Saint *Matthew*, and the whole Book of *Daniel* have ministred occasion of scoffing and railing at the Christian Religion to that wretched man *Porphyrie*, who not understanding how the Sons of King *Josias* were called by divers names, as *Epiphanius* hath shewed at large; thought that the Apostle had spoken he knew not what, in reckoning the Sons, or, according to some Translations, the Son, and Nephews of that good King, begotten about the time of the Captivity. Upon *Daniel* also the same *Porphyrie* doth spend the twelfth of his malicious Books written against the Christians, affirming, that these propheſies and visions, remembred by *Daniel*, were written long after his death, and at, or near the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond suppoſition of his,

Ezek. c. 1. v. 2. c. 3. v. 11. & 5.

Eusebius,

Eusebius, *Apollonius*, and others, have sufficiently answered. For, the Seventy Interpreters, who converted the Old Testament about an hundred years before *Epiphanes*, did also turn this Book of *Daniel* out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, as a part of Scripture received. And, were there no other argument to confound *Porphyrie*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were sufficient, who lived divers years before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For *Jaddus* the High Priest shewed that great Conquerour, when he came towards *Jerusalem* to have destroyed it, this Book of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his own glory foretold, as the same was plainly expounded unto him; which not only stayed his hand from the harm of that City and people; but his assurance and resolution was so confirmed and strengthened thereby, as despising all future peril and resistance, he conquered *Darius*, and the Eastern Empire, in a shorter time than *Nabuchodonosor* had done one City, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*.

Mac. 1. 11. *Jos. ant.* 11

It is true indeed, that the *Jews* themselves give less authority to *Daniel*, than to *Moses* and the *Prophets*; accompting his Book among those which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings, which they say *Esdras*, and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their return from *Babylon*. But first, that the Book of *Daniel* (I mean so much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonical; secondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himself, and not by *Esdras* and the Seniors; we may assure our selves by testimony of Councils and Fathers. For in the Council of *Laodicea*, held about the year of our Lord 368. after the death of *Jovinian* the Emperour, and after the *Nicene* Council three and forty years, this Book of *Daniel* was received, verified and confirmed among the other Canonical Scriptures, as in the *Epitomy* of the same Council it may be seen; and so doth *Meliton* the most ancient Bishop of *Sardis* number it, witness *Eusebius* in his Eccleſiastical History, the fourth Book, and five and twentieth Chapter: so doth the same Author in the Catalogue of Canonical Books upon *Origen*: so doth *Hilarius* in his Preface upon the Psalms, and *Epiphanius* in his Book of Weights and Measures, &c. To these I may add St. *Hierom*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, and others. For, the *Hagiographa*-Books, or holy Writings, the *Jews* and *Rabbines* reckon to be these, *Daniel*, *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Job*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Hester*, *Esra*, *Nehemiah*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Esdras*, that wrote this Book, Gods commandment unto him by his Angel, to seal up the same to the time appointed, is an unanswerable testimony. Yea, that which exceedeth all strength of other proof, our Saviour Christ, who citeth no Apocryphal Scripture, in *Matthew* and *Mark* alledgeth *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his ninth Chapter. Further, in the fifth of *John*, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in *Daniel* the twelfth, verse the second. Saint *Paul* describeth *Antichrist*, out of *Daniel*; and the Revelation is wholly an interpretation of *Daniels* visions.

Mat. 24. 15. *Mark* 13. 14.

Dan. 12.

§. III.

That the seventy years of Captivity are to be numbred from the destruction of Jerusalem; *not from the migration of* Jechoniah.

HAving thus far digressed in maintaining that authority which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now convenient, that we return unto the differences of opinion concerning the beginning of these seventy years. Neither will I stand to trouble my self and others with laying open the grounds or weakness of that which *Eusebius*, and some few nameless Authors, have sometimes held in this point, which is lately revived by *Beroaldus*; but will forthwith enter into consideration of that opinion, which many, both ancient and late Writers, have so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Four Kings of *Juda*, were carryed away captives to *Babylon*: First, *Manasses*; then *Jehojakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: Thirdly, *Jechonias*, and with him *Ezekiel*: Lastly, *Zedechias*, at which time the City and Temple were destroyed. To the first of these Captivities, the beginning of the seventy years is referred by none that I have read; to the second, by few, and with weak proof; to the third, by very many, and with much confidence. For besides those places of *Ezekiel* already cited, there is a strong argument gathered out of *Jeremy*, which may seem to make the matter plain. For the Prophet, in comforting the people that were carried away with *Jechonias*, useth these words: *Thus saith the Lord, After seventy years be accomplished at* Babel, *I will visit you, and perform my good promise towards you, and cause you to return to this place.*

Jer. 29. 10.

But it stands indeed with little reason that we should seek the interpretation of a Prophecy out of circumstances, when the

Prophecy is such as doth sufficiently expound it self. *Jeremy* hath already, in the fourth year of *Jehojakim*, denounced the judgement of God against the Land, for the sins and impenitency of that obstinate people, in these words: *Behold, I will send, and take to me all the families of the North, saith the Lord, and* Nebuchadnezzar *the King of* Babel, *my servant; and will bring them against this Land, and against the Inhabitants thereof, and against all these Nations round about; and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and a continual desolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness; the voice of the Bridegroom, and the voice of the Bride; the noise of the mill-stones, and the light of the candle; and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations shall serve the King of* Babel *seventy years. And when seventy years are expired, I will visit the King of* Babel. Here we see prescribed unto the Captivity the term of seventy years: which were to commence, neither when the Prophecy was uttered; nor when *Jehojakim*, who then reigned, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Jechonia:* but with the utter desolation of the City, whereof *Jeremy* did again give notice to those that were already in *Babylon*, at such time as he sent them the comfort of deliverance before rehearsed. And so did the people understand this Prophecy, in those times when they saw it accomplished; beginning the seventy years at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appears in the end of the History of *Juda*, where it is said thus: *They burnt the House of God, and brake down the wall of* Jerusalem, *and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious vessels thereof to destroy all: and they that were left by the sword, carried he away to* Babel, *and they were servants to him, and to his Sons, until the Kingdom of the* Persians *had rule, to fulfil the Word of the Lord by the mouth of* Jeremiah, *until the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the dayes that she lay desolate, she kept Sabbath, to fulfil seventy years. But in the first year of* Cyrus *King of* Persia (*when the Word of the Lord, spoken by the mouth of* Jeremiah, *was finished*) *the Lord stirred up the spirit of* Cyrus. We seldom find one piece of Scripture, so precisely and plainly expounded by another as in this Prophecy, to have afterwards been the subject of altercation. For one can hardly devise how either the Desolation could have been expressed more sensibly, than it was by the Prophet, or the event of the Prophecy have been more exactly set down, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it be requisite that we bring more proof in so evident a case, the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* yields testimony sufficient, unto this exposition of *Jeremiah* his Prophecy, that *Jerusalem* was to lye waste seventy years. For in the first year of *Darius* the *Mede*, which was the last of the seventy, *Daniel* obtained of God the deliverance, that had been promised, by prayer, which he made upon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth in these words: *In the first year of his reign, I* Daniel *understood by Books the number of the years whereof the Lord had spoken unto* Jeremiah *the Prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolation of* Jerusalem. So that howsoever the time of *Daniel* his own Captivity be reckoned from the taking of *Jehojakim*, and that the people carryed away with *Jechonia*, did accompt, as well they might, the years of their own Captivity; yet with the general desolation of the Country, wherein were few or none of the *Israelites* left remaining to inhabit, began in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor* the great Captivity, which by Gods appointment continued unto the end of seventy years.

Jer. 29. 16, 17, & 18.

2 *Chron.* 36. 19.

Dan. 9. 2.

This I will not further seek to prove, by the authority of *Josephus* and others affirming the same; forasmuch as that which already hath been produced, is enough to satisfie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrary.

§. IV.

Sundry opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon *during the seventy years.*

WHat Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during these seventy years of the Captivity, and how long each of them did wear the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know; forasmuch as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they lived, nor the length of their reigns, any way helpful to the concordance of times, foregoing or succeeding. The conquests, recounted by *Xenophon*, of *Syria*, *Arabia* (or rather some part of it) *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, and perhaps of some other Countries, may seem fruits of the victories obtained by *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betook himself to ease, and to the sumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the house of his Kingdom, and for the honour of his Majesty, where it may seem

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 1.

seem that he and his Heirs kept a great state, and did very little. The idle behaviour of the *Assyrian* Souldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argue no less. For, whereas under *Nebuchadnezzar*, they were so stout and industrious, that (to omit other proofs) they attempted, and finished that hardy piece of work, of winning the strong City of *Tyre*, by joyning unto it the Continent, filling up the deep and broad channel of the Sea, dividing it from the Main with a mole or piece of Earth, and other matter; the reparation whereof, when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of *Alexanders* works: in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approach nearer to the Enemy than their bows would carry, but were ready to turn their backs as soon as any, though inferiour in numbers, adventuring within the distance, offered to charge them.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. & l. 3. Now as their actions from the end of *Nebuchadnezzars* wars, till the ruin of their Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and reign of their several Kings, unworthy of the great labour that hath in vain been taken in that business. For when it is granted, that the Captivity of *Judah*, ending with that Empire, lasted seventy years, we may as reasonably forbear to search into the particular continuance of two or three slothful Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriarchs*, and their children living in the *Egyptians* servitude; resting satisfied in both, with the general assured sum.

Yet forasmuch as many have travelled in this business, upon desire (as I take it) to approve the beginning and end of the seventy years, not only by the reigns of other Princes, ruling elsewhere, but by the times of the *Assyrians* themselves; I will not refuse to take a little pains in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I think may best be held for likely, if the certain truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themselves, and in setting down the years of their several reigns. The first, and (as I take it) the surest, is theirs, who meerly follow the authority of the Scriptures, without borrowing any help from others. These name only three Kings, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Evilmerodach*, and *Balthasar*; Neither have they only the silence of *Daniel*, who names none other, to be their warrant; but the Prophecy of *Jeremy* precisely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very same. For God, by the mouth of the Prophet, shewing that he, being absolute Lord of all, would dispose of all according to his own will, and making it known that he had put some Countreys here named, into the hands of the King of *Babel*, saith thus: *And all Nations shall serve him, and his Son, and his Sons Son, untill the very time of his Land come also; then many Nations and great Kings shall serve themselves of him.* *Jer. 27. 7.* These words, expressing the continuance of the *Chaldean* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But indeed I find no other necessity of qualification to be used herein, than such as may grow out of mens desire, to reconcile the Scriptures unto prophane Authors. And this desire were not unjust, if the consent of all Histories were on the one side, and the letter of the Holy Text were single on the other side.

But contrariwise, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, and the proofs of their different reports, are so slender and unsufficient, that the succession of these Princes, had it not been thus delivered in Scriptures, but only set down by some Author of equal credit with the rest, might very well have found and deserved as good belief, as any of those things which they have delivered in this point. For some there are, who following *Josephus*, derive that Empire, as by descent, from Father to Son, through five generations, beginning with *Nabuchodonosor* the Great, and giving to him 43 years; to *Evilmerodach* 18; to *Nigliſar* the Son of *Evilmerodach* 40; to *Labosardach* the Son of *Nigliſar* 9 months; and lastly, to *Balthasar* (whom *Josephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonosor*, without naming his Father) 17 years. And this opinion (save that he forbears to reckon the years, and plainly calls *Balthasar* the Son of *Labosardach*) Saint *Hierom* doth follow, alleadging *Berosus* and *Josephus* as a Sectator of *Berosus*, for his Authors; though *Berosus*, as he is cited by *Josephus*, report the matter far otherwise. For he tells us, that *Evilmerodach* the Son of *Nabuchodonosor* did reign but two years, for his wickedness and lust, slain by his Sisters Husband *Nizigliſſoroor*, who occupied the Kingdom after him four years, and left it to his own Son *Labosardach*; who being an ill-conditioned Boy, was at the end of nine months slain by such as were about him, and the Kingdom given to one *Nabonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it unto *Cyrus* after 17 years.

Jos. l. 10. c. 12.

Jos. cont. Ap. l. 1.

years. This relation ill agrees with that of *Josephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number either of years, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, have procured unto them some authority; so that the names which they have inserted, are taken as it were upon trust. There is a third opinion which makes the three last Kings Brethren, and Sons of *Evilmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather believe *Xenophon*, who saith, that the last King of *Babylon* was immediate Successor to his Father. But whereas the Author of the Scholastical History, who is founder of this opinion, placeth between him that took *Jerusalem*, and *Evilmerodach*, another *Nabuchodonosor*: plain enough it is that he hath, out of any History sacred or prophane, as little warrant to guide him, as we have reason to follow him. *Eusebius*, *Sulpitius*, *Severus*, and *Theodoret*, upon better ground have supposed, that *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar* were brethren and Sons of the great *Nabuchodonosor*. This is built on the fifth Chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthasar* (for of *Evilmerodach* there is none that ever doubted) is often called *Nabuchodonosor* his Son. And so common grew this explication, that St. *Hierom* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Jeremy* before cited, proves that *Balthasar* was not the Son indeed, but the grand-child of that great Conquerour, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures, and familiar in those *Eastern* languages, he was called the Son.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 4.

Annius his *Metasthenes* hits very rightly the seventy years of Captivity, giving to *Nabuchodonosor* 45 years, to *Evilmerodach* 30 years, and to the three Sons of *Evilmerodach*, Nephews of *Nabuchodonosor*, fourteen years; that is, to *Reg-Assar* the eldest Son, three years; to *Lab-Assar-Dach* the second Son, six years; and to *Balthasar* the third Son, five.

To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole sum of years, and in the number of generations, I have sometime subscribed; as not daring to reject an appearance of truth, upon no greater reason, than because the Author was of *Annius* his edition. Yet could I not satisfie my self herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few such of the Modern Writers as deserve to be regarded, have consented with this *Metasthenes*; and for that in making *Balthasar* succeed unto his Brother in the Kingdom, and not unto his Father, he is wholly against *Xenophon*, whose History of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Assyrian* war I cannot slightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the King was at his drunken feast.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might give any light in this obscurity, I found manifest proof, that the time allotted unto *Balthasar* by *Annius* his *Metasthenes*, was far short of the truth; which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the seventy years he pleased among the rest. For in the third year of *Balthasar*, *Daniel* saw a Vision, after which he was sick certain days; but when he rose up, he did the Kings business: from which business, that he did afterwards withdraw himself, and live retired, so long, that he was forgotten in the Court, it appears plainly, both by the many words which the old Queen used to set out his sufficiency, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were *Daniel*. Now to think that a man of such account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two years have been worn out of remembrance, were in my judgment a very strange conceit; which rather than I would entertain, I can well be contented to think the whole story (thus related) a part of *Annius* his Impostures.

Dan. 8. 1. & 27. *Dan.* 5. 11, 12, 13. *Dan* 2. 49.

Out of these reports of *Josephus*, *Berosus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by conjectures of late Writers. For, the endurance of the Captivity being 70 years, and these years extending unto the first of *Cyrus*, in which course of time *Nebuchadnezzar*, his Son and Grand-child, must have reigned; it hath seemed needfull to supply the years of these three descents, by inserting some, whose reigns might fill up the whole continuance of the Captivity; with which the time allotted by *Berosus* and others, to *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar*, joyned unto the years following the nineteen of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Jerusalem* was laid desolate) are nothing even.

Therefore *Mercator* and others following him, fashion the years of *Evilmerodach* in this sort. They say, that the 18 years given to him by *Josephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, should be read and numbred 28 years; and the two years that *Berosus* hath allowed to *Evilmerodach*, should be written 23. In the first number the figure of (1) is mistaken for the figure of (2) and in the latter there should have been added the figure of (3) to that of (2): this granted (to wit) that *Evilmerodach* reigned 28 years, whereof five together with his Father, and 23 after his death, and the same number of 23 added to the 25 which *Nabuchodonosor* lived after

after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, make 48. then 4 years of *Nigliſar*, according to *Beroſus*, nine months of *Labaſſardach* his Son, and 17 years of *Labonidus* or *Balthaſar*, make up the number of seventy years to the first of *Cyrus*. But whether by errour in figures, or in words, the numbers be utterly mistaken in all Copies extant; upon how weak a foundation do they build, who having nothing to help them, save only the bare names of two unknown Kings, found in Authors manifestly corrupted, and such as, if they had been entirely extant, were not worthy to have the place of *Jeremy* called into dispute, in regard of their authority?

§. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and reigns of the Babylonian Kings.

OTher suppositions, little different in substance from this of *Mercator*, I purposely forbear to rehearse, as falling under the same answer. That of *Joseph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deserving to be considered apart from the rest. He gives to *Nebuchadnezzar* 44 years, to *Evilmerodach* two, to *Belsazer* 5. and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the 19 of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in which *Jerusalem* was destroyed, unto the time of *Cyrus*, he accounted only 59 years; beginning (as many do) the Captivity 11 years sooner, from the transportation of *Jechonia*. But hereof enough hath been said already. That which we are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running between the 19 of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the *Chaldæan* Empire: wherein if he have erred, then is all further inquisition frivolous.

Concerning the length of *Nebuchadnezzars* reign, I shall hereafter upon better occasion deliver my opinion. The time which he gives to *Evilmerodach* is very short, and more precisely agreeing with *Beroſus* than with the Scriptures. For we find in *Jeremy*, that this *Evilmerodach* in the first of his reign, shewing all favour to *Jechonia*, did, among other things, take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eat bread before him all the days of his life. His portion was a continual portion given him of the King of *Babel*, every day a certain, all the days of his life until he died. The very sound of these words (which is more to be esteemed than the authority of *Beroſus*, were he perfectly extant) imports a farr longer time than two years, wherein *Jechonia*, under this gentle Prince, enjoyed the comfort sent by God, whose commandment he had obeyed in yielding himself to *Nebuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Jechonia* did live, it cannot be proved; but plain it is hereby, that all his remaining days he did eat bread before this King. Now that he lived not so short a while after this as two years, it is more than likely; for he was but 55 years when he was set at liberty, having been 37 years in the prison, whereinto he was cast at the age of 18 years; after which time it seems plain that he begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zerobabel*, who is said to have been but a young man, and one of *Darius* his Pages, threescore years after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it self.

Jer. 52. 33, 34.

Of *Belsazer*, to whom *Scaliger* gives the next five years, naming him also *Laboroſoardoch*, I should wonder why he calls him *Nebuchadnezzars* daughter's son, were it not that herein I find him very careful to help out *Beroſus*, by shifting in his *Nirigliſſoroor*, as husband to *Nebuchadnezzars* daughter, and Protector of his son four of these years; by which means there remains about one year to *Belsazer* alone, agreeing nearly with the nine months assigned by *Beroſus* to the son of *Nigliſar*. But *Jeremy* hath told us, that it was to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and to his son, and to his sons son (not to his daughters son) that the Empire was promised: which difficulty, if *Scaliger* could not help, it was well done of him to pass it over with silence.

Nabonidus the last of these, whom others (desirous to reconcile *Beroſus* to the Scriptures) have judged to be all one with *Balthaſar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to be *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firm *Beroſian*: for *Beroſus* makes him of the same stock or race, a *Babylonian*. I speak not this to disgrace the travel of that most learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and judgement, that he was not so wedded to any Author, as affected with the love of truth) but to shew that he himself, having in some points disliked those Writers, whom in general he approveth, might with greater reason have wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no errour. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirm this opinion in *Scaliger*, that he whom *Beroſus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the same whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: First, the phrase of Scripture, which signifies unto us, that *Darius* took the Kingdom, not saying that he wann it by force of arms: Secondly, a fragment of *Megaſthenes* found in *Euſebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus*

bonidus is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Original, or of the *Greek* tranſlation, which, expreſſing no force of arms, doth only ſignifie that *Darius* took or received the Kingdom; I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould thereupon inferr, that the next King entred by Election: ſeeing *Daniel* relateth not the means and circumſtances of *Balthaſars* death, but only the ſwift accompliſhment of his own Prophecy. Neither could it indeed have properly been ſaid (if *Daniel* had cared to uſe the moſt expreſſive terms) that *Darius* of the *Medes*, breaking into the City, did win the Kingdom; ſeeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the abſence of *Darius*, though by his forces, and to his uſe. Now concernng the fragment of *Megaſthenes*, true it is, that in *Euſebius* his works Printed at *Baſil*, in the year 1559. I find only thus much of *Megaſthenes*, cited out of *Alpheeus*; That *Nabuchodonoſor* was more valiant then *Hercules*; that he ſubdued all *Lybia*, and the reſt of *Aſia*, as far as to the *Armenians*; and that, as the *Chaldæans* report, being returned into his Kingdom, and rapt with a divine fury, he cryed with a loud voice: *O* Babylonians, *I foretell ye of a great calamity that ſhall come upon you, which neither* Bell, *nor any of the gods ſhall avert: There will come a* Perſian, *half an Aſs, that ſhall bring ſlavery upon you:* and that, this and the like when he had ſpoken, he vaniſhed. Of all this I believe little or nothing, ſaving that *Nabuchodonoſor* knew before-hand, that his Empire ſhould be tranſlated, as *Daniel* had foretold, from the golden head, to the ſilver breaſt. But that he wan all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I do hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaligers* Copy of *Euſebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megaſthenes* tells us, that *Nabuchodonoſor* wan both *Africk* and *Spain*, I believe the fragment ſo much the leſs; and am as little moved with the authority of it, where it calls a *Median*, the pride and confidence of the *Aſſyrians*; as where it tells of *Nebuchadnezzar* his own vaniſhing away. Indeed that ſame title (of half an Aſs) by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to ſuſpect the fable, as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a *Mule*, becauſe his parentage was more noble on the Mothers ſide than on the Fathers; as *Mules* are begotten by *Aſſes* upon *Mares*. And thus much in anſwer of the two principal foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it had within in ſelf, I eaſily allow it. But this proves nothing; for meer fictions have not wanted theſe commendations: neither can any man believe that one ſo judicious, induſtrious, and deeply learned as *Joſeph Scaliger*, would overſhoot himſelf, in ſetting down repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeal. And herein it ſeems that *Scaliger*, well knowing his own ſufficiency, hath been little careful to ſatisfie men that would frame Arguments againſt him. For if the Prophecy of *Daniel* were true, that the Kingdom of *Balthaſar* was divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*; either we muſt think that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or elſe we muſt bethink our ſelves what *Perſian* it might be that ſhared the Kingdom with him. For it is not more certain, that *Balthaſar* loſt his life and Kingdom, then that his Kingdom was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Perſians* fall out and fight for it, as, by ſuppoſing *Nabonidus* to have been *Darius*, they ſhould be thought to have done; but theſe two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords over all the ſubject Provinces; inſomuch that the *Greek* Hiſtorians did commonly call thoſe wars which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made upon *Greece*, The wars of the *Medes*. Yea, to clear this point, even *Daniel* himſelf reſembles that King, with whom *Alexander* fought, unto a Ramm with two horns, calling him the King of the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to have been condemned by *Joſeph Scaliger*, for maintaining upon ſuch good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes* was partner with *Cyrus*, in his victories, and not a *Chaldæan* King by him ſubdued. Neither was *Joſephus* to be the leſs regarded, for affirming that *Balthaſar* was deſtroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his Nephew *Cyrus*; though herein he varied from *Beroſus* and others, whoſe authority elſewhere he gladly citeth. For *Joſephus* had no reaſon to believe any mans faith or knowledge of thoſe times half ſo well as *Daniels*, whom I believe that he underſtood as far as was needful in this caſe. Lawful it was for him to alleadge all Authors that had any mention, though unperfect, of the ſame things that were contained in the writings of the *Jews*, to whoſe Hiſtories thereby he procured reputation in the *Roman* world, where they were ſtrangers, and might ſeem fabulous. Even ſo do *Euſebius* and other Writers willingly embrace the teſtimonies of Heathen books making for the truth in ſome particulars; yet will they not therefore be tryed in general by the ſelf-ſame *Ethnick* Philoſophers,

Dan. 8. 20.

phers, but leave them where they are againſt the truth; as *Joſephus* in this caſe hath left *Beroſus*. And thus much I thought it meet to ſay of *Scaligers* opinion in this point; holding nevertheleſs in due regard his learning and judgement, which if in ſome things it had not failed, the miracle had then been very great.

§. VI.

What may be held as probable of the Perſons and Times of Nabuchodonoſor *his ſucceſſors.*

IT now remains that I freely acknowledge mine own weakneſs, who cannot find how the ſeventy years of Captivity are to be divided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I find that the diſtribution made of them, in ſuch wiſe as already is rehearſed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly ſay with *Pererius*, that we ought liberally to pardon thoſe whoſe feet have failed them in the ſlippery waies of *Chronology*, wherein both learning and diligence are ſubject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulneſs, or heedleſs reckoning. Yet will I adventure to deliver my opinion, wherein the judgement of *Lyra* and others (holding thoſe only to have reigned over the *Chaldæans*, whoſe names are found in the Scriptures) appears more conformable to reaſon and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Conjectures before rehearſed. Not that I will take upon me to defend *Lyra* his Conjectures, when he ſuppoſeth by *Nigliſar* and *Laboſardach* to be meant the ſame perſons which are called in Scriptures *Evilmerodach* and *Balthaſar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained) but only to ſhew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to have occupied the whole time of ſeventy years. Firſt therefore let us conſider the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whoſe eighteenth year *Jeruſalem* was taken and ſackt, but in his nineteenth laid utterly deſolate.

Moſt of Writers have given to him 43 years of reign, following therein *Beroſus*. There are who have added one year more; and ſome have made it up 45. To diſpute about the certainty were needleſs: for in ſhewing by what length of time the Scripures meaſure him, we ſhall ſhew the certain truth.

2 *Kings* 2. 5. 8. *Jer.* 51. 12. 2 *Kings* 24. 12. 2 *Kings* 25. 27. *Jer.* 52. 31.

Manifeſt it is, that the 19 year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is joyned with the 11 of *Zedechia*; as alſo that his eighth year, was the firſt year of *Jechonia* his Captivity; the reign of *Zedechia* occupied all the mean ſpace, being of 11 years. This is generally agreed upon, ſo that it needs no further proofs: As for the beginning of his ſucceſſor *Evilmerodach*, it was in the ſeven and thirtieth year of *Jechonia* his Captivity; ſo that *Nebuchadnezzar* after his eighth year (which was the firſt of *Jechonia* his bondage) reigned 35 whole years, and peradventure a good part of the ſix and thirtieth, foraſmuch as *Jechonia* was inlarged with ſo great a favour, not until the end of the year. Subſtracting therefore out of theſe four and forty, which *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign did well-near occupy, thoſe eighteen years of his which paſſed away before the captivity of *Juda*, and ruin of the City, we have remaining ſix and twenty years of the Seventy, that were almoſt wholly ſpent when his Son began to reign.

It is now to be conſidered, how the remainder of the ſeventy years were divided between the Kings ruling in *Babylon* until the firſt of *Cyrus*. A queſtion more difficult (as I ſaid before) than greatly needful: the whole ſumm being certain, and the diſtinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were ſlothful Princes. Neither can any man the more juſtly ſuſpect the beginning or end of the whole ſeventy years; for that the diſtribution of ſome part of them is only conjectural; ſeeing that none who gives any other terms to their beginning or end, hath refuſed to follow both unlikely and deſperate conjectures in dividing them. I will therefore be bold to do as others have done; knowing well before-hand, that whoſoever ſhall diſcover my error, muſt do me the pleaſure (which I could rather wiſh in a caſe more material) of making me to underſtand the truth.

Of the four and forty years remaining in account of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s death, we are to take away the laſt, which was the firſt of *Darius* the *Mede*, and then having authority good enough to warrant us from blame of preſumption, in giving us ſeventeen years to *Balthaſar*, we find left in our hands to beſtow upon *Evilmerodach* ſix and twenty years. Of the year belonging unto *Darius* the *Mede*, I have already ſpoken what I thought ſufficient, in delivering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this Captivity. That *Balthaſar* did reign ſeventeen years, we have the authority of *Joſephus* before cited in expreſs words: We have alſo the general conſent of all, or the moſt late Writers, interpreting *Beroſus* his *Nabonidus*, who reigned ſo long, and *Balthaſar* to have been one. But nothing moved me ſo much

to believe this Tradition, as first those evi-
Dan. 8. 1. & 27. & c. 5. v. 11, 12, & 13. dent places in *Daniel*, shewing that in the third year of *Balthasar* he followed the Kings business, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his reign, (a proof sufficient of no few years, passing under this man, especially seeing it is no where found that *Daniels* employments took end either that year or the next.) Secondly, the consideration of *Cyrus* his wars against the *Assyrians*, which beginning with the death of this mans Father, and being alwayes prosperous, could hardly have occupied any longer time; though we make large allowance to his deeds in the lower *Asia*, which fell out in the mid-way: I have already shewed, that there appears in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the reign of *Evilmerodach* was not short, and that men of great judgement have found it most probable, that he was a King three and twenty years. More, I think, they would have allowed him, had not the desire of satisfying *Berosus* caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to be wished, that Books of such antiquity, as those of *Berosus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yield in many dark passages of Antiquity. I will yet confess, that were his works never so excellent, and in all things else unquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend unto him in some one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemy: How much less ought I obey a broken fragment of his, containing only seven or eight lines, and part even of the title corrupted, as they believe that follow him in the rest? The Scriptures have told us, that God gave the Em-
Jer. 27. 7. pire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his Son, and to his Sons Son: How long each of them held it, we find not Expressed; yet would we gladly know it of *Berosus*, or of any other that would teach us; provided alwaies, that helping us in a particularity, he destroyed not thereby the general truth. More words are needless. It is enough to say with others, that *Berosus*, or *Josephus* who cited him, hath been wronged by the carelessness of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those Scribes to err in writing two for six and twenty, as for three and twenty, or perhaps more easie. For, the omission of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5, signifying 6, hath a nearer resemblance of β that stands for 2, than hath γ which is used for 3. So that the numeral notes β 5, expressing 26, were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true Copy, and might be altered, as ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mischance not unusual, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seem not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be supposed in εγ standing for 23, I do not well perceive. As for the Arithmetical figures now in use, they were long after the time of *Josephus* brought in by the *Arabians*, and therefore do not appertain unto this business; unless we should guess that his works were corrupted in that unlearned age, which following the Saracen-conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humanity, but in a sort wholly given over to the doctrine of *Aristotle*. If this will serve to make *Berosus* our friend, so let it be; If not, I will not purchase the favour of his authority, by forsaking *Jeremy* and *Daniel* when they seem to be his Opposites.

§. VII.

Of the Victories which Nabuchodonosor *obtained between the destruction of* Jerusalem, *and conquest of* Egypt.

With what actions this time of seventy years was entertained by the *Babylonian* Kings, few have written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peradventure have been some cause that the time it self was, and is yet, sought to be abridged, as not having left sufficient matter to witness the length of it. But by such an argument we might as well deny to many people even their Being. For every Nation (I know not whom I should except) between the beginning and last end of it, hath in some slothful age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no marvel, if the posterity of *Nabuchodonosor*, finding all things ready to their hand, which their hearts could have desired, betook themselves to their ease and pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigal Sons of greedy Fathers, their own wisdom greater, which knew how to enjoy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their daies in the restless travel of purchasing: Though indeed the reign of *Nabuchodonosor* was so divided, that his youthful and stronger years having been exercised in victorious arms, no small part of his life was remaining to be spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthy labours past. The nineteenth year of his reign it was, when destroying utterly the great and mighty City of *Jerusalem*, he enriched

riched himſelf with abundance of ſpoil, and terrified all that would offer to reſiſt him, by that fearful example. From that time forward, he, until his three and twentieth year, laboured in the conqueſt of thoſe adjoyning Regions, which God had expoſed unto his ſword, and commanded to wear his yoke; namely, the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians*, *Sydonians*, and *Egyptians*; though ſome of theſe were already become his followers, and ſerved under him, when *Jeruſalem* was beaten down and burnt. But the *Tyrians*, whoſe City was founded on an Iſland, ſafe enough from any danger of a Land-army, and whoſe Fleet was ſo ſtrong, that they needed not to fear any enemy at Sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour-Cities, nor with the obſtinate reſolution of this mighty Prince, imploying all his power to their ſubverſion.

That the City of *Tyre* was rather well pleaſed, than any way diſcouraged with the fall of *Jeruſalem* (which had held the ſame courſe that *Tyrus* did, and endured all that might be in the ſame quarrel againſt the common enemy) it appears by the words Ezek.26.2. which *Ezekiel* condemneth as the common voice of *Tyrus*; *Aha, the gate of the people is broken, it is turned unto me; for ſeeing ſhe is deſolate, I ſhall be repleniſhed.* Yet at length, even in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonoſor*, that great work of his, whereof we have already ſpoken, began to appear above the waters, and threaten them with inevitable miſchief.

Jer. 25. Iſa.23. 55. But thoſe Prophecies of *Jeremy* and of *Eſay*, which appoint unto this deſolation of *Tyre* the ſame term of ſeventy years, that was preſcribed unto the reign of the *Chaldæans*, do plainly ſhew, that ſhe followed *Jeruſalem*, the ſame nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonoſor*, in the ſame, or a very like fortune. The particularities, which doubtleſs were memorable in the iſſue of ſo great and laborious a ſiege, are in a manner utterly loſt. Thus much we find, That the Citizens perceiving the Town unable to hold out, embarked themſelves, and fled into the Iſle of *Cyprus*. Nevertheleſs, it ſeems that this evaſion ſerved only the principal men, who eſcaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer ſort unto the enemies fury. For, not only ſuch people of *Tyre* as dwelt on the Continent, (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the ſword; but the like execution was done in the ſtreets, into which, with exceſſive labour, the *Aſſyrian* made way for his Horſes and Chariots. Thus Ezek.29.18. *Nabuchodonoſor cauſed his Army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt* Tyrus, *wherein every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was made bare, yet had he no wages, nor his Army*; but was fain to reſt contented with the Honour of having deſtroyed that City, which in all mens judgements had been held invincible.

The deſtruction of theſe two great and powerful Cities, having made the name of the *Chaldæans* dreadful in the ears of all the Nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonoſor* uſed the advantage of that reputation which he had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with leſs pain. The Kingdom of *Egypt* was the Mark at which he aimed; a Country ſo abounding in all riches and pleaſures, that it might well have tempted any Prince, finding himſelf ſtrong enough, to ſeek occaſion of quarrel againſt it; and ſo far an enemy to the Crown of *Babylon*, that, had it been poorer, yet either it muſt have been ſubdued, or the conqueſt of *Syria* could ill have been eſtabliſhed. Nevertheleſs it was needful, that before he entred into this buſineſs, the Countries adjacent ſhould be reduced unto ſuch terms, that either they ſhould wholly ſtand at his devotion, or at leaſt be unable to work him any diſpleaſure. And herein the Decree of God concurred, as in all proſperous enterpriſes, with reaſon of State. For, the people of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damaſcus*, *Kedar*, *Hazar*, and other adjoyning Regions, whom God for their ſins had condemned to fall under the *Babylonian* ſwords, were ſuch, as regarding only their own gain, had ſome of them, like Ravens, followed the *Chaldæan* Army, to feed upon the carkaſſes that fell by the cruelty thereof; others taking advantage of their neighbours miſeries, occupied the Countries which were by his victories belonging to *Nabuchodonoſor*: all of them thinking, that when the *Aſſyrian* had ſatisfied his fury, he ſhould be fain to forſake thoſe deſolate parts, and leave the poſſeſſion of thoſe that could lay hand upon it. Particularly the *Edomites* and *Philiſtims* had ſhewed much malice to the *Jews* when their City was taken. What good ſervice they had done to the *Chaldæans*, I find not; if they did any, it is likely to have been with reference to their own purpoſes, wherein they were diſappointed. The *Ammonites* were not contented to rejoyce at the fall of *Jeruſalem*, but preſently they entred upon the Country of *Gad*, and took poſſeſſion; as if not the *Aſſyrians*, but they had ſubdued *Iſrael*. Neither can I perceive what other ground that practice had of *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*, when he ſent *Iſhmael*, a Prince of the blood

Ezek. 25. 12. & 15.

Ezek 25.3. Jer.49. 1.

of *Juda*, to murther *Gedalia*, whom the King of *Babel* had left Governour over those that remained in *Israel*, and to carry captive into the *Ammonites* Country the people that abode in *Mizpah*, than a desire of embroiling *Nabuchodonosor*, with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his own Country, and abandon those wasted Lands to himself and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like policy the *Moabites* did exercise, whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God; and their dissimulation condemned, as not doing right.

*Jer.*40.14. & 41. 2. & 10. *Jer.* 28. 27, &c.

All these Nations had the art of ravening, which is familiar to such as live or border upon desarts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the uttermost cunning of their theevish wits. But *Nebuchadnezzar* did cut asunder all their devices by sharp and sudden war, overwhelming them with unexpected ruine, as it were in one night; according to the Prophecies of *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, who foretold, with little difference of words, the greatness and swiftness of the misery that should come upon them. With which of them he first began, I find not; it seems that *Moab* was the last which felt his hand: for so do many good Authors interpret the Prophecy of *Esay*, threatning *Moab* with destruction after three years, as having reference to the third year following the ruine of *Jerusalem*; the next year after it being spent in the *Egyptian* Expedition. This is manifest, that all the principal Towns in these Regions were burnt, and the people slain, or made slaves, few excepted, who being preserved by flight, had not the courage to return to their habitations over-hastily, much less to attempt any thing against *Nabuchodonosor*; but lived as miserable Out-laws, or at least oppressed wretches, untill the end of seventy years, which God had prescribed unto the desolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of *Juda*.

Isa. 16.14.

§. VIII.

That Ægypt *was conquered, and the King therein reigning slain by* Nabuchodonosor, *contrary to the opinion of most Authors: who, following* Herodotus *and* Diodorus, *relate it otherwise.*

WHen by a long course of victory, *Nabuchodonosor* had brought into subjection all the Nations of *Syria*, and the bordering *Arabians*, in such wise, that no enemy to himself, nor friend to the *Egyptian*, was left at his back, that might give impediment upon his proceeding, or take advantage of any misfortune; then did he forthwith take in hand the conquest of *Egypt* himself, upon which those other Nations had formerly been depending. Of this Expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great Prophets, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, have written so plainly, that I hold it altogether needless to look after more authority, or to cite for proof half of that which may be alleadged out of these. Nevertheless, we find many and good Authors, who following *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to strain these Prophecies with unreasonable diligence unto such a sense, as gives to *Nabuchodonosor* little more than the honour of having done some spoil in *Egypt*, omitting the conquest of that Land by the *Babylonian*, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a Chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affairs. So preposterous is the delight which many men take in the means and second helps conducing to their purpose, that oftentimes they do preferr the Commentator before the Author; and, to uphold a sentence, giving testimony to one clause, do carelesly overthrow the History it self, which thereby they sought to have maintained. The reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of *Egypt*, which reigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former Book: but that which they have spoken of *Apries*, was purposely reserved unto this place. *Herodotus* doth affirm, that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein he telleth not; (unless we should understand that he was victorious in the War, which he is said to have made upon *Tyrus* and *Sydon*) that he reigned five and twenty years; and was finally taken and put to death by his own Subjects; who did set up *Amasis*, as King, which prevailed against him. The rebellion of the *Egyptians* he imputeth to a great loss which they received in an Expedition against the *Cyrenians*, by whom almost their whole Army was destroyed. This calamity the people of *Egypt* thought to be well pleasing to their King, who had sent them on this dangerous Expedition, with a purpose to have them consumed, that so he might with greater security reign over such as stayed at home. So they who escaped, and the friends of such as were slain, rebelled against *Apries*, who sent *Amasis* to appease the tumult; but *Amasis* became Captain of the rebels, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole

Herod. l. 2. & *l.* 4.

Land

Land consented unto this new Election; whereby *Apries* was driven to trust unto his forein Mercenaries; the *Ionians* and *Carians*, of whom he kept continually in readiness thirty thousand good Souldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were at length vanquished by the great number of the *Egyptian* forces, amounting unto two hundred and fifty thousand, which were all by birth and education, men of War. *Apries* himself being taken prisoner, was gently entreated by *Amasis* for a while, untill the *Egyptians*, exclaiming upon him, as an extream enemy to the Land, got him delivered into their hands, and strangled him, yet they gave him honourable burial. Such is the report of *Herodotus*, with whom *Diodorus Siculus* doth neerly agree; telling us, that *Apries* did vanquish the *Cyprians* and *Phœnicians* in battel at Sea, took by force and demolished *Sidon*, wann the other Towns of *Phœnicia*, and the Isle of *Cyprus*, and finally perished, as is before rehearsed, when he had reigned two and twenty years. This authority were enough (yet not more than enough) to inform us of *Apries* his history, if greater authority did not contradict it. But the destruction of *Egypt* by the *Babylonian*, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compell our belief, than have the traditions of *Egyptian* Priests (which the Greek Historians followed) and greater probabilities to perswade those that look only into humane reasons. For *Esay* prophecied long before of the shameful Captivity of the *Egyptians*, whom the King of *Assur*, should carry away naked, young and old, in such wise, that the *Jews*, who fled then for deliverance from the *Assyrian*, should be ashamed of their own vain confidence in men so unable to defend themselves.

Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 2.

Isa. 20 4, 5, & 6.

But *Ezekiel* and *Jeremy*, as their Prophecies were nearer to the time of execution, so they handled this argument more precisely. For *Ezekiel* telleth plainly, that *Egypt* should be given to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as wages for the service which he had done at *Tyre*: Also he recounteth particularly all the chief Cities in *Egypt*, saying, That these by name should be destroyed, and go into Captivity; yea, that *Pharaoh and all his Army should be slain by the sword*. Wherefore it must needs be a violent exposition of these Prophecies, which by applying the issue of such threatnings to an insurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in *Egypt*, than change of the Kings person, wherein *Amasis* did succeed unto *Apries*, by force indeed, but by the uniform consent of all the people. Certainly, if that notable place of *Jeremy*, wherein he foretelleth how the *Jews* in *Egypt* should see *Pharaoh Hophra* delivered into the hand of his enemies, as *Zedekia* had been, were to be referred unto the time of that rebellion, whereof *Herodotus* hath spoken, as the general opinion hath over-ruled it; then was it vainly done of the same Prophet (which, God forbid that any Christian should think, seeing he did it by the appointment of God himself) to hide in the clay of a Brick-hill, those very stones, upon which the Throne of *Nabuchodonosor* should be set, and his Pavilion spread. Yea then was that Prophecy no other than false, which expressed the end of *Pharaoh* thus: *Behold, I will visit the common people of* No, *and* Pharaoh *and* Egypt, *with their gods, and their Kings, even* Pharaoh, *and all that trust in him: and I will deliver them into the hands of those that seek their lives, and into the hand of* Nebuchadnezzar, *King of* Babel, *and into the hands of his servants*. The clearness of this Prophecy being such as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of *Amasis*, it caused me to wonder what those Commentators would say to it; who are elsewhere so diligent in fitting all to the Greek Historians. Wherefore looking upon *Junius*, who had in another place taken the enemies of *Pharaoh Hophra* to be *Amasis* and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the *Egyptian* Priests had notably deluded *Herodotus* with lyes, coyned upon a vain-glorious purpose of hiding their own disgrace and bondage. And surely, it may well be thought, that the history of *Nebuchadnezzar* was better known to the *Jews*, whom it concerned, than to the Greeks, that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I see no cause why we should not rather believe *Josephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonosor* in the three and twentieth year of his reign, and the fifth year of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, did conquer *Egypt*, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his stead, than *Herodotus* or *Diodore*; who being meer strangers to this business, had no great reason to labour in searching out the truth, but might rest contented with any thing that the Priests would tell them. Now if setting aside all advantage of authority, we should only consider the relations of *Josephus*, and of the Greek Historians, as either of them might be verified of it self by apparent circumstances, without reflecting upon the Hebrew Prophets, or *Egyptian* Priests; methinks the death of *Apries* can no way be approved, as having

Ezek. 29. 20, & c 30

Ezek 32. 33.

Jer. 44 20.

Jer. 45 10.

Jer 46. 25, & 26.

Jun. in Jerem. c. 44. v. 30.

having been wrought by consent of the people, but affords great matter of suspicion; yea, though no man had opposed the reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodore*. For the great love and honour which the *Egyptians* did bear unto their Kings, is notorious by the uniform testimony of all others that have handled the matters of that Country, as well as by the report of *Diodore* himself. How then can we think it probable, that *Apries* having wonn great victories, did for one only loss fall into the hatred of all his people? or, which may serve to perswade us, that a King of *Egypt* would seek, or so demean himself, that he might be thought to seek the destruction of his natural subjects? As for that Army of thirty thousand souldiers, *Carians* and *Ionians*, which the King of *Egypt*, whom *Amasis* took prisoner, is said to have kept for his defence: Doth it not argue that he was a forreiner, and one that armed himself against the *Egyptians*, wishing them few and weak; rather then any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Country, as assuredly their own, as the strength of their own bodies? It were more tedious than any way needful, to use all Arguments that might be alleadged in this case. The very death of this supposed *Apries*, which the clamours of the people obtained of *Amasis*, who sought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that he was some forein Governour, not a natural Prince; otherwise the people would have desired to save his life, and *Amasis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disprove that opinion, whereunto I should not have yielded, though it had stood upon great appearance of truth, considering that the voice of truth it self cries out against it; but leave the circumstances, proving the Conquest of *Egypt* by *Nabuchodonosor*, to be observed where due occasion in course of the story following shall present them.

Joſ. Ant. Jud. l. 10. c. 11.

§. IX.

How Egypt *was subdued and held by* Nebuchadnezzar.

IT is a great loss, that the general History of the World hath suffered by the spoil and waste which Time hath made of those Monuments that should have preserved the memory of such famous actions as were accomplished by this mighty Prince *Nabuchodonosor*; wherein, whether his Virtue, or Fortune were greater, it is now uncertain. That his Victories following the Conquest of *Syria*, and the Neighbour-Provinces, were such as did more enlarge his Dominion, than all the former Wars had done, it may easily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*, who reckoneth up in his 30 Chapter (besides the whole Country of *Egypt*) *Phut* and *Lud*, with other Nations, that may seem to have reached out into *Mauritania*, as people subdued by this great *Babylonian*. The circumstances of these Wars are in a manner utterly lost; but that the victory was easie and swift, any man shall find, who will take the pains to conferr the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I think worthy of more particular observation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Book) thought himself most safe in *Egypt* by the well defenced situation of his Country, did very unwisely in suffering his enemies to sweep the way clean unto his own doors, by consuming all his friends and adherents in *Syria*. For, as the labour of this business did more harden, than weary the *Chaldæan* Army; so the confidence and vain security of the *Egyptians*, relying upon the difficult passages which the enemy was to make thorow the *Arabian* deserts, and the much advantage which the great River of *Nilus* would afford unto themselves, did little avail them in provision for the War, and much astonish them (as may justly be thought) in the time of execution: it being usually seen, that the hearts of men fail, when those helps fail, in which they had reposed more confidence, than in their own virtue. Hitherto the Kingdom of *Egypt* had flourished under the rule of the *Pharaohs*, about a thousand five hundred and fourscore years; but from this time forward it remained forty years without a King, under the subjection of the *Babylonians*; and then at length it began to recover by little and little the former greatness; yet so, that it was never dreadful unto others; God having said of that people, *I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule the Nations*. For, whereas it hath been said of *Pharaoh*: *I am the Son of the Wise, I am the Son of the Ancient Kings*: And whereas he had vaunted, *The River is mine, and I have made it*; the Princes of *Egypt* now became fools, the River failed them, the King himself was taken and slain, and that ancient linage quite extinguished. This came to pass in the first year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*; at which time (saith *Josephus*) *He slew the King then reigning, placed another in his room, and carried Captives thence to* Babylon *the* Jews *whom he found in that Country*. Now concerning

Ezek. 29. 13, 14, & 15. Isa. 19. 11. Ezek. 29. 9.

Joſ. Ant. Jud. l. 20. c. 11.

cerning the time which *Joſephus* gives unto this buſineſs, and the buſineſs it ſelf, I have already ſhewed, that it is warranted by all the Prophecies which inſinuate the ſame. As likewiſe the laſt deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and carrying away thoſe unto *Babel*; who inhabited the miſerable ruins of that great City, which was in the ſame *three and twentieth year of Nebuchadnezzar*, is not unprobably thought by good Authors to have been at the return from this *Egyptian* Expedition. But whereas *Joſephus* tells us, that there was another King put in the room of *Apries* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, we muſt underſtand, that he was only a Vice-roy, and not (as ſome have miſtaken it) think that this was *Amaſis*. For to place the beginning of *Amaſis* his reign in the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant unto the prophecies before alleadged, as to all Chronology and Hiſtory. Some there are, which to help this inconvenience, imagine that there were two ſucceſſively bearing the name of *Amaſis*; others, that there were two *Apries*, the one ſlain by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the other by *Amaſis*; a queſtion of ſmall importance, becauſe the difference is only about a name, it being once granted, that the perſon mentioned in Scriptures, was deprived of life and Kingdom by the *Aſſyrians*. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that *Apries*, of whom the Greek Hiſtorians wrote, could not be the Deputy of *Nebuchadnezzar*, ſeeing that he was the Grand-child of *Pharaoh Necho*, and made war (as they report) upon the *Phœnicians*; who were, before the *Egyptians*, become ſubject unto the Crown of *Babylon*. I might add, perhaps, that he whom *Nebuchadnezzar* left as Governour of *Egypt*, was more likely to have had ſome *Chaldæan* or *Aſſyrian*, than *Egyptian* name, unleſs we ſhould think that he had been a Traitor to his natural Prince, and ſo rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantſhip of the Country: about which it were but frivolous to diſpute. Thus much in brief we ought to believe, that *Nabuchodonoſor* made an abſolute Conqueſt of *Egypt*; that he was not ſo fooliſh as to give it away, any man may gueſs; that he appointed one to rule the Country, it is conſequent unto the former, and hath authority of *Joſephus*; that his Governour (or ſome ſucceſſor of his) was afterwards taken and ſlain by *Amaſis*, I ſee probability enough to perſwade my ſelf, and yet can well be content, that others uſe their liberty, and believe what they liſt. As for the Army which this *Egyptian* King *Apries* is ſuppoſed to have kept of *Ionians* and *Carians*, I hold them to be none other than the garriſons of mercenary ſouldiers which were left by the *Aſſyrian* for the guard of his Vice-roy, and cuſtody of the new ſubdued Province: as likewiſe the company returning from *Cyrene* and *Barce*, who, together with the friends of ſuch as were ſlain in that Expedition, remembred before out of the Greek Hiſtorians, depoſed and ſlew *Apries*, I take them to have been the *Egyptian* fugitives, which then recovered their own Country. Sure it is, that this Prophecy of *Ezekiel* was verified; *At the end of forty years will I gather the* Egyptians *from the people where they were ſcattered, and I will bring again the Captivity of* Egypt, *and will cauſe them to return into the Land of* Pathros, *into the Land of their habitation, and they ſhall be there a ſmall Kingdom.* If the *Egyptian* Prieſts alluded hereunto in the tale which they made of *Amaſis* obtaining the Kingdom; then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they deviſed matter that had no ſhadow of truth, only to keep the *Greeks* from knowledge of their Countries diſgrace, then are they little to be reguarded, ſince we know the truth with them.

Jer. 25. 30.

Ezek. 30. 13, & 14.

§. X.

Of the ſundry accounts drawn from ſundry acts of Nebuchadnezzar, *and of the deſtruction of* Ninive, *by him; the time of which action is uncertain.*

THeſe victories brought the greatneſs of the *Aſſyrian* Empire to the full, and from them was reckoned the time of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign in ſundry places of Scripture. To ſpeak any more of the queſtions ariſing about the ſupputation of *Nebuchadnezzar* his times, might ſeem to be the overhandling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note, that whereas *Daniel* was carried captive in the third year of *Jehojakims* reign (which ran along with ſome part of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s firſt year) and was kept in diet three years more, before he was brought into the Kings preſence; It could not be the ſecond of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Kingdom, wherein he interpreted the forgotten dream of the great Image, fore-ſhewing the ſucceſs of Monarchies, but the ſecond of his Empire. The ſame or the like may be ſaid of divers places which refer ſundry matters unto their ſet years; as that of *Ezekiel* before cited, where he fore-tells, that *Egypt* ſhould be given in reward for the ſervice done before *Tyrus*, dating his Prophecy in the

Dan. 1. 2.

the seven and twentyeth year; and that of *Daniel*, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth year: for these years held no dependance upon either the beginning of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Kingdom, or of his Empire, nor yet upon any of the Captivities, but had reference to some memorable actions, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not easie to be found, nor worth the labour of uncertain search.

Of any War made by *Nebuchadnezzar*, after such time as he returned from the Conquest of *Egypt*, I do not read: excepting that against *Nineve*, the destruction whereof was fore-told by the Prophet *Nahum*. *Nineve* had long before been taken by *Merodach* (as in due place hath been shewed) and together with the rest of *Assyria* made subject to *Babylon*. Yet was it left under a peculiar King, who, rebelling against the *Chaldæan*, as *Jehojakim* and *Zedechias*, tributary Kings of *Juda*, had done, tasted likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of *Nineve* followed the Conquest of *Egypt*, it appeareth by the comparison which *Nahum* the Prophet made between this City, that was to fall, and the City of *No* in *Egypt*, that was fallen already. But, how long after this came to pass, it is (methinks) impossible to find out. For, whereas it is found in an Hebrew Chronology, that it was in the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign, the place of *Nahum* last cited, it is enough to disprove it. Whereas it is referred by some unto the first of his Monarchy, which began at the end of the *Egyptian* Wars; the whole Prophecy of *Nahum*, which went between the one and the other, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very year of this destruction, or other circumstances of the War, whether managed by *Nabuchodonosor* in person, or by his Lieutenants, were somewhat like unto the vain curiosity of *Tiberius Cæsar*, enquiring who was the Mother of *Hecuba*; or to the like idle pains which he should take, who would seek to learn what woman that *Huzzah* Queen of *Nineve* was, whose woful Captivity the same Prophet *Nahum* likewise did fore-tell.

Nahum 3.8.

§. XI.

Of the latter time of Nebuchadnezzar; *his buildings, madness, and death.*

OF the time which this great Monarch spent in quiet, I think there are no Monuments extant, save those which we find among the Propheſies of *Daniel*. Among these we may reckon his great works of *Babylon*, wherewith he pleased himself so well, that he brake out into those glorious words: *Is not this great* Babel *that I have built, for the house of the Kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my Majesty?* Surely if those things be true that are by *Josephus* rehearsed of him out of *Berosus* and *Megasthenes*, he might well delight himself with the contemplation of such goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is said, That he fortified *Babylon* with a triple wall; that, besides other stately works, he raised those huge Arches wherewith were born up the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the Air, and equalling the tops of Mountains; which most sumptuous Frame, that out-lasted all the remainder of the *Assyrian*, and all the *Persian* Empire, is said to have been reared, and finished in fifteen daies.

Dan. 4. 27.

But of all this and other his magnificence, we find little else recorded, than that (which indeed is most profitable for us to consider) his over-valuing of his own greatness abased him unto a condition inferiour to the poorest of men. And not undeservedly fell these judgments of God upon him. For, whereas God had honoured him, not only with many victories, and much happiness in his own life, but with a discovery of things to come after him, yea and had approved the certainty of his dream, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet; he nevertheless became so forgetful of God, whose wonderful power he had seen and acknowledged, that he caused a golden Image to be set up and worshipped; ordaining a cruel death as reward unto them that should dare to disobey his Kingly will and pleasure, which was utterly repugnant to the Law of him that is *the King of Kings*. Hereof St. *Hierom* hath well noted; *Velox oblivio veritatis, ut qui dudum servum Dei quasi Deum adoraverat, nunc statuam sibi fieri jubeat, ut ipse quasi Deus in Statua adoraretur: A hasty forgetfulness of the truth, that he who so lately had worshipped* (Daniel) *the servant of God, as if he had been God himself, should now command a Statua to be erected unto himself, wherein himself might be worshipped as God.* From this impiety it pleased God to reclaim him, by the strange and wonderful delivery of those blessed Saints out of the fiery furnace; who being thrown into it bound, for refusing to commit Idolatry, were assisted by an Angel; preserved from all harm of the fire; loosened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious

gracious words, and restored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this devotion of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was not so rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit answerable to his hasty zeal. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a dream of the terrible judgement hanging over his head, which *Daniel* expounding, advised him to *break off his sin by righteousness, and his iniquity by mercy towards the poor, that there might be an healing of his errour.* Hereby it seems that injustice and cruelty were the faults, for which he was threatned: but this threatning sufficed not unto his information. For, that so great a Monarch should be driven from among men (according to the tenor of the dream and interpretation); yea, compelled to dwell with the beasts of the field, and made to eat grass as the Oxen, was a thing so incredible in mans judgement, that easily it might be thought an idle dream; and much more easily be forgotten at the years end. One whole years leisure to repent, was given to this haughty Prince: which respite of the execution may seem to have bred in him a forgetfulness of Gods sentence. For at the end of twelve moneths, walking in the royal Palace of *Babel*, he was so over-joyed and transported with a vain contemplation of his own seeming happiness, that, without all fear of Gods heavy judgement pronounced against him, he uttered those lofty words before rehearsed, in vaunting of the Majestical works which he had reared, as well beseeming his Majestical person. But his high speeches were not fully ended, when a voice from Heaven, telling him that his Kingdom was departed from him, rehearsed over unto him the sentence again, which was fulfilled upon him the very same hour.

That *Solomon*, and many other Princes, and great ones, have taken delight in their own buildings, It cannot any way be doubted; yet I do not remember that ever I have read of any, that were punished for rejoycing in works of this kind (though it is hard in joy, or any passion of the mind, to keep a just measure) excepting only this *Nebuchadnezzar*.

The like may be said of *David*: for other (and some very godly) Kings have mustred all their forces to the very last man; but few or none have been known to have been punished as *David* was. Surely I not only hold it lawful to rejoyce in those good things wherewith God hath blessed us; but a note of much unthankfulness to entertain them with a sullen and unfeeling disposition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reverence to God is wanting, are no better than obscure clouds hindring the influence of that blessed Light, which clarifies the soul of man, and predisposeth it unto the brightness of eternall felicity; so that insolent joy, which man in the pride of his vain imagination conceiveth of his own worth, doth above all other passions blast our minds, as it were with lightning, and make us to reflect our thoughts upon our seeming inherent Greatness, forgetting the whilst him, to whom we are indepted for our very Being. Wherefore these *Mala mentis gaudia*, *The evil joyes of the mind* were not unaptly, by the Prince of Latin Poets, bestowed in the entrance of Hell, and placed farther inward than sorrows, cares, and fears; not far from the Iron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainly it is no unlikely token of vengeance near at hand, when these unreasonable flushes of proud and vain joy, do rage in a mind, that should have been humbled with a just repentance, and acknowledgement of ill deserving.

This was verified upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whose punishment was singular and unexampled. For he ran among beasts in the fields and woods, where for seven years he lived, not only as a salvage man, but as a salvage beast; for a beast he thought himself, *secundum suam imaginationem*, as *Thomas* noteth, and therefore fed himself in the same manner, and with the same food that beasts do: Not that he was changed in figure external, according to *Mediana*, insomuch as he appeared a Beast to other mens eyes, as St. *Hierom* in the life of *Hilarius* (how true God knows) speaks of a woman that appeared to all other mens sight a Cow, but to *Hilarius* only a woman; neither was he changed as *Iphigenia* the daughter of *Agamemnon* was said to be, into a Hind; nor made a Monster, as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed: but, according to St *Hierom's* exposition of these words, *At the same time was my understanding restored unto me, &c. Quando dicit* (saith St. *Hieram*) *sensum sibi redditum, ostendit non formam se amisisse, sed mentem; When he saith that his sense was restored unto him, he shewed that he had not lost his humane shape, but his understanding.* Seven years expired, it pleased God to restore *Nabuchodonosor*, both to his understanding, and his estate, for which he acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, confessing his power, and everlasting being; that he was the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and wrought

L. 2. de Reg. pri.

Med. l. 2. de Recta in Deum fid. &c. 7.

Dor. in Synopsi. Ep. in vit. Dan.

Dan. 4 31, 34.

wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his works were all truth, and his wayes righteous. Which gave argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his salvation; namely St. *Augustine*, *Theodoret*, *Lyra*, *Carthusianus*, and others. And for that place of *Esay* the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforenamed Authors apply the same to *Balthasar*; because *Esay*, both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapters, speaketh of the King, and the destruction of *Babylon* joyntly.

§. XII.

Of Evilmerodach.

HAving already spoken what I could of the succession and years of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s posterity, the most that may be said of him, is said of *Evilmerodach*, which I will not here again rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his Father had gotten; and left his Kingdom burning in a war that consumed it to ashes. He lost *Egypt* by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth year of his reign, which was forty years after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the account of *Herodotus*, who allows to *Amasis* four and forty years of reign; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who gives him five and fifty, saying, that he died in the third year of the threescore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyses* did conquer *Egypt*. There were indeed but seven and thirty years, which passed between the second year of the four and fiftieth Olympiad (which was the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach*, and the first of *Amasis*) and the fifth of *Cambyses* his reign, wherein he wann *Egypt*; of which seven and thirty years it is credibly held, that *Psammiticus*, the Son of *Amasis*, reigned three: so that *Amasis* could be no longer King than four and thirty years. But seeing that these two *Greek* Historians have been abused by *Egyptian* Priests in the substance of that which was spoken of *Amasis*, it is no marvel though they were also deceived in the length of his reign. This is the plain answer to this objection. For to say, either that the numbers were mis-written, and four and forty set down instead of four and thirty; or that *Amasis* did temporize a while with the *Assyrians*, and not bear himself as absolute King of *Egypt*, until the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath been proved out of *Ezekiel*, that *Egypt* became again a Kingdom) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these *Egyptian*-troubles did animate the King of the *Medes*, to deal with *Evilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame and reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in present forces or, whether (as I rather think) some foil received by the *Assyrian* invading *Media*, emboldned the *Egyptians* to rebel against him; I will neither undertake, nor seek to define. *Xenophon* tells, that the first service of young *Cyrus* in war, was under *Astyages* King of the *Medes*, his Grand-father, in a prosperous fight against the *Assyrian* Prince, who did set upon him; at which time, *Cyrus* was fifteen or sixteen years old. If therefore *Cyrus* lived threescore and three years (as he is said to have died well stricken in years) which is held to be the ordinary terme of no short life, then was this encounter in the third year of *Evilmerodach* his reign. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the war began more early between these Nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumstances insinuating as much, are found in the same place of *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of *Nabuchodonosor* gave courage unto those that had felt him a troublesome neighbour, to stand upon prowder terms with the *Assyrians*, than in his flowrishing estate they durst have used. Howsoever the quarrel began, we find that it ended not before the last ruin of the *Assyrian* Monarchy. For the *Babylonian*, being too proud to digest the losses which he received by the *Medes*, and their Allies the Persians, drew unto his party the *Lydians*, and all the people of the lesser *Asia*, with gifts and strong perswasions, hoping so to overwhelm his enemies with a strong Invasion, whom in vain he had sought to weary out with a lingring War.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 8.

This happened after the death of *Astyages*, who left the world in the nineteenth year of *Evilmerodach*, at which time *Amasis* took possession of *Egypt*. So that the *Assyrian* having his hands already full of business, which more earnestly did affect him, seems thereby to have given the better means unto the *Egyptians*, of new erecting their Kingdom, which by long distance of place, did sundry times find occasion to rebel in after-ages, and set up a King within it self, against the far more mighty Persian.

The issue of these great preparations made by *Evilmerodach* against the *Medes*, was such as opened the way until the fulfilling of those Prophecies, which were many years before uttered against *Babel*, by *Esay* and *Jeremy*.

For,

For, the *Aſſyrians* and their Confederates, who, truſting in their numbers, thought to have buried the *Medes* and *Perſians* under their thick ſhowers of arrows and darts, were encountred with an Army of ſtout and well-trained men, weightily armed for cloſe fight, by whom they were beaten in open battel, wherein *Evilmerodach* was ſlain. So, that great frame of Empire which *Nabuchodonoſor* had raiſed and upheld, being ſhaken and grievouſly crackt under his unfortunate Son, was left to be ſuſtained by his unworthy Nephew; a man more likely to have overthrown it, when it was greateſt and ſtrongeſt, than to repair it, when it was in way of falling.

§. XIII.

A private conjecture of the Author; ſerving to make good thoſe things, which are cited out of Beroſus, *concerning the Succeſſors of* Evilmerodach, *without wrong to the truth. The quality, and death of* Balthaſar.

THough I have already (as it ſeems to me) ſufficently proved that *Balthaſar* was the Son, and immediate Succeſſor to *Evilmerodach*, yet conſidering earneſtly the conjectures of thoſe Writers, which, following *Beroſus*, inſert *Nigliſſar*, or *Nirigliſſoroor*, and his Son *Labaſſardach* between them; as alſo that which I find in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris*, a famous Queen of *Babylon*, who greatly adorned and fortified that City; I have thought it not ſuperfluous here in this place to ſhew, by what means it was poſſible, that ſome errour might have crept into the Hiſtory of thoſe times, and thereby have brought us to a needleſs trouble of ſearching out the truth, as it were by candle-light, in the uncertain fragments of loſt Authors, which we might have found by day-light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. Firſt therefore I obſerve, that the time which *Beroſus* divides betwixt *Evilmerodach*, and ther two next Kings, agrees with the years in which *Nebuchadnezzar* lived wild among brute beaſts in the open field: Secondly, that the ſuddenneſs of this accident, which came in one hour, could not but work much perturbation in that State, wherein doubtleſs the honour of ſo noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamity pitied, and his reſtitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that clauſe which promiſed his recovery, as being verified in that which had been more incredible. Now if we do in common reaſon judge, what courſe was like to be taken by the great Ones of the Kingdom, for ſetling the Government, whilſt the King was thus diſtracted, we ſhall find it moſt likely, that his Son and Heir did occupy the Royal Throne, with condition to reſtore it unto his Father, when God ſhould enable him to repoſſeſs it. In this his rule *Evilmerodach* being to ſupply the utter want of underſtanding in his Father, as Protectors do the unripeneſs of it in young, but reaſonable Kings, Might eaſily either commit the inſolences, or fall into the troubles, incident to ſuch an office. That he had in him very ſmall ability of Government, it appears by his ill maintaining the Empire, when he held it in his own right. That his Siſter *Nitocris* (if *Notocris* were his Siſter) was an woman of a high ſpirit; it appears by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, ſaying, That ſhe was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and uſeful works about the River of *Euphrates*, and her fortification of *Babylon* againſt the *Medes*, who had gotten many Towns from the *Aſſyrians*, and amongſt them *Nineve*. Wherefore it were not unreaſonable to think, that ſuch a woman, ſeeing how the Empire went to decay through her Brothers miſ-government, uſed practices to get the rule into her own hands, and afterwards, as a Mother, to leave it unto her ungracious Son. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could have reigned, we do not find; but we find in *Beroſus* (as *Joſephus* hath cited him) that *Nigliſſar*, who got the Kingdom from *Evilmerodach*, was his Siſters Husband; which argues this to have been the ſame woman. As for *Labaſſardach* the Son of *Nigliſſar*, if at the end of nine moneths reign he were for his lewd conditions ſlain by the Nobility, as the ſame *Beroſus* reporteth; it ſeems that God prepared hereby the way for *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reſtitution (whoſe term of puniſhment was then expired) by raiſing ſuch trouble, as ſhould make him the more deſired, both of the Princes and the people. I will not here uſe many words to confute that which *Beroſus* hath further ſet down of *Evilmerodach*, telling us that he was ſlain by his Siſters Husband: For the plain words of the Scripture, naming the year wherein he gave liberty to *Jeconia*, do plainly teſtifie that he out-lived the three or four and fortieth year of his Fathers reign, which was the laſt of his life.

Herodot. l. 1.

This may ſuffice to ſhew, that they who are ſaid to have ſucceeded *Evilmerodach* in the Kingdom, might indeed have ſo done, though not when he held it in his own right. Of *Balthaſar*, who was his Son and Heir, we find, that he had ſuch conditions, as

God permitted to be in a King for the ruin of the people. He was from his young years of a mischievous nature; having in his Fathers time slain a Noble young man that should have married his Sister, only for spight and envy to see him kill two wild beasts in hunting, at which himself having thrown his Javelin had missed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his beauty, said, It were a happy woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous villanies caused many which had loved his Father (as a good and gracious, though unfortunate Prince) to revolt from him unto the enemy as soon as he was King. Neither do I find that he performed any thing worthy of record, but as a coward and a fool he lost all; sitting still, and not once daring to give battel to them that daily took somewhat from him. Yet carelessly feasting when danger had hemmed him in on every side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom he had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base and miserable; for he died as a fool taken in unexcusable security, yet had not that happiness, such as it is, of a death free from apprehension of fear, but was terrified with a dreadful vision; which had shewed his ruin not in many hours before, even whilst he was drinking in that wine, which the swords of his insulting enemies drew out of him, together with his latest blood. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after a dishonourable reign of seventy years, he perished like a beast, and was slain as he deserved. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time, hath been spoken heretofore; in matter of his affairs, shall be handled among the acts of *Cyrus*, to whose story, that of *Balthasar* is but an appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the original and first greatness of the Persians.

§. I.

That the Medes *were the chief actors in the subversion of the* Babylonian *Empire.*

THE Line of *Belochus* being now extinguished in *Balthasar*, the Empire of *Babylon*, and of *Assyria*, was joyned first to that of *Media*, which then was governed by *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; after whom *Cyrus* became Lord and Monarch, both of *Assyria*, and of *Media* it self.

Of the race of *Phul Belochus* there were ten Kings besides himself, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metasthenes*. These two Provincial Governours having cut down the last branch of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, divided between them the Eastern Empire. *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the last of the race of *Arbaces*, dying about two years after that the Line of *Belochus* was ended in *Balthasar*; the Dominions as well of the Conqueror, as of the conquered, fell to a third Family, namely, to *Cyrus* of the house of *Achæmenes*; the Princes of which blood reigning in *Persia*, had formerly been dependants on the *Medes*, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the world.

Of the Family of the *Achæmenes*, and Line of the *Persian* Kings, we shall hereafter find occasion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the *Medes* descended from *Madai* the third Son of *Japhet*. That they had Kings soon after the Flood, *Lactantius* and *Diodorus* have found record; For *Lactantius* remembreth an antient King of the *Medes* called *Hydaspes*, and *Diodore* speaketh of *Pharnus* with his seven Sons, Slain by the *Assyrians* in the beginning of their Empire.

But of these who succeeded *Arbaces* the first, that freed his Nation from the *Assyrians*, I take the list and number from *Eusebius*, adding *Darius Medus*: of whom I have spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are these:

Arbaces	reigned	28	years.
Sorsamus		30	years.
Medidus		40	years.
Cardiceas		13	years.
Diocles		53	years.
Phraortes		24	years.
Cyaxares		32	years.
Astyages		38	years.
Darius Medus			

And

And though the *Greeks* ascribe the Conquest of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach us, that *Darius* was not only King of *Media*, and had the *Persians* his followers, but that the Army victorious over *Balthasar* was his; as the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Empire also was, during his own life. For we find in *Daniel*, that *Darius* of the *Medes* took the Kingdom being threescore and two years old: And further, what Officers it pleased him to set over the Kingdom. And so was it prophesied by *Esay* long before: *Behold, I will stir up the* Medes *against them, &c.* And by *Jeremy*; *The Lord hath raised up the Spirit of the King of the* Medes: *for his purpose is against* Babel *to destroy it*; and in the eight and twentieth Verse, *Prepare against her the Nations, with the King of the* Medes, *the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion.* These Scriptures *Julius Africanus* doth well open, who taking authority from *Diodore*, *Castor*, *Thallus*, and others, delivereth that *Babylon* was taken before *Cyrus* began to reign; which also agreeth with *Strabo*, where he saith, That as the *Medes* were subjugated by the *Persians*, so before that, both the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* were mastered by the *Medes*. And therefore the reports of *Justin* and *Herodotus* are not to be received, who attribute the taking of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone.

Cap. 13. *v.* 17, 51. *v.* 11. *&* 28.

Lib. 16.

§. II.

By what means the Empire was translated from the Medes *to the* Persians.

HOw the Kingdom of the *Medes* fell into the hands of *Cyrus*, it is a doubt not sufficiently cleared by Historians; But rather their different relations of his beginnings have bred the former opinion of those who give the Conquest of *Babel* to the *Persians* only. For some there are who deny that *Astyages* had any other Successor than *Cyrus* his Grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Ctesias* on the contrary side affirmeth, that *Cyrus* was no way descended from *Astyages* (whom he called *Astigas* or *Apania*) but only that having vanquished him in battel, and confined him to *Bactria*, he married his Daughter *Amytis*. But I find the relations of *Ctesias* often cited, and seldom followed, and himself sometimes very justly reproved of wilful untruth.

Viginier, a diligent and learned historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons that *Astyages* had no such Son as *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; and to confirm this opinion the more he citeth *Diodore*, *Justin*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Isocrates*, and before them *Castor*, *Thallus*, and *Phlegon*; who do not find any such Successor. Neither do *Tatianus*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Julius*, *Africanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Justin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, St. *Hierom*, or St. *Augustin*, make report out of any faithful Author by them read, that hath given other Son or Successor to *Astyages* than *Cyrus*.

Yet seeing that this manner of argument *ab authoritate negativè*, doth never inforce consent; we may be the bolder (all this great list of noble Writers by him alleadged notwithstanding) to affirm, that either *Astyages* himself must have been *Darius* of the *Medes*, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time; or else to give him some other successor, according to *Josephus* and *Xenophon*, the same whom *Daniel* calleth *Darius*. For it is manifest, and without dispute, that the King of the *Medes* commanded in chief, and was absolute Lord of that Conquest; *Cyrus* during his life, being no other than the Lieutenant of his Army, and subject to his authority; the strength of both Nations, to wit, the *Medes* and *Persians*, with other the Vassals of *Darius*, being joyned together to compound it.

Zon. l. 1. *c.* 19. *Jos. An. l.* 10. *c.* 13. *Xen. l.* 8. *Pæd.*

But it is very certain, that the honour of that great victory over *Babylon* was wholly given to *Cyrus*, who was the instrument preordained and forenamed by God himself for this action, but for the delivery of his Church, a greater work not only in the eyes of God, than the subversion of any State or Monarchy how powerful soever.

And it may well be thought, that the Souldiers employed in that service did rather ascribe the glory to him that was the best man of war, than to the *Median*, who was greatest in riches and power. All which also falling upon *Cyrus* by succession, and continuing in his posterity, did much augment the fame of his vertue; which among prophane Historians over-grew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both because he was old, and did nothing in person; as also because he soon after quitted the world, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was possest of whatsoever belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any such King or Conqueror was carried far off.

And for the *Greek* Historians, they took all things from the relation of the *Persians*, who gave to *Cyrus* all the praise of a most excellent Prince, making none his equal. Only *Daniel* in the first, fifth, and sixth Chapters of his Prophecy, makes it plain, that himself not only lived a great Officer under King

King *Darius*, but that he continued in that estate to the first of *Cyrus*; which being the year of *Daniel*'s death, could not have been distinguished from the reign of *Darius*, if they had begun together and reigned joyntly: Neither can it be imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdom by *Cyrus* permission, considering that *Cyrus* began after him.

§. III.

Xenophon's *relation of the War with the* Medes *and* Persians, *made with joynt forces upon the* Assyrians *and others.*

THese Testimonies of the Scriptures, which need no other confirmation, are yet made more open to our understanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of these Wars: The cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the *Assyrian* had enlarged his Empire with victories, and was become Lord of all *Syria*, and many other Countries; he began to hope that if the *Medes* could be brought under his subjection, there should not then be left any Nation adjoyning, able to make head against him. For, the King of the *Medes* was able to bring into the field threescore thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, to which the forces of *Persia* being joyned, made an exceeding strong Army.

The *Assyrian* considering the strength of such a Neighbour, invited *Crœsus* King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mighty both in men and treasure, and with him other Lords of *Asia* the less, to his assistance, alleadging, that those Eastern Nations were very powerful, and so firmly conjoyned by league, and many alliances, that it would not be easie, no not possible, for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements, and strengthned with great Presents, he drew to himself so many adherents, as he compounded an Army of two hundred thousand foot, and threescore thousand horse; of which, ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot were led by *Crœsus*, who had great cause of enmity with the *Medes*, in regard of the War made by them against his Father *Alyattes*: But this great Army was by *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, and by *Cyrus* General of the *Persian* forces, utterly broken: Upon which defeat the *Assyrian* King being also slain, so many of the *Assyrians* revolted, as *Babylon* it self could not longer be assured without the succours of Mercenaries, waged with great summs of mony out of *Asia* the less, *Egypt*, and elsewhere. Which new gathered forces were also scattered by *Cyrus*, who following his advantage, possest himself of a great part of the lesser *Asia*; at which time it was, as I take it, that *Crœsus* himself was also made prisoner.

The attempt of *Babylon* following soon after, the Army lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* called *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his Sisters Son, prevailed against *Balthasar*, as in due time shall be set down.

Those *Persians* which followed *Cyrus*, and by him levied, are numbered thirty thousand foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, the rest of the common sort were Archers, or such as used the Dart or Sling: So far *Xenophon*. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in *Cyrus* the pattern of a most Heroical Prince, with much Poetical addition: so it cannot be denied, but that the bulk and gross of his Narration was founded upon meer Historical truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any the like Writers, that in every speech and circumstance he hath precisely tyed himself to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his own invention, appropriating the same to the times and persons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Moral and Politick discourse, and examining but the History of things done, it will easily appear, that *Xenophon* hath handled his under-taken subject in such sort, that by beautifying the face thereof, he hath not in any sort corrupted the body.

§. IV.

The estate of the Medes *and* Persians *in times foregoing this great War.*

FOr it is commonly agreed upon, that *Achæmenes*, the Son of *Perses*, being Governour of *Persia*, did associate himself with *Arbaces*, who commanded in *Media*, in that rebellion against *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the victory obtained, held for himself the Dominion of those Countries, which he had formerly ruled for the *Assyrians*; as also that they conveyed over the same honour and power to their posterity: which in *Media* was not absolutely Regal, but with some restraint limited, until such time as *Deioces* took upon him the full authority and majesty of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the reign of *Deioces*, are usually accounted about an hundred and forty years; in the last sixty whereof, there reigned in *Assyria* mighty Princes, namely,

namely, *Salmanaſſar* and his Succeſſors; whoſe great atchievements in *Syria* and elſewhere, witneſs, that the *Medes* and *Perſians* found it not for their advantage to undertake any offenſive war againſt thoſe victorious Kings, it being alſo probable, that the league continued as yet between theſe the ſucceſſors of *Belochus* and *Arbaces*, who had formerly ſhared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of *Deioces* to the firſt of *Aſtyages*, there paſt above ninety years, in which, if *Herodotus* have written truly, that *Phraortes* conquered *Perſia*, and how he and other Kings of *Media* by many victories greatly enlarged their Dominions, and commanded many parts of *Aſia*, it had been but an unadviſed enterprize of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, to have waſted themſelves againſt the *Syrians*, and *Egyptians*, leaving ſo able and victorious a Nation on their backs. But that the *Medes* had done nothing upon the South parts of *Perſia*; and that the *Perſians* themſelves were not Maſters of *Suſiana* in *Nabuchodonoſor*'s time; it is manifeſt in *Daniel*, who was then Governor for the *Babylonian* in *Suſa*, or *Suſan*, the chief City thereof. It is true indeed, that the *Medians*, either under *Cyaxares*, or *Aſtyages*, or both, had quarrel with *Halyattes* the Father of *Cræſus*, which, after ſome ſix years diſpute, was compounded.

How the affairs of *Perſia* ſtood in ſo many ages, I do not find any memory. It ſeemeth that the roughneſs of the mountainous Country which they then poſſeſt, with the confederacy which they continued with the *Medes*, gave them more ſecurity than fame: For if their Kings, being the poſterity of *Achæmenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatneſs which they afterward obtained, would not have ſuffered any forgetfulneſs thereof. But as we find all *Xenophon*'s reports, both of theſe Wars, and the ſtate of thoſe Countries to be very conſonant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors; ſo it appears, that the race of *Achæmenes* held the Principality of *Perſia* from Father to Son for many diſcents. And therefore we may better give credit to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyſes* the Father of *Cyrus* was King of *Perſia*; than to thoſe that make him a mean man, and ſay, that *Aſtyages* gave him his Daughter *Mandane* in marriage, to the end that her Son (whoſe nativity he feared) might be diſabled from any great undertaking by his Fathers ignobility.

For, what cauſe of grief could it be to *Aſtyages*, that the Son of his Daughter ſhould become Lord of the beſt part of *Aſia*? No, it was more likely, that upon ſuch a Prophecy his love to his Grand-child ſhould have increaſed, and his care been the greater to have married her to ſome Prince of ſtrength and eminent virtue.

Yea, the ſame *Herodotus*, who is the firſt Author, and, as I think, the deviſer of the miſchief intended againſt *Cyrus* by his Grand-father, doth confeſs, That the line of the *Achæmenidæ* was ſo renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his proſperity, did thence derive himſelf, and vaunt of it: which he would never have done, had they been ignoble, or had they been the vaſſals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this ſort *Xerxes* in the ſeventh of *Herodotus* deriveth himſelf;

Achæmenes.	*Teiſpeus,*	*Hyſtaſpes.*
Cambyſes.	*Ariaramnes.*	*Darius.*
Cyrus.	*Arſamnes.*	*Xerxes.*

Of the *Achæmenidæ* there were two races: of the firſt was *Cyrus* the great, whoſe iſſue-male failed in his two Sons, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*. This royal family is thus ſet down by the learned *Reineccius*.

Achæmenes, the Son of *Perſes*, firſt King of *Perſia*.

Darius.

Cyrus, the firſt of that name, had *Cambyſes*, and *Atoſſa*, who, married to *Pharnaces*, King of *Cappadocia*, had *Artiſtona* and other Daughters.

Cambyſes had

Cyrus the Great: *Cyrus* had

Cambyſes, who ſucceeded him, and *Smerdis*, ſlain by his Brother *Cambyſes*.

Of the ſecond, were thoſe ſeven great Princes of *Perſia*, who having overthrown the uſurped Royalty of the *Magi*, choſe from among themſelves *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, King.

This Kingdom of *Perſia* was firſt known by the name of *Elam*, ſo called after *Elam* the Son of *Sem*, and the people therein inhabiting, *Elamitæ*; by *Elianus*, *Elymæ*; by *Joſephus*, *Elymi*.

Suidas derives this Nation ſometimes from *Aſſur*, ſometimes from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Maguſæi*; which *Maguſæi*, according to *Euſebius*, are not to be taken for the Nation in general, but for thoſe that were afterward called the *Magi*, or Wiſemen. So do the *Greeks*, among many other their ſayings of them, affirm, That the *Perſians* were anciently written *Ariæi*, and that they called themſelves *Cephenes*. But that

Eu l.6.c.8. de Prap. Evang.

Gen. 10 Isa. 11. 21, 22. Jer. 25. 29. Ezek. 32. Dan. 8. Esd. 4. 2 Mac. 9. 1 Mac. 6.

that they were *Elamitæ*, *Moses* and the Prophets, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and *Esdras*, in many places confirm: Which also St. *Hierom* upon *Jeremy* the five and twentieth, upon *Daniel* the eighth, and also in his *Hebrew* questions, approveth, saying: *Elam à quo Elamitæ Principes Persidis*; Elam, *of whom were the* Elamites *Princes of* Persia.

And that City which the Author of the second Book of the *Maccabees* calleth *Persepolis*, is by the Author of the first called *Elamais*, but is now called *Siras*, being the same which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted, in vain, and to his great dishonour. And yet this City, now called *Siras*, was not the old *Persepolis*; for *Alexander*, at the request of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

The first King of *Persia* to us known, if we follow the current of Authors interpreting the fourteenth Chapter of *Genesis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who lived with *Amrafel* or *Ninias*, and joyned with him in the war against those *Arabians*, who was afterward extinguished by the forces of *Abraham*.

CHAP. III.

Of Cyrus.

§. I.

Of Cyrus *his Name, and first actions.*

Strab. l. 15.

AS touching the Name of *Cyrus Strabo* saith, That the same was taken from a River which watereth *Persia*; this great Prince having *Agradatus* for his proper Name: But the great *Cyrus* was the first of that Name. *Herodotus*, otherwise; and that *Cyrus* signifieth a Father in the *Persian*-Tongue, and therefore so intituled by the people.

Plut. in vit. Artax.

It is true, that for his Justice and other excellent virtues he was indeed called a Father: But that the Name of *Cyrus* had any such signification, I think it be mistaken.

Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to say as the Sun, in the same Language. Howsoever it be, yet the Prophet *Esay*, almost two hundred years before *Cyrus* was born, gives him that Name, *Thus saith the Lord unto* Cyrus *his Annointed, &c.*

Before the Conquest of *Babylon*, the victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great: among which the Conquest of *Lydia*, and other Provinces thereto subject, together with the taking of *Crœsus* himself, are not recounted by *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and others, but placed among his latter atchievements: whose opinion for his difference of time is founded upon two reasons; namely, That of the *Median* there is no mention in the last war against *Crœsus*; and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referred to the eight and fiftieth *Olympiad*; and the glorious victory which *Cyrus* had over *Babylon*, to the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*.

The former of which might have been used (and was by the *Greeks*) to exclude the *Medes* from the honour of having won *Babylon* it self, which in due place I have answered. The latter seems to have reference to the second War which *Cyrus* made upon *Lydia*, when it rebelled; as which time he so established his former Conquest, as after that time these Nations never offered to revolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to believe with *Herodotus*, whom the most of Chronologers follow, and find the enterprize of *Sardis* to preceed that of *Babylon*.

§. II.

Of Crœsus *the King of* Lydia, *who made war upon* Cyrus.

I Have in the last Book spoke somewhat of *Crœsus*, of his race and predecessors, as also of those Kings which governed *Lydia* in more ancient times: of which the first (to prophane Authors known) was *Lydus* the Son of *Atys*: which Family extinguished, the Kingdom was by an Oracle conferred upon *Argon*, descended from *Hercules*, whereof there were two and twenty Generations; *Candaules* being the last, who by shewing his fair wife naked to *Gyges* his favourite, he was by the same *Gyges* (thereto urged

urged upon peril of his own life by the Queen) the next day ſlain. Which done, *Gyges* enjoyed both the Queen and the Kingdom of *Lydia*, and left the ſame to *Atys* his Son, who was Father to *Sadyattes*, the Father of *Halyattes* (who thruſt the *Cimmerians* out of *Aſia*) and *Halyattes* begat *Crœſus*. Which five Kings, of a third race, enjoyed that Kingdom an hundred and ſeventy years. *Halyattes* the Father of *Crœſus* was an undertaking Prince, and after he had continued a War againſt *Cyaxares* the *Median*, a Prince very powerfull, and maintained it ſix years, a peace was concluded upon equal conditions between them.

Herod. l. 1. p. 3, 4, & 5.

Aſtyages the Son of *Cyaxares*, and Grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himſelf greatly honoured by obtaining *Aryenes*, *Crœſus* Siſter, whom he married.

But *Crœſus* ſo far enlarged his Dominions after his Fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territory to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were four in effect of equal ſtrength; to wit, the *Median*, the *Babylonian*, the *Egyptian*, and the *Lydian*: only *Nabuchodonoſor*, after he had joyned *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtina*, and *Egypt* to his Empire, had thence-forward no Competitor during his own life.

But *Crœſus*, notwithſtanding the men and treaſure ſpent in the quarrel of the *Babylonians*, he yet maſtered *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*, Provinces poſſeſt by the *Greeks* in *Aſia* the leſs, adjoyning to *Lydia*; gave Law to the *Phrygians*, *Bithinians*, *Carians*, *Myſians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other Nations. And that he alſo inforc'd the *Epheſians* to acknowledge him, notwithſtanding they compaſſed their City with *Diana*'s Girdle, *Herodotus* witneſſeth. Moreover, *Athenæus* out of *Berojus* (which alſo confirmeth) makes report of a Signal Victory, which *Crœſus* obtained againſt the *Sacæans*, a Nation of the *Scythians*, in memory whereof the *Babylonians* his allies did yearly celebrate a Feaſt, which they called *Sacæa*: All which he performed in fourteen years.

Her. l. 5. Athe. l. 14. c. 17.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and envious of *Cyrus* fame, doubting alſo that his proſperous undertakings might in the end grow perilous to himſelf, he conſulted with the Oracle of *Apollo* (whom he preſented with marvellous rich gifts) what ſucceſs he might hope for againſt *Cyrus*, if he undertook him: from whom he received this riddle; Crœſus *paſſing over the River* Halys, *ſhall diſſolve a great Dominion*. For the Devil being doubtful of the ſucceſs, payed him with merchandize of both ſide alike, and might be inverted either way; to the ruin of *Perſia*, or of his own *Lydia*.

§. III.

Crœſus *his Expedition againſt* Cyrus.

HEreupon *Crœſus* being reſolved to ſtop the courſe of *Cyrus* fortunes, if he could, deſpiſed all the arguments uſed by *Sandanes* to the contrary, who deſired him to fore-think, That he urged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region; a people not covered with the ſoft ſilk of Worms, but with the hard skins of Beaſts; not fed with ſuch meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of Water, not of Wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and proſperous; over whom, if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himſelf in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, and ſubjected, ſo great would his loſs appear of all things which the world hath in account, as the ſame could neither haſtily be told, nor readily conceived.

Notwithſtanding this ſolid counſel, *Crœſus* having prepared a powerful Army, he led the ſame toward *Media*, but in his paſſage he was arreſted at *Pterium*, a City of great ſtrength in *Cappadocia*; which while he ſought by all means to ſurprize or to force, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamped before it. That each was inferiour to other in ſtrength or opinion, I do not find: for, out of doubt, *Crœſus*, as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and ability; ſo was he not under any in territory and fame that then lived.

But, as *Cratippus* of *Mitylene* anſwered *Pompey* when he complained againſt the gods, becauſe they favoured a diſturber and uſurper of the Common-weal againſt him who fought for the *Roman* liberty, That Kingdoms and Common-weals had their encreaſe and period from divine Ordinance: ſo, at this time was the Winter of *Crœſus* proſperity at hand, the leaves of his flouriſhing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and firſt ſpring. The God of all power, and not *Admetis* Herdman, *Apollo*, had given a date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When theſe two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of divers skirmiſhes, the *Perſians* and *Lydians* began to joyn in groſs troops: ſupplies from both Kings thruſt on upon the falling off, and advancement of either Nations: and as

the *Persians* had somewhat the better of the day, so when the dark vail of night had hidden each Army from the others view, *Crœsus* doubting what success the rising Sun would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all speed possible retired, and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recovered *Sardis* his first City and Regal Seat, without any pursuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing suspecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other War for that Winter, he dismissed the Souldiers, and sent the troops of his sundry Nations to their own Provinces, appointing them to re-assemble at the end of five months, acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the War at the time appointed.

§. IV.

The Conquest of Lydia *by* Cyrus.

CYrus in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his Army in order to pursue them, yet not so hastily, and at their heels, as to be discovered. But having good intelligence of *Crœsus* his proceeding, he so measured his marches, as he presented not himself before *Sardis*, till such time as *Crœsus* had disposed his Army to their wintring garrisons; which being altogether unlooked for, and unfeared, he surrounded *Sardis* with his Army; Wherein *Crœsus* having no other Companies than his Citizens and Ordinary Guards, after fourteen dayes siege the same was entred by assault, and all executed that resisted. *Crœsus* having now neither Arms to fight, nor wings to fly, *Sardis* being on all parts strongly encompassed, thrust himself into the heap and miserable multitude of his vassals, and had undergone the common fortune of common persons vanquished, had not a son of his, who had been dumb all his life (by extremity of passion and fear enabled) cryed out to the Souldiers to spare *Crœsus*. Who thereupon being taken and imprisoned, despoiled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and set on the top of a great and high heap of wood, to be consumed to ashes thereon. To which when the fire was set and kindled, remembring the discourse which he had with the *Athenian* Law-giver, he thrice cried out on his name, *Solon, Solon, Solon:* and being demanded what he meant by that invocation, he first used silence; but urged again, he told them, That he had now found it true which *Solon* had long since told him, That many men in the race and courses of their lives might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could discern himself for happy indeed, till his end.

In communi calamitate suam quisque habet fortunam, Curt. *Memoriam metus perimit: timor, vocis est incitamentum, &c.* Solin. *c.* 7.

Of which answer *Cyrus* being speedily informed, remembring the changes of fortune, and his own mortality, he commanded his Ministers of Justice to withdraw the fire with all diligence, to save *Crœsus*, and to conduct him to his presence: Which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, Who it was that had perswaded him? or what self-reason had conducted him to invade his territory, and to make him of a Friend an Enemy? To whom he thus answered; It was thy prosperous, and my unprosperous destiny (the *Grecian* god flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inventers and conductors of *Crœsus* War against *Cyrus*.

Homo qui in homine calamitoso misericors est, meminit hui, cass.

Cyrus being pierc't with *Crœsus* answer, and bewailing his estate, though victorious over it, did not only spare his life, but entertained him ever after as a King and his companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed, *Quæ non causam, sed fortunam spectat.*

And herein is the real difference discerned between that behaviour which we call *beneficium latronis*, and *gratiam Principis:* A thief sometime sparing the life of him which is in his power, but unjustly: A King that giveth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his own evil.

The report made by *Xenophon*, is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertain *Crœsus* at the first sight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* delivers, and is here already set down, that he should have been burnt alive. It may very well be, that *Xenophon* pourtraying (in *Cyrus*) an heroical Prince, thought an intent so cruel, fitter to be forgotten than rehearsed, as too much mis-beseeming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that neerness of alliance might with-hold *Cyrus* (had he been otherwise vicious) from so cruel a purpose against his Grandmothers brother. Howsoever it was, the moral part of the Story hath given much credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it pass for currant, though the trust reposed in *Crœsus* afterwards may seem to argue, that *Cyrus* did not use him inhumanly at the first.

For, as *Herodotus* himself telleth us, when *Cyrus* past with his Army over *Araxes* into *Scythia*, he left *Crœsus* to accompany and advise his son *Cambyses*, Governour of the Empire in his absence, with whom he lived all the time of *Cyrus*, and did afterward follow

low *Cambyſes* into *Egypt*, where he hardly eſcaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was, I do not find.

But in this time the races of three of the greateſt Kings in that part of the World took end; to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians*, and *Lydians*; in *Balthaſar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Cræſus*.

§. V.

How Cyrus *won* Babylon.

AFter this *Lydian* War, enſued the great Conqueſt of *Babylon*, which gave unto *Cyrus* an Empire ſo large and mighty, that he was juſtly reputed the greateſt Monarch then living upon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action took up, it is uncertain; only it ſeems, that ten whole years did paſs between his taking thoſe two Cities of *Sardis* and *Babylon*; which nevertheleſs I do not think to have been wholly occupyed in proviſion for the *Aſſyrian* war, but rather to have been ſpent in ſettling the Eſtate which he had already purchaſed. And hereunto perhaps may be referred that which *Cteſias* hath in his fragments, of a war made by *Cyrus* upon the *Scythians*, though related as foregoing the victory obtained againſt *Cræſus*. He telleth us, That *Cyrus* invaded *Scythia*, and being victorious over that Nation, took *Amorges* their King priſoner: but being in a ſecond battel overthrown by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparetha*, and therein taken, the one King was delivered for the other.

Likewiſe it may be thought that no ſmall part of thoſe troubles which aroſe in the lower *Aſia*, grew ſoon after the departure of the victorious Army, before the Conqueſt was fully eſtabliſhed.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Aſia* the leſs, many Nations, conquered formerly by *Cræſus*, and now by *Cyrus*, revolted from him; againſt whom he employed *Pactias*, and then *Harpagus*, who firſt reduced the *Phocians* under their former obedience, and then the reſt of the *Greeks* inhabiting *Aſia* the leſs, as the *Ionians*, *Carians*, *Æolians*, and *Lycians*, who reſolvedly (according to the ſtrength they had) defended themſelves. But in the attempt upon *Babylon* it ſelf, it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, having taken order before-hand, that nothing ſhould be able to divert him, or to raiſe that ſiege, and make fruſtrate the work upon which he did ſet all his reſt. And great reaſon there was, that he ſhould bend all his care and ſtrength unto the taking of that City, which beſide the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was ſo ſtrongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, and ſurrounded with waters unfoordable, ſo plentifully victualled for many years, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt and fear of their eſtate, but deſpiſed and derided all purpoſes and power of their beſiegers.

The only hope of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, who deſpaired of carrying by aſſault a City ſo well fortified and man'd, was, in cutting off all ſupplies of victuals and other neceſſaries: whereof though the Town was ſaid to be ſtored ſufficiently for more than twenty years, yet might it well be deemed, that in ſuch a world of people as dwelt within thoſe gates, one great want or other would ſoon appear, and vanquiſh the reſolution of that unwarlike multitude. In expecting the ſucceſs of this courſe, the Beſiegers were likely to endure much travel, and all in vain, if they did not keep ſtreight watch and ſtrong guards upon all quarters.

This was hard to do, in regard of the vaſt circuit of thoſe walls which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men ſufficiently aſſured unto their Commander: The conſideration whereof miniſtred unto the *Babylonians* matter of good paſtime, when they ſaw the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their Town to keep them in, who having been their ancient friends and allies, were more likely to joyn with them, if occaſion were offered than to uſe much diligence on the behalf of *Cyrus*; who had, as it were yeſterday, laid upon their necks the galling yoak of ſervitude. Whileſt the beſieged were pleaſing themſelves in this deceitful and vain gladneſs, that is the ordinary fore-runner of ſudden calamity, *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made ſtrong, conſtant, and inventive, deviſed, by ſo many channels and trenches as were ſufficient and capable of *Euphrates*, to draw the ſame from the walls of *Babylon*, thereby to make his approach the more facile and aſſured: which when by the labour of many hands he had performed, he ſtayed the time of his advantage for the execution: for he had left certain banks or heads un-cut, between the main river which ſurrounded the City, and his own Trenches. *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 7.*

Now *Balthaſar*, finding neither any want or weakneſs within, nor any poſſibility of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding ſumptuous Feaſt, publick

Playes, and other Paſtimes; and thereto invited a thouſand of his Princes or Nobility, beſides his Wives, Curtizans, and others of that trade. This he did either to let the beſiegers know, that his proviſions were either ſufficient, not only for all needfull uſes, but even for jollity and exceſs; or becauſe he hoped that his enemies, under the burthen of many diſtreſſes, were well near broken; or in honour of *Bell* his moſt reverenced Idol; or that it was his Birth or Coronation-day; or for many or all theſe reſpects. And he was not contented with ſuch magnificence as no Prince elſe could equal, but (uſing *Daniel*'s words) *he lifted himſelf up againſt the Lord of Heaven:* for he and his Princes, Wives and Concubines, made carouſing cups of the veſſels of Gold, in contempt of whom, he praiſed his own Puppets, made of Silver and Gold, of Braſs, Iron, Wood, and Stone; *Quanta fuit ſtultitia in vaſibus aureis bibentes, ligneos & lapideos deos laudare? How great a fooliſhneſs was it* (ſaith St. *Hierom*) *drinking in golden Cups, to praiſe gods of Wood and Stone?* While *Balthaſar* was in this ſort triumphing, and his brains well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by divine power wrote on the wall oppoſite unto him, certain words which he underſtood not: wherewith ſo great a fear and amazement ſeiſed him, as the joynts of his loyns were looſed, and his knees ſmote one againſt the other. Which paſſion, when he had in ſome part recovered, he cried out for his *Chaldæans*, Aſtrologians, and Southſayers, promiſing them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the Kingdom to him that could read and expound the writing: but it exceeded their Art. In this diſturbance and aſtoniſhment, the Queen hearing what had paſt, and of the Kings amazement, after reverence done, uſed this ſpeech: *There is a man in thy Kingdom, in whom is the ſpirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy Father, light, and underſtanding, and wiſdom, like the wiſdom of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King* Nabuchodonoſor, *thy Father, the King (I ſay) thy Father made chief of the Inchanters, Aſtrologians,* Chaldæans, *and Southſayers, becauſe a more excellent ſpirit, and knowledge, and underſtanding,* &c. *were found in him, even in* Daniel, *&c. Now let* Daniel *be called, and he will declare the interpretation.*

Dan. 5. 6.

This Queen, *Joſephus* takes for the Grandmother; *Origen* and *Theodoret*, for the Mother of *Balthaſar*; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that ſhe was not any of the Kings Wives, becauſe abſent from the feaſt; and being paſt the age of dancing and banquetting, ſhe came in upon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his diſtraction. And whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others both of younger years and times, this old Queen remembred well what he had done in the dayes of *Nabuchodonoſor*, Grandfather to this *Balthaſar*, and kept in mind both his Religion and divine gifts.

Orig. & Theod. in Dan. Joſeph. Ant. 10.

When *Daniel* was brought to the Kings preſence, who acknowledged thoſe excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promiſes of reward and honour, to read and interpret thoſe words miraculouſly written; to whom *Daniel* made anſwer in a far different ſtyle from that he uſed towards his Grandfather: for, the evil which he foretold *Nabuchodonoſor*, he wiſhed that the ſame might befall his enemies; but to this King (whoſe neglect of God, and vice, he hated) he anſwered in theſe words, *Keep thy rewards to thy ſelf, and give thy gifts to another; yet will I read the writing unto the King, and ſhew him the interpretation.* Which, before he had performed, he gave him firſt the cauſe of Gods juſt judgement againſt him, and the reaſon of this terrible ſentence, whereof the King and all his Wiſe men were utterly ignorant. Which being written at large in *Daniel*, hath this effect, That forgetting Gods goodneſs to his Father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of thoſe benefits, as he deprived him of his eſtate and underſtanding, ſo upon the acknowledgment of Gods infinite power he reſtored him to both. This King, notwithſtanding, liſted himſelf up againſt the ſame God; and preſuming both to abuſe thoſe Veſſels dedicated to holy uſes, and neglecting the Lord of all power, praiſed and worſhipped the dead Idols of Gold, Silver, Braſs, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore thoſe words, from the Oracle of a true God delivered, (to wit) *Mene, Tekel, Upharſin*, gave the King knowledge, that God hath numbred the time of his Kingdom, and finiſhed it; That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods Juſtice, and found too light; and that his Empire was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians.* Dan. 5. 18, 19, 20.

The very evening or night of this day, wherein *Balthaſar* feaſted and periſhed, *Cyrus*, either by his eſpials, according to *Xenophon*; or inſpired by God himſelf, whoſe enſign he followed in this War, found the time and opportunity to invite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobility were no leſs filled with the vapors of Wine, than their hearts with the fear

of

of Gods judgment, he cauſed all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut down with that diligence, as by them he drew the great River of *Euphrates* dry for the preſent, by whoſe channel running, his Army made their entrance, finding none to diſturb them. All the Town lay buried (as the Poet ſaith) in ſleep and wine: ſuch as came in the *Perſians* way, were put to the ſword, unleſs they ſaved themſelves by flight, as ſome did, who ran away crying, and filling the ſtreets with an uncertain tumult.

Such *Aſſyrian* Lords as had revolted from *Balthaſar*, and betaken themſelves to the party of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a ſelected company to the Kings Palace; which having eaſily forced, they ruſhed into the Chamber where the King with his Princes were banquetting, ſlew both him and them without any mercy, who ſtruggled in vain to keep thoſe lives which God had newly threatned to take away. And now was the Prophecy of *Jeremy* fulfilled, and that of *Eſay* two hundred years before this ſubverſion; who in his ſeven and fortieth Chapter, and elſewhere, writeth this deſtruction ſo feelingly and lively, as if he had been preſent both at the terrible ſlaughter there committed, and had ſeen the great and unfeared change and calamity of this great Empire; yea, and had alſo heard the ſorrows and bewailings of every ſurviving ſoul thereunto ſubject. His Prophecy of this place he beginneth in theſe words; *Come down, and ſit in the duſt, O Virgin Daughter of* Babel: *ſit on the ground, there is no throne, &c.* And again, *Sit ſtill, and get thee into darkneſs, O daughter of the* Chaldæans; *for thou ſhalt no more be called the Lady of Kingdoms.* For, though it cannot be doubted, that God uſed *Nabuchodonoſor*, and the *Chaldæans*, to puniſh the Idolatry of the *Judæans*; yet *Eſay* teacheth us in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execution of his judgments was mixt with a rigorous extremity. For (ſaith *Eſay*) in the perſon of God, *I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand: thou didſt ſhew them no mercy, but thou didſt lay thy very heavy yoke upon the ancient. I will riſe up againſt them, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, and will cut off from* Babel *the Name, and the Remnant, and the Son, and the Nephew.* And in the thirteenth, *Every one that is found, ſhall be ſtricken thorow: whoſoever joyneth himſelf, ſhall fall by the ſword, their children alſo ſhall be broken in pieces before their eyes, their houſes ſpoiled, and their Wives raviſhed.* So as there is no Hiſtorian who was either preſent at this victory of *Cyrus*, or that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leave the ſame to poſterity after it happened, than *Eſay* hath done in many places of his Prophecies, which were written two hundred years before any thing attempted.

Jer. 27. *Iſa.* 47.

Cap. 47.

Iſa. 14. To wit, *Evilmerodach* and *Balthaſar.*

The greatneſs and magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by divers grave Authors ſet down, might ſeem altogether fabulous: for, beſides the reports of Saint *Hierom*, *Solinus*, and *Oroſius*, *Ariſtotle* in the third of his *Politicks*, the ſecond Chapter, received the report for true, That one part of the City knew not that the reſt was taken three dayes after. Which is not impoſſible, if the teſtimony of *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken; who findes the compaſs therof at three hundred and threeſcore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes five and forty miles: the walls whereof had ſo great a breadth, that ſix Chariots might paſs in front thereon. And of height, according to *Cteſias* and *Clitracus*, three hundred threeſcore and five foot, garniſhed with an hundred and fifty Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his ſixteenth Book of Geography, gives it a greater circuit, adding five and twenty Furlongs more to the former compaſs, reckoning the ſame at three hundred fourſcore and five Furlongs, which make eight and forty mile and one Furlong, but finds the wall far under that which *Diodore* reports: and ſo doth *Curtius* meaſure their thickneſs but at two and thirty foot, and their height at an hundred cubits, which is alſo very much; every cubit containing a foot and a half of the large meaſure, though to the whole circuit of the City he gives the ſame with *Siculus*, and eight Furlongs more. *Herodotus* finds a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, four hundred and fourſcore furlongs circle; the thickneſs of the wall he meaſures at fifty cubits, and the height at two hundred of the ſame regal cubit. For entrance, it had an hundred Gates of Braſs, with poſts and Hooks to hang them on of the ſame metal: and therefore did the Prophet *Eſay* rightly intitle *Babylon*, The Princeſs and Glory of Kingdoms.

Diod. l. 3.

Her. l. 1.

Iſa. 47. 13.

But when *Cyrus* had won her, he ſtript her out of her Princely Robes, and made her a ſlave; dividing not only all her goodly houſes, and her whole Territory, with all the riches therein contained, among his Souldiers; but beſtowing the inhabitants themſelves as bond-ſlaves upon thoſe that had taken poſſeſſion of their goods.

Touching the reign of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enjoyed in reſt and pleaſure, I can ſay no more of it, than that it is gene-

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rally agreed by all Chronologers to have lasted only seven years: in which time he made such Constitutions as differ little from the Ordinances of all wise Kings that are desirous to establish a Royal power to themselves and their posterity.

§. VI.

The End of Cyrus.

THe last War, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diversly written. *Herodotus* and *Justin* deliver, That after the Conquest of *Asia* the less, *Cyrus* invaded the *Massagetes*, a very warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, governed by *Tomyris* their Queen: and that in an incounter between the *Persians* and these Northern *Nomades*, *Tomyris* lost her Army, and her Son *Spargapises* that commanded it: In revenge whereof, this Queen making new levies of men of War, and following the War against *Cyrus*, in a second battel beat the *Persian* Army, and taking *Cyrus* prisoner, cut off his head from his body, and cast the same into a bowl of blood, using these words; *Thou that hast all thy life time thirsted for blood, now drink thy fill, and satiate thy self.*

It should hereby seem, that *Cyrus* knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was perswaded to abate their fury by some forcible invasion and depopulation, because in the time of *Cyaxares* Father to *Astyages*, those *Scythians* invaded *Media* and *Asia* the less, and held the same in a servile subjection eight and twenty years.

This War, which *Metasthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, lasted (saith he) six years, and took end at the end of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I believe with *Vigenier*, that this *Scythian* War was rather the same which *Cyrus* made against the *Sacians*, before the conquest of *Lydia*, according to *Ctesias* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparetha*, though he deliver the success of that War otherwise than *Herodotus* doth: The rather (saith *Viginier*) because *Strabo* in his eleventh Book reciteth, that *Cyrus* surprized the *Sacians* by the same stratagem by which *Justin* saith, he defeated the Son of *Tomyris*. And the same *Ctesias* also reporteth, That the last War which *Cyrus* made, was against *Amorrhæus* King of the *Derbicians*, a Nation (as the rest) of *Scythia*; whom though he overcame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he suffered three dayes after.

Vig. prim. part. Bib.

Cte. l. 15. hist. part.

Strabo also affirmeth, That he was buried in his own City of *Pasagardes*, which himself had built, and where his Epitaph was to be read in his time; which is said to have been this: *O vir, quicunque es, & undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoravi: Ego sum* Cyrus *qui Persis imperium constitui, pusillum hoc terræ quo meum tegitur corpus mihi ne invideas; O thou man, whosoever thou art, or whencesoever thou comest; for I was not ignorant that thou shouldst come: I am* Cyrus *that founded the* Persian *Empire, do not envy unto me this little earth, with which my body is covered.*

Strab. l. 15.

This Tomb was opened by *Alexander*, as *Qu. Curtius* reporteth, either upon hope of treasure, supposed to have been buried with him (or upon desire to honour his dead body with certain ceremonies) in which there was found an old rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bows, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his body lay, *Alexander* caused to be covered with his own garment, and a Crown of Gold to be set upon it. These things well considered, as they give credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, so they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaves his body in the hands of *Tomyris*.

Qu. Curt.

Xen. pæd. 8. Zon. l. 1. c. 20.

And surely, had *Cyrus* lost the Army of *Persia* in *Scythia*, it is not likely, that his Son would so soon have transported all his remaining forces into *Egypt*, so far off from that quarter; the *Scythian* Nation then victorious, and bordering *Media*: neither had *Cambyses* been able in such haste to have undertaken and performed so great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather believe *Xenophon*, saying, That *Cyrus* died aged, and in peace: and that finding in himself, that he could not long enjoy the world, he called unto him his Nobility, with his two Sons, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*; or, after *Xenophon*, *Tanaoxares*: and, after a long Oration, wherein he assured himself, and taught others, of the immortality of the Soul, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deserving of every man in this life; he exhorted his Sons by the strongest arguments he had, to a perpetual concord and agreement. Many other things he uttered, which make it probable, that he received the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when he governed *Susa* in *Persia*; and that *Cyrus* himself had read the Prophecy of *Esay*, wherein he was expresly named, and by God (for the delivery of his people) preordained. Which act of delivering the *Jews* from their Captivity, and of restoring the holy Temple and City of *Jerusalem*, was in true consideration the noblest work that ever *Cyrus* performed. For in other

other actions he was an inſtrument of Gods power, uſed for the chaſtiſing of many Nations, and the eſtabliſhing of a Government in thoſe parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the Grace to be an inſtrument of Gods goodneſs, and a willing advancer of his Kingdom upon Earth; which muſt laſt for ever, though heaven and earth ſhall periſh.

§. VII.

Of Cyrus *his Decree for building the Temple of God in* Jeruſalem.

HAving therefore ſpoken of his great Victories, mentioned by ſundry Hiſtorians, the glory of all which was a reward of this his ſervice done unto him that was Authour of them and of all goodneſs: I hold it meet at length to ſpeak of the Decree made in the firſt of his Reign, being perhaps the firſt that ever he made after his poſſeſſion of the *Babylonian* Empire: That the captive *Jews* ſhould return again into their own Territory, and re-build the Houſe of God in *Jeruſalem*, having now endured and finiſhed the threeſcore and ten years captivity, by the Prophets foretold. For the accompliſhing whereof, he gave order to his Treaſurers to furniſh them with all things neceſſary and wanting. He alſo reſtored unto them five thouſand four hundred threeſcore and nine Veſſels of Gold and Silver, whereof *Nabuchodonoſor*, the Grandfather of *Balthaſar*, had formerly robbed the Temple.

The number of the *Jews* which returned out of *Chaldæa* under their Leader *Zorobabel*, the Son of *Salathiel*, and Nephew to King *Jeconias*, and *Jeſus* or *Joſua* the ſon of *Joſadak*, were about fifty thouſand; where, as ſoon as they arrived, they built an Altar to the living God, and ſacrificed thereon, according to their own Law, and afterward bethought themſelves how to prepare materials for the rebuilding of the Temple.

1 *Eſd.* 2.
2 *Eſd.* 7.
Phil. in bre.
1 *Eſd.* 3.3.
Eſd. 5.
Eſd. 4. & 5.
Joſ. l. Ant. 11.

But no ſooner did the *Jews* begin to lay any one ſtone, than the *Samaritans* and other Idolatrous Nations adjoyning, gave all the impediment they could. So did the Governours of thoſe Provinces under *Cyrus* altogether countenance the diſturbers, and in no ſort favoured the *Jews*, nor the labours nor purpoſes they had in hand. And not only thoſe which were but Provincial Lieutenants, and other officers of leſs place, but *Cambyſes* himſelf; who having the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was buſied otherwiſe, countermanded the building begun. And whereas ſome Authours make doubt, that whatſoever *Cambyſes* did when himſelf had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no ſuch impediment or prohibition: they may herein reſolve themſelves out of *Eſdras*, That by the conſpiracies of the neighbouring Nations, the building was hindred all the time of King *Cyrus* life, &c. And therefore it is true, what the *Jews* themſelves affirm, as it is written in the ſecond of *John*, That the Temple was 46. years in ſetting up, having received ſo many hinderances from the firſt foundation to the ſecond of *Darius*.

1 *Eſd.* 2.16.
1 *Eſd.* 5. 33.
1 *Eſd.* 4.5.

And if we ſeek the natural and politick courſes which moved *Cambyſes* to withſtand his Fathers Decree, as well while he Governed under him, as when himſelf became ſole and Soveraign Monarch, we ſhall finde them in that Epiſtle remembred by *Eſdras*, written by *Belemus*, *Mithridates*, and the reſt, Preſidents and Counſellors in *Phœnicia*, wherein they complain that the *Jews* were evermore rebellious and troublers of Kings; that their City being once built, they would then refuſe to pay tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other Kings.

Eſd. 1.c. 4.

But that which for that preſent ſeemed the moſt forcible impediment, was, that *Cambyſes* having in his reſolution to invade *Egypt*, and that it was a common opinion, That the *Jews* were deſcended of thoſe Nations, becauſe they iſſued thence under *Moſes*, when they conquered *Judæa*; their City being once repaired and fortified, they might return to their old vomit, and give the ſame diſturbance to *Cambyſes* Conqueſt, which they did to *Sennacherib*, *Nabuchodonoſor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For, as it is written in *Ezekiel*, Egypt *was the confidence of the houſe of* Iſrael.

*Ezek.*c.29.

But it is to be underſtood, as *Codoman* and others have obſerved, that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Counſellors and Governors of *Phœnicia* complained againſt the *Jews*, did not precede, but ſucceed *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, as in the ſixth and ſeventh Chapters of *Eſdras* it is made plain: and alſo that thoſe Governors (whoſe Epiſtle ſheweth as much) did not withſtand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and encloſing of the City, as by the reaſons given in the ſaid Epiſtle, and by the Kings anſwer, it is evident.

Alſo in the ſixth of *Ezra*, the fourteenth verſe, the Kings are named in order as they Governed, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*; as: *And they built and finiſhed it* (to wit the Temple) *by the appointment of the God of* Iſrael, *and by the commandement of* Cyrus *and*

and Darius, *and* Artahshaste *Kings of* Persia. Lastly, in the seventh of *Ezra* it is written; *Now after these things, in the reign of* Artahshaste *King of* Persia: which was as much as to say, after the finishing of the Temple in *Darius* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the second of *Esdras* is there named by anticipation, not in his own time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the City and Temple of *Hierusalem*. Which action though prospered by the hand of God, was very slowly pursued by the men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by *Cyrus*. The other Ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his form and manner of Government, are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death he bequeathed the Empire unto his eldest Son *Cambyses*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaoxares* his younger son to be *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Caduſia*; and then died, after he had reigned (saith *Herodotus*) one and thirty years, or (according to *Justine*) but thirty.

§. VIII.

Of Cyrus *his Issue: and whether* Atossa *were his Daughter, or (as some think) were the same with Queen* Hester.

CYrus had issue two sons, *Cambyses* and *Smendis*, with three daughters, *Atossa*, *Meroe*, and *Artystona*: *Ctesias* addeth to these, *Amytis*. *Atossa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyses* married; *Artystona*, *Darius Hystaspes* obtained; so did he *Atossa*, *Cambyses* being dead: who (as some Writers have supposed) inflamed both her husbands, *Darius*, and *Xerxes* after him, to invade *Greece*, to be avenged of the whole Nation for the cruel intent that *Aman* (whom the old Translation calleth a *Macedonian*) had against the *Jews*, though the opinion of *Josephus* be more probable, who finds *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to be understood, how *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, should have been *Esther*, whose History seems rather to appertain to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*, or of *Xerxes*. The desire of *Atossa* to have *Greece* brought under the yoke of *Persia*, was partly grounded upon the honour which thereby she thought her husband might obtain, partly upon a feminine humour of getting many brave Dames, *Corinthians*; *Athenians*, and others of that Nation to be her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot give assent to the opinion of *Codoman*, who upon the near sound of the two names, *Atossa* and *Hadassa*, (by the latter of which *Esther* was also called) makes them to have been one person. For though it be true that *Esther* concerning her parentage, a while might be taken for a great Lady; yet *Codomans* inference is nothing probable, that she should therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare unto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus*. Certain it is, that *Esther* did at length discover her Kindred and Nation; whereby, if Histories could be kept free from this errour, yet the people, and especially the Nobility, must needs have understood the truth: who nevertheless did so well know the parentage of *Atossa*, that for her sake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her son *Xerxes* was preferred to the Kingdom before his elder brother, against whom also he could have pretended a very weak claim. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

CHAP. IV.

The Estate of things from the Death of Cyrus *to the Reign of* Darius.

§. I.

Of the Number and Names of the Persian *Kings.*

OF the Successors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the *Persian* Empire, there are many opinions; As that of *Metasthenes*, who hath numbred the *Persian* Kings, and their times as followeth.

Darius Medus, and *Cyrus* joyntly.	2	
Cyrus alone.	22	
Priscus Artaxerxes.	20	
Darius Longimanus.	37	} years.
Darius Nothus.	19	
Artaxerxes Mnemon.	55	

Artax-

Artaxerxes Ochus.	26	years.
Arſes, or *Arſames.*	4	
Darius, the laſt, conquered by *Alexander.*	6	

To which *Philo* agreeth; which number of years added, make in all an hundred ninety and one. But in this Catalogue *Metaſthenes* hath left out *Cambyſes* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Aſſuerus*, for the immediate ſucceſſor of *Cyrus*; in place (ſaith *Melanchon*) of *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*: for *Metaſthenes*, as *Melanchon* conjectureth, doth not account *Cambyſes* in the Catalogue, becauſe his reign was confounded with that of *Cyrus*.

There is a ſecond Opinion, though ridiculous, of *Sedar Olam*, who finds but four *Perſian* Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Genebrard, *Schubert*, and *Beroaldus*, have alſo a differing account from the *Greeks*; whom nevertheleſs *Euſebius*, and moſt of the Latins follow, and ſo doth *Krentzheim*, who hath fully anſwered; and, as I take it, refuſed all the former Authors varying from that account. For in this ſort do the *Greeks* marſhal the *Perſian* Kings with the times of their reigns.

Chro. Kren. fo. 135.

Melanchon gives *Cyrus* but 29.	*Cyrus* in all.	30	years.
	Cambyſes with the *Magi.*	8	
	Darius Hyſtaſpes.	36	
Melanct. but 20.	*Xerxes.*	21	
	Artaxerxes Longimanus.	40	
	Darius Nothus.	19	
Melanct. but. 40.	*Artaxerxes Mnemon.*	43	
Melanct. 26.	*Artaxerxes Ochus.*	23	
Melanct. 4.	*Arſames.*	3	
	Darius the laſt.	6	

Which numbers put together, make in all two hundred and thirty.

This account (as I have ſaid) the moſt Chronologers, and the beſt learned approve. Theſe *Perſian* Princes, being all warranted by the authority of the Scriptures, as *Peucer* in his hiſtorical Animadverſions, hath gathered the places; finding firſt *Cyrus* in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, *ch.* 36. *verſ.* 22, 23. *Ezra* 1. *ch.* 1. *verſ.* 1. and often elſewhere.

Secondly, *Cambyſes* in the eleventh of *Daniel*, who may indeed be well eſteemed for one of thoſe three Kings in the ſecond verſe named, and ſo the Marginal Commentator upon the *Geneva* underſtands that place; but, under correction, miſtakes the matter greatly, when he ſaith in the ſame note, that *Darius Hyſtaſpes* was an enemy to the people of God, and ſtood againſt them: his great favour and liberality to the *Jews* being elſewhere proved.

Thirdly, Is *Darius Hyſtaſpes* found in *Ezra* the firſt, *c.* 4. *v.* 5. who in the ſixth verſe is alſo named *Ahaſſuerus*.

Fourthly, In the eleventh of *Daniel*, verſe the ſecond, *Xerxes* is plainly foretold and deſcribed, and the great War which he ſhould make againſt the *Greeks* by *Daniel* remembered.

Fifthly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verſe ſeven, who is alſo called *Arthaſaſtha*, *c.* 4. *l.* 1. *Ezra v.* 7. and *chap.* 7. *v.* 7.

Sixthly, *Darius Nothus*, *Ezra cap.* 4. *v.* 24: and *cap.* 5. *v.* 6. *Nehem. cap.* 12. *v.* 22.

Seventhly, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* in *Nehem. cap.* 2. *v.* 1. who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arſames*: for *Darius* the laſt, he was of another Family, the Line of *Cyrus* the Great ending in *Ochus*, who deſcended from *Xerxes* the ſon of *Atoſſa*, *Cyrus* his Daughter; and the iſſue male of *Cyrus* failing with his own Sons.

But to proceed, *Euſebius*, with the *Latins* following the *Greeks*, apply the beginnings and ends of every *Perſian* King with their Acts, to ſome certain *Olympiad*; As the War of *Aſtyages* (*Cyrus* his maternal Grandfather) and *Alyattes* (*Cræſus* his Father) to the nine and fortieth *Olympiad*; The beginning of *Cyrus* reign, to the beginning of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth *Olympiad*; The invaſion of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes* to the third year of the threeſcore and third *Olympiad*, and ſo of the reſt. Which reference with good agreement between ſeveral forms of computation, add the more credit unto both.

Again, this hiſtorical demonſtration is confirmed by the Aſtronomical computation of *Ptolemy*, who referrs the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the 12. of *November*, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth *Olympiad*, to the four hundred and four and twentieth year after *Nabonaſſar*. And the *Æra* of *Nabonaſſar* began on the ſix and twentieth of *February*: which, conferred with the *Olympiad*, was in the ninth month of the firſt year of the eighth *Olympiad*; So that whether we follow the accounts of the *Olympiads*, as do the *Greek* Hiſtorians, or that of *Nabonaſſar* with *Ptolemy*, we ſhall find every memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

Alm. l. 3. *cap.* 6.

For *Ptolemy* reckons the time anſwerable to two hundred and four and twenty *Julian* years, and an hundred and forty daies from *Nabonaſſar* to the ſixteenth of *July*, in the

seventh year of *Cambyses*.

The *Greeks*, and namely, *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Egypt* by *Cambyses* in the second or third year of the threescore and third *Olympiad*, and the beginning of *Cambyses* seventh year, in the first of the threescore and fourth *Olympiad*: which first of the threescore and fourth *Olympiad* runs along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonassar*. The like agreement is consequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewise the twentieth of *Darius*, who succeeded *Cambyses*, is according to *Ptolomy* the two hundred and six and fortieth of *Nabonassar*, which (observing the differences of *Nabonassars Æra* and the *Olympiad*, *viz.* eight and twenty years) agrees with the third of the threescore and ninth *Olympiad*, wherein it is placed by the *Greeks*. In this *Josephus* agrees with the *Greeks* throughout, saving that he joyneth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus* in the destruction of *Babylon*; which is true, and not contrary to the *Greek* computation, but may very well stand with it.

Lastly, The disagreement and confused accompts of those that follow the other Catalogue of the *Persian* Kings formerly rehearsed, doth give the greater credit to this of the *Greeks*, which being constant in it self, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

§. II.

Of Cambyses, *and the conquering of* Egypt *by him.*

WE will therefore, according to the truth, give the Empire of *Persia* to *Cambyses*, the Son of *Cyrus*, though degenerate in all things, saving the desire to increase the greatness of his Empire: whereof he was possest in his Fathers time, while *Cyrus* made war in the North. *Ctesias* with others give him a longer reign than agreeth with the *Græcian* accompt before received.

Lib. 2. c. 2. Her. l. 3. pag. 83, 84, 85. In the fifth year of his sole reign, and in the third year of the threescore and third *Olympiad*, according to *Diodore* and *Eusebius*, he invaded *Egypt*, and having overthrown the King thereof, *Psammeniticus*, he not only caused him to be slain, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his children.

Herodotus and *Ctesias* give for cause of this War (being no other indeed than the Ambition of *Cambyses*) that when he sent to *Amasis* King of *Egypt*, to have his Daughter in marriage, *Amasis* presented him with *Nitetis* the Daughter of *Apries* his predecessor, which *Cambyses* disdained.

Howsoever it were; true it is, that *Cambyses* gathered an Army fit for such an enterprize, and caused the same to march. But before they entred *Egypt*, *Amasis* died, and left *Psammeniticus*, whom *Ctesias* called *Amyrteus*, his successor; who enjoyed *Egypt* after his Father (according to the best Copies of *Herodotus*) but six moneths, though other Chronologers give him six years.

But how long soever he held the Crown, in one battle he lost it, and was himself taken prisoner.

It is said that *Cambyses*, following therein the example of *Cyrus*, did not only spare life to the conquered King, but that he also trusted him with the Government of *Egypt*, and that, upon some revolt, or suspicion thereof, he caused him to be slaughtered. But the race of this King was not so extirpated, if we may believe *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, but that he left a Son called *Inarus*, who caused the *Egyptians* to revolt both from *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes*.

That *Psammeniticus* was at the first entreated gently by *Cambyses*, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated *Amasis* the King of *Egypt*, who died before his arrival, that he caused his body to be drawn out of the grave, and after divers indignities used, commanded the same to be burnt, contrary to the custom both of the *Egyptians* and *Persians*. For the *Egyptians* used to powder their dead bodies with salt, and other drugs, to the end the worms might not devour them. The * *Persians* durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feed it with Carrion.

* Neither did the *Romans* ever consume their dead to ashes, till the time of *Sylla* Dictator, who caused his own to be devoured by that element, fearing the Law called *Talionis*, or like for like, because himself had untombed the carcase of *Cajus Marius* after his death. *Her. l. 3. Plin. l. 6. c. 54. Stra. & Just. l. 1. Pag. 87, 88. Her. l. 3. Sen. l. 7.*

§. III.

The rest of Cambyses *his Acts.*

AFter this victory obtained in *Egypt*, *Cambyses* sent an Army into *Cyprus*, and constrained *Evelthon* King thereof to acknowledge him who before held that Island of the *Egyptians*.

While *Cambyses* yet busied himself in *Egypt*, he so much detested the Idolatry of that

that Nation, as he cauſed the Images themſelves, with the Temples wherein they were worſhipped, to be torn down and defaced. This done, he directed a part of his Army into *Lybia*, to overturn the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*; but the Devil, in defence of his *Oratory*, raiſed ſuch a Tempeſt of Sand, wherewith the greateſt part of the Country is covered, as the *Perſians* were therewith choaked and over-whelmed.

Notwithſtanding which miſadventure, *Herodotus* and *Seneca* report, that, diſdaining to be reſiſted, he prepared the reſt of his Army, which himſelf meant to conduct into thoſe parts, but that finding a beginning of thoſe incommodities, which his firſt-ſent troops had tryed, he changed his purpoſe. For though conquering Kings have power over men, yet the Elements do not obey them; according to that old *Engliſh* Proverb, *Go, ſaith the King; Stay, ſaith the Tide.*

After his return from the attempt of *Æthiopia*, he cauſed *Apis* the *Egyptian Bull*, worſhipped by that Nation as God, to be ſlain: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeal, and been executed as in ſervice of him that only is, and liveth. But ſoon afterwards, when in a dream it ſeemed unto him that *Smerdis* did ſit in the Royal Throne of *Perſia* (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the *Magus*) he gave it in charge to his favourite *Praxaſpes*, to murther *Smerdis* his Brother. And having married his own Siſters, contrary to the *Perſian* Laws, he committed a moſt cauſeleſs and moſt deteſtable murder upon the one of them called *Meroe*, then by himſelf with child, becauſe ſhe bewailed the death of her Brother *Smerdis*. I find it written of this *Cambyſes*. That becauſe his Predeceſſors obſerved religiouſly the Ordinances of their Empire, he aſſembled his Judges and enquired of them, whether there were any Law among the *Perſians* that did permit the Brother to marry his own Siſter; it being his own intent ſo to do: The Judges (who had alwayes either Laws or diſtinctions in ſtore to ſatisfie Kings and times) made anſwer, That there was not any thing written allowing any ſuch conjunction, but they notwithſtanding found it in their cuſtoms, that it was alwayes left to the will of the *Perſian* Kings, to do what beſt pleaſed themſelves; and ſo, as *Nauclerus* terms it, *invenerunt occaſionem*: that is as much to ſay, The Judges found a ſhift to pleaſe the King, and to ſecure themſelves. And yet, where it concerned not the Kings private ſatisfaction, he cauſed *Siſamnus*, one of his Judges, and perchance one of thoſe which favoured his inceſtuous match, to be flayed alive, for an unjuſt judgement given, and the ſame his hide to be hung up over the judgement-ſeat. After which, beſtowing the Fathers Office on his Son, he willed him to remember that the ſame partiality deſerved the ſame puniſhment.

Her. p. 89, 90.

Among other his cruelties, that which he exerciſed againſt the Son of his beloved *Praxaſpes*, was very ſtrange and ungrateful. For when he deſired to be truly informed by him what the *Perſians* thought of his conditions, *Praxaſpes* anſwered, That his virtues were followed with abundant praiſe from all men; only it was by many obſerved, that he took more than uſual delight in the taſt of Wine: with which taxation inflamed, he uſed this replication: And, Are the *Perſians* double-tongued, who alſo tell me, that I have in all things excelled my Father *Cyrus*? Thou *Praxaſpes* ſhalt then witneſs, whether in this report they have done me right: for, if at the firſt ſhot I pierce thy Sons heart with an Arrow, then is it falſe that hath been ſpoken; but if I miſs the mark, I am then pleaſed that the ſame be accounted true, and my ſubjects believed. This being ſpoken, he immediately directed an Arrow towards the innocent child, who falling down dead with the ſtroak, *Cambyſes* commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broached on the Arrow, this monſtrous Tyrant greatly rejoycing, ſhewed it to the Father, with this ſaying inſtead of an Epitaph: *Now* Praxaſpes, *thou mayeſt reſolve thy ſelf, that I have not loſt my wits with Wine, but the* Perſians *theirs, who make ſuch report.*

Many other barbarous cruelties he exerciſed, till at the laſt, according to the phraſe of our Law, he became *felon de ſoy*. For when he was informed, that *Patizites*, and *Smerdis* the *Magi* (*Cedrenus* writeth them *Sphendanis* and *Cimerdius*) Miniſters of his domeſtical affairs, taking advantage of the great reſemblance between *Smerdis* the Kings Brother, and *Smerdis* the *Magus*, poſſeſt themſelves of the Empire, he made all haſte towards *Perſia*; and in mounting haſtily on horſe-back, his ſword diſ-ſheathing, pierced his own thigh, wherewith deadly wounded, falling into an over-late and remedileſs repentance of the ſlaughter which he had executed upon his own Brother, he ſoon after gave up his wicked ghoſt, when he had reigned eight years, accounting therein thoſe ſeven months in which the *Magi* governed, while he was abſent.

In *Cambyſes* the Male-Line of *Cyrus* failed. For he had no iſſue either by *Atoſſa* or

Zon. Com. 2. p. 117. *Meroe*: yet *Zonaras* out of *Hierom* gives him a Daughter called *Pantaptes*, and a Son called *Orontes*: who being drowned in the River *Ophites* by *Antioch*, the same was afterward, in memory of the Princes death, called *Orontes*.

He built the City of *Babylon* in *Egypt*, in the place where *Lutopolis* was formerly seated, and that of *Meroe* in the Island of *Nilus*, calling it by the name of his Sister *Meroe*.

§. IV.

Of the Inter-regnum *between* Cambyses *and* Darius.

CYrus and his two Sons being now dead, and the Kingdom in the possession of one of the *Magi*, the counterfeit of *Smerdis*, the Princes, or *Satrapa's*, or Provincial Governors of the Empire (to wit, *Otanes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabysus*, *Aspbatines*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all descended from *Achæmenes* the first *Persian* King) having discovered the fraud of this imposture, joyned their forces together, surprized and rooted out the Conspirator with his Companions and Assistants. In which action (saith *Justin*) *Intaphernes* and *Aspbatines* were slain: but *Herodotus* otherwise, that they were only wounded; for he avoweth, that all the seven Princes were present at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Governour, these Princes grew into a consultation how the same might be ordered from thenceforth. *Otanes* (one of the Seven) did not fancy any election of Kings, but that the Nobility and Cities should confederate, and by just Laws defend their Libertie in equality, giving divers reasons for his Opinion, being, as it seemed, greatly terrified by the cruelties of *Cambyses*: As first, that it was not safe to give all power to any one, seeing greatness it self, even in good men, doth often infect the mind with many vices, and that liberty and freedom in all things is most apt to insult, and to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Again, that Tyrants do commonly use the service of wicked men, and favour them most; they usurp upon the Laws of their Country; take other mens wives by force, and destroy whom they please without judgement.

Megabysus was of another Opinion, affirming that the tyranny of a multitude was thrice more intolerable than that of One. For the multitude do all things without judgement, run into business and affairs with precipitation, like raging and over-bearing floods.

He therefore thought it safest to make election of a few, and those of the best, wisest, and most vertuous; because it is ever found, that excellent Counsels are ever had from excellent men.

Darius gave the third judgement, who perswaded the creation of a King, because even among few diuturnity of concord is seldom found, and in great Empires it doth ever happen that the discord of many Rulers hath enforc'd the election of One Supreme. It were therefore, saith *Darius*, far safer to observe the Laws of our Country, by which Kingly Government hath been ordained.

The other four Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the same Imperial Government, by God established and made prosperous. And, to avoid partiality it was accorded, that the morning following these seven Princes should mount on Horse-back, and on him the Kingdom should be conferred, whose Horse, after the Sun-rising, should first ney or bray. In the even- *Her. 3. p. 100, 101.* ing, after this appointment was made, it is said, that *Darius* consulted with the Master of his Horse *Oebarus*, who, in the Suburbs of the City, where the election was resolved of, caused the same Horse, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to cover a Mare, who, as soon as he came into the same place, was the first Horse that brayed. Whereupon the other six princes descended from their Horses, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King.

Plato in the third of his Laws affirmeth, that in memory of the seven Princes, whereof *Darius* himself was one, that delivered the Empire from the usurpation of the *Magi*, he divided the whole into seven Governments; *Herodotus* saith, into twenty *Satrapies*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of Darius *the ſon of* Hyſtaſpes.

§. I.

Of Darius *his Linage,*

Darius was deſcended of the antient *Perſian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achæmenidæ*, of which, *Cyrus* the Great was the lineal ſucceſſor. For in this ſort *Herodotus* derives him as before;

Cyrus the firſt, who had
Teiſpius, who begat
Ariaramnes, who was father of
Arſamnes, the father of
Hyſtaſpes, the father of
Darius, ſirnamed *Celes*, the father of *Xerxes*.

Curt. l. 4.

Hyſtaſpes accompanied *Cyrus* the Great, in the wars againſt the *Scythians*: at which time *Cyrus* being made jealous of *Darius* by a dream of his own, cauſed him to be ſent into *Perſia*; others ſay to be impriſoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was delivered, and made Governour of the *Perſian Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyſes* into *Egypt*; he then joyned with the reſt of the Princes againſt the *Magi*, and either by the neying of his horſe, or, as others affirm, by ſtrong hand he obtained the Empire, which he the more aſſured to himſelf by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Neeces for his wives.

Her. l. 1. & 3.

* *Her. pag.* 137. *Pag.* 154. *Pag.* 130. *Pag.* 101. & 202. *Pag.* 180. 109. *Her. l. 6. p.* 180. *Pag.* 186. 190. *P.* 179. *P.* 200. 204. & *p.* 213. 285, 286. *P.* 214. 254. *De Reg. Perſar. fol.* 32.

Hyſtaſpes, acording to * *Herodotus*, had, beſides *Darius*, theſe three ſons, who were great Commanders in the War which *Darius* made in *Aſia* the leſs, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; *Atarnes*, *Artaphernes*, and *Artabanus*, who diſſwaded *Xerxes*, from the ſecond *Grecian* war. *Hyſtaſpes* had alſo a Daughter married to *Gobrias* the Father of *Mardonius*, who commanded the Army of *Darius* in *Macedon*, and married the Daughter of *Darius Artoſoſtre*, his Coſen german.

Reineccius gives to *Hyſtaſpes* five ſons, *Darius* who ſucceeded *Cambyſes*, *Artabanus*, *Artaphernes*, *Otanes*, and *Atarnes*, with two Daughters.

§. II.

Of Darius *his Government, and ſuppreſſing the rebellion of* Babylon.

Darius deviſed equal laws whereby his Subjects might be Governed, the ſame being formerly promiſed by *Cyrus*. He gave acceſs to all his Subjects, and behaved himſelf ſo mildly to all men, that many Nations deſired and offered themſelves to become his Vaſſals: Only he laid divers payments and taxes on the people, which had not been accuſtomed in *Cyrus* time, to the value of fourteen thouſand five hundred and threeſcore talents, ſaith *Herodotus*.

The war which *Cambyſes* made a far off in *Egypt*, and the contention between the *Magi* and the Princes of *Perſia*, for the Empire, gave heart to the *Babylonians* to recover their liberty, and to ſhake off the *Perſian* yoke; whereof *Darius* being advertiſed, he prepared an Army to recover that City and State revolted. But finding the ſame a difficult work, he uſed the ſervice of *Zopyrus*, who for the love he bare *Darius*, did cut off his own Ears and Noſe, and with other wounds yet freſh bleeding, he ſeemed to fly to the *Babylonians* for ſuccour, to whom he accuſed the cruelty of *Darius*: who, for having given him advice to give over the ſiege of their City, had in this ſort diſmembred and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gave him that credit, as they truſted him with the diſpoſition and commandment of their greateſt forces: which when *Zopyrus* had obtained, after ſome ſmall colourable over-throws given to the *Perſians* upon ſallies, he delivered the City into *Darius* his hands; who had lyen before it twenty moneths.

Her. l. 3.

§ III.

§. III.

Of Darius his favour to the Jews in building the Temple.

IN the second year of *Darius*, he gave order that the building of the Temple at *Hierusalem* should go on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his own charge, and out of the revenues of the Crown. And whereas the Governours of those Provinces which are situate between *Euphrates* and the *Phœnician*, and midland Sea (whom *Ezra* calleth the Captains beyond the River) had hindred the work in *Cambyses* his time, *Darius* gave commandement that they should not thence-forth come near unto *Jernsalem*, to give any impediment to the building, but that they should withdraw themselves, and get them far off till all were finished, and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis*; *With-draw your selves far from them*; In our *English*, *Be ye far from thence*, to wit, from the City and Temple now in building.

Ezra. c. 6.

He also made a Decree which concerned his own Subjects, That whosoever should thenceforth hinder the setting up of the Temple of God, that his house should be torn down, and the disturber hanged on the Gallows made of the timber thereof. He also in the same Decree maketh invocation to God; *That hath caused his Name to dwell there (to) destroy all Kings and people that put their hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God which is in Jerusalem, &c.* In four years after which Decree (the *Jews* being really furnished with mony and all things necessary from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finished, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the sixth year of *Darius Hystaspes*, and in the two and fortieth after their first return.

Ezra. 6. 11.

Ezra. 6.

§. IV

Of Darius his Scythian War.

AFter the recovery of *Babylon* he invaded the *Scythians*, whose King *Justin* calleth *Lauthinus*; and saith, that *Darius* undertook this war against him, because he refused him his Daughter in marriage. The better to convoy his Army into *Scythia*, he built a bridge of small Vessels over the River *Ister* or *Danubius*, and gave the custody of the same in charge (among others of *Asia* the less) to the *Ionians* and *Æolians*, among whom was *Miltiades*, who perswaded the *Asian Grecians* to break down the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not return thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficulty; but the same was resisted by *Histiæus* Prince of *Milet*, a City of *Ionia*, which Nation, being a *Colony* of the *Greeks*, *Diodorus* calleth Traytors to their Country, because they joyned themselves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good slaves, for as much as they would not run away from their Master, but were more mindful of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, when they were presented with as fair an occasion of liberty as could have been desired. For the great Army of *Darius* entring the desart Country called *Bessarabia*, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any sustenance to relieve them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chrim Tartars*, their posterity, at this day, all horse-men, using the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Grasiers, driving their Heards from one place to another, as opportunity of Pasture led them. Standing Towns they had none, but used for Houses the Waggons wherein they carried their wives and children. These Waggons they place at every Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Town, removeable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour himself, called now the great *Chrim*, any other City than such as *Agora*, (as they name it) or town of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himself, and wasted his provision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither wayes to direct him, victuals to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitful trees, or living creatures, nor any thing at all, which either he himself might make use of, or by destroying it might grieve his enemies, he began to perceive his own folly, and the danger into which he had brought him. Yet setting a good face upon a bad game, he sent brave messages to the *Scythian*, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make trial of his valour and fortune in plain battle; Or, if he acknowledged himself the weaker, then to yield by fair means, and become his Subject; giving him Earth and Water, which the *Persians* used to demand as a sign that all was yielded unto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an *Hieroglyphical* answer; sending a *Bird*, a *Frog*, a *Mouse*, and five *Arrows*: which dumb shew *Darius* interpreting by his own wish, thought that he did yield all the Elements wherein those creatures live, and his weapons withall into his hands. But *Gobryas*, one of the seven Princes, who had slain

Her. l. 4.
Just. l. 2.

Diod. l. 11.

ſlain the *Magi*, conſtrued their meaning aright, which was thus; *O ye* Perſians, *get ye wings like Birds, or dive under the water, or creep into holes in the earth, for elſe ye ſhall not eſcape our arrows.* And this interpretation was ſoon verified by the *Scythians* themſelves, who aſſailed the *Perſian* camp, drave the horſe-men into the trenches, and vexed the Army with continual Allarums day and night; were ſo fearleſs of this great Monarch, and ſo little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his ſight, they did not forbear the paſtime of courſing a Hare, which they had ſtarted by chance. By this boldneſs of theirs, *Darius* was ſo diſcouraged, that he forſook his Camp by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were ſick and weak behind him, and ſo with all ſpeed marched away towards the River *Iſter*. He was purſued hardly by the *Scythians*, who miſt him; yet arriving at the Bridge before him, perſwaded the *Ionians* to depart, aſſuring them that the *Perſian* King ſhould never more be able to do them either good or harm. Which words had certainly been proved true, had not *Hyſtiæus* the *Mileſian* prevailed with his people, to attend the coming of *Darius*, whom the *Scythians* did likewiſe fail to meet, when they returned from *Iſter* to ſeek him out.

§. V.

Some actions of the Perſians *in* Europe, *after the* Scythian *War.*

Darius having thus eſcaped out of *Scythia*, determined the invaſion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which War he employed *Megabaſus*, who maſtered the *Pæonians*, and tranſplanted them, and poſſeſt *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Byzantium*, and other places, being alſo ſoon after ſubjected, and added to the *Perſian* Empire by *Otanes*, the ſon of *Syſamnes*, whom *Cambyſes* had excoriated for falſe judgement. So were the Cities of * *Selybria*, and [a] *Cardia* likewiſe taken in from the *Perſian*, who having now reduced under his obeyſance the beſt part of *Thrace*, did ſend his Embaſſadors to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adjoyning, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the Soveraignty over that Kingdom. *Amintas* doubting his own ſtrength, entertained the Embaſſadors with gentle words, and afterwards invited them to a ſolemn and magnificent feaſt; the *Perſians* greatly deſired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be preſent: which being granted, the Embaſſadors, who were well filled with wine, and preſumed upon their greatneſs and many Victories, began to uſe ſuch embracings, and other laſcivous behaviour towards thoſe Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the Kings ſon, great Grandfather to *Alexander* the Great, diſdaining the *Perſians* barbarous preſumption, beſought his Father to with-draw himſelf from the aſſembly, continuing notwithſtanding all honourable reſpect towards the Embaſſadors, whom withall he entreated that the Ladies might refreſh themſelves for a while; promiſing their ſpeedy return. This being obtained, *Alexander* cauſed the like number of well-favoured young men to clothe themſelves in the ſame garments, and to uſe the ſame attires which the Ladies had worn at the feaſt, giving them in charge, That when the *Perſians* offered to abuſe them, they ſhould forthwith tranſpierce them with their long knives, of which they were provided for that purpoſe, which was accordingly performed. Charge was ſoon after given by *Darius* for a ſevere revenge of this murder: But *Alexander* ſomewhat before the death of *Amintas*, gave his ſiſter *Gygea* in marriage to *Bubaris*, a principal Commander of *Darius* forces on that ſide, who perſwading her huſband how helpful the Alliance of *Macedon* would prove for the invaſion of *Attica* intended, ſo prevailed, as *Alexander* eſcaped that tempeſt, which threatned to fall upon him very ſuddenly; the war of *Aſia* the leſs, called *Ionick*, falling out at the ſame time.

Her. l. 5.
* A maritimate City of *Thrace* to the South of *Conſtantinople.*
[a] *Cardia*, a City upon the *Chaſonneſus* of *Thrace*, afterward *Lyſimachia. Pto. Pauſ.*

§. VI.

The firſt occaſion of the War which Darius *made upon* Greece, *with a rehearſal of the government in* Athens, *whence the quarrel grew.*

NOw the better to underſtand the reaſon and motives of that great War, which followed ſoon after, between the *Perſians* and *Grecians*, it is neceſſary to make a ſhort repetition of the ſtate of *Athens*, which City endured the hardeſt and worſt brunt of *Darius* invaſion on that ſide the Sea, with admirable ſucceſs. Neither do I hold it any impertinency to be large in unfolding every circumſtance of ſo great a buſineſs as gave fire to thoſe wars, which never could be throughly quenched, until in the ruin of this great *Perſian* Monarchy. *Perſepolis* the Capital City of the Empire, was at the requeſt of an *Athenian* Harlot conſumed with a flame, as dreadful, as in the pride of their greatneſs, the *Perſians* had raiſed in *Athens*.

Now

Now therefore as out of the former books it may be gathered, how *Athens* and other parts of *Greece*, were antiently Governed, the same being already set down, though scatteringly, and in several times, among other the Contemporary occurrents of the Eastern Emperours, and the Kings of *Judæa*; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember again the two last changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, they maintained still their ancient polity under Kings, though these also after some fifteen descents were bridled by the *Ephori*.

Codrus King of the *Athenians*, in the former books remembred, who willingly died for the safety of his people, was therefore so honoured by them, as (thinking none worthy to succeed him) they changed their former Government from Monarchial to Princes for term of life, of which *Medon* the Son of *Codrus* was the first, after whom they were called *Medontidæ*; and of these there were twelve Generations besides *Medon*, to wit,

Agestus.

Archippus, in whose times the *Greeks* transported themselves into *Ionia*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourscore years, accoring to *Eusebius*: which migration all other Chronologers (such as follow *Eusebius* herein excepted) find in the year after *Troy* fallen one hundred and forty.

Therippus.

Phorbas.

Mezades.

Diogenetus, in whose time *Lycurgus* gave Laws to the *Spartans.*

Pheredus.

Ariphron.

Theispius, in whose time the *Assyrian* Empire was overthrown by *Belochus* and *Arbaces.*

Paus. pag. *Agamnestor.*

159. *Æschylus*, in whose time the *Ephori* (according to *Eusebius*) were erected in *Lacedæ-*

Dionys. l. 3. *Paus. p.* 169. *mon.*

Paus. 170. *Pag.* 331. *Alcamenon*, the last Prince for life, after whose death the *Athenians* elected *Decennial* Governours: the former Princes for life having continued in all three hundred and sixteen years. The first of those that Governed for ten years, or the first *Archon*, was

Charops, then

Æsymedes.

Elydicus.

Hippomines.

Leocrates.

Apsander.

Erixias was the last *Archon* of the *decennial* Governours, which from continuing threescore and ten years, was then changed into *annual* Magistrates, Maiors, or Burg-masters, of which *Theseus* was the first, according to *Pausanias*: others find *Leostratus*; and then

Anthostenes.

Archimedes.

Miltiades.

Damistas.

Draco.

Megacles.

Solon, and others, who are the less to be regarded, by reason of the yearly change.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wisdom, gave Laws to the *Athenians*, which were published, according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth year of *Tarquinius Priscus*, and were in after-ages derived unto the *Romans*, and by the *Decem-viri* (Magistrates in *Rome* created for that purpose) reduced into Twelve Tables, which were the ground of the *Roman* Laws. But these goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his own dayes violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed unto the practice and maintenance of a popular Government; the state of *Athens* was very soon changed into a Monarchy by *Pisistratus* the son of *Hippocrates*: who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions, whereof *Megacles* and *Lycurgus*, two Citizens of Noble Families, were become the heads, took occasion by their contention and insolency to raise a third faction more powerful than the other two, and more plausible, for that he seemed a Protector of the Citizens in General. Having by this means obtained love and credit, he wounded himself, and fained that by malice of his enemies he had like to have been slain for his love to the good Citizens; he procured a Guard for his defence, and with that band of men surprising the State-house, or Cittadel of *Athens*, he made himself Lord of the Town; *Hegesistratus* being then governour. But the Citizens, who in every change of Government had sought to remove themselves further and further from the form of a Monarchy, could so ill brook this usurpation of *Pisistratus*, that he was driven for lack of help, to fly the Town, as soon as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* (joyning their forces) attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his Tyranny, founded upon the dissention of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; so was it soon

soon after well re-edified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his own, he did (as is the usual practice of the weaker side) call in the common enemy *Pisistratus*, to whom he gave his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Family of the *Alcmæonidæ*, whereof *Megacles* was chief, became very powerful, yet so, that *Pisistratus* by their power was made Master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcmæonidæ*, and especially *Megacles*, being incensed against *Pisistratus* for his misdemeanour towards his Wife. Wherefore they practised with the Souldiers of the Town, proceeding in their treason so secretly, and so far, that *Pisistratus* (upon the first discovery of their intent) perceived no other remedy for his affairs, than to withdraw himself to *Eretria*, where he remained eleven years. Which time being expired, having hired Souldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, he again recovered the principality of *Athens*: after which third obtaining his estate, he governed *Athens* seventeen years, according to *Aristotle*, and reigned in all thirty and three years, saith *Elianus*, but, as *Justin* hath it, four and thirty; accounting the time belike as well before, as after his several expulsions. *Herodotus* gives the Father and the Son six and thirty years; *Aristotle* five and thirty. But *Thucydides* affirmeth, that he died very old, leaving for his Successors, his two Sons, *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who governed the *Athenians* with such moderation, as they rather seemed the Lineal successors of a natural Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and some three years before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athens*, his Brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. The cause why, and the manner how performed, *Thucydides* hath written at large. And, though *Hipparchus* was charged with unnatural lust after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that he was a Prince of as many eminent virtues as that Age had any; altogether condemning the murderers, and authors of that scandal. *Hippias* fearing that this enterprize upon his Brother had more and deeper roots than were apparent, first sought to discover the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lemnia*: who, because she would not reveal her Companions, did cut out her own tongue. Then did *Hippias*, the better to strengthen himself, enter into a strait amity with *Æantides*, Tyrant of the City *Lampsacus*, whom he knew to be greatly favoured by *Darius*, to whose Son *Hypoclus* he gave one of his Daughters in marriage. But some three years after the death of his Brother, doubting I know not what strong practice against himself, he began to use the Citizens with great severity, which neither *Pisistratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himself had ever exercised, during their usurpation till this time. And therefore the *Athenians* fearing lest that this disease might rather increase than diminish in *Hippias*, they stirred up *Clistines*, one of the noblest and best able of their City, to practise their delivery: who, calling to his assistance the banished *Alcmæonidæ*, together with an Army of the *Lacedæmonians* led by *Cleomenes* their King, so affrighted *Hippias*, as by his composition he gave over his estate, and the possession of *Athens*, and from thence imbarking himself took Land at * *Sigeum*, whence he went to *Lampsacus* in *Mysia* governed by *Æantides*, who presented him to *Darius*. He was deprived of his estate, as *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* agree, twenty years before the battel of *Marathon*: all which time he continued, partly with *Æantides*, at other times with *Artaphernes* Lieutenant for *Darius* in *Sardis*, the *Metropolis* of *Lydia*; perswading and practising the enterprize upon *Athens*, which *Darius* in the end to his great dishonour undertook, twenty years after *Hippias* had resigned his estate.

Thus far I have digressed from *Darius*, to the end the Reader may conceive the better, the causes and motives of this War: whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to be restored to *Athens* by the help of *Darius*, which made him solicit and perswade the *Persians* to conquer *Greece*, was one, but not the most urgent.

Her. l. 12. *Eretria* a City of *Eubœa*, by others called *Melane*, by *Stephanus Eretria*. *Pol.* 5. *Heraclid. apud Elian*, *pag.* 262. *Just.* p. 28. *Her. l.* 6. *Thucyd. l.* 6. c. 10.

Lampsacus a City of *Mysia* upon the *Hellespont*. *Her. l.* 5. *Thucyd. l.* 6. c. 1.

* *Sigeum*, a promontory opposite to the Isle of *Tenedos*, which *Arist. in* 5. *Animal* calls *Idæ promontorium*.

§. VII.

Of the Ionian *Rebellion, which was the principal cause of the Wars ensuing between* Greece *and* Persia.

ANother, and a strong motive to this expedition, was the *Ionick* War, breaking out in *Asia* about the same time. The Colonies transported out of *Greece* into *Asia*, which occupied the greatest part of the Sea-coast, having enjoyed their liberty about 500 years, even from the *Ionick* migration, to the time of *Crœsus*, were by this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcel of his Dominions, were taken in by *Cyrus*, and left as hereditary Servants to the Crown of *Persia*.

But as it is the custom of Nations half-

conquered (witneſs *Ireland*) to rebell again upon every advantage and opportunity: ſo did the *Ionians*, and other *Græcians*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, ſeek by all means poſſible to free themſelves.

At this time they found ſuch men ready to ſpurr them into Rebellion, as had by the *Perſian* been given unto them for bridles to hold them in ſubjection. Every one of thoſe Towns had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the Government of one man) called their Tyrants. Theſe Lords were very true to the *Perſian*, by whoſe only might they held the people in ſubjection. And this their dutifull affection they had well declared, when *Darius*, being in great extremity, they uſed all means to deliver him and his Army (that otherwiſe had been loſt) out of the *Scythians* hand. Of this great piece of ſervice *Hiſtiæus* the Tyrant of *Miletus* expected the chief thanks, as having been chief Author of their expecting *Darius*, when the reſt, either perſwaded by the *Scythians*, or carried away with their own deſires, were ready to have abandoned him. But it came ſo to paſs, that *Darius* being more fearful of the harm that *Hiſtiæus* (being powerful and crafty) might do to him in the future, than mindful of the good which he had already received at his hand, found means to carry him along to *Suſa*, where he detained him with all kind uſage of a friend, yet kept ſuch good eſpial upon him, as an enemy, he could not ſtart away. *Hiſtiæus* had ſubtilty enough to diſcover the Kings purpoſe, which ill agreed with his own deſires. For he thought it more pleaſant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one fair City, having a ſmall Territory, than to ſit and feaſt at the great King's Table, and hear the Counſels by which a large Empire was managed; being himſelf an idle beholder, and enjoying with much reſtraint of liberty, none other pleaſures than a private man might beſtow upon himſelf.

Wherefore he bethought himſelf of raiſing of ſome tumults in the lower *Aſia*, to pacifie which, if he might be ſent, as one that had great experience and authority in thoſe quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to ſtay at home, and either ſatisfie the King with excuſes, or deal as occaſion ſhall require. Reſolving upon this courſe, he ſent very ſecret inſtructions to *Ariſtagoras* his kinſman, whom he had left his Deputy at *Miletus*, adviſing him to ſtir up ſome Rebellion. Theſe directions came ſeaſonably to *Ariſtagoras*, who having failed in an enterprize upon the Iſle of *Naxos*, through the falſe dealing of a *Perſian* his Aſſociate, ſtood in fear of diſgrace, if not of ſome further ill that might befall him, as one that had waſted the King's treaſures to no good purpoſe.

Therefore he readily embraced the counſel: and the better to draw the whole Countrey of *Ionia* into the ſame courſe which he determined to run, he abandoned his tyranny, and did ſet *Miletus* at liberty. This plauſible beginning wan unto him the hearts of the *Mileſians*: and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants (of whom ſome he took and ſold as ſlaves to their Citizens, others he chaſed away) cauſed the whole Nation to be at his command. The *Perſian* Fleet, whereof he lately had been Admiral in the enterprize of *Naxos*, he had ſurprized in his firſt breaking out, together with the principal Officers and Captains; ſo that now he thought himſelf able to deal with the great King's forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all *Aſia* would ſhortly be upon his neck, and cruſh both him and his aſſiſtants to pieces, unleſs he were able to raiſe an Army that might hold the field, which the *Ionians* alone were inſufficient to perform. Therefore he took a journey to *Sparta*, where having aſſayed in vain with many arguments, and the offer of fifty Talents, to win to his party *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedæmonians*: he went from thence to *Athens*, and with better ſucceſs beſought the people to lend him their aſſiſtance. The *Athenian* Ambaſſadours which had been ſent to the *Perſian* Kings Lieutenant in the lower *Aſia*, deſiring them not to give countenance to *Hippias*, now a baniſhed man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill anſwers, having found very churliſh entertainment. So that the evil which they were to expect in all likelihood from the *Perſian*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpoſe, their conſanguinity with the *Ionians*, and the perſwaſions of *Ariſtagoras*, drew them on apace, if perhaps his treaſure were not helping. Twenty ſhips the *Athenians* furniſhed for this Voyage; to which the *Eretrians* furniſhed five more, in regard of the ancient Kindneſs that had paſſed between the *Ionians* and them. With theſe and their own forces joyned, the *Ionians* entred the River *Caiſtrus*, which falleth into the Sea by *Epheſus*: by which advantage they ſurprized *Sardis*, when no enemy was heard of or ſuſpected; inſomuch, as *Artaphernes*, who ruled as Vice-roy in thoſe parts, had no other hope of ſafety, than by retreating himſelf into the Caſtle, which the *Græcians* could not force: from whence he beheld

beheld the ſlaughter of the Citizens, and the City flaming.

The *Perſians*, at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the Market-place. ſtrengthened by the River *Pactolus*, which ran thorow it; and borrowing courage from deſperation, they both defended themſelves, and charged their enemies; who well adviſing themſelves, made all the haſte they could toward the Sea-ſide. But *Artaphernes* having gathered all the ſtrength he could, purſued the *Græcians*, and found them near *Epheſus*; where ſetting reſolvedly upon them, he ſlaughtered a great part of their Army, the reſt ſaving themſelves in *Epheſus*. In this fight, *Evalcides*, Captain of the *Eretrians* periſhed: but his fame and memory was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preſerved. After this overthrow, the *Athenians*, which were before ſent unto *Ariſtagoras*, and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their tears, be perſwaded to make any ſecond trial of their fortunes on that ſide the Sea.

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noiſe in the world, than the late good ſucceſs which the *Perſians* had in one or two skirmiſhes, could raiſe. Wherefore the *Ionians* bravely proceeded, won a great part of *Caria*; and ſending their Fleet into the *Helleſpont*, got *Bizantium* and other Towns into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians*, lately ſubdued by *Cambyſes*, began hereupon to take heart; and entring into confederacy with the *Ionians*, who were able to give them aid by Sea, rebelled againſt the *Perſians*.

Theſe news coming to the ear of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the *Athenians*, upon whom he vowed to take ſharp revenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to think, that they would not have dared to attempt ſuch things, but by the inſtigation of thoſe, to whom the ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to provoke him. This was the main ground of the War commenced by *Darius*, and purſued by *Xerxes*, againſt *Athens*: To which the ſolicitation of *Hippias*, before remembred, gave only ſome form and aſſiſtance: the buſineſs, when once it was thus far on foot, being like enough to have proceeded, though he had periſhed, ere it were advanced any further.

Some other occurrences in this *Ionian* commotion extended the quarrel of *Darius* againſt many of the Iſlanders, if not againſt the whole Nation of the *Greeks*; for all of them gave to his Rebels free harbour: the Iſlanders moreover did help to furniſh out a Navy of three hundred and ſixty Sail againſt him. Theſe provocations did rather breed in him a deſire to abate their pride, than any fear of harm that they were like to do him. For what they had done at *Sardis*, was but by ſurprize. In every fight they were beaten by the *Perſians*, who had not yet loſt the fruits of their diſcipline, wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captains. In one Sea-fight by the Iſle of *Cyprus*, the *Ionians* indeed had the upper hand; but they were *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, and *Cilicians*, whom they vanquiſhed: neither was that victory of any uſe to them; the *Cyprians*, in whoſe aid they came, being utterly beaten by the *Perſian* Army at Land, and reduced into their old ſubjection. So had the *Perſians* likewiſe by open War and fair force overthrown the *Carians* in two battels, and reclaimed that Nation; as alſo they had recovered the Towns upon *Helleſpont*, with ſome *Æolian* and *Ionian* Cities, when *Ariſtagoras* with his friends quitting *Miletus*, fled into *Thrace*, deſirous to ſeat himſelf in *Amphipolis*, a Colony of the *Athenians*. But the *Edonians*, on whoſe Territory belike he landed, overthrew him, and cut his troops in pieces.

About the ſame time, *Hiſtiæus*, the firſt mover of this inſurrection, came down into thoſe quarters; who having undertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whom his double-dealing was detected.

But this Evaſion preſerved him not long. And after many vain attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the *Perſians*, and haſtily beheaded, leſt the King ſhould pardon him upon remembrance of old good turns; as it ſeems that he would have done, by the burial which he commanded to be given to his dead body that was crucified, and by his heavy taking of his death.

Hiſtiæus had ſought to put himſelf into *Miletus*; but the Citizens, doubting his conditions, choſe rather to keep him out, and make ſhift for themſelves, without his help. The ſtrength of their City by Land, which had in old time withſtood the *Lydian* Kings; and their good Fleet, which promiſed unto them the liberty of an open Sea, emboldened them to try the uttermoſt, when very few friends were left upon that Continent to take their part. But their Navy was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forſaking them upon hope of pardon; and

many being daunted with the causeless flight of those that should have assisted them. Neither was it long before the Town it self, being assaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens slain, their wives and children made slaves, and their goods a booty to the *Persians*, whom for six years space they had put to so much trouble.

§. VIII.

The War which Darius *made upon* Greece *with the battell of* Marathon, *and* Darius *his death.*

Herod. l. 6. THis War with good success finished by the *Persians*, and some attempts made on *Europe* side with variable success; *Darius* obstinate in the enterprise and Conquest of *Greece* (though at first he pretended to make the War but against the *Athenians* and *Eritræans*, who joyntly assisted the *Ionians* against him, and burnt *Sardis* in *Lydia*) did now by his Ambassadours, demand an acknowledgement from them all: among whom, some of them not so well resolved as the rest, submitted themselves; as the *Æginets*, and others. Against these, the *Athenians* being inflamed, (by the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*) after divers encounters forced them to give pledges, and to relinquish the party of the *Persians*. *Cleomenes* led the *Lacedæmonians* in this War, and caused his companion King *Demantus* to be deposed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, far the more confident of victory, by reason of these discords, alienations, and civil Wars among the *Greeks*. He therefore gave order to *Hippagorus* to prepare a Fleet of Ships, fit to transport his Army over the *Hellespont*: the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. The charge in chief of his Army he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and assisted by *Hippias*, the Son of *Pisistratus*, expelled out of *Athens* twenty years before, and by *Artaphernes* his Brother, Governour of *Sardis*, and the Sea-coast of *Asia* the less. These Commanders having their Companies brought down to the Sea-side, imbarked themselves in six hundred Gallies and other Vessels; and first of all attempted the Islands, called *Cyclades*, which lay in the mid-way between *Asia* the less, and *Greece*. For (obtaining those places) the *Persians* had then nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces over the *Ægean* Sea; but on the contrary they might alwayes both relieve themselves in the passage, and shroud themselves from all sudden tempests and out-rage.

To this end, they first possest themselves of *Samos*; secondly, they attempted *Naxos*: Which Island, the Inhabitants despairing of their own forces, abandoned. So did the people of *Delos*, of which *Apollo* was native: Which Island *Darius* did not only forbear to lack, but recalling the inhabitants, he gave order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice to *Apollo* erected. And having recovered these & other Islands, the *Persians* directed their course for *Eretria* in *Eubœa*: for that City (as already hath been shewed) had assisted the *Ionians* at the taking and firing of *Sardis*. In this Island the *Persians* took ground, and besieged *Eretria* very straitly, and after six dayes assault, partly by force, and in part by the treason of *Euphabus* and *Philagius*, they took it, sackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus far the winds of prosperous fortune filled their sayls. From *Eubœa* the *Persians* past their Army into *Attica*, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of *Athens*, and marching towards it, they encamped at *Marathon*, in the way from the Sea, where they landed, towards *Athens*. *In Herod.*

The *Athenians*, finding the time arrived wherein they were to dispute with their own vertues against Fortune, and to cast lots for their liberty, for their wives, their children, and their lives, put themselves in the best order they could to make resistance, and withall sent away with speed to the *Lacedæmonians* for succour, imploying in that Negotiation one *Phidippides*; who passing through *Arcadia*, encountred in the way a familiar Devil, which he supposed to be *Pan*, who willed him to assure the *Athenians* of victory, promising that some one of the gods should be present at the battell, to assist them and defend them against the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his return, seeing he could not bring with him any present succours from *Sparta*, yet he thought it greatly availing to bring news from the gods, and promise of assistance from Heaven, which no doubt (though the device was somewhat likely to be his own, yet) it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages have been more stirred up with fond Prophecies and other like superstitious fooleries, than by any just cause or solid reason.

The *Athenians* being now left to themselves, with one thousand only of the *Platæans* (who having been formerly defended by the *Athenians* against the *Thebans*, did in this

Whether this City or People were of *Peloponessus* in *Sicyonia*, or of *Ægæa*, between *Thessalia* and *Macedon*, I do not know; but these borderers, and next the enemy, were more likely to compound than the rest far off. There is also a City called *Ægium*, not far from *Ægæa*, *Livie*, 32, 33, &c.

this extremity witneſs their thankfulneſs & grateful diſpoſition) began to diſpute, Whether it were moſt for their advantage to defend the walls of *Athens*, or to put themſelves into the field with ſuch forces as they had, the ſame conſiſting of ten thouſand *Athenians*, and one thouſand of the *Platæans*. In the end, and after great diverſity of opinions, *Miltiades*, who perſwaded the trial by battel, prevailed.

The Armies being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the *Athenians* diſpoſed themſelves into three troops: two wings or horns, as they term them; and the body of a battel. The *Perſians* when they perceived ſo ſmall a troop advancing towards them, thought the *Athenians* rather diſpoſſeſt of their underſtandings, than poſſeſt with the reſolution whereof they made ſhew. So invincible and reſiſtleſs the *Perſians* eſteemed their own numbers to be, and that ſmall troop of their enemies then in view, rather to be deſpiſed than to be fought withall: But in concluſion, the Victory being doubtfully ballanced for a while, ſometime the vertue of the *Græcians*, and ſometimes the number of the *Perſians* prevailed; the *Græcians* fighting for all that they had, the *Perſians* for that they needed not, theſe great forces of *Darius* were diſordered and put in rout; the *Athenians* following their Victory even to the Sea-ſhore; where the *Perſians*, ſo many of them as loſt not their wits with their courage, ſaved themſelves in their Ships.

The *Perſian* Army conſiſted of an hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe; of which there were ſlain in the place ſix thouſand three hundred, and of the *Græcians* an hundred fourſcore and twelve. For howſoever it came to paſs, either by ſtrange viſions, which were afterward called *Pannici terrores*, or by ſome other affright, it ſeemeth that the invading Army, after the firſt encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and loſt that number, by *Herodotus* ſet down, in their diſorderly retrait, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Juſtin*'s report, That two hundred thouſand of the *Perſian* Army were ſlain, the ſame hath no appearance nor poſſibility of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the perſwader of the enterpriſe was ſlain, ſaith *Juſtine* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tells us, That he eſcaped, and died moſt miſerably in *Lemnos*. *Ad Art.*

The greateſt honour of this Victory was caſt upon *Miltiades*, who both perſwaded the trial by battel, and behaved himſelf therein anſwerably to the counſel which he gave. *Themiſtocles* had his firſt reputation in this fight, being but young and of the firſt beard. Thoſe of the *Græcians*, of mark and commandement, that fell in the firſt encounter, were *Callimachus* and *Steſileus*. It is alſo ſaid, That *Cynegyrus* following the *Perſians* to their embarking, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to have held it from putting off the ſhore, and having his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arreſt it with his left; of which alſo being deprived, he took hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the firſt year of the threeſcore and twelfth *Olympiad*, about the time of the war made by *Coriolanus* againſt his fellow-*Romans*: *Alexander* the Son of *Amyntas* being then King of *Macedon*, and *Phanippus* then Governour of *Athens*, according to *Plutarch*, or *Hybilides*, after *Halycarnaſſæus*. *In vita Ariſt.*

This great fray thus parted, and the *Perſians* returned back into the leſſer *Aſia*, *Miltiades* ſought and obtained an employment againſt the Iſlanders of *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*, and paſſing over his Companies in threeſcore and ten Gallies, after ſix and twenty dayes aſſault he brake his thigh, in ſeeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himſelf being made unable, and his Companies diſcouraged, he returned to *Athens*; where thoſe ungrateful Citizens forgetting all his ſervices paſt, and that of all other the moſt renowned at the battel of *Marathon*, did by the perſwaſion of *Xantippus*, the father of *Pericles* (who envied his fame) caſt him into priſon, and ſet on him a fine of fifty Talents; where his weak and wounded body being not able to endure the one, nor his eſtate to pay the other, he after a few dayes ended his life.

Which envy of the better ſort to each other, with their private Factions, aſſiſted by the unthankfull and witleſs people, brought them, not many years after, from a Victorious and famous Nation, to baſe ſubjection and ſlavery. *Miltiades* left behind him one ſon called *Cymon* begotten on *Hegeſipila*, daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*, who (ſaith *Plutarch*) was neither inferiour to his Father in valour, nor to *Themiſtocles* in underſtanding, but exceeded them both in Juſtice and good Government.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recover his honour, than ſorrow for the loſs received in *Greece*, gave order for new levies of men, and all other warlike proviſions. But the *Egyptians* revolting from his obedience (a Kingdom of great ſtrength and revenue) greatly diſtracted his reſolution for the re-invaſion of *Greece*. The diſſention alſo among

among his Sons, of whom the younger being born after he was King, and by so great a mother as *Atossa*, disdaining to give place to his elder brother, born before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, Death, who hath no respect of any mans affairs, gave end to all his consultations and enterprises, and joyned him to the earth of his Ancestors, about a year after the battel of *Marathon*, and after that he had reigned six and thirty years. He left behind him five sons, namely, *Artabasanes*, born before he obtained the Kingdom, *Xerxes* who succeeded him, *Achæmenes* Governour of *Egypt*, *Masistes*, and *Anabignes*.

CHAP. VI.

Of Xerxes.

§. I.

The preparations of Xerxes *against* Greece.

Xerxes received from his Father, as hereditary, a double War, one to be made against the *Egyptians*, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the *Græcians*, of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the success ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this War, which was chiefly bent against the *Athenians*, the Princes of *Persia* were divided in opinion. *Mardonius*, who had formerly commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, under *Darius*, and had also *Hystaspes* for his Grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his sister *Artozostres*, perswaded by many arguments the *Europæan* War. But *Artabanus*, Brother to the late *Darius*, and Unkle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counsel, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous success of the two late Invasions, which *Darius* had made contrary to his counsel: The one in person upon the *Scythians*, the other by his Lieutenants upon the *Greeks*; in each of which *Darius* left to his Enemies both his Army and his Honour.

He therefore besought *Xerxes* to be right well advised before he did too far imbark himself in this business. For whatsoever undertaking hath deliberate and sound counsel for conductor, though the success do not alwayes answer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variableness of his own nature, which only the Divine Providence, and not any humane power, can constrain.

But so obstinate was the resolution of *Xerxes* in prosecution of his former intent, that *Artabanus*, whether terrified by Visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred, which he made known to all those that opposed his desire to this War (changing opinion and counsel) assisted the *Grecian* Expedition with all the power he had.

After the War of *Egypt* was ended, four years were consumed in describing and gathering an Army for this invasion: which being compounded of all Nations subject to the *Persian* Empire, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and eighty thousand Horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts of Carriage, if we may believe *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* finds the number less by seven hundred thousand footmen. *Her. l. 7.*

The Commanders of the several Nations were the Princes of the blood of *Persia*, either by marriage in the Kings house, or otherwise; for to these were all commandments of this nature given, some few people excepted, who had of their own Leaders.

The charge of the whole Army was bestowed on *Mardonius*, the Son of *Gobrias*, by a sister of *Darius*, to whom were joyned some others of *Xerxes* his neerest kindred, as Generals over all; saving that the charge of ten thousand select *Persians*, called the Immortal Regiment (because if any one of the whole number died, or were slain, there was another presently chosen in his stead) was given to *Hydarnes*; the eighty thousand horsemen were led by the sons of *Datis*, who commanded the late Army of *Darius* in *Greece*.

The

The Fleet of Gallies were 2200. and eight furniſhed by the *Phœnicians*, who had Commanders of their own Nation, and by the *Cypriots*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphylians*, *Lycians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Helleſpontines*; who were truſted with the furniſhing of their own Veſſels, though commanded by the Princes of *Perſia*, as by *Artabignes*, the Son of *Darius*, and others. The reſt of the Veſſels for tranſportation were three thouſand. There were alſo certain Gallies furniſhed by *Artemeſia*, the daughter of *Lygdames*, Princeſs of *Halicarnaſſæus*, and the Iſlands adjoyning, which her ſelf commanded. Thoſe Gallies by her prepared and furniſhed, exceeded all the reſt of the Fleet, excepting thoſe of *Zidon*, in which *Xerxes* himſelf was imbarked.

§. II.

Xerxes *Army entertained by* Pythius: *his cutting off Mount* Athos *from the Continent: his Bridge of Boats over the* Helleſpont: *and the diſcourſe between him and* Artabanus *upon the view of the Army.*

WHen this World of an Army was throughly furniſhed, he cauſed all the Nations of which it was compounded, to make their *Rendezvouz*, and repair at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when he had aſſembled to the number of ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot, as he entred the border of *Celænas*, he was by one *Pythius* a *Lydian* entertained, who out of his Flocks and Herds of Cattel gave food to *Xerxes* and his whole Army. The feaſt ended, he alſo preſented him with two thouſand Talents of Silver, and in Gold four Millions, wanting ſeven thouſand of the *Perſian Darici*; which make ſo many of our Marks.

The King overcome with the exceeding liberality of *Pythius*, did not only refuſe his treaſure offered, but commanded that ſeven thouſand *Darici* ſhould be given him to make up his four Millions; of which, ſo many thouſands were wanting when he made the Preſent. But ſoon after, when *Pythius* beſought him to ſpare one of his five ſons from his attendance into *Greece* (becauſe himſelf was old, and had none whom he could ſo well truſt as his own ſon) *Xerxes* moſt barbarouſly cauſed the young man, for whom his father ſought exemption, to be ſundered into two parts, commanding that the one half of his Carkaſs ſhould be layed on the right, and the other half on the left hand of the common way by which the Army marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea-ſide. The one was a paſſage for Gallies to be cut behind Mount *Athos*, making the ſame (with the half Iſland or Headland, whereon it ſtood) to be an entire Iſland, ſundring thereby from the Continent of *Thrace* five Cities, beſides the Mountain and the *Cherſoneſus*, or Neck of Land it ſelf: a work of more oſtentation, than of uſe, and yet an enterprize of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent having but twelve furlongs (which make about a mile and a half) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two Gallies to paſs in front. The Cities ſo ſevered from the main, were *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thyſus*, and *Cleonæ*.

He alſo gave order, that a Bridge upon Boats ſhould be made over the *Helleſpont* between *Abidus* and *Seſtos*, the Sea there having a mile of breadth, wanting an eighth part; which, after the finiſhing, was by a Tempeſt torn aſunder and diſſevered: wherewith *Xerxes* being more enraged than diſcouraged, commanded thoſe to be ſlain that were maſters of the work, and cauſed ſix hundred threeſcore and fourteen Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and induſtry of the *Phœnicians*, was ſo well anchored to reſiſt both winds blowing into, and from the *Euxine* Sea, as the ſame being well boorded and railed, the whole Army of ſeventeen hundred thouſand Foot, and fourſcore thouſand Horſe, with all the Moyles and Carriages, paſt over it into *Europe* in ſeven dayes and ſeven nights, without intermiſſion. This tranſportation of Armies did *Cæſar* afterward uſe. And *Caligula*, that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finiſhed, and the Army brought neer to the Sea-ſide, *Xerxes* took a view of all his Troops, aſſembled in the Plains of *Abidus*, being carried up, and ſeated on a place over-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adjoyning: and after he had gloried in his own happineſs, to behold and command ſo many Nations, and ſo powerfull an Army and Fleet, he ſuddenly (notwithſtanding) burſt out into tears, moved with this contemplation, That in one hundred years there ſhould not any one ſurvive of that marvellous multitude: the cauſe of which ſudden change of paſſion when he uttered to *Artabanus* his Unkle, *Artabanus* ſpake to the King to this effect: That which

which is more lamentable than the diſſolu tion of this great Troop within that num ber of years by the King remembred, is, That the life it ſelf which we enjoy is yet more miſerable than the end thereof: for in thoſe few dayes given us in the world, there is no man among all theſe, or elſe-where, that ever found himſelf ſo accompanied with happineſs, but that he oftentimes pleaſed himſelf better with the deſire and hope of death, than of living; the incident calamities, diſeaſes, and ſorrows whereto mankind is ſubject, being ſo many and inevitable, that the ſhorteſt life doth oftentimes appear unto us over long; to avoid all which, there is neither refuge nor reſt, but in deſired death alone.

With this melancholy diſcourſe, *Xerxes* being not much pleaſed, prayed *Artabanus* not to overcaſt thoſe joyes which they had now in purſuit with ſad remembrances. And holding ſtill a doubtfull conceit, that *Artabanus* utterly condemned the invaſion of *Greece*, againſt which he had formerly given many ſtrong reaſons, deſired him to deal freely with him, Whether he were returned to his firſt reſolution, that the enterprize of *Greece* could not be proſperous; or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Viſion, he was confident of good ſucceſs? *Artabanus*, notwithſtanding that he aſſured himſelf of the Kings reſolution to go on, and dared not by any new arguments to batter the great purpoſe it ſelf, yet he told the King, That there were two things which marvellouſly affrighted him, and which the King ſhould find, as he feared, to be moſt adverſe; to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, becauſe it had no where in that part of the World any Port capable of ſo great a Fleet; inſomuch, as if any tempeſt ſhould ariſe, all the Continent of *Greece* could hardly receive them, nor all the Havens thereof afford them any ſafety: and therefore when any ſuch ſhelter ſhall be wanting unto them, he prayed him to underſtand, that in ſuch a caſe of extremity, men are left to the will and diſpoſition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and diſpoſition of men. The Land, beſides other incommodities, will be found by ſo much the more an enemy, by how much the unſatiate deſire of man to obtain more and more thereof, doth lead him forward: for were there no man found to give reſiſtance, yet the want of means to feed ſuch an Army, and the Famine which cannot be prevented, will without any other violence offered, diſinable and conſume it. By theſe Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to have diverted *Xerxes*, not daring perchance to utter what indeed he moſt feared, to wit, the overthrow of the Army it ſelf both by Sea and Land, which ſoon after followed. Theſe cautions were exceeding weighty, if *Xerxes* his obſtinacy had not mitpriſed them. For to invade by Sea upon a perilous Coaſt, being neither in poſſeſſion of any Port, not ſuccoured by any party, may better fit a Prince preſuming on his fortune, than enriched with underſtanding. Such was the enterpriſe of *Philip* the ſecond upon *England* in the year 1588. who had belike never heard of this Counſel of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the ſecond point; It is very likely that *Xerxes* his Army, which could not have in it leſs than two millions of Souls, beſides his beaſts for Service and Carriage, ſhould after a few dayes ſuffer famine, and uſing *Machiavels* words, *Mourire ſans confeo*; *die without a knife*. For it was impoſſible for *Greece*, being a ragged, ſtrait, and mountainous Countrey, to yield food (beſides what ſerved themſelves) for twenty hundred thouſand ſtrangers, whom they never meant to entertain, but with the ſharpned points of their Weapons, deſtroying withall whatſoever they could not well incloſe and defend. Nay, if we may believe *Herodotus*, the Army of *Xerxes*, being reviewed at *Thermopylæ*, conſiſted of five millions, two hundred eighty three thouſand, two hundred twenty men, beſides Laundreſſes, Harlots, and Horſes, and was therefore likely to endure a ſpeedy famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his anſwer was, That it was impoſſible to provide for all things; and that whoſoever ſhould enterpriſe any great matter, if he gave the hearing to all that could be objected of accidental inconveniences, he ſhould never purſue the ſame farther than the diſpute and conſultation: which if his Predeceſſors, the *Perſian* Kings, had done, they had never grown to that greatneſs, or poſſeſt ſo many Kingdoms and Nations, as they now did; and therefore concluded, That great enterpriſes were never undertaken without great perils. Which reſolution of *Xerxes* was not to be condemned, if any neceſſity had inforc'd him to that war. But ſeeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he already commanded, were more than could be conſtrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull proſperity of the *Perſians* endured, and that *Greece* was ſeparated by the Sea from the reſt of *Xerxes* his Dominions (of whoſe reſolution his Father *Darius* had made a dear experience) the fruit of this War was anſwerable

anſwerable to the plantation, and the ſucceſs and end agreeable to the weak counſel whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, thoſe millions of men which he tranſported, and yet in his own judgement not ſufficient, (for he gathered in, marching on, all the ſtrength of *Thrace* and *Macedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to fear the *Greeks* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and reſolution, whom he conducted. For it is wiſely ſaid of thoſe uncountable multitudes: *Non vires habent, ſed pondus; & impedimenta potiùs ſunt, quàm auxilium: They are great in bulk, but weak in forces, and rather a luggage than an aid.*

Beſides, as it was impoſſible to marſhall ſuch a world of men in one Army, ſo the divers Nations, ſpeaking divers languages, bred the ſame confuſion among the *Perſian* Commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of *Babel*, when they came to work. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his five millions compounded ten Armies of fifty thouſand choſen Souldiers in each, and ſent them yearly into *Greece* well victualled and furniſhed, he had either prevailed by the ſword, or forced them to forſake their territory, brought them into obedience by neceſſity and famine, which cannot be reſiſted. But while *Xerxes* reſolved to cut down the banks of *Greece*, and to let in a ſea of men upon them, he was deceived both of his own hopes, and in their hearts whom he imployed, and beaten by the *Greeks*, both by Land and Sea; yea, he himſelf, conducted by his fear, fled ſhamefully into *Aſia*. A great part of his Army was buried in *Greece*: the remainder whereof, which wintred in *Theſſaly*, and led by *Mardonius* who perſwaded the enterpriſe, was in the ſummer following utterly defeated, and himſelf ſlain.

§. III.

Of the fights at Thermopylæ *and* Artemiſium.

After ſuch time as *Xerxes* had tranſported the Army over the *Helleſpont*, and landed in *Thrace*, (leaving the deſcription of his paſſage along that Coaſt, and how the River of *Liſſus* was drunk dry by his multitudes, and the Lake near to *Piſſyrus* by his cattel, with other accidents in his marches towards *Greece*) I will ſpeak of the encounters he had, and the ſhamefull and incredible overthrows which he received. As firſt at *Thermopylæ*, a narrow paſſage of half an acre of ground, lying between the Mountains which did divide *Theſſaly* from *Greece*, where ſometime the *Phocians* had raiſed a wall with gates, which was then for the moſt part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas* one of the Kings of *Sparta*, with three hundred *Lacedæmonians*, aſſiſted with one thouſand *Tegeatæ* and *Mantineans*, one thouſand *Arcadians*, and other *Peloponneſians*, to the number of three thouſand one hundred in the whole; beſides one thouſand *Phocians*, four hundred *Thebans*, ſeven hundred *Theſpians*, and all the forces (ſuch as they were) of the bordering *Locrians*, defended the paſſage two whole dayes together againſt that huge Army of the *Perſians*. The valour of the *Greeks* appeared ſo excellent in this defence, that in the firſt dayes fight, *Xerxes* is ſaid to have three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the deſtruction of his Army by one handful of thoſe men whom not long before he had utterly deſpiſed: and when the ſecond dayes attempt upon the *Greeks* had proved vain, he was altogether ignorant how to proceed further; and ſo might have continued, had not a runnagate *Grecian* taught him a ſecret way, by which part of his Army might aſcend the ledge of mountains, and ſet upon the backs of thoſe who kept the Straits. But when the moſt valiant of the *Perſian* Army had almoſt incloſed the ſmall forces of the *Greeks*, then did *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedæmonians* with his three hundred, and ſeven hundred *Theſpians*, which were all that abode by him, refuſe to quit the place which they had undertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not only reſiſt that world of men which charged them on all ſides; but iſſuing out of their ſtrength, made ſo great a ſlaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquiſhers, though all of them were ſlain upon the place. *Xerxes*, having loſt in this laſt fight, together with twenty thouſand other Souldiers and Captains, two of his own brethren, began to doubt what inconvenience might befall him by the vertue of ſuch as had not been preſent at theſe battels, with whom he knew that he ſhortly was to deal. Eſpecially of the *Spartans* he ſtood in great fear, whoſe manhood had appeared ſingular in this trial, which cauſed him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring into the field. It is reported of *Dieneces* the *Spartan*, that when one thought to have terrified him by ſaying, That the flight of the *Perſian* Arrows was ſo thick as would hide the Sun, he anſwered thus; It is very good news, for then ſhall we fight in the cool ſhade.

Such notable resolution having as freely been expressed in deeds, as was uttered in words, caused the *Persian* to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the City of *Sparta* could arm well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, and that the other *Lacedæmonians*, though inferior to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counsel of *Demaratus*, a banished King of the *Spartans*, who had alwaies well advised and instructed him in the things of *Greece*, what course were fittest to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all the Land-forces should assemble together to defend the *Isthmus*, that streight neck of ground which joyneth *Peloponnesus* to the Continent. For which cause he advised, That three hundred ships well manned, should be sent unto the Coast of *Laconia*, to spoil the Country, and to hold the *Lacedæmonians* and their neighbours busied at home, whilst *Xerxes* at his leisure having subdued the rest, might afterward bring his whole power upon them, who remaining destitute of succour, would be too weak alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same *Demaratus* further advised, That the said Fleet of three hundred ships should seize upon the Island then called *Cythera*, now *Cerigo*, which lying near to the Coast of *Laconia*, might serve as a fit place of *Randezvous* upon all occasions, either of their own defence, or endamaging the enemy: whereby that ancient speech of *Chilon* the *Lacedæmonian* should be verified, that it were better for his Countrymen to have that Isle drowned in the Sea, than stand so inconveniently for them as it did. What effect this counsel might have taken, had it been followed, it is not easie to guess. But a contrary opinion of *Achæmenes*, Brother to King *Xerxes*, was preferred as the safer. For the *Persian* Fleet had been sorely vexed with a grievous tempest, which continued three whole daies together, wherein were lost upon the Coast of *Magnesia*, four hundred ships of War, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreseen, that if any such calamity should overtake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to give them succour. Therefore *Achæmenes* perswaded his Brother not to disperse his Fleet; for if (said he) after the loss of four hundred ships we shall send away other three hundred to seek adventures, then will the *Greeks* be strong enough by Sea to encounter the rest of the Navy, which holding all together, is invincible. To this counsel *Xerxes* yielded, hoping that his Land-Army and Fleet, should each of them stand the other in good stead, whilst both held one course, and lay not far asunder. But herein he was far deceived; for about the same time that his Army had felt the valour of the *Greeks* by Land, his Navy likewise made a sorrowful proof of their skill and courage at Sea. The *Grecians* Fleet lay at that time at *Artimesium*, in the straits of *Eubœa*, where the *Persians* thinking to encompass them, sent two hundred sail about the Island to fall upon them behind, using a like stratagem to that which their King did practise against *Leonidas*, in a case not unlike, but with far different success. For that narrow channel of the Sea, which divideth *Eubœa* from the main, was in the same sort held by a Navy of two hundred threescore and eleven sail against the huge *Persian* Armado, as the straits of *Thermopylæ* had formerly been maintained by *Leonidas*, till he was circumvented, as this Navy might have been, but was not. The departure of those two hundred ships that were sent about the Island, and the cause of their voyage, was too well known in the *Persian* Fleet, and soon enough disclosed to the *Greeks*, who setting sail by night, met them with a counter-surprize, taking and sinking thirty vessels, inforcing the rest to take the Sea; where, being over-taken with foul weather, they were driven upon the Rocks, and cast all away. Contrariwise, the Navy of the *Greeks* were increased by the arrival of fifty three *Athenian* ships, and one *Lemnian*, which came to their party in the last fight. As these new forces encouraged the one side, so the fear of *Xerxes* his displeasure stirred up the other to redeem their loss with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their unfortunate policy, they resolved in plain fight to repair their honour, and casting themselves into the form of a Crescent, thought so to include the *Greeks*, who readily did present them battel at *Artemisium*.

The fight endured from noon till night, and ended with equal loss to both parts. For, though more of the *Persians* ships were sunk and taken, yet the lesser loss fell altogether as heavy upon the *Greekish* Fleet, which being small, could worse bear it. Herein only the *Barbarians* may seem to have had the worse, that they forsook the place of fight, leaving the wrack and spoils to the enemy, who nevertheless were fain to abandon presently even the passage which they had undertaken to defend; both for that many of their ships were sorely crusht in the battel, and especially because they had received advertisement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylæ*. Before they weighed Anchors,

chors, *Themiſtocles*, General of the *Athenians*, engraved upon ſtone at the watering-place an exhortation to the *Ionians*, that either they ſhould revolt unto the *Greeks*, or ſtand neutral; which perſwaſion, he hoped, would either take ſome place with them, or at the leaſt make them ſuſpected by the *Perſians*.

§. IV.

The attempt of Xerxes *upon* Apollo's *Temple: and his taking of* Athens.

WHen *Xerxes* had paſt the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ*, he waſted the Country of the *Phocians*, and the regions adjoyning: as for the Inhabitants, they choſe rather to fly, and reſerve themſelves to a day of battel, than to adventure their lives into his hands, upon hope of ſaving their wealth, by making proffer unto him of their ſervice. Part of his Army he ſent to ſpoil the Temple of *Delphi*, which was exceeding rich by means of many Offerings that had been made by divers Kings, and great perſonages; of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inventory than of the goods left in his own Palace. To make relation of a great aſtoniſhment that fell upon the companies which arrived at the Temple to have ſacked it, and of two Rocks that breaking from the Mount *Parnaſſus*, overwhelmed many of the *Barbarians*, it were peradventure ſomewhat ſuperſtitious. Yet *Herodotus*, who lived not long after, ſaith, That the broken Rocks remained even to his memory in the Temple of *Minerva*, whither they rowled in their fall. And ſurely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for ſeeing he believed that *Apollo* was a god, he ſhould not have dared to entertain a covetous deſire of inriching himſelf by committing ſacrilege upon his Temple. Wherefore it may poſſibly be true, that licenſe to chaſtiſe his impiety, in ſuch manner as is reported, was granted unto the Devil, by that Holy One, who ſaith, *Will a man ſpoil his gods?* and elſewhere; *Hath any Nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Go to the Iſles of* Kittim, *and behold, and ſend to* Kedar, *and take diligent heed, and ſee whether there be any ſuch things.* Now this impiety of *Xerxes* was the more inexcuſable, for that the *Perſians* alledged the burning of *Cybele*'s Temple by the *Athenians*, when they ſet fire on the City of *Sardis* in *Aſia*, to be the ground and cauſe of the waſte which they made in burning of Cities and Temples in *Greece*. Whereas indeed, in the enterprize againſt *Delphos*, this vizzor of holy and zealous revenge falling off, diſcovered the face of covetouſneſs ſo much the more ugly, by how much the more themſelves had profeſſed a deteſtation of the offence which the *Athenians* had committed in that kind by meer miſchance.

Mal. 3. 8. *Jer.* 2. 9, 10.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expreſſed briefly thus: *He came to* Athens, *which finding forſaken, he took and burnt the Cittadel, and Temple, which was therein.* The Cittadel indeed was defended a while by ſome of more courage than wiſdom, who literally interpreting *Apollo*'s Oracle, *That* Athens *ſhould be ſafe in wooden walls*, had fortified that place with Boards and Paliſſadoes; too weak to hold out long, though by their deſperate valour ſo well maintained at the firſt aſſault, that they might have yielded it upon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relyed upon the Prophecy: whereof (being ſomewhat obſcure) it was wiſely done of *Themiſtocles*, to make diſcretion the Interpreter, applying rather the words to the preſent need, than faſhioning the buſineſs to words.

§. V.

How, Themiſtocles *the* Athenian *drew the* Greeks *to fight at* Salamis.

THe *Athenians* had, before the coming of *Xerxes*, removed their wives and children into *Trœzene*, *Ægina*, and *Salamis*, not ſo highly prizing their houſes and lands, as their freedom, and the common liberty of *Greece*. Nevertheleſs, this great zeal, which the *Athenians* did ſhew for the general good of their Country, was ill requited by the other *Greeks*, who with much labour were hardly intreated to ſtay for them at *Salamis*, whilſt they removed their wives and children out of the City. But when the City of *Athens* was taken, it was preſently reſolved upon, that they ſhould forſake the Iſle of *Salamis*, and withdraw the Fleet to *Iſthmus*: which neck of land they did purpoſe to fortifie againſt the *Perſians*, and ſo to defend *Peloponneſus* by Land and Sea, leaving the reſt of *Greece*, as indefenſible, to the fury of the enemy. So ſhould the Iſlands of *Salamis* and *Ægina* have been abandoned, and the Families of the *Athenians* (which were there beſtowed as in places of ſecurity) have been given over into mercileſs bondage. Againſt this reſolution, *Themiſtocles*, Admiral of the *Athenian* Fleet, very ſtrongly made oppoſition, but in vain. For the *Peloponneſians* were ſo poſſeſſed with fear of loſing their

own, which they would not hazard, that no perſwaſions could obtain of them to regard the eſtate of their diſtreſſed Friends and Allies. Many remonſtances *Themiſtocles* made unto them, to allure them to abide the enemy at *Salamis*: As firſt in private unto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedæmonian*, Admiral of the whole Fleet; That the ſelf-ſame fear which made them forſake thoſe coaſts of *Greece*, upon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no check at the firſt) cauſe them alſo to diſſever the Fleet, and every one of the Confederates to withdraw himſelf to the defence of his own City and Eſtate: Then to the Council of War, which *Eurybiades* upon this motion did call together (forbearing to object what want of courage might work in them hereafter;) he ſhewed, that the fight at *Iſthmus* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, having the fewer ſhips, to determine the matter in the ſtreights; and that, beſides the ſafeguard of *Ægina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they ſhould by abiding where they then were, ſufficiently defend *Iſthmus*; which the *Barbarians* ſhould not ſo much as once look upon, if the *Greeks* obtained victory by Sea; which they could not ſo well hope for elſewhere, as in that preſent place which gave him ſo good advantage. All this would not ſerve to retain the *Peloponneſians*, of whom one, unworthy of memory, upbraided *Themiſtocles* with the loſs of *Athens*, blaming *Eurybiades* for ſuffering one to ſpeak in the Council, that had no Country of his own to inhabit. A baſe and ſhameful objection it was, to lay as a reproach that loſs, which being voluntarily ſuſtained for the common good, was in true eſtimation by ſo much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignity did exaſperate *Themiſtocles*, and put into his mouth a reply ſo ſharp, as availed more than all his former perſwaſions. He told them all plainly, That the *Athenians* wanted not a fairer City than any Nation of *Greece* could boaſt of; having well-near two hundred good ſhips of War, the better part of the *Grecian* Fleet, with which it was eaſie for them to tranſport their Families and ſubſtance into any part of the World, and ſettle themſelves in a more ſecure habitation, leaving thoſe to ſhift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refuſed to ſtand by them. Herewithal he mentioned a Town in *Italy* belonging of old to the ſtate of *Athens*, of which Town he ſaid an Oracle had foretold, That the *Athenians*, in proceſs of time, ſhould build it a-new; and there (quoth he) will we plant our ſelves, leaving unto you a ſorrowful remembrance of my words, and of your own unthankfulneſs. The *Peloponneſians* hearing thus much, began to enter into better conſideration of the *Athenians*; whoſe affairs depended not, as they well perceived, upon ſo weak terms, that they ſhould be driven to crouch to others; but rather were ſuch, as might enforce the reſt to yield to them, and condeſcend even to the uttermoſt of their own demands.

For the *Athenians*, when they firſt embraced that Heroical reſolution, of leaving their grounds and houſes to fire and ruine, if neceſſity ſhould enforce them ſo far, for the preſervation of their liberty, did employ the moſt of their private wealth, and all the common treaſure, in building a great Navy. By theſe means they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no ſuch calamity ſhould befall them by Land, as might not well be counterpoiſed by great advantages at Sea: Knowing well, that a ſtrong Fleet would either procure victory at home, or a ſecure paſſage to any other Country. The other States of *Greece* held it ſufficient, if building a few new ſhips, they did ſomewhat amend their Navy. Whereby it came to paſs, that, had they been vanquiſhed, they could not have expected any other fortune, than either preſent death, or perpetual ſlavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, whoſe forces by Sea did equal all theirs together; the whole conſiſting of more than three hundred and fourſcore bottoms. Wherefore theſe *Peloponneſians* beginning to ſuſpect their own condition, which would have ſtood upon deſperate points, if the Fleet of *Athens* had forſaken them, were ſoon perſwaded, by the greater fear of ſuch a bad event, to forget the leſſer, which they had conceived of the *Perſians*; and laying aſide their inſolent bravery, they yielded to that moſt profitable counſel of abiding at *Salamis*.

§. VI.

How the Perſians *conſulted about giving battel: and how* Themiſtocles *by policy held the* Greeks *to their reſolution; with the victory at* Salamis *thereupon enſuing.*

IN the mean ſeaſon, the *Perſians* had entred into conſultation, whether it were convenient to offer battel to the *Greeks*, or no. The reſt of the Captains giving ſuch advice as they thought would beſt

pleaſe

pleaſe the King their Maſter, had ſoon agreed upon the fight; but *Artemiſia* Queen of *Halicarnaſſæus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this War in perſon, was of contrary opinion: Her counſel was, that the King himſelf directly ſhould march toward *Peloponneſus*, whereby it would come to paſs, that the *Greek* Navy (unable otherwiſe to continue long at *Salamis* for want of proviſion) ſhould preſently be diſſevered, and every one ſeeking to preſerve his own City and Goods, they ſhould, being divided, prove unable to reſiſt him, who had won ſo far upon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to give battel; ſo on the other ſide, the danger will be more (ſaid ſhe) which we ſhall undergo, than any need requireth us to adventure upon; and the loſs, in caſe it fall upon us, greater than the profit of the Victory which we deſire. For if we compel the enemies to fly, it is more than they would have done, we ſitting ſtill: but if they, as better Seamen than ours, put us to the worſt, the journey to *Peloponneſus* is utterly daſht, and many that now declare for us, will ſoon revolt unto the *Greeks*. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had ſent for that purpoſe to the Fleet, related unto his Maſter the common conſent of the other Captains, and withall this diſagreeing opinion of *Artemiſia*. The King, well pleaſed with her advice, yet reſolved upon following the more general, but far worſe counſel of the reſt; which would queſtionleſs have been the ſame which *Artemiſia* gave, had not fear and flattery made all the Captains utter that, as out of their own judgement, which they thought to be moſt conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeed that *Xerxes* had entertained a vain perſwaſion of much good, that his own preſence upon the ſhore to behold the conflict, would work among the Souldiers. Therefore he encamped upon the Sea-ſide, pitching his own Tent on the Mount *Ægaleus*, which is oppoſite unto the Iſle of *Salamis*, whence at eaſe he might ſafely view all which might happen in that action, having Scribes about him to write down the acts and behaviour of every Captain. The near approach of the *Barbarians*, together with the news of that timorous diligence which their Countrymen ſhewed in fortifying the *Iſthmus*, and of a *Perſian* Army, marching apace thither, did now again ſo terrifie and amaze the *Peloponneſians*, that no entreaty nor conteſtation would ſuffice to hold them together. For they thought it meer madneſs to fight for a Country already loſt, when they rather ſhould endeavour to ſave that which remained unconquered; propounding chiefly to themſelves what miſery would befall them, if, loſing the Victory, they ſhould be driven into *Salamis*, there to be ſhut up, and beſieged round in a poor deſolate Iſland.

Hereupon they reſolved forthwith to ſet ſail for *Iſthmus*; which had preſently been done, if the wiſdom of *Themiſtocles* had not prevented it. For he perceiving what a violent fear had ſtopt up their ears againſt all good counſel, did practiſe another courſe, and forthwith labour to prevent the execution of this unwholſome decree; not ſuffering the very hour of performance to find him buſie in wrangling altercation. As ſoon as the Council brake up, he diſpatched ſecretly a truſty Gentleman to the *Perſian* Captains, informing them truly of the intended flight, and exhorting them to ſend part of their Navy about the Iſland, which incompoſing the *Greeks*, might prevent their eſcape; giving them withall falſe hope of his aſſiſtance. The *Perſians* no ſooner heard than believed theſe good news, well knowing that the Victory was their own aſſured, if the *Athenian* Fleet joyned with them; which they might eaſily hope, conſidering what ability their Maſter had to recompence for ſo doing, both the Captains with rich rewards, and the people with reſtitution of their City, and Territories. By theſe means it fell out, that when the *Greeks* very early in the morning were about to weigh Anchor, they found themſelves incloſed round with *Perſians*, who had laboured hard all that night, ſending many of their ſhips about the Iſle of *Salamis*, to charge the enemy in rear, and landing many of their men in the Iſle of *Pſittalea*, which lyeth over againſt *Salamis*, to ſave ſuch of their own, and kill ſuch of the *Grecian* party, as by any misfortune ſhould be caſt upon the ſhore. Thus did meer neceſſity enforce the *Grecians* to undertake the battel in the ſtraights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable Victory, ſtemming the foremoſt of their enemies, and chaſing the reſt, who falling foul one upon another, could neither conveniently fight nor fly. I do not find any particular occurrences in this great battel to be much remarkable. Sure it is, that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a weariſom taſk of writing down many diſaſters that befell the *Perſian* Fleet, which ill acquitted it ſelf that day, doing no one piece of ſervice worthy the preſence of their King, or the regiſtring of his Notaries. As for the *Greeks*, they might well ſeem to have wrought out that Victory with equal courage, were it not that the

principal

principal honour of that day was ascribed to those of *Ægina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did fly towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-Army of *Xerxes* lay, the ships of *Ægina* having possest the Straights, did sink or take them, whilst the *Athenians* did valiantly give charge upon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of resisting.

§. VII.

Of things following after the battel of Salamis : *and of the flight of* Xerxes.

After this Victory, the *Greeks* intending by way of Scrutiny, to determine which of the Captains had best merited of them, in all this great Service; every Captain, being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write down his own name, but, in the second place, as best deserving next unto himself, almost every Suffrage did concur upon *Themistocles*. Thus private affection yielded unto vertue, as soon as her own turn was served. The *Persian* King, as not amazed with this calamity, began to make new preparation for continuance of War; but in such fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper, might easily discern his faint heart through his painted looks. Especially *Mardonius*, Author of the War, began to cast a wary eye upon his Master, fearing lest his counsel should be rewarded according to the event. Wherefore purposing rather to adventure his life in pursuit of the Victory, than to cast it away by undergoing his Princes indignation, he advised the King to leave unto him three hundred thousand men, with which forces he promised to reduce all *Greece* under the subjection of the *Persian* Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not to sooth *Xerxes* with many fair words, telling him, That the cowardise of those *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like metal, nothing better than slaves, who had so ill behaved themselves in the late Sea-service, did not concern his honour, who had alwayes been victorious, and had already subdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athens* it self, against which the War was principally intended. These words found very good acceptance in the Kings ear, who presently betook himself to his journey homewards, making the more haste, for that he understood, how the *Greeks* had a purpose to sail to *Hellespont*, and there to break down his bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was that the *Greeks* had no such intent, but rather wished his hasty departure, knowing that he would leave his Army not so strong, as it should have been, had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did *Eurybiades* give counsel, that by no means they should attempt the breaking of that bridge, lest necessity should enforce the *Persians* to take more courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beasts. Wherefore *Themistocles* did, under pretence of friendship, send a false advertisement unto this timerous Prince, advising him to convey himself into *Asia* with all speed, before his bridge were dissolved: which counsel *Xerxes* took very kindly, and hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that he found the bridge whole, and thereby repassed into *Asia*; or whether it were torn in sunder by tempests, and he thereby driven to imbark himself in some obscure vessel, it is not greatly material; though the *Greeks* did most willingly imbrace the latter of these reports. Howsoever it were, this flight of his did well ease the Country, that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as Locusts, had before overwhelmed it.

§. VIII.

The negotiations between Mardonius *and the* Athenians, *as also between the* Athenians *and the* Lacedæmonians, *after the flight of* Xerxes.

Mardonius with his three hundred thousand had withdrawn himself into *Thessaly*, whence he sent *Alexander* the son of *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*, as Embassador to the *Athenians*, with promise of large amends for all their losses received; and of extending their Territories as far as their own desires; allowing them to retain their liberty and laws, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and assist him in that War.

The *Athenians* had now re-entred their City, but not as yet brought back their wives and children; for as much as they well perceived that the place could not be secure, till the Army of *Mardonius* was broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians*, understanding what fair conditions this Embassador would propound, were perplexed with very great fear, lest he should find good and ready acceptance. Hereupon, they likewise very speedily dispatch their Embassadors for *Athens*, who arriving before the *Macedonian* had audience, used the best of their perswasion to retain the *Athenians*

nians firm. They alledged, that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of War against the rest of *Greece*, but had only threatned the subversion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates arming themselves in defence of that City, were drawn into the quarrel, wherein the *Athenians* without much cruelty of injustice could not leave them. We know, said they, that ye have endured great calamities, losing the fruit of the grounds, and being driven to forsake the Town, the houses thereof be ruined, and unfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we undertake to maintain as our own, your wives and children amongst us, as long as the War shall continue, hoping that ye, who have alwayes procured liberty to others, will not now go about to bring all *Greece* into slavery and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promises are large, but their words and oaths are of no assurance. It was needless to use many arguments to the *Athenians*, who gave answer to *Alexander* in presence of the *Spartan* Embassadors; That whilst the Sun continued his course, they would be enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither Gold nor any riches, with which he might seek to make purchase of their liberty. Concerning the maintenance of their wives and children, it was a burden which they promised to sustain themselves, only desiring the *Lacedæmonians*, that with all speed they would cause their Army to march, forasmuch as it was not likely, that *Mardonius* would long sit still in *Thessaly*, having once received such a peremptory answer. In this their opinion of *Mardonius* his readiness to invade *Attica*, they found themselves nothing deceived. For he, as soon as *Alexander* had returned their obstinate purpose of resistance, did forthwith lead his Army towards them, and their City: they having now the second time quitted it, and conveyed themselves into places of more security abroad in the Country, where they expected the arrival of their confederates. From *Athens* he sent his Agent unto them, with instructions, not only to perswade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principal of them to his party. His hope was, that either the people, wearied with forsaking their houses so often, would be desirous to preserve them from fire, & to have those which were already laid waste, re-edified at the Kings charges: Or, if this affection took no place with them, but that needs they would rely upon their old confederats, whose succors did very slowly advance forwards, yet perhaps the leaders might be won with great rewards, to draw them to this purpose; all which projects, if they should fail, the destruction of *Athens* would be a good mean to please his Master, King *Xerxes*; who must thereby needs understand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece*, in the strongest part of their own Country. But his expectation was beguiled in all these. For the *Athenians* so little regarded his offers, that when one *Lycidas*, or (as *Demosthenes* calls him) *Cyrcilus*, advised the *Senate* to accept the conditions, and propounded them to the people; all the *Senators*, and as many as abiding without the Counsel-house, heard what he had said, immediately set upon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were fear or money, that had moved him to utter such a vile sentence. Yea, the women of *Athens*, and in the Isle of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counsel, and bad end, assembling together did enter his house there, and put his wife and children to the like execution. All this bravery notwithstanding, when they perceived the slackness of the *Peloponnesians* in giving them aid, they were fain to betake themselves to *Salamis* again, the old place of their security. Remaining there, and seeing little forwardness in those whom it most concerned to assist them, they sent very severe messages to *Sparta*, complaining of their slackness, and threatning withal, to take such course as might stand best with their own good, seeing that the common estate of all was so little regarded. These messengers were at the first entertained with dilatory answers; which every day grew colder, when as the *Peloponnesian* Wall, builded athwart the *Isthmus*, was almost finished. But as the *Lacedæmonians* waxed careless and dull, so the *Athenians* hotly pressed them to a quick resolution, giving them plainly to understand, that if they should hold on in those dilatory courses, it would not be long ere the City of *Athens* took a new course, that should little please them. All this while the *Persian* Fleet lay upon the coast of *Asia*, not daring to draw nearer unto *Greece*, as being now too weak at Sea. Likewise the *Greekish* Navy contained it self within the Harbours upon *Europe* side; both to do service where need should require at home, and withal to shun the danger which might have befallen any part of it, that (being distracted from the rest) had ventured over-far. So mutual fear preserved in quiet the Islands lying in the midst of the *Ægean* Seas. But it was well and seasonably observed by a Counsellor of *Sparta*, that the Wall upon *Isthmus* would serve

ſerve to little purpoſe for the defence of *Peloponneſus*, if once the *Athenians* gave ear to *Mardonius*: conſidering that many doors would be opened into that Demy-Iſland, as ſoon as the Enemy ſhould by winning the friendſhip of *Athens*, become the Maſter of the Seas about it. The *Lacedæmonians* upon this admonition, making better peruſal of their own dangers, were very careful to give ſatisfaction to the *Athenian* Embaſſadors, who not brooking their delayes, were upon point of taking leave, yea, as it ſeemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore diſpatching away five thouſand *Spartans* in the evening, under conduct of *Pauſanias*, they gave audience the next day to the Embaſſadors, whoſe complaints they anſwered with vehement proteſtations of their readineſs; deeply ſwearing that the Army of *Sparta* was already far upon the journey, and giving them leave to take up other five thouſand *Lacedæmonians*, out of the Region adjoyning, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though diſtaſting ſuch want of gravity, in a matter ſo important, were nevertheleſs contented with the final concluſion; and levying the number appointed of *Lacedæmonian* Souldiers, made what haſte they could to incamp in *Attica*. The other *Grecians* were nothing ſlack in ſending forth Companies, whoſe near approach cauſed *Mardonius* to forſake *Attica* as a rough Country, and therefore of much diſadvantage to Horſe, wherein conſiſted the beſt of his power. Before his departure he burnt the City of *Athens*, beating down the Walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly eſcaped the fury of War.

§. IX.

The great battel of Platæa.

IT were too long a rehearſal to ſhew all that happened in many ſkirmiſhes between the *Greeks* and him, in the Country of *Bœotia*, which *Mardonius* had choſen to be the ſeat of that War. Much time was ſpent before the quarrel was decided by the trial of one main battel: for both parties did ſtand upon their guard, each expecting when the other ſhould aſſail them.

The Army of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thouſand, which were by him choſen out of *Xerxes* his Army; to whom were adjoyned the forces of *Thebes*, *Macedony*, *Theſſaly*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now ſiding with the *Perſian*, furniſhed his Camp with fifty thouſand men. Againſt theſe the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates, had leavied an Army of one hundred and ten thouſand, of which forty thouſand were weightily armed, the reſt were only aſſiſtants to theſe forty thouſand, being armed more ſleightly, as rather to make excurſions and give chaſe, than to ſuſtain any ſtrong charges.

Theſe two Armies having eleven dayes confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of ſervice; *Mardonius*, whoſe victuals began to fail, reſolved to begin the fray. The *Greeks* were promiſed Victory by an *Oracle*, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plain of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, making prayers unto certain gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphs. But it was hard to find the certain place which the *Oracle* deſigned: For the plain of *Ceres* was indeed in the Territory of *Athens*; but there was alſo an old Temple of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, near unto the place where they lay at that time encamped; as likewiſe the memorials of thoſe Nymphs and Demi-gods, were in the ſame place, upon Mount *Cithæron*; and the ground ſerved well for footmen againſt horſe; only the Land belonged unto the *Platæans*, and not unto the *Athenians*.

Whilſt the *Greeks* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtful *Oracle*, the *Platæans*, to make all clear, did freely beſtow their Land on that ſide the Town upon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Platæans* cauſed *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to re-edifie their City; which was ruined in the *Peloponneſian* Wars.

All things being ready for battel, the *Lacedæmonian* General thought it moſt meet, that the *Athenians* ſhould ſtand oppoſite that day to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, whom they had formerly vanquiſhed at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, ſhould entertain the *Thebans* and other *Greeks* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them oftentimes before. This being agreed upon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedæmonians*; which *Mardonius* underſtanding, (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whoſe valour the *Medes* and *Perſians* had felt heavy proof, or deſiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the braveſt Souldiers in *Greece*) he did alſo change the order of his battel, and oppoſe himſelf to *Pauſanias*. All the *Greeks* might well perceive how the Enemy did ſhift his wings, and *Pauſanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did alſo the like. So one whole day was ſpent in changing to and fro.

Some

Some attempt the *Perſians* made that day with their Archers on horſe-back, who did ſo moleſt the *Greeks* at their watering-place, that they were fain to enter into conſultation of retiring; becauſe they could not without much loſs to themſelves, and none to the enemy, lye near to that fountain which did ſerve all the Camp. Having therefore concluded among themſelves to diſ-lodge; and part of the Army being ſent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceived their departure in the morning, and thereupon being incouraged by their flight, (which to him ſeemed to proceed out of meer cowardiſe) he charged them in the rear with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, That the *Lacedæmonians* being over-taken by the enemies horſe, and over-whelmed with great flights of Arrows, did quietly ſit ſtill, not making any reſiſtance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and ſlain, and ſome of eſpecial mark loſt, before any ſign of good ſucceſs appeared in the entrails.

But as ſoon as *Pauſanias* had found in the Sacrifice thoſe tokens, which the ſuperſtition of that Age and Country accounted fortunate; he gave the Signal of battel: and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did ſit upon the ground, as was their manner, aroſe altogether, and with excellent courage received the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging upon them without any fear of ſuch notable reſiſtance. The reſt of the *Greek* Army that was in march, being revoked by *Pauſanias*, came in apace to ſuccour the *Lacedæmonians*: only that part of the Army which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arrive unto the place of the great battel, becauſe the *Thebans*, and other *Greeks* confederated with the *Perſians*, gave them check by the way. Nevertheleſs, the *Spartans*, with other their aſſiſtants, did ſo well acquit themſelves, that the *Perſians* were vanquiſhed, and *Mardonius* with many thouſands more ſlain in the field; the reſt fled into the Camp, which they had fortified with wooden Walls, and there defended themſelves with ſuch courage, as deſperate neceſſity inforced them unto, holding out the longer, becauſe the *Lacedæmonians* were not acquainted with the manner of aſſaulting Fortreſſes, and Walls. In the mean time the *Athenians* having found ſtrong oppoſition of the *Thebans* and *Theſſalians*, did with much labour and courage obtain victory, which having not long purſued, they came to help the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they found warily buſied in aſſaulting the Camp, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themſelves undertook it, and in ſhort ſpace forced a paſſage thorow the Wall; at which breach firſt, and then on all ſides, the *Greeks* entred with ſuch fury, and juſt deſire of vengeance, that of three hundred thouſand, they are ſaid not to have left three thouſand alive, excepting thoſe who fled away with *Artabazus*, when as the *Perſian* Army firſt fell to rout.

If the execution were ſo great, as is reported, an eſpecial cauſe of it was the fooliſh retreat, or rather flight into the Camp. For, though it were ſo, that the place was well fortified, and the number of thoſe who caſt themſelves into it greater than any of the Aſſailants; yet they being of ſeveral Nations and Languages, and having loſt their General, with other principal Commanders, it was impoſſible that they in ſuch a terrour and aſtoniſhment ſhould make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemy-Country, againſt an Army of men, far more valiant than themſelves, and enflamed with preſent victory. Therefore the ſame Wall, which for a few hours had preſerved their lives, by holding out the enemy, did now impale them, and leave them to the ſlaughtering fury of unpitiful Victors. *Artabazus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Theſſaly*, and other Countries in his way, that he was ſent by *Mardonius* upon ſome piece of ſervice: For he well knew, that had they underſtood any thing of that great diſcomfiture, all places would have been hoſtile unto him, and ſought with his ruine to purchaſe favour of the vanquiſhers. Therefore making ſo large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble, were left behind and loſt, he came to *Byzantium*, whence he ſhipped his men over into *Aſia*. Such was the end of the vain-glorious Expedition, undertaken by *Xerxes* againſt the *Greeks*, upon hope of Honour, and Conqueſt, though ſorting otherwiſe, accordingly as *Artabazus* had foreſeen, and rather worſe, foraſmuch as it began the quarrel, which never ended before the ruine of the *Perſian* Empire was effected by that Nation of the *Greeks*, deſpiſed and ſought to have been brought into ſlavery. Hereby it may ſeem, that the viſion appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himſelf, who had formerly diſpoſed of thoſe things, ordaining the ſubverſion of the *Perſian* Monarchy by the *Greeks*, who thus provoked, entred into greater conſideration of their own ſtrength, and the weakneſs of their Enemies.

§. X.

The Battel of Mycale; *with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning: and examples of the like.*

THe same day on which the Battel was fought at *Platæa*, there was another Battel fought at *Mycale*, a Promontory, or Head-land in *Asia*, where the *Persian* Fleet rode.

Lutychides the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, Admirals of the *Greek* Navy, at the request of some Illanders and *Ionians*, did sail into those parts, to deliver the *Samians*, and procure the *Ionians* to revolt from the *Persian*. *Xerxes* himself at this time lay at *Sardis*, a City in *Lydia*, not far from the Sea-side, having left threescore thousand under the command of *Tigranes*, for defence of *Ionia*, and the Sea-coast. Therefore when *Artayntes*, and *Ithramitres*, Admirals of the *Persian* Fleet, understood that the *Greeks* bent their course towards them, they did forth-with draw their ships aground, fortifying with *Palissadoes*, and otherwise, as much ground as was needfull for the encamping of all their Land and Sea-forces. *Leutychides* at his arrival, perceiving that they meant to keep within their strength, and resolving to force them out of it, rowed with his Gally close aboard the shore, and called upon the *Ionians* (who more for fear, than good will, were encamped among the *Persians*) exhorting them in the *Greek* tongue to remember liberty, and use the fair occasion which they now had to recover it. Herein he did imitate *Themistocles*, who had done the like at *Eubœa*, trusting that either these perswasions would prevail, or, if the *Persians* did happen to understand them, that it would breed some jealousie in them, causing them to fight in fear of their own companions. It need not seem strange, that this very same stratagem, which little or nothing availed *Themistocles*, did now very happily succeed. For *Xerxes* being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficulty, to perswade those Inhabitants of *Asia* to revolt; who now in his declining estate, gave a willing ear to the sweet sound of liberty. The *Persians* likewise, who in their former bravery, little regarded, and less feared, any treason to be contrived by their subjects, were now so wary, that from the *Samians* which were amongst them, they took away their arms; the *Milesians*, whom they did suspect, but would not seem to mistrust, they placed far from them, as it were for defence of the streight passages of *Mycale*; pretending that these *Milesians* did best of all others know those places. But these devices little availed them. For the *Samians* perceiving that they were held as Traitors, took courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold upon such weapons as came to hand, assailed the *Persians* manfully, within the Camp; which examples the *Ionians* presently followed, being very glad to have found some that durst begin. It is said, that while the *Greeks* were yet in a march toward the Enemies Camp, a rumour suddenly ran in the Army, that *Mardonius* was overthrown in *Greece*, which (though perhaps it was given out by the Captains to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the Battel of *Platæa* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the evening of the same day.

The like report of that great Battel, wherein *Paulus Æmilius* overthrew *Perseus* the last King of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in four dayes, as *Livie* with others do record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kind. As that of the Battel by the River *Sagra* in *Italy*, which was heard of, the same day in *Peloponnesus*: That of the Battel against the *Tarquinians* and the *Latins*, presently noised at *Rome*: And (which is most remarkable) the victory obtained against *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebel to *Domitian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lieutenant of the higher *Germany*, had corrupted his Army with gifts and promises, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himself Emperour; which news much troubling the City of *Rome*, with fear of a dangerous War, it was suddenly reported, that *Antonius* was slain, and his Army defeated.

Hereupon many did offer sacrifice to the gods, and shew all manner of publick joy, as in such cases was accustomed. But when better inquiry was made, and the Author of these tydings could not be found, the Emperour *Domitian* betook himself to his journey against the Rebel; and being now with his Army in march, he received advertisement by Post, of the Victory obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembring the rumour noised before in *Rome*, of the self-same victory, he found that the report and victory were born upon one day, though twenty thousand furlongs (which make above five and twenty hundred miles) asunder. It is truly said of *Plutarch*, that this last example gives credit unto many the like. And indeed it were very strange, if among so many rumours, begotten by forgery or mistakings, and fostered by credulous imagination, there should not be found

found (as happens in dreams among many thousand vain and frivolous) a few precisely true. Howbeit we may find, that God himself doth sometimes use to terrifie those who presume upon their own strength, by these light means of tumultuous noises: as he raised the siege of *Samaria*, by causing a sound of Horses and Chariots to affright the *Aramites*; and as he threatned *Senacherib*, saying, *Isa.* 37. 7. *Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a noyse, and return to his own Land.* Wherefore it may well have been true, that God was pleased by such means as this, to animate the *Greeks*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heavy hearts, being in great fear, lest their own adventure should by no means fall out well; considering in what danger they had left their own Country of *Greece*, which was ready to be subdued by *Mardonius*, whilest they went wandring to seek out Enemies a-far off, upon the coast of *Asia*. But, the fame of the Battel fought at *Platæa* being noised among them, every man desired that his own valour in the present fight, might be some help to work out the full deliverance of *Greece*. In this alacrity of spirit, they divided themselves into two Battalions, whereof the *Athenians* led the one, by the way of the plain, directly towards the Enemies Camp; the *Lacedæmonians* conducted the other, by the Mountains and streight passages, to win the higher ground. The *Athenians* did first set upon the Camp (ere the *Lacedæmonians* could arrive on the other part) and being desirous to get all the honour of the day to themselves, did so forcibly assault it, that they brake way thorow the Palisadoes and Gabions, and made themselves Masters of the place, slaying all that could not save themselves by flight. In this fight the *Samians* did good service, as is formerly mentioned.

But the *Milesians*, who upon the like jealousie, were placed by the *Persians* on the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the passages, did now (as if they had been sent of purpose to keep them from running away) put as many to the sword as fell into their hands, letting none escape, except very few, that fled through by-paths. The *Lacedæmonians* that day did little service, for the business was dispatched ere they came in: Only they broke such companies as retired in whole troops; making them flie dispersed in very much disorder, whereby the *Milesians* were enabled to do the greater execution upon them. This was the last fight of that huge Army levied against *Greece*, which was now utterly broken, and had no means left to make offensive War.

§. XI.

Of the barbarous qualities of Xerxes: *with a transition from the* Persian *affairs to matters of* Greece, *which from this time grew more worthy of regard.*

Xerxes lay at *Sardis*, not far from the place of this Battel; but little mind had he to revenge either this, or other his great losses, being wholly given over to the love of his Brothers Wife: with whom he could not prevail by intreaty, nor would obtain his desire by force. Because he respected much his Brother her Husband, he thought it best to make a match between his own Son *Darius*, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that means to find occasion of such familiarity as might work out his desire. But whether it were so, that the chastity of the Mother did still reject him, or the beauty of the Daughter allure him, he soon after fell in love with his own Sons Wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to govern himself in peace, as to guide his Army in war. This young Lady having once desired the King to give her the Garment which he then wore, being wrought by his own Wife, caused the Queen thereby to perceive her Husbands conversation with her, which she imputed not so much to the beauty of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon she conceived extreme hatred. Therefore at a Royal Feast, wherein the custom was, that the King should grant their request, she craved that the Wife of *Masistes*, her Husbands Brother, the young Ladies Mother, might be given into her disposition. The barbarous King, who might either have reformed the abuse of such a custom, or have deluded the importunate cruelty of his Wife, by threatning her self with the like, to whatsoever she should inflict upon the innocent Lady, granted the request; and sending for his Brother, perswaded him to put away the Wife which he had, and take one of his Daughters in her stead. Hereby it seems, that he understood how villainously that poor Lady should be intreated, whom he knew to be virtuous, and whom himself had loved. *Masistes* refused to put her away; alledging his own love, her deserving, and their common children, one of which was married to the Kings Son, as reasons important to move him to keep her. But in most wicked manner *Xerxes* reviled him, saying, That he now should neither keep the Wife which he had, nor have his Daughter whom he had

promiſed unto him. *Maſiſtes* was much grieved with theſe words, but much more, when returned home, he found his Wife moſt butcherly mangled by the Queen *Ameſtris*, who had cauſed her Noſe, Lips, Ears, and Tongue to be cut off; and her Breaſts in like manner, which were caſt unto Dogs. *Maſiſtes* enraged with this villany, took his way with his children, and ſome friends, towards *Bactria*, of which Province he was Governour, intending to rebell and avenge himſelf: But *Xerxes* underſtanding his purpoſe, cauſed an Army to be levied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Company to the ſword. Such was the Tyrannical condition of the *Perſian* Government; and ſuch are generally the effects of Luxury, when it is joyned with abſolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that he was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great, finding an Image of his overthrown, and lying upon the ground, ſaid, That he doubted, whether in regard of his virtue, he ſhould again erect it; or, for the miſchief done by him to *Greece*, ſhould let it lye. But ſurely, whatſoever his other good qualities were, he was fooliſh, and was a coward, and conſequently mercileſs.

Therefore we may firmly believe, that the virtue of *Cyrus* was very great, upon which the foundation of the *Perſian* Empire was ſo ſurely laid, that all the wickedneſs and vanities of *Xerxes*, and other worſe Princes, could not overthrow it, until it was broken by a virtue almoſt equal to that which did eſtabliſh it. In wars againſt the *Egyptians*, the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the firſt it had been, very good; but againſt the general eſtate of *Greece*, neither he, or any of his poſterity, did ever make offenſive war, but received many loſſes in *Aſia*, to which the laſt at *Mycale* ſerved but as an introduction; teaching the *Greeks*, and eſpecially the *Athenians*, that the *Perſian* was no better Souldier at his own doors, than in a forein Countrey: whereof good trial was made forth-with, and much better proof as ſoon as the affairs of *Athens* were quietly ſetled and aſſured.

From this time forward I will therefore purſue the Hiſtory of *Greece*, taking in the matters of *Perſia*, as alſo the eſtate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time ſhall preſent them. True it is, that the *Perſian* eſtate continued in her greatneſs, many ages following, in ſuch wiſe, that the known parts of the world had no other Kingdom, repreſenting the Majeſty of a great Empire.

But this greatneſs depended only upon the riches and power that had formerly been acquired, yielding few actions, or none, that were worthy of remembrance, excepting ſome Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that exceſſive Luxury, wherewith both it, and all, or the moſt of Empires that ever were, have been enervated, made unwieldy, and (as it were) fattened for the hungry ſwords of poor and hardy Enemies. Hereby it came to paſs, that *Xerxes* and his ſucceſſors were fain to defend their Crowns with money & baſe policies; very ſeldom or never (unleſs it were with great advantage) daring to adventure the tryal of plain battel with that little Nation of *Greece*; which would ſoon have ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not private malice and jealouſie urged every City to envy the height of her neighbours walls, and thereby diverted the ſwords of the *Greeks* into their own bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* began very well, and might better have continued, to hew out the way of Conqueſt, on the ſide of *Aſia*.

CHAP. VII.

Of things that paſſed in Greece *from the end of the* Perſian *War, to the beginning of the* Peloponneſian.

§. I.

How Athens *was re-built and fortified.*

AFter that the *Medes* and *Perſians* had received their laſt blow, and were utterly beaten at *Mycale*: *Leutichydes*, who then commanded the *Græcian* Army, leaving the purſuit of the War to the *Athenians*, aſſiſted by the revolted *Iones*, returned with the *Lacedæmonians* and other *Peloponneſians* to *Sparta*, and

and other places, out of which they had been leavied. The *Athenians* in the mean while beſieged *Seſtos*, a City on the ſtrait of the *Helleſpont*, between which and *Abydus*, *Xerxes* had lately faſtened his Bridge of Boats: where the Inhabitants, deſperate of ſuccour, did not long diſpute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the *Greeks*, who entertained themſelves the Winter following on that ſide the *Helleſpont*. In the Spring they drew homeward, and having left their wives and children, ſince the invaſion of *Attica*, and the abandoning of *Athens*, in divers Iſlands, and at *Trœzen*, they now found them out, and returned with them to their own places.

And though the moſt part of all their houſes in *Athens* were burnt and broken down, and the walls of the City over-turned, yet they reſolved firſt on their common defence, and to fortifie their City, before they cared to cover themſelves, their wives and children, with any private buildings. Whereof the *Lacedæmonians* being advertiſed, and miſliking the fortifying of *Athens*, both in reſpect that their own City of *Sparta* was unwalled, as alſo becauſe the *Athenians* were grown more powerfull by Sea, than either themſelves, or any other State of *Greece*, they diſpatched meſſengers to the *Athenians* to diſſwade them; not acknowledging any private miſlike or jealouſie, but pretending, that if the *Perſians* ſhould return to invade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no better ſtate to defend themſelves than heretofore, the ſame would ſerve to receive their enemies, and to be made a Seat for the War, as *Thebes* had lately been. To this the *Athenians* promiſed to give them ſatisfaction by their own Embaſſadours very ſpeedily. But being reſolved to go on with their works, by the advice of *Themiſtocles*, they held the *Lacedæmonians* in hope of the contrary, till they had raiſed their walls to that height, as they cared not for their miſlikes, nor doubted their diſturbance; and therefore (to gain time) they diſpatched *Themiſtocles* towards *Lacedæmon*, giving him for excuſe, that he could not deliver the *Athenians* reſolutions, till the arrival of his fellow-Commiſſioners, who were of purpoſe retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedæmonians* expectation being converted into jealouſie (for by the arrival of divers perſons out of *Attica*, they were told for certain, That the walls of *Athens* were ſpeedily grown up beyond expectation) *Themiſtocles* prayed them not to believe reports and vain rumors, but that they would be pleaſed to ſend ſome of their own truſty Citizens to *Athens*, from whoſe relation they might reſolve themſelves, and determine accordingly. Which requeſt being granted, and Commiſſioners ſent, *Themiſtocles* diſpatched one of his own, by whom he adviſed the *Athenians*, firſt to entertain the *Lacedæmonians* with ſome ſuch diſcourſe as might retain them a few dayes, and in concluſion to hold them among them, till himſelf, and the other, *Athenian* Embaſſadours, then at *Sparta*, had their liberty alſo to return. Which done, and being alſo aſſured by his aſſociats and *Ariſtides*, that *Athens* was already defenſible on all parts, *Themiſtocles* demanding audience, made the *Lacedæmonians* know, That it was true that the walls of *Athens* were now raiſed to that height, as the *Athenians* doubted not the defence of their City; praying the *Lacedæmonians* to believe, That whenſoever it pleaſed them to treat with the *Athenians*, they would know them for ſuch as right well underſtood what appertained to a Common-weal and their own ſafety, without direction and advice from any other: That they had in the War of *Xerxes* abandoned their City, and committed themſelves to the wooden Walls of their Ships, from the reſolutions of their own counſels and courage, and not thereto taught or perſwaded by others: and finally, in all that perilous War againſt the *Perſians*, they found their own judgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferiour, or leſs fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Common-weal among the *Greeks*. And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Maſters and Judges of their own affairs, and thought it good reaſon, that either all the Cities confedered within *Greece* ſhould be left open, or elſe that the Walls of *Athens* ſhould be finiſhed and maintained.

The *Lacedæmonians* finding the time unfit for quarrel, diſſembled their miſlike, both of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the diviſion; and ſo ſuffered the *Athenians* to depart, and received back from them their own Embaſſadors.

The Walls of *Athens* finiſhed, they alſo fortified the Port *Pyræus*, by which they might under covert imbark themſelves upon all occaſions.

§. II.

§. II.

The beginning of the Athenian *greatness, and prosperous War made by that State upon the* Persian.

THE *Athenians* having settled things in good order at home, prepared thirty Gallies for the pursuit of the War against the *Persians*, to which the *Lacedæmonians* added other twenty, and with this Fleet, strengthened by the rest of the Cities of *Greece* confederated, they set sail for *Cyprus*, under the conduct of *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian*; where, after their landing having possest themselves of many principal places, they imbarked the Army again, and took land in *Thrace*, recovering from the *Persians* by force the City *Bizantium*, now *Constantinople*: from whence *Pausanias*, behaving himself more like a Tyrant than a Captain, especially towards the *Ionians* lately revolted from *Xerxes*, was called back by the Council of *Lacedæmon*, and not only accused of many insolent behaviours, but of Intelligence with the *Medes*, and Treason against his Countrey. In his stead they imployed *Dorces*, who either gave the same cause of offence; or else the *Athenians*, who affected the first commandement in that War, practised the Souldiers to complain; though indeed the wise and vertuous behaviour of *Aristides*, General of the *Athenian* forces, a man of rare and incomparable sincerity, had been able to make a good Commander seem ill in comparison of himself; and therefore was much more available, in rendring those detested, whose vices afforded little matter of excuse. Howsoever it were, the *Lacedæmonians* being no less wearied of the War, than the *Athenians* were eager to pursue it, the one obtained their ease, and the other the execution and honour which they desired: for all the *Greeks* (those of *Peloponnesus* excepted) willingly subjected themselves to the commandement of the *Athenians*, which was both the beginning of their greatness in that present age, and of their ruin in the next succeeding. For the charge of the War being now committed unto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities; they appointed Receivers and Treasurers, and began to levy mony, according to their discretion, for the maintenance of the general defence of *Greece*, and for the recovering of those places on *Europe* side, in *Asia* the less, and the Illands, from the *Persians*. This tribute (the first that was ever paid by the *Greeks*) amounted to four hundred and threescore Talents, which was raised easily by the honest care of that just man *Aristides*, to whose discretion all the confederates referred themselves, and no one man found occasion to complain of him. But as the vertue of *Aristides*, and other worthy Citizens, brought unto the *Athenians* great commodity; so the desire which they conceived of encreasing their commodity, corrupted their vertue, and robbing them of the general love, which had made them powerful, abandoned their City to the defence of her treasure, which with her in the next age perished. For it was not long ere these four hundred and threescore Talents were raised to six hundred; nor long after that, ere their covetous tyranny had converted their followers into slaves, and extorted from them yearly thirteeen hundred Talents. The Isle of *Delos* was at the first appointed for the Treasure-house wherein these sums were laid up, and where, at the general Assembly, the Captains of those forces, sent by the confederates, were for form sake called to consultation. But the *Athenians*, who were stronger by Sea than all *Greece* besides, had lockt up the common treasure in an Island, under their own protection, from whence they might transport it at their pleasure, as afterward they did.

The general Commander in this War was *Cimon*, the son of *Miltiades*, who first took *Eionia*, upon the River *Strimon*; then the Isle of *Sciros*, inhabited by the *Dolopes*: they mastered the *Caristii*, and brought into servitude the *Naxii*, contrary to the form of the confederacy: So did the other the inhabitants of *Greece*, if at any time they failed of their contribution, or disobeyed their commandements; taking upon them and usurping a kind of soveraign authority over the rest: which they exercised the more assuredly, because they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be resisted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, weary of the War in their own persons, and given up altogether to their ease, made choice rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of War, or in Ships; leaving the provision of both to the *Athenians*. Hereby the one grew weak in all their Sea-defences, and in the exercise of the Wars; the other greatly strengthened their Navy and their experiences, being alwayes armed and imployed in honourable services, at the cost of those, who having lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-money, levied upon these their confederates, employed so well by the *Athenians*,

at

at the first (as ill proceedings are often founded upon good beginnings) that no great cause of repining was given. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admiral scouring the Asiatick Seas, took in the City of *Phaselis*; which having formerly pretended neutrality, and refused to relieve, or any way assist the *Greeks*, were enforced to pay ten Talents for a fine, and so to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying yearly contribution.

From thence he set sail for the River *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the *Persian* Fleet rode, being of six hundred sail, or (according to the most sparing report) three hundred and fifty, and having a great Land-Army, encamped upon the shoar; all which forces having been provided for advancing the Kings affairs in *Greece*, were utterly defeated in one day, and two hundred ships taken by the *Athenians*; the rest being broken to pieces, or sunk, ere ever they had swom in the *Greekish* Seas. *Cimon* having in one day obtained two great Victories, the one by Sea, and the other by Land, was very soon presented with a third. For fourscore sail of *Phœnicians* (who were the best of all Sea-men, under the *Persian* command) thinking to have joyned themselves with the Fleet before destroyed, arrived upon the same Coast, ignorant of what had passed, and fearing nothing less than what ensued. Upon the first notice of their approach, *Cimon* weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-Land, called *Hydra*, did so amaze them, that they only sought to run themselves on ground; by which mean preserving few of their men, they lost all their ships. These losses did so break the courage of the *Persian*, that omitting all hope of prevailing upon *Greece*, he condescended to whatsoever Articles it pleased the *Athenians* to propound, granting liberty unto all the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia*; and further covenanting, That none of his ships of War should sail to the Westward of the Isles, called *Cyaneæ* and *Chelidonia*.

This was the most honourable peace that ever the *Greeks* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any War that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till such time as under *Alexander*, they overthrew the Empire of *Persia*; in which War, few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great command, but served altogether under the *Macedonians*.

§. III.

The death of Xerxes *by the treason of* Artabanus.

BEsides these losses, which could not easily have been repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time such, as gave just cause to the *Persian* of seeking peace upon any terms not altogether intollerable. For *Artabanus*, the Unkle of *Xerxes*, perceiving, that the King his Master did easily take small occasions to shed the blood of such, as in kindred or place were neer unto him, began to repose less hope of Safety in remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Soveraignty, by destroying a Prince that was so hated for his cruelty, and despised for his cowardise and misfortunes. Having conceived this Treason, he found means to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in such close manner, that (as if he himself had been innocent) he accused *Darius* the Son of *Xerxes*, and caused him to suffer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickedness he got the Kingdom, and held it seven months; or whether, intending the like evil to *Artaxerxes* the son of *Xerxes*, he was by him prevented and surprised, were hard to affirm any certainty. But all Writers agree upon this, That taken he was, and with his whole family put to death by extream torments, according to the sentence whereof the truth is more ancient than the Verse;

Rarò antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede pœna claudo.

Seldom the villain, though much haste he make,
Lame-footed Vengeance fails to overtake.

§. IV.

The banishment of Themistocles: *his flight to* Artaxerxes *newly reigning in* Persia; *and his death.*

ARtaxerxes being established in his Kingdom, and having so compounded with the *Athenians*, as the present necessity of his affairs required, began to conceive new hopes of better fortune against the *Greeks*, than he or his predecessors had ever hitherto found. For the people of *Athens*, when the *Persians* were chased out of *Greece*, did so highly value their own merit in that service, that they not only thought it fit for themselves to become the Commanders over many Towns and Islands of the *Greeks*, but even within their own walls, they would admit none other form of Government

vernment than meerly *Democratical*. Herein they were so insolent, that no integrity nor good desert was able to preserve the estate of any such as had born great office, longer, than by flattering the rascal multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended *Themistocles*; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatness upon popularity, yet now presuming upon his good services done to the State, he thought that with great reason they might grant him the liberty to check their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwise, they were so highly offended with his often rehearsing the benefits which they had received from him, that they laid upon him the punishment of *Ostracism*, whereby he was banished for ten years, as a man over-burthensome to the Commonwealth.

Before the time of his return was half expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the *Lacedæmonians*, who charged him of consulting with *Pausanias*, about betraying the whole Countrey of *Greece* unto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themistocles*, finding no place of security against the malice of two such mighty cities, was driven after many troublesom flights, and dangerous removings, to adventure himself into *Persia*, where he found *Artaxerxes* newly settled, and was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceived of advancing his affairs by the counsel and assistance of *Themistocles*, proved altogether fruitless. For when the *Athenians*, in favour of *Inarus* the *Lybian*, (who infested *Egypt*, causing it to rebell against the *Persian*) had sent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Army in *Egypt*, and scouring those Eastern Seas, to the great hinderance of *Artaxerxes*, and (for ought that I can understand) to the manifest breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King send his Letters to *Themistocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had given, of assuring the *Persian* estate against the *Greeks*.

But whether *Themistocles* perceived much unlikelines of good succes, in leading a great army of dastardly *Persians* against the warlike people of *Greece*; or else (as in favour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the love of his Countrey would not permit him to seek honour by the ruine of it; sure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to undertake the conduct of great forces against the *Athenians*, he decided the great conflict between thankfulnes to his well-deserving Prince, and natural affection to his own ill-deserving people, by finishing his life with a cup of poyson.

§. V.

How the Athenians, *breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the* Persian, *were shamefully beaten in* Egypt.

THen was *Artaxerxes* driven to use the service of his own Captains in the *Egyptian* war, wherein it appeared well, That a just cause is a good defence against a strong enemy. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred sail strong was sent forth under *Cimon*, to take in the Isle of *Cyprus*: which conquest seemed easie both to make and to maintain; the *Persian* being utterly broken at Sea, and thereby unable to relieve the Island. Now although it were so, that a peace had been concluded, which was likely to have been kept sincerely by the *Persian*, who had made so good proof of the *Græcian* valour, that he was nothing desirous to build any Ships of War (without which the *Greeks* could receive no harm from him): whereof if any one should be found sayling towards *Greece*, the peace was immediately broken; and, if not this whole estate, yet all the Sea-coast (no small part of his Dominions) exposed to the waste of an enemy too far overmatching him, Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, lest the league which in his own worser fortunes he had made with them, he would break in theirs; and therefore sought to get such assurance into their hands, as might utterly disable him from attempting ought against them; or whether the increase of their revenues and power, by adding that rich and great Island to their Empire, caused them to measure honour by profit; they thought it the wisest way, to take, whilest they might, whatsoever they were able to get and hold, and he unable to defend.

The Isle of *Cyprus* lying in the bottom of the streights between *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, is very fitly seated for any Prince of State, that being mighty at Sea, doth either seek to enrich himself by trade with those Countreys, or to infest one or more of them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpose of the *Athenians*, their Ambition which had already devoured, in conceit, this Island, was on the sudden well-nigh

nigh choaked with a greater morſell, to ſnatch at which, they let *Cyprus* alone, which they might eaſily have ſwallowed and digeſted. For *Inarus* King of the *Lybians*, confining *Egypt*, having found how greatly the Country was exhauſted by the late Wars, and how weakly defended by very ſlender *Perſian* Garriſons, conceived rightly, that if ſuch ſmall forces as the *Satrapa*, or *Viceroy*, could make on the ſudden of his own Guards, or levy out of the ordinary Garriſons, were by him defeated, the naturals of the Country not long ſince oppreſſed by *Cambyſes*, and, after a revolt, very lately ſubdued by *Xerxes*, would ſoon break faith with him, who had no other title to that Kingdom than a good ſword. Further, he perſwaded himſelf that the people, unable to defend themſelves againſt the *Perſian* without his aſſiſtance, would eaſily be drawn to accept him, the author of their deliverance, for King. Neither did this hope deceive him. For having taken and cruelly ſlain *Achemænes* the *Viceroy*, divers Cities forthwith declared themſelves for him, and proclaiming him King, ſhewed the moſt of their endeavour for proſecution of the War. But he conſidering his own weakneſs, and that the means of the *Egyptians* his adherents were not anſwerable to their deſires, perceived well, that to reſiſt the power of *Artaxerxes*, far greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price ſoever he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great *Athenian* Fleet, and knowing well the vertue of the Souldiers therein imbarqued; he invited the Commanders to ſhare with him the Kingdom of *Egypt*, as a far greater reward of their adventure, than ſuch an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their eſtate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly ſorted according to their expectation) would have been contented with an equal ſhare, and not have fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a divination unneceſſary. He was poſſeſſed of the peoples love, they were of moſt power. But the iſſue of thoſe affairs was ſuch as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they ſhared ſomewhat equally.

Yet had the beginning of their enterpriſe very good and hopefull ſucceſs: For they entred the Land, as far as to *Memphis*, the principal City; and of the City it ſelf they took two parts: to the third part, which was called, the White wall, they laid ſuch hard ſiege, that neither thoſe forces of the *Perſians*, which then were in *Egypt*, were ſtrong enough to remove them; neither could *Artaxerxes* well adviſe what means to uſe for the recovery of that which was loſt, or for the preſervation of the remainder. The beſt of his hope was, by ſetting the *Lacedæmonians* upon *Athens*, to enforce the *Athenians* to look homewards to their own defence. This was the firſt time that the *Perſian* ſought to procure the aſſiſtance of the *Greeks* one againſt the other, by ſtirring them up with gold, to the entertainment of private quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpoſe he ſent *Megabazus* to *Sparta* with much Treaſure; who after great expence, finding that the *Lacedæmonians* were nothing forward in employing their whole force againſt the *Athenians*, whom in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithſtanding the abſence of their Army in *Egypt*; he thought it his wiſeſt way to employ the reſt of his money and means, to their relief who had now the ſpace of ſix years defended his maſters right in *Egypt*. Therefore he haſtily diſpatched another of his name, the ſon of *Zopyrus*, who arriving in *Egypt*, was firſt encountred by the revolted people; over whom he obtained victory, which made him maſter of the Country, whilſt the *Athenians* lay buſied about *Memphis* the great City.

It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a ſtrange ayr, and want of ſupply, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*: ſure it is, that when *Megabazus*, having reduced the Country to obedience, attempted the City it ſelf, whether his former ſucceſs had amended the courage of the *Perſians*, or want of neceſſaries made the *Athenians* inferiour to themſelves, he chaſed them out of *Memphis*, and purſued them ſo near, as they were forced to fortifie themſelves in the Iſle of *Proſopites*, where *Megabazus*, after eighteen months ſiege, turning away one part of the River by divers Trenches, aſſaulted the *Athenians* without impediment of waters, took their Gallies, and put all to the ſword, ſave a few that ſaved themſelves by flight into *Lybia*; the ſame entertainment had fifty other Gallies, which they ſent to the ſuccour of the firſt two hundred. For thoſe *Athenians* having heard nothing that their Fleet and Army was conſumed, entred by the branch of *Nilus*, which is called *Mendeſium*, and fell unawares among the *Phœnician* Gallies, and the *Perſian* Army; ſo as the *Perſians* recovered all *Egypt*, but that part held by *Amyrteus*, and *Inarus* the King of *Lybia*, being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the *Athenians* ſix years War in *Egypt*, and the reward

Proſopites an Iſland between the Rivers of *Taly* and *Pharmutiacus*, two of the outlets of *Nilus* towards *Alexandria*.

Medenſus is an Iſland in the mouth of *Nilus*, between the outlet called *Buſiriticos*, and *Dielcos*: But the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendeſium*, runneth into the ſea by the City *Panæphyſis*.

of their vanity and indiſcretion to undertake many enterpriſes at once.

§. V.

Of other Wars made by the Athenians *for the moſt part with good ſucceſs, about the ſame time.*

NOtwithſtanding theſe overthrows in *Egypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home-Wars waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their advantage than otherwiſe. For as they were beaten near unto *Halia* by the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, ſo they obtained two great victories ſoon after; the one over the *Peloponneſians*, near unto *Cecryphalia*; the other over the *Æginets*, near unto *Ægina*, where they ſunk and carried away threeſcore and ten Gallies of their enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the ſudden, and beſieged *Ægina*, from whence they could not be moved, notwithſtanding that the *Corinthians*, to divert them, invaded *Megara*; where, after a great fight with equal loſs, the *Corinthians*, when they returned again to ſet up their *Trophie*, as Victors in the former battel, were utterly broken and ſlaughtered by the *Athenian* Garriſons, and *Megarians*, to their great loſs and diſhonour.

Again, as the *Athenians* were diſcomfited near to *Tangra*, by the *Lacedæmonians*, who returned from the ſuccour of the *Dorians* againſt the *Phocians* (at which time the *Theſſalian* horſemen turned from their Allies the *Athenians*, and fought againſt them) ſo about threeſcore dayes after, the *Athenians* entred *Bœotia* under the conduct of *Myronides*, where beating that Nation, they wan *Phocis* on the gulf of *Oeteus*, and evened the walls of *Tenagra* to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Ægina* to render upon moſt baſe conditions; as to beat down the walls of their City, and to give them hoſtages for Tribute; the ſiege whereof they had continued, notwithſtanding all their other brabbles and attempts elſewhere. Beſides theſe victories, they ſackt and ſpoiled many places upon the Sea-coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, belonging to the *Lacedæmonians*, wan upon the *Corinthians*, and overthrew the *Sicyonians* that came to their ſuccour. Theſe were the undertakings of the *Athenians*, and their Allies, during the time of thoſe ſix years, that a part of their forces made War in *Egypt*. In the end whereof they attempted *Theſſaly*, perſwaded thereunto by *Oreſtes*, but were reſiſted by the King *Pharſalus*, who had chaſed *Oreſtes* out of his Dominions. They alſo landed in *Sicyonia*, and had victory over thoſe that reſiſted; after which they made truce with the *Peloponneſians* for five years, and ſent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred ſhips; but they were again allured by *Amyrteus* one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Mariſh and Woody parts of *Egypt* from the *Perſians*, to whom they ſent ſixty of their ſhips. The reſt of their Army failing in their enterpriſe at *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coaſted the Iſland, incountred a fleet of the *Phœnicians* and *Cilicians*, over both which Nations they returned victorious into *Greece*: as alſo thoſe returned ſafe which were ſent into *Egypt*.

§. VI.

Of Artaxerxes Longimanus, *that he was* Ahaſhueroſh *the Husband of Queen* Heſter.

THeſe *Egyptian* troubles being ended, the reign of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable: whereof the length is by ſome reſtrained unto twenty years, but the more and better Authors give him forty, ſome allow unto him four and forty. He was a Prince of much humanity, and noted for many examples of gentleneſs. His favour was exceeding great to the *Jews*; as appeareth by the Hiſtories of *Eſdras* and *Nehemias*, which fell in his time.

To prove that this was the King who gave countenance and ayd to that great work of building the Temple, it were a needleſs travel; conſidering that all the late Divines have taken very much pains to ſhew that thoſe two Prophets were licenſed by him, and ſuccoured in that building, in ſuch ſort as appears in their writings.

This was likewiſe that King *Ahaſhueroſh* who married *Heſter*. Whereof if it be needfull to give proof, it may ſuffice, that *Ahaſhueroſh* lived in *Suſa*, reigning from *India* to *Æthiopia*, and therefore muſt have been a *Perſian*; That he lived in peace, as appears by the circumſtances of the Hiſtory, and uſed the counſel of the ſeven Princes, the authority of which Princes began under *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*; wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyſes*.

The continual Wars which exerciſed King *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, together with the certainty of his marriages with ſundry

ſundry wives, from none of whom he was divorced, but left his firſt wife *Atoſſa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, alive in great honour, ſhe being mother to *Xerxes* the ſucceeding King, do manifeſtly prove that *Heſter* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo* the *Jew*, That at the perſwaſion of *Mardochæus*, *Jojachim* the High Prieſt the ſon of *Jeſua*, cauſed the feaſt of *Purim* to be inſtituted in memory of that deliverance. Now the time of *Jojachim* was in the reign of *Artaxerxes*, at the coming of *Eſdras* and *Nehemias*: *Jeſua* his father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The ſame continuance of wars with other his furious and tragical loves wherewith *Xerxes* did conſume ſuch little time as he had free from war, are enough to prove, that the ſtory of *Heſter* pertained not unto the time of *Xerxes*, who lived but one and twenty years, whereas the two and thirtieth of *Ahaſuerus* or *Artaſaſtha* is expreſſed by *Nehemias*. Again, it is well known that *Xerxes* in the ſeventh year of his reign (wherein this marriage muſt have been celebrated) came not near to *Suſa*. Of the Princes that ſucceeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to prove that none of them could be *Ahaſhueroſh*, it is enough to ſay, that *Mardochæus* having been carried from *Hieruſalem* captive, with *Jechonia*, by *Nabuchadnezzar*, was unlikely to have lived until their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he lived in *Suſa*, reigned from *India* to *Æthiopia*, lived in peace, was contemporary with *Jojachim* the high Prieſt, and further he had happily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the rebellious *Egyptians* in that ſeventh year of his reign; which good fortune might well give occaſion to ſuch a Royal Feaſt, as is deſcribed in the beginning of *Heſter*. This is the ſumm of the arguments, brought to prove the age of *Heſters* ſtory by the learned and diligent *Krentzhemius*, who adds the authorities of *Joſephus*, affirming the ſame, and of *Philo* giving to *Mardochæus* eighteen years more than *Iſaac* the *Patriarch* lived, namely, one hundred fourſcore and eighteen years in all, which expire in the five and thirtieth year of this *Artaxerxes*, if we ſuppoſe him to have been carried away captive, being a Boy of ten years old.

§. VIII.

Of the troubles in Greece, *foregoing the* Peloponneſian *War.*

BUt it is fit that we now return to the affairs of the *Greeks*, who from this time forward, more vehemently proſecuting their civil wars, ſuffered the *Perſians* for many ages to reſt in peace: this *Egyptian* Expedition being come to nought. Soon after this, the *Lacedæmonians* undertook the war called *Sacred*; recovered the Temple and Iſle of *Delphos*, and delivered both to the Inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the ſame, and gave it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the mean while the baniſhed *Bœotians* re-entred their own Land, & maſtered two of their own Towns poſſeſt by the *Athenians*, which they ſoon recovered again from them; but in their return towards *Athens*, the *Bœotians*, *Eubœans*, and *Locrians* (Nations oppreſt by the *Athenians*) ſet upon them with ſuch reſolution, as the *Athenians* were in that fight all ſlain or taken, whereby the *Bœotians* recovered their former liberty, reſtoring to the *Athenians* their priſoners. The Iſlanders of *Eubœa* took ſuch courage upon this, that they revolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was advertiſed that the *Megarians* (who firſt left the *Lacedæmonians*, and ſubmitted themſelves to *Athens*) being now weary of their yoke, had ſlain the *Athenians* Garriſons, and joyned themſelves with the *Corinthians*, *Sycionians*, and *Epidaurians*. Theſe news haſtened *Pericles* homeward with all poſſible ſpeed; but ere he could recover *Attica*, the *Peloponneſians*, led by *Pliſtoanax* the ſon of *Pauſanias*, had invaded it, pillaged and burnt many parts thereof, after whoſe return *Pericles* went on with his firſt intent, and recovered *Eubœa*. Finally, the *Athenians* began to treat of peace with the *Peloponneſians*, and yielded to deliver up all the places which they held in the Countrey of *Peloponneſus*: and this truce was made for thirty years.

After ſix of theſe years were expired, the *Athenians* (favouring the *Myleſians* againſt the *Samians*) invaded *Samos* by *Pericles*; and after many repulſes, and ſome great loſſes, both by Sea & Land, the Citizens were forced to yield up themſelves upon moſt lamentable conditions: Namely, to deliver up all their ſhips, to break down their own wals, to pay the charge of the war, and to reſtore whatſoever had been taken by themſelves, or by their practice, from the *Athenians*. In the neck of which, followed that long and cruel

Peloponnesian War, whereof I have gathered this Brief following: the same contention taking beginning fifty years after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But because there was no City thereof, which either in the beginning of this war, or in the continuance of it, was not drawn into the quarrell; I hold it convenient now at the first to shew briefly the estate of the Countrey at that time, and especially the condition of those two great Cities, *Athens* and *Sparta*, upon which all the rest had most dependance.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponnesian *War.*

§. I.

Upon what terms the two principal Cities of Greece, Athens *and* Sparta, *stood at the beginning of the* Peloponnesian *War.*

GReece was never united under the Government of any one Prince or Estate, untill *Philip* of *Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to Union and League against the *Persians*, whereof they were Captains, than into any absolute subjection. For every Estate held their own, and were governed by Laws, far different, and by their own Magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yield obedience no otherwise than as to such, who were (perforce) their Leaders in the *Persian* war (deemed the General quarrel of *Greece*) and took the profit and honour of the victory, to their own use and increase of greatness. But the Kings which afterwards reigned in *Macedonia*, did so far enlarge their authority, that all *Greece* was by them brought under such obedience, as differed little from servitude; very few excepted, who could hardly, sometimes with arms, and sometimes with gifts, preserve their liberty: of whom the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* were chief; which two people deserved best the plague of tyranny, having first given occasion thereunto by their great ambition, which wearied and weakned all the Countrey by perpetual War. For, untill these two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* distracted all *Greece*, drawing every State into the quarrell, on the one or other side, and so gave beginning to the *Peloponnesian* War (the effects whereof in true estimation ceased not, before the time that *Philip* had overmastered all, forasmuch as every conclusion of one war afforded henceforth matter of some new distraction of the whole Country) the wars, commenced between one City of *Greece* and another, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controversies were soon decided, either by the authority of the *Amphictiones*, who were the general Councel of *Greece*, or by the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, whose aid was commonly held as good as the assurance of victory.

These *Lacedæmonians* had lived about four hundred years under one form of Government when the *Peloponnesian* War began. Their education was only to practise feats of Arms; wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equal to very great numbers of any other people. They were poor, and cared not much for wealth; every one had an equal portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintain him in such manner as they used. For bravery they had none, and curious building or apparel they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinary meals being in common Halls, where all fared alike. They used Money of Iron, whereof they could not be covetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they lived *Utopian*-like, save that they used no other occupation than War, placing all their felicity in the glory of their valour. Hereby it came to pass that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this. For they sought wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they used mercenary Souldiers in their wars, and exacted great tribute of their Subjects, which were for the most part Islanders compelled to obey them, because the *Athenian* fleet was great.

As in form of policy, and in course of life, so in conditions natural, the difference between

tween theſe two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, ſudden in their concluſions, and as haſty in the execution. The *Lacedæmonians* very ſlow in their deliberations, full of gravity, but very reſolute, and ſuch as would in cold blood perform what the *Athenians* did uſually in flagrant. Whereby it came to paſs, that the *Lacedæmonians* had all the Eſtates of *Greece* depending upon them, as on men firm and aſſured, that ſought honour, and not riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by ſuch as obeyed them perforce, being held in ſtreight ſubjection. But the Signiory of the *Athenians* was nothing large, untill ſuch time as the *Perſian Xerxes* had invaded *Greece*, pretending only a quarrel to *Athens:* For then the Citizens perceiving well, that the Town of *Athens* could not be defended againſt his great Army of ſeventeen hundred thouſand men, beſtowed all their wealth upon a Navy, and (aſſiſted by the other *Græcians*) overthrew the Fleet of *Xerxes*, whoſe Land-forces were ſoon after diſcomfited by them, and the *Greeks*, who all ſerved under conduct of the *Spartans*. After theſe victories, the *Athenians* being now very mighty in Fleet, reduced all the Iſlands of the *Greekiſh* Seas under their obedience; impoſing upon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of War againſt the *Perſian*; though indeed they imployed their forces chiefly, to the conqueſt of ſuch Iſlands and Haven-Towns of their Countrey-men, as ſtood out againſt them. All which was eaſily ſuffered by the *Lacedæmonians*, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in Expeditions to be made far from home. But afterwards perceiving the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much jealouſie, and were very apt to quarrel with them; but much more willing to breed contention between them and other Eſtates. Wherefore at ſuch time as the *Thebans* would have oppreſſed the *Platæans*, when they of *Platæa* repaired to *Sparta* for ſuccour, they found there no other aid, than this advice, That they ſhould ſeek help at *Athens*. Hereby it was thought, that the *Athenians* ſhould be intangled in a long and tedious War with their neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proved otherwiſe; for their force was now ſo great, that all ſuch occaſions did only ſerve to encreaſe their honour and puiſſance.

§. II.

How Sparta *and* Athens *entred into War.*

NEvertheleſs, many Eſtates of *Greece* were very ill-affected to *Athens*, becauſe that City grew very inſolent upon ſudden proſperity, and, maintaining the weaker Towns againſt the ſtronger, incroached apace upon their Neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Eſpecially the *Corinthians* were much inraged, becauſe the people of the Iſland *Corcyra*, their Colony which had rebelled againſt them, and given them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who deſired to increaſe their Fleet by adjoyning that of *Corcyra* unto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby defeated of that revenge, which elſe they would have taken. Now, howſoever it were ſo, that theſe dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly againſt the conditions of peace agreed upon among the *Greeks*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* ſo vehement, that (though with much ado) they concluded to redreſs by war the injuries done to their Allies.

Firſt therefore, ſeeking religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certain offences committed againſt the gods; whereto having for anſwer, That they themſelves ſhould expiate other the like offences, committed in *Sparta*, they began to deal plainly, and required that the people of ſome Towns, oppreſſed by the State of *Athens*, ſhould be ſet at liberty; and that a decree made againſt thoſe of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, ſhould be reverſed. This laſt point they ſo earneſtly preſt, that if they might obtain it, they promiſed to abſiſt from their purpoſe of making War.

This they deſired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by ſeeming to have obtained ſomewhat, they might preſerve their reputation without entring into a War, which threatned them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to undergo.

But the *Athenians* would yield to nothing; for it was their whole deſire that all *Greece* ſhould take notice how far they were from fear of any other City. Hereupon they prepared on both ſides very ſtrongly, all that was needful to the War; wherein the *Lacedæmonians* were Superiour, both in number and quality, being aſſiſted by moſt of the Cities in *Greece*, and having the general favour, as men that pretended to ſet at liberty ſuch as were oppreſſed: but the

Athenians

Athenians did as far exceed them in all provisions of money, shipping, engines, and absolute power of command among their Subjects; which they held, and afterward found of greater use in such need, than the willing readiness of friends, who soon grow weary, and are not easily assembled.

§. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian *War.*

THE first and second years Expedition was very grievous to the City of *Athens*. For the Fields were wasted, the Trees cut down, the Country people driven to flye, with Wives, Children, and Cattel into the Town; whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the City, such as before they had never felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the revolt of the *Mytilenians*, in the Isle of *Lesbos*, and the siege of *Platæa* their confederated City, which they durst not adventure to raise, besides some small overthrows received. The *Lacedæmonians* assembling as great forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Country of *Attica*, and therein abide, until victuals began to fail, wasting and destroying all things round about. The Governours of the *Athenians* would not suffer the people to issue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their enemies: but used to send a Fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which wasted as fast all the Sea-coast of their enemies, whilest they were making war in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by Land, wan the Town of *Platæa*, which wanted rescue; the *Athenians* likewise being more mighty by Sea, did subdue *Mytilene* which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings in that War the *Lacedæmonians* began to perceive how unfit they were to deal with such enemies. For after that *Attica* was throughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to do any offence equal to such harm as they themselves might, and did, receive. The Confederates began to set forward very slowly in their Expeditions into *Attica*; perceiving well that *Athens* was plentifully relieved with all necessaries, which came by the Sea from the Islands that were subject unto that Estate; and therefore these Invaders took but small pleasure in beholding the Walls of that mighty City, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a pattern of the calamities with which their own Territory was the whilst afflicted. Wherefore they began to set their care to build a strong Navy, wherein they had little good success, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ships, and were so skilfull in Sea-fights, that a few Vessels of theirs durst undertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

§. IV.

Of the great loss which the Spartans *received at* Pylus.

AMong other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea, they received at *Pylus* a very sore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A Fleet of *Athenian* ships bound for *Corcyra*, wasting in that passage, as their manner was, the coast of *Laconia*, and all the half-Isle of *Peloponnesus*, was by contrary winds detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontory, joyning to the Main, by a strange neck of Land. Before it there lyes a small barren Island of less than two miles compass, and within that a Creek, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being born off by the head-Land and Isle. This Promontory the *Athenians* fortified, as well as in haste they might; and what was wanting in their artificial fortification, was supplyed by the natural strength and site of the place. By holding this piece of ground, and haven, they in reason expected many advantages against their enemies. For the Country adjoyning was inhabited by the *Messenians*, who in ancient times had held very strong and cruel war with *Sparta*; and (though quite subdued) they were held in streight subjection; yet was not the old hatred so extinguished, that by the neer neighbourhood and assistance of the *Athenians*, it might not be revived. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedæmonians*, and as many of their bond-slaves as could escape from them, would repair to *Pylus*, and from thence make daily incursions into *Laconia*, which was not far off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this haven, lying almost in the mid-way between them and *Corcyra*, make them able to surround all *Peloponnesus*, and waste it at their pleasure. The news of these doings at *Pylus* drew the *Peloponnesians* thither in all haste out of *Attica*, which they had entred a few dayes before with their whole Army: but now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Navy to recover this piece, which how bad a neighbour it might prove in time, they well fore-saw, little fearing the grievous

loſs at hand, which they there in few daies received. For when they in vain made a general aſſault on all ſides, both by Sea and Land, finding that ſmall Garriſon which the *Athenians* had left, very reſolute in the defence, they occupied the haven, placing four hundred and twenty choice men, all of them Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Iſland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channel that leads into the Port; but ſo narrow, that only two ſhips in front could enter between the Iſle and *Pylus*; likewiſe but ſeven or eight ſhips could enter at once by the further channel, between the Iſland and the Main. Having thus taken order to ſhut up this new Town by Sea, they ſent part of their Fleet to fetch wood, and other ſtuff, wherewith to fortifie round about, and block up the piece on all ſides. But in the mean ſeaſon the *Athenian* Fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entring the haven, did break and ſink many of their enemies veſſels; took five, and ſo inforced the reſidue to run themſelves aground.

Now was the Town ſecure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Iſland as good as loſt. Wherefore the Magiſtrates were ſent from *Sparta* to the Camp (as was their cuſtom in great dangers) to adviſe what were beſt for the publick ſafety; who when they did perceive that there was no other way to reſcue their Citizens out of the Iſle, than by compoſition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* about peace, taking truce in the mean while with the Captains at *Pylus*. The conditions of the truce were, That the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould deliver up all the ſhips which were in the Coaſt, and that they ſhould attempt nothing againſt the Town, nor the *Athenians* againſt the Camp; That a certain quantity of Bread, Wine, and Fleſh, ſhould be daily carried into the Iſle, but that no ſhips ſhould paſs into the Iſland ſecretly: That the *Athenians* ſhould carry the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors to *Athens*, there to treat of peace, and ſhould bring them back, at whoſe return the truce ſhould end, which if in the mean time it were broken in any one point, ſhould be held utterly void in all; That when the truce was expired, the *Athenians* ſhould reſtore the *Peloponneſian* ſhips, in as good caſe as they received them. The Embaſſadors coming to *Athens*, were of opinion, that as they themſelves had begun the War, ſo might they end it when they pleaſed. Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedæmonians* did ſue to them for peace, adviſing them to make an end of War, whilſt with ſuch reputation they might. But they found all contrary to their expectation: For inſtead of concluding upon even terms, or deſiring of meet recompence for loſs ſuſtained, the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities to be reſtored to them, which had been taken from them by the *Lacedæmonians* long before this War began, refuſing likewiſe to continue the treaty of peace, unleſs the *Spartans* which were in the Iſle, were firſt rendred unto them as priſoners. Thus were the Embaſſadors returned without effect; at which time the truce being ended, it was deſired from the *Athenian* Captains, that they ſhould, according to their Covenant, reſtore the ſhips which had been put into their hands. Whereto anſwer was made, that the condition of the truce was, that if any one Article were broken, all ſhould be held void; now (ſaid the *Athenians*) ye have aſſaulted our Garriſons, and thereby are we acquitted of our promiſe to reſtore the ſhips. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but meer ſhifts; yet profit ſo far overweighed honour, that better anſwer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedæmonians* driven to uſe many hard means, for conveyance of victuals into the Iſle; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried priſoners to *Athens*, where it was decreed that when the *Peloponneſians* next invaded *Attica*, theſe priſoners ſhould all be ſlain. Whether fearing the death of theſe men, or withheld by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell upon them, the *Lacedæmonians* were ſo far from waſting *Attica*, that they ſuffered their own Country to be continually over-run, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their Coaſt, and by thoſe which iſſued out of *Pylus*; which became the Rendezvous of all that were ill-affected unto them.

§. V.

How the Lacedæmonians *hardly, and to their great diſadvantage, obtained a Peace that was not well kept.*

THerefore they endeavoured greatly to obtain peace; which the *Athenians* would not hearken unto. For they were ſo puffed up with continuance of good ſucceſs, that having ſent a few bands of men into *Sicilie*, to hold up a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* quarrels; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Iſle were taken away, and their bands returned without either gain

gain or loſs, they baniſhed the Captains, as if it had been meerly through their default, that the Iſle of *Sicilie* was not conquered; which (beſides the longer diſtance) was in power to offend others, or defend it ſelf, no whit inferiour unto *Peloponneſus*. Yet was this their over-weening much abated ſhortly after, by ſome diſaſters received, eſpecially in *Thrace*, where, in a battel which they loſt at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon* and *Braſidas*, Generals of the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* forces, were both ſlain; which two had moſt been adverſaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their loſſes were taught moderation; ſo the *Lacedæmonians*, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Navy which they had received at *Pylus*, were fain to proceed lamely in the War, againſt ſuch as, through commodity of their good fleet, had all advantage that could be found in expedition, were fervently deſirous to conclude the buſineſs, ere Fortune by any new favour ſhould revive the inſolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a conſideration of their preſent eſtate, that urged them to bring the treaty of peace to a good and ſpeedy effect; but other dangers hanging over their heads, and ready to fall on them, which unleſs they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to avoid. The eſtate of *Argos*, which had antient enmity with them, was now after a truce of thirty years well-nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their preſent troubles, by joyning with thoſe who alone found them work enough. *Argos* was a rich and ſtrong City, which though inferiour to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not ſo unwarlike, nor held ſuch ill correſpondence with the neighbouring Eſtates, that the *Lacedæmonians* could ever far prevail upon it, when they had little elſe to do.

This was a thing that in the beginning of this War had not been regarded. For it was then thought that by waſting the Territory of *Athens* with ſword and fire, the quarrel ſhould eaſily and in ſhort time have been ended, whereby not only the *Athenians* ſhould have been brought to good order, but the *Corinthians*, and others, for whoſe ſake the War was undertaken, have been ſo firmly knit to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they ſhould for love of them have abandoned the *Argives* to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of thoſe hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready money, and means to raiſe more, were able to ſecure themſelves by a ſtrong fleet, from any great harm that the *Peloponneſians*, wanting wherewith to maintain a Navy, could do unto them; yea, as Maſters of the Sea, to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither War nor peace; their daily travels, and many loſſes had ſo wearied and incenſed them. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* were glad to uſe the occaſion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a final peace, which with much ado they procured, as ſeemed equal and eaſie; but was indeed impoſſible to be performed, and therefore all their travel was little effectual.

The reſtitution of priſoners and places taken being agreed upon, it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould reſtore firſt. Theſe had won more Towns upon the Continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had won, they had not won abſolutely. For they had reſtored ſome Towns to ſuch of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athens* had taken them; ſome, and thoſe the moſt, they had ſet at liberty (as reaſon required) which had opened their gates unto them as to their friends and deliverers, and not compelled them to break in as enemies. Now concerning the Towns which were not in their own hands, but had been rendred unto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found means to give ſome ſatisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retain others, which they had gotten in the War; as for the reſt, they promiſed more than afterwards they could perform. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to hear of being abandoned, neither would they by any means yield themſelves into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by revolting, notwithſtanding whatſoever Articles were drawn, and concluded, for their ſecurity, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the ſide of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing thoſe things which on their part were required; ſo that reſtoring only the priſoners which they had, they deferred the reſt, untill ſuch time as they might receive the full ſatisfaction, according to the agreement. But before ſuch time as theſe difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrel, the *Lacedæmonians* entred into a more ſtreight alliance with the *Athenians*, making a league offenſive and defenſive with them. Hereunto they were moved by the backwardneſs of the *Argives*, who being (as they thought) likely to have ſued for peace

peace at their hands, as ſoon as things were once compounded between *Athens* and *Sparta*, did ſhew themſelves plainly unwilling to give ear to any ſuch motion. Thinking therefore, that, by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* ſuccour, they ſhould make ſure work, the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound unto them by well-deſerving in the late War, or found ſo troubleſome, that their enmity (if perhaps they durſt let it appear) was little worſe than friendſhip. It bred great jealouſies in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceive ſuch a conjunction between two ſo powerful Signiories: eſpecially one clauſe threatning every one, that was any thing apt to fear, with a ſecret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of ſubduing the whole Country, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For, beſides the other Articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutual conſent add new conditions, or alter the old at their own pleaſures. This impreſſion wrought ſo ſtrongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had born to the *Athenians* their profeſſed enemies, was violently thrown upon the *Lacedæmonians* their unjuſt friends: whereby it came to paſs, that they who lately had born chief ſway in *Greece*, might have been abandoned to the diſcretion of their enemies, as already in effect they were, had the enemies wiſely uſed the advantage.

§. VI.

Of the negotiations and practices held between many States of Greece, *by occaſion of the Peace that was concluded.*

THE admiration wherein all *Greece* held the valour of *Sparta* as unreſiſtable, and able to make way through all impediments, had been ſo exceſſive, that when by ſome ſiniſter accidents, that City was compelled to take and ſeek peace, upon terms not ſounding very honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as happens uſually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was never thought that any *Lacedæmonian* would have endured to lay down his weapons, and yield himſelf priſoner, nor that any misfortune ſhould have been ſo great, as ſhould have drawn that City to relieve it ſelf otherwiſe than by force of Arms. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were ſome of eſpecial mark, being overlaid by enemies, in the Iſland before *Pylus*, had rather choſen to live in captivity, than to die in fight; and that *Pylus* it ſelf, ſticking as a thorn in the foot of *Laconia*, had bred ſuch anguiſh in that Eſtate, as utterly wearying the accuſtomed *Spartan* reſolution, had made it ſit down, and ſeek to refreſh it ſelf by diſhonourable eaſe: then did not only the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* begin to conceive baſely of thoſe men which were vertuous, though unfortunate; but other leſs Cities joyning with theſe in the ſame opinion, did caſt their eyes upon the rich and great City of *Argos*, of whoſe ability to do much, they conceived a ſtrong belief, becauſe of long time it had done nothing. Such is the baſe condition, which through fooliſh envy is become almoſt natural in the greater part of mankind. We curiouſly ſearch into their vices, in whom, had they kept ſome diſtance, we ſhould have diſcerned only the vertues; and comparing injuriouſly our beſt parts with their worſt, are juſtly plagued with a falſe opinion of that good in ſtrangers, which we know to be wanting in our ſelves.

The firſt that publiſh'd their diſlike of *Sparta* were the *Corinthians*, at whoſe vehement entreaty (though moved rather by envy at the greatneſs of *Athens* daily encreaſing) the *Lacedæmonians* had entred into the preſent War. But theſe *Corinthians* did only murmur at the peace, alledging as grievances, that ſome Towns of theirs were left in the *Atheneans* hands. The *Mantenæans*, who during the time of War, had procured ſome part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and forſake their dependency upon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily diſcover themſelves; fear of revenge to come, working more effectually than indignation at things already paſt. The *Argives* feeling the gale of proſperous fortune that began to fill their ſails, prepared themſelves to take as much of it as they could ſtand under; giving for that purpoſe unto twelve of their Citizens a full and abſolute commiſſion to make alliance between them and any free Cities of *Greece* (*Athens* and *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding every particular buſineſs to the multitude. When the gates of *Argos* were ſet thus open to all commers; the *Mantinæans* began to lead the way, and many Cities of *Peloponneſus* following them, entred into this new confederacy; ſome incited by private reſpects, others thinking it the wiſeſt way to do as the moſt did. What inconveniency might ariſe unto them by theſe courſes, the *Lacedæmonians* eaſily diſcerned; & therefore

ſent Embaſſadors to ſtop the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceived that the miſchief had been hatched. Theſe Embaſſadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough diſpoſition, with a gravity expreſſing the opinion which they had conceived of their preſent advantage over *Sparta*. They had cauſed all Cities which had not entred yet into alliance with *Argos*, to ſend their Agents to them, in whoſe preſence they gave audience to the *Lacedæmonians*; the purport of whoſe Embaſſie was this: That the *Corinthians*, without breach of their oath, could not forſake the alliance which they had long ſince made with *Sparta*; and that Reaſon did as well bind them to hold themſelves contented with the peace lately made, as Religion enforced them to continue in their antient confederacy; foraſmuch as it had been agreed between the *Spartans* and their aſſociats, that the conſent of the greater part (which had yielded unto peace with *Athens*) ſhould bind the leſſer number to perform what was concluded, if no Divine impediment withſtood them. Hereunto the *Corinthians* made anſwer, that the *Spartans* had firſt begun to do them open wrong, in concluding the war wherein they had loſt many places, without proviſion of reſtitution; and that the very clauſe alledged by the Embaſſadors, did acquit them from any neceſſity of ſubſcribing to the late Peace, foraſmuch as they had ſworn unto thoſe people whom they perſwaded to rebel againſt *Athens*, that they would never abandon them, nor willingly ſuffer them to fall again into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themſelves bound both in Reaſon and Religion to uſe all means of upholding thoſe, whom by common conſent they had taken into protection; for that an oath was no leſs to be accounted a Divine impediment, than were peſtilence, tempeſt, or any the like accident, hindring the performance of things undertaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they ſaid that they would do as they ſhould find cauſe. Having diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors with this anſwer, they made haſte to joyn themſelves with *Argos*, and cauſed other States to do the like; ſo that *Sparta* and *Athens* were in a manner left to themſelves, the *Thebans* and *Megarians* being alſo upon the point to have entred into this new confederacy. But as the affections were divers which cauſed this haſty confluence of ſudden friends to *Argos*, it ſo likewiſe came to paſs that the friendſhip it ſelf, ſuch as it was, had much diverſity both of ſincerity and of continuance. For ſome there were that hated or feared the *Lacedæmonians*, as the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*; theſe did firmly betake themſelves to the *Argives*, in whom they knew the ſame affection to be inveterate: others did only hate the peace concluded; and theſe would rather have followed the *Spartans* than the *Argives* in War, yet rather the *Argives* in War than the *Lacedæmonians* in peace. Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like unto themſelves, dealt with them to enter into the ſociety of the *Argives*, as they had done: but the different forms of Government, uſed in *Thebes* and *Argos*, cauſed the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principal men, than to incur the danger of innovation, by joyning with ſuch as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This buſineſs having ill ſucceeded, the *Corinthians* began to bethink themſelves of their own danger, who had not ſo much as any truce with *Athens*, and yet were unprepared for War. They ſought therefore to come to ſome temporary agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians*, who had dealt with all *Greece* at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one City that had ſhewed againſt them more ſtomach than force; but gave them to underſtand, that they might be ſafe enough from them, if they would claim the benefit of that alliance, which *Athens* had lately made with *Sparta* and her dependants; yet finally they granted unto theſe *Corinthians* (which were loth to acknowledge themſelves dependants of *Sparta*) the truce that they deſired; but into private confederacy they would not admit them, being an article of the league between them and the *Spartans*, That the one ſhould not make peace nor War without the other.

Herein, as in many other paſſages, may clearly be ſeen the great advantage which abſolute Lords have, as well in peace as in war, over ſuch as are ſerved by voluntaries. We ſhall hardly find any Signiory, that hath been ſo conſtantly followed as *Sparta* was by ſo many States, and ſome of them little inferior to it ſelf, being all as free: whereas contrariwiſe, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulſive means gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themſelves as Tyrants. But in performance of conditions agreed upon, the *Athenians* were able to make their words good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacy, and giving up ſuch places as were agreed upon: of which the *Lacedæmonians* could do neither the one nor the other. For ſuch Towns as

their

their old Allies had gotten by their means in the late War, could not be reſtored without their conſent which had them in preſent poſſeſſion; and particularly the Town of *Panacte*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no means be obtained from them by the *Lacedæmonians* (who earneſtly deſired it, that by reſtitution thereof unto the *Athenians* as earneſtly demanding it, themſelves might recover *Pylus*) unleſs that they would agree to make a private alliance with *Thebes*; which thereupon they were conſtrained to do, though knowing it to be contrary to the laſt agreement between them and *Athens*.

The *Lacedæmonians* having broken one article of the league made between them & the *Athenians*, that by ſo doing they might enable themſelves to the performance of another, were ſhamefully diſappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not give up the Town of *Panacte*, till firſt they had utterly demoliſhed it, and made it of no worth to the *Athenians*. This was ſought to have been excuſed by the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors, who coming to *Athens* (whither they had ſent home all priſoners that had been detained at *Thebes*) hoping with gentle words to ſalve the matter; ſaying, That from henceforth no enemy of *Athens* ſhould neſtle in *Panacte*, for it was deſtroyed. But theſe Embaſſadors had not to deal with tame fools. For the *Athenians* told them in plain terms, That of three principal conditions agreed upon in their late League, they had not performed any one; but uſed ſuch baſe concluſions as ſtood not with their honour: having made private alliance with the *Thebans*; having deſtroyed a Town that they ſhould have reſtored; and not having forced their dependants by War, to make good the Covenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deeds to anger thoſe that ſent them.

There were at that time both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, choſen for that year, in *Sparta*; & *Alcibiades*, a powerful young Gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though deſiring to renew the War, yet wiſhed that firſt they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be rendred to them by Covenant, eſpecially *Pylus* that had ſo ſorely troubled them. *Alcibiades*, whoſe Nobility, riches and favour with the people, made him deſire War, as the mean whereby himſelf might procure ſome honourable employment; uſed all means to ſet the quarrel on foot, whilſt the *Athenians* had yet both advantage enough, as not having rendred ought ſave their priſoners, and pretence enough to uſe that advantage of breaking the peace, by reaſon that the *Lacedæmonians* (though indeed againſt their wills) had broken all Covenants with them. Now the State of *Athens* had fully determined to retain *Pylus*, and to perform nothing that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould, and might require, until they had firſt, without any longer halting, fulfilled all Articles whereto they were bound, even to the utmoſt point. This was enough to make them ſweat, who having already done the moſt that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the delivery of their Citizens, which were priſoners. But *Alcibiades* wiſhing a ſpeedy beginning of open war, ſent privily to the *Argives*, and gave them to underſtand how fitly the time ſerved for them to aſſociate themſelves with *Athens*, which was enough to give them ſecurity againſt all enemies.

The *Argives*, upon the firſt confluence of many Eſtates unto their ſociety, had embraced great hopes of working wonders as if they ſhould have had the conduct of all *Greece* againſt the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as having ill uſed it, and thereby leaving their old enemies in caſe of much contempt and diſability. But theſe ſudden apprehenſions of vain joy, were ſuddenly changed into as vain fear; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately been conceived of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refuſed their alliance; when the *Corinthians* had ſought ſecurity from *Athens*; and when a falſe rumour was noiſed abroad, *Athens Thebes* and *Sparta*, were come to a full agreement upon all points of difference; then began the *Argives* to let fall their creſts, and ſue for peace unto the *Lacedæmonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their gravity, and were not over-haſty to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the meſſage of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argives*, which were not now conſulting how to become the chief of all others, but how to ſave themſelves. Wherefore they ſent away preſently to *Athens*, their own Embaſſadors, accompanied with the *Mantinæans* and *Eleans*, to make a league offenſive and defenſive between their Eſtates and the *Athenians*.

Of this buſineſs the *Lacedæmonians* knew not what to think: for well they ſaw, that ſuch a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were deſirous to prevent it; but to keep the love of the *Athenians*, the

new *Ephori* thought that more was already done, than ſtood with their honour or profit; others held it the wiſeſt way, having done ſo much, not to ſtick upon a little more, but rather by giving full ſatisfaction, to retain the friendſhip of that State, which was more to be valued than all the reſt of *Greece*. This reſolution prevailing, they ſent away ſuch of their Citizens as were beſt affected to the peace, who coming to *Athens*, with full commiſſion to make an end of all controverſies, did earneſtly labour in the Council-houſe, to make the truth of things appear, ſaying; That their Confederacy with the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the recovery of *Panacte*: concerning which Town, or any other buſineſs, that it much grieved the *Lacedæmonians*, to ſee things fall out in ſuch wiſe as might give to the *Athenians* cauſe of diſpleaſure; but that all ſhould be done which in reaſon might be required for making matters even between them; to which purpoſe they ſhewed that themſelves had abſolute commiſſion. Wherefore they deſired that *Pylus* might be reſtored to them, and eſpecially for the preſent, that the negotiation with the *Argives* might be called aſide. Favourable audience was given to this propoſition, the rather, becauſe they which promiſed amends, had power to make their words good. But all this fair likelihood of good agreement was daſht on the ſudden, by the practice of *Alcibiades*, who, ſecretly dealing with the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors, perſwaded them well of his friendſhip towards their City, and adviſed them to take all care that their abſolute power to conclude what they pleaſed in the name of *Sparta*, might not be known to the Commonalty of *Athens*, leſt the inſolent multitude ſhould thereupon grow peremptory and yield to nothing, unleſs they could draw them to unreaſonable conditions. The Embaſſadors believed him, and faſhioned their tale in the aſſembly of the people, as he had adviſed them. Hereupon the ſame *Alcibiades* taking preſently the advantage, which their double dealing afforded, inveighed openly againſt them, as men of no ſincerity, that were come to *Athens* for no other purpoſe, than to hinder the people from ſtrengthening themſelves with friends, meaning to draw the *Argives* and their Adherents to their own alliance, as (contrary to their own Oath) already they had the *Thebans*. The people of *Athens*, whom a pleaſing errand would very hardly have ſatisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the *Lacedæmonians*, (whoſe honeſt meanings had ſo ill been ſeconded, with good performance) were now ſo much incenſed with the double dealing of the Embaſſadors, and the ſtrong perſwaſions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the league with *Argos*. Yet for the preſent ſo far did *Nicias*, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, prevail with them, that the buſineſs was put off, until he himſelf, with other Embaſſadours, might fetch a better anſwer from *Sparta*.

It may alſo ſeem a great wonder, how ſo poor a trick of *Alcibiades* was able to carry a matter of ſo great importance, when the *Spartan* Embaſſadours might have caſt the load upon his own ſhoulders, by diſcovering the truth: But the gravity which was uſually found in the *Lacedæmonians*, hindred them (perhaps) from playing their game handſomely againſt ſo nimble a wit; and they might well have been thought untruſty men, had they profeſſed themſelves ſuch as would ſay and un-ſay for their moſt advantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a ſowre meſſage to deliver at *Sparta*, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the reſt, that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould take the pains to rebuild *Panacte*, and ſhould immediately renounce their Alliance made with the *Thebans*; letting them underſtand, that otherwiſe the *Athenians*, without further delay, would enter into confederacy with the *Argives*, and their adherents. The *Ephori* at *Sparta* had no minde to forſake the *Thebans*, aſſured friends to their State; but wrought ſo hard, that the anger of the *Athenians* was ſuffered to break out what way it could, which to mitigate, they would do no more, than only (at the requeſt of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not ſeem to have effected nothing) ſwear a-new to keep the Articles of the league between him and *Athens*. Immediately therefore upon return of the Embaſſadors, a new league was made between the *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, with very ample proviſion for holding the ſame common friends and enemies; wherein, though the *Lacedæmonians* were paſſed over with ſilence, yet was it manifeſt, that the whole intent of this confederacy did bend it ſelf chiefly againſt them, as in ſhort while after was proved by effect.

At this time the *Lacedæmonians* were in ill caſe, who having reſtored all that they could unto the *Athenians*, and procured others to do the like, had themſelves recovered nothing of their own (priſoners excepted) for default of reſtoring all that they ſhould.

ſhould. But that which did moſt of all diſable them, was the loſs of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late War by misfortunes, than in ſundry paſſages between them and the *Athenians*: to procure and keep whoſe Amity, they had left ſundry of their own friends to ſhift for themſelves. Contrariwiſe, the *Athenians* by the treaty of peace, had recovered the moſt part of that which they loſt in War; all their gettings they had retained; and were ſtrengthened by the acceſs of new Confederates.

§. VII.

How the Peace between Athens *and* Sparta *was ill kept, though not openly broken.*

IT was not long ere the *Argives* and their fellows had found buſineſs wherewith to ſet the *Athenians* on work, and make uſe of this conjunction. For, preſuming upon the ſtrength of their ſide, they began to meddle with the *Epidaurians*, whom it concerned the State of *Sparta* to defend. So, many acts of hoſtility were committed, wherein *Athens* and *Sparta* did (as principals) infeſt each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aid of their ſeveral friends.

By theſe occaſions the *Corinthians*, *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, and other people of *Greece*, began a-new to range themſelves under the *Lacedæmonians*, and follow their enſigns. One victory which the *Lacedæmonians* obtained by their meer valour in a ſet Battel, near to *Mantinæa*, againſt the *Argive* ſide, helped well to repair their decayed reputation, though otherwiſe it yielded them no great profit. The civil diſſention ariſing ſhortly after within *Argos* it ſelf, between the principal Citizens, and the Commons, had almoſt thrown down the whole frame of the new combination. For the chief Citizens getting the upper hand, made a league with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded ſo far, as to renounce the Amity of the *Athenians* in expreſs words, and forced the *Mantinæans* to the like. But in ſhort ſpace of time the multitude prevailing, reverſed all this, and having chaſed away their ambitious Nobility, applied themſelves to the *Athenians* as cloſely as before.

Beſides theſe uproars in *Peloponneſus*, many aſſaies were made to raiſe up troubles in all parts of *Greece*, and likewiſe in *Macedon*, to the *Athenians*; whoſe forces and readineſs for execution, prevented ſome things, revenged other, and requited all with ſome proſperous attempts. Finally, the *Athenians* wanting matter of quarrel, and the *Lacedæmonians* growing weary, they began to be quiet; retaining ſtill that enmity in their hearts, which they had ſufficiently diſcovered in effects, though not yet breaking out into terms of open War.

§. VIII.

The Athenians *ſending two Fleets to ſack* Syracuſe, *are put to flight, and utterly diſcomfited.*

DUring this intermiſſion of open War, the *Athenians* re-entertained their hopes of ſubduing *Sicil*; whither they ſent a Fleet ſo mighty, as never was ſet forth by *Greece* in any Age before or after.

This Fleet was very well manned, and furniſhed with all neceſſaries to ſo great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in *Athens*, whence *Alcibiades*, Author of that voyage, and one of the Generals of their Fleet, was driven to baniſh himſelf, for fear of ſuch judgement, as elſe he was like to have undergone among the incenſed people; partly by the invaſion which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Attica*, whilſt the forces of that State were ſo far from home. Hereunto was added the aid of the King of *Perſia*, who ſupplied the *Peloponneſians* with mony.

Neither was the ſucceſs of things in *Sicilia* ſuch, as without help from *Athens*, could give any likelihood of a good end in that War. For, although in the beginning, the enterprize had ſo well ſucceeded, that they beſieged *Syracuſe*, the chief City of all the Iſland, and one of the faireſt Towns which the *Greeks* inhabited, obtaining the better in ſundry Battels by Land and Sea; yet when the Town was relieved with ſtrong aid from *Peloponneſus*, it came to paſs that the *Athenians* were put to the worſe on all ſides, in ſuch wiſe, that their Fleet was ſhut up into the haven of *Syracuſe*, and could not iſſue out.

As the *Athenian* affairs went very ill in *Sicil*, ſo did they at home ſtand upon their terms; for that the *Lacedæmonians*, who had been formerly accuſtomed to make weariſome yearly journeys into *Attica*, which having pillaged and forraged, they returned home; did now by counſel of *Alcibiades* (who ſeeking revenge upon his own Citizens, was fled unto them) fortifie the Town of *Decelea*, which was near to *Athens*, whence they ceaſed not with daily incurſions to harry all the Country round about, and ſometimes give alarm unto the City it ſelf.

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In these extremities, the perverse obstinacy of the *Athenians* was very strange; who leaving at their backs, & at their own doors, an enemy little less mighty than themselves, did yet send forth another Fleet into *Sicil*, to invade a people no less puissant, which had never offended them.

It often happens, that a prosperous event makes foolish counsel seem wiser than it was; which came to pass many times among the *Athenians*, whose vain Conceits *Pallas* was said to turn to the best. But where unsound advice, finding bad proof, is obstinately pursued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can be justly blamed for a miserable issue. This second Fleet of the *Athenians*, which better might have served to convey home the former that was defeated, after some attempts made to small purpose against the *Syracusans*, was finally (together with the other part of the Navy, which was there before) quite vanquished, and barr'd up into the haven of *Syracuse*, whereby the Camp of the *Athenians*, utterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for succour or departure, was driven to break up, and fly away by Land; in which flight they were over-taken, routed, and quite overthrown, in such wise that scarce any man escaped.

This mischief well deserved, fell upon the *Athenians*, who had wickedly condemned into exile *Sophocles* and *Pthiodorus* Generals, formerly sent into that Isle, pretending that they had taken mony for making peace in *Sicil*, whereas indeed there was not any means or possibility to have made War. Hereby it came to pass, that *Nicias*; who had the chief command in this unhappy enterprize, did rather chuse to hazard the ruine of his Country by the loss of that Army, wherein consisted little less than all the power of *Athens*; than to adventure his own estate, his life, and his honour, upon the tongues of shameless accusers, and the sentence of Judges before his tryal resolved to condemn him, by retiring from *Syracuse*, when wisdom and necessity required it. *For* (said he) *they shall give sentence upon us, who know not the reason of our doings, nor would give ear to any that would speak in our behalf, but altogether hearken to suspicious and vain rumours that shall be brought against us: yea these our souldiers, who now are so desirous to return in safety, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lewd and insolent multitude.*

This resolution of *Nicias*, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man, to do what reason willeth, not what opinion expecteth; and to measure honour or dishonour by the assurance of his well-informed conscience, rather than by the malicious report and censure of others) yet it may be excused; since he had before his eyes the injustice of his people, and had well understood that a wicked sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked fact, as being held a president and patern whereby oppression beginning upon one, is extended as warrantable upon all. Therefore his fear of wrongful condemnation was such, as a constant man could not easily have over-mastered; but when afterwards the Army, having no other expectation of safety than the faint hope of a secret flight, he was so terrified with an Eclipse of the Moon, happening when they were about to dis-lodge, that he would not consent to have the Camp break up till seven and twenty daies were past. His timerousness was even as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not have thought that the powers of the Heavens, and the course of Nature would be as unjust as his *Athenians*; or might portend less evil to the slothful, than to such as did their best. Neither do I think that any Astrologers can alledge this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armies destruction, otherwise than as the folly of men did, by application, turn it to their own confusion. Had *C. Cassius* the Roman, he who slew *Julius Cæsar*, imitated this superstition of *Nicias*, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, he retiring, the broken remainder of *Crassus* his Army, defeated by the *Parthian* Archers, was advised, upon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sun were past the sign of *Scorpio*; he made answer, that he stood not in such fear of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So adventuring rather to abide the frowning of the Heavens, than the nearer danger of Enemies upon Earth, he made such a safe and honourable retreat, as did both shew his noble resolution, and give a fair example to that good rule,

——— *Sapiens Dominabitur astris.*

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily works by a concatenation of means, deprives the Governours of understanding, when he intends evil to the Multitude; and that the wickedness of unjust men is the ready mean to weaken the virtue of those who might have done them good.

§. IX.

§. IX.

Of the troubles whereinto the State of Athens *fell, after the great loſs of the Fleet and Army in* Sicilia.

THe loſs of this Army was the ruine of the *Athenian* Dominion, and may be well accounted a very little leſs calamity to that Eſtate, than was the ſubverſion of the walls, when the City about ſeven years after was taken by *Lyſander*. For now began the ſubjects of the *Athenian* Eſtate to rebel: of whom, ſome they reduced under their obedience, others held out; ſome for fear of greater inconvenience were ſet at liberty promiſing only to be their good friends, as formerly they had been their Subjects; others having a kinde of liberty offered by the *Athenians*, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect liberty by force. Among theſe troubles it fell out very unſeaſonably, that the principal men of *Athens*, being wearied with the peoples inſolency, took upon them to change the form of that Eſtate, and bring the Government into the hands of a few. To which purpoſe, conſpiring with the Captains which were abroad, they cauſed them to ſet up the form of an Ariſtocracy in the Towns of their Confederates; and in the mean time, ſome that were moſt likely to withſtand this Innovation, being ſlain at *Athens*, the Commonalty were ſo diſmaid, that none durſt ſpeak againſt the Conſpirators, whoſe number they knew not, but every man was afraid of his neighbour, leſt he ſhould be a member of the league. In this general fear the Majeſty of *Athens* was uſurped by four hundred men, who obſerving in ſhew the ancient form of proceeding, did cauſe all matters to be propounded unto the people, and concluded upon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were only ſuch as were firſt allowed in private among themſelves; neither had the Commonalty any other liberty, than only to approve and give conſent: for whoſoever preſumed any further, was quickly diſpatched out of the way, and no enquiry made of the murther. By theſe means were many Decrees made, all tending to the eſtabliſhment of this new authority, which nevertheleſs endured not long. For the Fleet and Army which then was in the Iſle of *Samos*, did altogether deteſt theſe dealings of the four hundred uſurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they revoked *Alcibiades* out of baniſhment, and by his aſſiſtance procured that the ſupplies which the *Perſian* King had promiſed to the *Lacedæmonians*, were by *Tiſſaphernes*, his Lieutenant, made unprofitable, through the ſlow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the firſt been very well entertained in *Sparta*, whilſt his ſervice done unto that State, was not grown to be the object of envy. But when it appeared that in Counſel and good performance he ſo far excelled all the *Lacedæmonians*, that all their good ſucceſs was aſcribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principal Citizens weary of his virtue; eſpecially *Agis* one of their Kings, whoſe wife had ſo far yielded her ſelf to the love of this *Athenian*, that among her inward friends ſhe could not forbear to call her young child by his name. Hereupon order was taken, that *Alcibiades* ſhould be killed out of the way. But he diſcovering the *Spartan* treachery, conveyed himſelf unto *Tiſſaphernes*, whom he ſo bewitched with his great beauty, ſweet converſation, and ſound wit, that he ſoon became the Maſter of that barbarous Viceroys affections, who had free power to diſpoſe the great Kings Treaſures and Forces in thoſe parts. Then began he to adviſe *Tiſſaphernes*; not ſo far forth to aſſiſt the *Lacedæmonians*, that they ſhould quite overthrow the State of *Athens*, but rather to help the weaker ſide, and let them one conſume another, whereby all ſhould fall at length into the hands of the *Perſian*. By this counſel he made way to other practices, wherein by ſtrength of his reputation (as the only Favorite of ſo great a Potentate) he played his own game, procuring his reſtitution. At length his baniſhment being repealed by the Army, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppreſſed by the four hundred) he laboured greatly to reconcile the Souldiers to the Governours; or at leaſt to divert their heat another way, and turn it upon the common Enemy. Some of the four hundred approved his motion, as being weary of the tyranny whereof they were partakers, partly becauſe they ſaw it could not long endure, & partly for that themſelves, being leſs regarded by the reſt of their companions, than ſtood with their good liking, ſought to acquit themſelves of it as honeſtly as they might. But the moſt of that Faction laboured to obtain peace of the *Lacedæmonians*, deſiring chiefly to maintain both their own authority, and the greatneſs of their City, if they might: but if this could not be, they did rather wiſh to preſerve their own power, or ſafety at leaſt, than the good Eſtate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made ſundry overtures of peace to the *Lacedæmonians*, deſiring to compound in as good terms

terms as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be truſted, than the wavering multitude; eſpecially conſidering that the City of *Sparta* was governed by an Ariſtocracy, to which form they had now reduced *Athens*. All theſe paſſages between the four hundred (or the moſt and chief of them) and the *Lacedæmonians*, were kept as ſecret as might be. For the City of *Athens*, hoping, without any great cauſe, to repair their loſſes, was not inclined to make compoſition; from which upon juſter ground the Enemy was much more averſe, truſting well that the diſcord of the *Athenians* (not unknown abroad) might yield ſome fair opportunity to the deſtruction of it ſelf, which in effect (though not then preſently) came to paſs. And upon this hope King *Agis* did ſometimes bring his forces from *Decelea* to *Athens*, where doing no good, he received ſome ſmall loſſes. Likewiſe the Navy of *Peloponneſus* made ſhew of attempting the City, but ſeeing no likelihood of ſucceſs, they bent their courſe from thence to other places, where they obtained Victories, which in the better fortune of the *Athenians* might more lightly have been regarded, than in this their decayed eſtate. Yet it ſeems, without any diſparagement to their wiſdom, they ſhould rather have forborn to preſent unto the City, or to the Countries near adjoyning, any terror of the War. For the diſſention within the walls might ſoon have done more good than could be received from the Fleet or Army without, which indeed gave occaſion to ſet the Citizens at unity, though it laſted not very long. The four hundred, by means of theſe troubles, were fain to reſign their authority, which they could not now hold, when the people, having taken arms to repel forein Enemies, would not lay them down, till they had freed themſelves from ſuch as oppreſſed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of Government a full reſtitution of the ſovereign command unto the people, or whole body of the City, but onely to five thouſand; which company the four hundred (when their authority began) had pretended to take unto them as aſſiſtants: herein ſeeming to do little wrong or none to the Commonalty, who ſeldom aſſembled in greater number. But now when the higheſt power was come indeed into the hands of ſo many, it was ſoon agreed, that *Alcibiades* and his companions ſhould be recalled from exile, and that the Army at *Samos* ſhould be requeſted to undertake the Government: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers deſire.

§. X.

How Alcibiades *won many important victories for the* Athenians; *was recalled from exile; made their General, and again depoſed.*

THis eſtabliſhment of things in the City, was accompanied with ſome good ſucceſs in the Wars. For the *Lacedæmonians* were about the ſame time overthrown at Sea, in a great Battel, by the *Athenian* Fleet, which had remained at *Samos*, to which *Alcibiades* afterwards joyning ſuch forces as he could raiſe, obtained many Victories. Before the Town of *Abydus*, his arrival with eighteen ſhips, gave the honour of a great Battel to the *Athenians*; he overthrew and utterly deſtroyed the Fleet of the *Lacedæmonians*, commanded by *Mindarus*; took the Towns of *Cyzicus* and *Perinthus*, made the *Selymbrians* ranſome their City, and fortified *Chryſopolis*. Hereupon Letters were ſent to *Sparta*, which the *Athenians* intercepting, found to contain the diſtreſs of the Army, in theſe few words: *All is loſt*; Mindarus *is ſlain*; *the Souldiers want victuals*; *we know not what to do.*

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* overthrew the *Lacedæmonians* in fight by Land at *Chalcedon*, took *Selymbria*, beſieged and won *Byzantium*, now called *Conſtantinople*, which even in thoſe days was a goodly, rich, and very ſtrong City. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made High Admiral of all the Navy.

But this his honour continued not long, for it was taken from him, and he driven to baniſh himſelf again, only becauſe his Lieutenant, contrary to the expreſs command of *Alcibiades*, fighting with the enemies in his abſence, had loſt a great part of the Fleet.

The ſecond baniſhment of *Alcibiades*, was to the *Athenians* more harmful than the firſt; and the loſs which thereupon they received, was (though more heavy to them, yet) leſs to be pitied of others, than that which enſued upon his former exile. For, whereas at the firſt, he had ſought revenge upon his own City; now, as inured to adverſity, he rather pitied their fury, who in time of ſuch danger, had caſt out him that ſhould have repaired their weak eſtate, than ſought by procuring or beholding the calamity of his people, to comfort himſelf after injury received. Before they, who were inſtituted in the place of *Alcibiades*, arrived at the Fleet, he preſented Battel to *Lyſander* the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, who was not

ſo

ſo confident upon his former Victory, as to undertake *Alcibiades* himſelf, bringing ſhips more in number (notwithſtanding the former loſs of fifteen) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had been under his Lieutenant. But when the Decree of the people was publiſhed in the Navy, then did *Alcibiades* withdraw himſelf to a Town upon *Helleſpont*, called *Bizanthe*, where he had built a Caſtle.

§. XI.

The Battel of Arginuſæ, *and condemnation of the victorious* Athenian *Captains by the people.*

After this time, the *Athenians* receiving many loſſes and diſcomfitures, were driven to fly into the Haven of *Mytelene*, where they were ſtraitly beſieged both by Land and Sea. For the raiſing of this ſiege, neceſſity inforced them to man all their veſſels, and to put the uttermoſt of their forces into the hazard of one Battel. This Battel was fought at *Arginuſæ*, where *Callicratidas*, Admiral of the *Lacedæmonains*, loſing the honour of the day, preſerved his own reputation, by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well have been expected, that the ten Captains, who joyntly had command in chief over the *Athenian* Fleet, ſhould for that good daies ſervice, and ſo happy a Victory, have received great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwiſe, they were forthwith called home, and accuſed, as if wilfully they had ſuffered many of the Citizens, whoſe ſhips were broken and ſunk, to be caſt away, when by appointing ſome Veſſels to take them up, they might have ſaved them from being drowned. Hereto the Captains readily made a very juſt anſwer, That they purſuing the Victory, had left part of the Fleet, under ſufficient men, to ſave thoſe that were wrackt; which if it were not well accompliſhed, it was, becauſe a tempeſt ariſing about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuſe availed not. For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who ſaid, That he himſelf eſcaping in a Meal-tub, had been intreated by thoſe who were in peril of drowning, to deſire of the people revenge of their deaths upon the Captains. It was very ſtrange, that upon ſuch an accuſation maintained with ſo ſlender evidence, men that had well deſerved of their Country ſhould be overthrown. But their enemies had ſo incenſed the raſcal multitude, that no man durſt abſolve them, ſave only *Socrates* the wiſe and virtuous Philoſopher, whoſe voice in this judgement was not regarded. Six of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly eſcaped drowning, and was with much ado relieved by other Veſſels in the ſtorm: but the Captains which were abſent eſcaped; for when the fury of the people was over-paſt, this judgement was reverſed, and the accuſers called into queſtion for having deceived and perverted the Citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themſelves from the infamy of injuſtice, but the divine Juſtice was not aſleep, nor would be ſo deluded.

§. XII.

The Battel at Ægos-Potamos, *wherein the whole State of* Athens *was ruined; with the end of the* Peloponneſian *War.*

THE *Peloponneſian* Fleet under *Lyſander*, the year next following, having ſcoured the *Ægean* Seas, enter *Helleſpont*, where (landing Souldiers) it beſieged and took the Town of *Lampſacus*. Hereupon all the Navy of *Athens*, being an hundred and fourſcore ſail, made thither in haſte: but finding *Lampſacus* taken before their coming, they put in at *Seſtos*, where having refreſhed themſelves, they ſailed to the River called *Ægos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goats-Brook*, or the River of the *Goat*, being on the Continent oppoſite to *Lampſacus*: and there they caſt Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lyſander*, who rode at *Lampſacus* in the harbor. The next day after their arrival, they preſented fight unto the *Pelopponneſians*, who refuſed it, whereupon the *Athenians* returned again to *Ægos-Potamos*; and thus they continued five daies, braving every day the Enemy, and returning to their own harbour when it drew towards evening.

The Caſtle of *Alcibiades* was not far from the Navy, and his power in thoſe places was ſuch as might have greatly availed his Country-men, if they could have made uſe of it. For he had waged mercenaries, and making war in his own name upon ſome people of the *Thracians*, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much reputation among them. He perceiving the diſorderly courſe of the *Athenian* Commanders, repaired unto them, and ſhewed what great inconvenience might grow, if they did not ſoon fore-ſee and prevent it. For they lay in a rode ſubject to every weather; neither near enough to any Town where they might furniſh themſelves with neceſſaries,

nor so far off as had been more expedient. *Sestos* was the next Market-town; thither both Souldiers and Mariners resorted, flocking away from the Navy every day, as soon as they were returned from braving the Enemy. Therefore *Alcibiades* willed them either to lye at *Sestos*, which was not far off, or at least to consider how near their Enemy was, whose fear proceeded rather from obedience to their General, than from any cowardise. This admonition was so far despised, that some of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his own matters, and to remember that his authority was out of date. Had it not been for these opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) have compelled the *Lacedæmonians*, either to fight upon unequal terms, or utterly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that he might so have done by transporting the light-armed *Thracians*, his confederates, and others his followers, over the Streights, who assaulting the *Peloponnesians* by Land, would either have compelled them to put to Sea, or else to leave their ships to the mercy of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good counsel no better than hath been rehearsed, he left them to their fortune; which how evil it would be, he did prognosticate.

Lysander all this while defending himself by the advantage of his Haven, was not careless in looking into the demeanour of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his manner was, to send forth some of his swiftest Vessels after them, who observing their doings, related unto him what they had seen. Therefore understanding in what careless fashion they romed up and down the Country; he kept all his men aboard after their departure: and the fifth day gave especial charge to his Scouts, that when they perceived the *Athenians* dis-imbarking, as their custom was, and walking towards *Sestos*, they should forthwith return, and hang up a brazen shield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lysander* being in a readiness, made all speed that strength of Oars could give, to *Ægos-Potamos*, where he found very few of his enemies aboard their ships, nor many near them, and all in great confusion upon the news of his approach.

Insomuch that the greatest industry which the *Athenians* then shewed, was in the escape of eight or nine ships, which knowing how much that loss imported, gave over *Athens* as desperate, & made a long flight into the Isle of *Cyprus*; all the rest were taken, and such of the Souldiers as came into the rescue, cut in pieces. Thus was the war which had lasted seven and twenty years, with variable success, concluded in one hour, and the glory of *Athens* in such wise eclipsed, that she never afterward shone in her perfect light.

Immediately upon this Victory, *Lysander*, having taken such Towns as readily did yield upon the first fame of his exploit, set sail for *Athens*, and joyning his forces with those of *Agis* and *Pausanias*, Kings of *Sparta*, summoned the City; which finding too stubborn to yield, and too strong to be won on the sudden, he put forth again to Sea, and rather by terror than violence, compelled all the Islands, and such Towns of the *Ionians* as had formerly held of the *Athenians*, to submit themselves to *Sparta*, he did thereby cut off all provision of victuals, and other necessaries, from the City, and inforced the people by meer famine to yield to these conditions; That the long walls, leading from the Town to the Port, should be thrown down; That all Cities subject to their Estate, should be set at liberty: That the *Athenians* should be Masters only of their own Territories, and the fields adjoyning to their Town; And that they should keep no more than twelve ships; That they should hold as Friends or Enemies, the same, whom the *Lacedæmonians* did, and follow the *Lacedæmonians* as Leaders in the wars.

These Articles being agreed upon, the walls were thrown down with great rejoycing of those who had born displeasure to *Athens*; and not without some consultation of destroying the City, and laying waste the land about it. Which advice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirty Governors, or rather cruel Tyrants, appointed over the people, who recompenced their former insolency and injustice over their Captains, by oppressing them with all base and intolerable slavery.

The only small hope then remaining to the *Athenians* was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repair what their own folly had ruined. But the Thirty Tyrants perceiving this, advertised the *Lacedæmonians* thereof, who contrived, and (as now domineering in every quarter) soon effected his sudden death.

Such end had the *Peloponnesian* war. After which the *Lacedæmonians* abusing the reputation and great power, which therein they had obtained, grew very odious to *Greece*, and by combination of many Cities against them, were dispossessed of their high authority, even in that very age in which they

they had ſubdued *Athens*. The greateſt foil that they took, was of the *Thebans* led by *Epaminondas*, under whom *Philip* of *Macedon* Father to *Alexander* the Great, had the beſt of his education. By theſe *Thebans*, the City of *Sparta* (beſides other great loſſes received) was ſundry times in danger of being taken. But theſe haughty attempts of the *Thebans* came finally to nothing; for the ſeveral Eſtates and Signiories of *Greece*, were grown ſo jealous one of anothers greatneſs, that the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Thebans*, which were the mightieſt, aſſociating themſelves with the weaker party, did ſo counterpoize the ſtronger, that no one City could extend the limits of her juriſdiction ſo far as might make her terrible to her neighbours. And thus all parts of the Country remained rather evenly ballanced, than well agreeing, till ſuch time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*, Kings of *Macedon*, (whoſe fore-fathers had been dependants, and followers, yea almoſt meer Vaſſals to the Eſtates of *Athens* and *Sparta*) found means, by making uſe of their factions, to bring them all into ſervitude, from which they never could be free; till the *Romans* preſenting them with a ſhew of liberty, did themſelves indeed become their Maſters.

CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponneſian *War, or ſhortly following it.*

§. I.

How the affairs of Perſia *ſtood in thoſe times.*

DUring the times of this *Peloponneſian* War, and thoſe other leſs Expeditions foregoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, having peaceably enjoyed a long reign over the *Perſians*, left it by his death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the Baſtard, whom the *Greek* Hiſtorians (lightly paſſing over *Xerxes* the ſecond, and *Sogdianus*, as Uſurpers, and for their ſhort reign little to be regarded) place next unto them, or to *Xerxes* the ſecond; who, and his Brother *Sogdianus* after him (ſeeming to have been the Sons of *Heſter*) held the Kingdom but one year between them; the younger ſucceeding his elder Brother. It is not my purpoſe (as I have ſaid before) to purſue the Hiſtory of the *Perſians* from henceforth, by rehearſal of all the particulars, otherwiſe than as they ſhall be incident to the affairs of *Greece*. It may therefore ſuffice to ſay, That *Xerxes* the ſecond, being a vicious Prince, did periſh after a month or two, if not by ſurfeit, then by the treachery of his riotous Brother *Sogdianus*. Likewiſe of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his Brother, and more cruel, he ſlew unjuſtly *Bagorazus* a principal Eunuch, and would have done as much to his Brother *Darius* the Baſtard, had not he fore-ſeen it, and by raiſing a ſtronger Army than this hated King *Sogdianus* could leavy, ſeized at once upon the King and Kingdom. *Darius* having ſlain his Brother, held the Empire nineteen years. *Amyrtæus* of *Sais* an *Egyptian*, rebelled againſt him, and having partly ſlain, partly chaſed out of the Land the *Perſian* Garriſons, allied himſelf ſo firmly with the *Greeks*, that by their aid he maintained the Kingdom, and delivered it over to his poſterity, who (notwithſtanding the fury of their civil Wars) maintained it againſt the *Perſian*, all the daies of this *Darius*, and of his Son *Artaxerxes*, *Mnemon*. Likewiſe *Amorges*, a ſubject of his own, and of the Royal blood, being Lieutenant of *Caria*, rebelled againſt him; confederating himſelf with the *Athenians*. But the great calamity, before ſpoken of, which fell upon the *Athenians* in *Sicil*, having put new life into the *Spartans*, and given courage to the Iſlanders and others, ſubject to the State of *Athens*, to ſhake off the yoke of their long continued bondage; It fell out well for *Darius*, that the *Lacedæmonians* being deſtitute of mony, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Navy, without which it was impoſſible to advance the War againſt the State of *Athens*, that remained powerful by Sea, were driven to crave his aſſiſtance, which he granted unto them, firſt upon what conditions beſt pleaſed himſelf, though afterwards the Articles of the league between him and them, were ſet down in more preciſe terms; wherein it was concluded, That

he and they ſhould make war joyntly upon the *Athenians*, and upon all that ſhould rebel from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of *Aſia* which had formerly been his, or his Predeceſſors, ſhould return to his obedience. By this Treaty, and the War enſuing (of which I have already ſpoken) he recovered all that his Grandfather and Father had loſt in *Aſia*. Likewiſe by aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*, he got *Amorges* alive into his hands, who was taken in the City of *Jaſus*; the *Athenians* wanting either force or courage to ſuccour him. Nevertheleſs *Egypt* ſtill held out againſt him; the cauſe whereof cannot be the employment of the *Perſian* forces on the parts of *Greece*: for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occaſions, but they wanted manhood, which cauſed him to fight with gold; which effected for him by Souldiers of other Nations, and his natural enemies, what the valour of his own Subjects was inſufficient to perform. *Darius* had in marriage *Paryſatis* his own Siſter, who bare unto him (beſides other children) *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*, that is to ſay, the Mindful, or the Remembrer, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdom; and *Cyrus* the younger, a Prince of ſingular virtue, and accounted, by all that knew him, the moſt excellent man that ever *Perſia* bred after *Cyrus* the great. But the old King *Darius*, intending to leave unto his eldeſt Son *Artaxerxes* the inheritance of the great Empire, did caſt a jealous eye upon the doings of young *Cyrus*, who being Lieutenant of the lower *Aſia*, took more upon him than befitted a Subject: for which cauſe his Father ſent for him, with intent to have taken ſome very ſharp courſe with him, had not his own death prevented the coming of his younger Son, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the war between theſe Brethren, and ſummarily of *Artaxerxes*, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak ſomewhat in more convenient place.

§. II.

How the thirty Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

I Hold it in this place very convenient to ſhew the proceedings of the *Greeks*, after the ſubverſion of the walls of *Athens*, which gave end to that War called the *Peloponneſian* War, but could not free the unhappy Country of *Greece* from civil broils. The thirty Governours, commonly called the thirty Tyrants of *Athens*, were choſen at the firſt by the people to compile a body of their Law, and make a collection of ſuch ancient Statutes, as were meet to be put in practice: the condition of the City ſtanding as it did in that ſo ſudden alteration. To this charge was annexed the ſupreme authority, either as a recompenſe of their labours, or becauſe the neceſſity of the times did ſo require it, wherein the Law being uncertain, it was fit that ſuch men ſhould give judgement in particular cauſes, to whoſe judgement the Laws themſelves, by which the City was to be ordered, were become ſubject. But theſe thirty, having ſo great power in their hands, were more careful to hold it, than to deſerve it by faithful execution of that which was committed to them in truſt.

Therefore apprehending ſuch troubleſome fellows as were odious to the City, though not puniſhable therefore by Law; they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approved, who conſidered their lewd conditions, but did not withall bethink themſelves, how eaſie a thing it would be unto theſe thirty men, to take away the lives of Innocents, by calling them perturbers of the peace, or what elſe they liſted, when condemnation without true trial and proof had been once well allowed. Having thus plauſibly entred into a wicked courſe of Government, they thought it beſt to fortifie themſelves with a ſure guard, ere they brake out into thoſe diſorders, which they muſt needs commit for the eſtabliſhing of their authority. Wherefore diſpatching two of their own company to *Sparta*, they informed the *Lacedæmonians*, that it was the full intent of the Thirty, to keep the City free from all rebellious motions: to which purpoſe it behoved them to cut off ſuch as were ſeditious, and therefore deſired the *Lacedæmonians* to ſend them a Garriſon, which they promiſed at their own coſt to maintain. This motion was well approved, and a Guard ſent, the Captain of which was ſo well intertain'd by the Thirty, that none of their miſdeeds could want his high commendations at *Sparta*. Hereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and looking no more after baſe and deteſted perſons, invaded the principal men of the City, ſending armed men from houſe to houſe, who drew out ſuch as were of great reputation, and likely, or able to make any head againſt this wicked form of Government: whereby there was ſuch effuſion of blood, as to *Theramenes* (one of the Thirty) ſeemed very horrible, and unable to eſcape vengeance. His diſlike of their proceedings being openly diſcovered, cauſed his fellows to bethink themſelves

themselves, and provide for their own security, and his destruction, lest he should make himself a Captain of the discontented (which were almost the whole City) and redeem his own peace with their ruine. Wherefore they selected three thousand of the Citizens, whom they thought meetest, and gave unto them some part of the publick authority, the rest they disarmed; and having thus increased their own strength, and weakned their opposites, they began a-fresh to shed the blood, not only of their private enemies, but of such whose mony, or goods, might inrich them, and enable them for the payment of their Guard. And to this purpose they concluded, that every one of them should name one man, upon whose goods he should seize, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* uttered his detestation of so wicked intent, then did *Critias*, who of all the thirty was most tyrannical, accuse him to the Council, as a treacherous man, and (whereas one main priviledge of the three thousand was, that none of them should suffer death at the appointment of the thirty, but have the accustomed tryal) he took upon him to strike out of that number the name of *Theramenes* and so reduced him under the trial and sentence of that order. It was well alledged by *Theramenes* that his name was not more easie to be blotted out of the catalogue, than any other mans; upon which consideration, he advised them all to conceive no otherwise of his case, than as of their own, who were liable to the same form of proceeding: but every man chusing rather to preserve his own life by silence, than presently to draw upon himself the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would never come near him; the Tyrants interpreting silence as consent condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drink poyson.

§. III.

The Conspiracy against the thirty Tyrants, and their deposing.

After the death of *Theramenes*, the thirty began to use such out-rage, as excelled their former villanies. For, having three thousand (as they thought) firm unto them, they robbed all others without fear or shame, despoiling them of lands and goods, and caused them to fly into banishment, for safeguard of their lives. This flight of the Citizens procured their liberty, and the generall good of the City. For the banished Citizens, who were fled to *Thebes*, entred into consultation, and resolved to hazard their lives in setting free the City of *Athens*. The very thought of such a practice had been treason at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seventy men, or thereabout, were the first undertakers, who with their Captain *Thrasybulus* took *Phyla*, a place of strength in the Territory of *Athens*. No sooner did the thirty hear of their exploit, than seek means to prevent further danger; assembling the three thousand, and their *Lacedæmonian* guard, with which force they attempted *Phyla*, but were with some loss of their men repelled. Finding the place too strong to be taken by assault, they intended to besiege it; which purpose came to nought by means of snow that fell, and other stormy weather, against which they had not made provision. Retiring therefore to the City which above all they were to make good, they left the most of their guard, and two companies of horse, to weary out them which lay in *Phyla*, with a flying siege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Thrasybulus* were increased from seventy to seven hundred, which adventured to give charge upon those guards, of whom they cut off above an hundred and twenty. These small but prosperous beginnings, added more to the number of those in *Phyla*, who now with a thousand men got entrance into *Piræus*, the suburb of *Athens*, lying on the Port. Before their coming the thirty had resolved to fortifie the Town of *Eleusine*, to their own use, whereinto they might make an easie retrait, and save themselves from any sudden peril. It may well seem strange, that whereas their barbarous manner of Government had brought them into such danger, they were so far from seeking to obtain mens good will, that contrariwise, to assure themselves of *Eleusine*, they got all of the place who could bear arms into their hands by a train, and wickedly (though under form of Justice) murthered them all. But, *Sceleribus tutam per scelera est iter*, the mischiefs which they had already done were such, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparent likelihood of safety, than by extending their cruelty unto all, seeing few or none were left, whom they could trust. When *Thrasybulus* and his fellows, who as yet were termed conspirators, had taken the *Piræus*, then were the three thousand armed again by the Tyrants, and brought to assault it; but in this interprize *Thrasybulus* had the better, and repelled his enemies, of whom though there were slain to the number of seventy only, yet the Victory seemed the greater,

greater, because *Critias*, and one other of the thirty, perished in that fight. The death of *Critias*, and the stout defence of *Piræus*, together with some exhortations used by *Thrasybulus* to the Citizens, wrought such effect, that the thirty were deposed. Nevertheless there were so many of the three thousand, who having communicated with the thirty in their misdeeds, feared to be called to a sharp account, that no peace, nor quiet form of Government could be established. For Embassadors were sent to *Sparta*, who craving aid against *Thrasybulus* and his followers, had favourable audience, and a power sent to their assistance, both by land and sea, under the conduct of *Lysander*, and his Brother; whom *Pausanias* the *Spartan* King did follow, raising an Army of the Cities confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*. And here appeared first the jealousie, wherein some people held the State of *Sparta*. The *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, who in the late wars had been the most bitter enemies to *Athens*, refused to follow *Pausanias* in this expedition; alledging that it stood not with their oaths, to make war against that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league: but fearing indeed, lest the *Lacedæmonians* should annex the Territory of *Athens* to their own Demains. It is not to be doubted, that *Pausanias* took this answer in good part. For it was not his purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but only to cross the proceedings of *Lysander*, whom he envied. Therefore having in some small skirmishes against them of *Thrasybulus* his party, made a shew of war, he finally wrought such means, that all things were compounded quietly: the thirty men, and such others as were like to give cause of tumults, being sent to *Sparta*. The remainder of that tyrannical faction, having withdrawn themselves to *Eleusine*, were shortly after found to attempt some innovation; whereupon the whole City rising against them, took their Captains, as they were coming to Parly, and slew them: which done, to avoid further inconvenience, a law was made, that all injuries past should be forgotten, and no man called into question for wrongs committed. By which order, wisely made, and carefully observed, the City returned to her former quietness.

CHAP. X.

Of the Expedition of Cyrus *the younger.*

§. I.

The grounds of Cyrus *his attempt against his Brother.*

THE matters of *Greece* standing upon such terms, that no one Estate durst oppose it self against that of *Lacedæmon*; young *Cyrus*, Brother to *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, having in his Fathers life-time very carefully prosecuted the War against *Athens*, did send his messengers to *Sparta*, requesting that their love might appear no less to him, than that which he had shewed towards them in their dangerous War against the *Athenians*. To this request, being general, the *Lacedæmonians* gave a suitable answer; commanding the Admiral to perform unto *Cyrus* all service that he should require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly discovered himself, and the *Lacedæmonians* bent their whole power to his assistance, very like it is, that either the Kingdom of *Persia* should have been the recompence of his deserts; or that, he perishing in battel, as after he did, the subversion of that Empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, rather to shew unto the *Greeks* the wayes, which under the *Macedonian* Ensigns, the victorious foot-steps of their posterity should measure; and opening unto them the riches, and withal the weakness of the *Persian*, to kindle in them both desire and hope of that Conquest, which he reserved to another generation; than to give into their hands that mighty Kingdom, whose hour was not yet come. The love which *Parysatis* the Queen-mother of *Persia* bare unto *Cyrus* her younger son, being seconded by the earnest favour of the people, and ready desires of many principal men, had moved this young Prince, in his Fathers old age, to aspire after the Succession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath before been shewed) whose meaning was to curb this ambitious Youth; he found his elder brother *Artaxerxes*

taxerxes eſtabliſhed ſo ſurely by the old Kings favour, that it were not ſafe to attempt any means of diſplanting him, by whoſe diſfavour himſelf might eaſily loſe the place of a Viceroy, which he held in *Aſia* the leſs, and hardly be able to maintain his own life. The neareſt neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the Kings Deputies in the lower *Aſia*, was *Tiſſaphernes*, a man compounded of cowardiſe, treachery, craft, and all vices which accuſtomably branch out of theſe. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, uſing by the way all fair ſhews of friendſhip, as to a Prince, for whom it might well be thought, that Queen *Paryſatis* had obtained the inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was very true, that *Paryſatis* had uſed the beſt of her endeavour to that purpoſe, alledging that (which in former ages had been much available to *Xerxes*, in the like diſceptation with his elder brother) *Artaxerxes* was born whilſt his Father was a private man, but *Cyrus*, when he was crowned King. All which not ſufficing; when the moſt that could be obtained for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of ſome preſumptuous demeanor, and confirmation of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adjoyning: then did this *Tiſſaphernes* diſcover his nature, and accuſe his friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous treaſon intended againſt his perſon. Upon this accuſation, whether true or falſe, very eaſily believed, *Cyrus* was arreſted, and by the moſt vehement intreaty of his Mother very hardly delivered, and ſent back into his own Province.

§. II.

The preparations of Cyrus, *and his firſt entry into the War.*

THE form of Government which the *Perſian* Lieutenants uſed in their ſeveral Provinces, was in many points almoſt Regal. For they made war and peace, as they thought it meet, not only for the Kings behoof, but for their own reputation; uſually indeed with the Kings enemies, yet ſometimes one with another: which was the more eaſily tolerated, becauſe their own heads were held only at the Kings pleaſure, which cauſed them to frame all their doings to his will, what ſoever it were, or they could conjecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being ſetled in *Lydia*, began to conſider with himſelf, the intereſt that he had in the Kingdom; the ſmall aſſurance of his Brothers love, held only by his Mothers interceſſion; the diſgrace endured by his late impriſonment; and the means which he had by love of his own people, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he had bound unto him, to obtain the Crown for himſelf. Neither was it expedient that he ſhould long ſit idle, as waiting till occaſion ſhould preſent it ſelf: but rather enterpriſe ſomewhat whilſt yet his Mother lived, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worſe than only queſtionable. Hereupon he firſt began to quarrel with *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſeized upon many Towns of his Juriſdiction, annexing them to his own Province, which diſpleaſed not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (beſides that he was of condition ſomewhat ſimple) being truly paid by *Cyrus* the accuſtomable Tributes out of thoſe places, was well contented to ſee his brothers hot ſpirit exerciſed in private quarrels. But *Tiſſaphernes*, whoſe baſe conditions were hated, and cowardiſe deſpiſed, although he durſt not adventure to take arms againſt *Cyrus*, yet perceiving that the *Mileſians* were about to give up themſelves into the hands of that young Prince, as many other Towns of the *Ionians* had done, thought by terror to preſerve his reputation, and keep the Town in his own hands. Wherefore he ſlew many, and many he baniſhed, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing fair occaſion to take arms, which was no ſmall part of his deſire. In levying Souldiers he uſed great policy; for he took not only the men of his own Province, or of the Countries adjoyning, whoſe lives were ready at his will; but ſecretly he furniſhed ſome *Grecian* Captains with money, who being very good men of War, entertained Souldiers therewith, ſome of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Theſſaly*, others elſewhere in *Greece*; but all of them ready to croſs the Seas, at the firſt call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had ſecret inſtructions to prolong their ſeveral Wars, that the Souldiers might be held in continual exerciſe, and ready in arms upon the ſudden. *Cyrus* having ſent a power of men to beſiege *Miletus*, forthwith ſummoned theſe bands of the *Greeks*, who very readily came over to his aſſiſtance, being thirteen thouſand very firm Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almoſt incredible) againſt the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Army, and that which he had levied before, he could very eaſily have forced *Miletus*, and chaſed away *Tiſſaphernes* out of *Aſia* the leſs: but his purpoſe was not ſo to loſe time in ſmall matters; that was to be imployed in the accompliſhment of higher deſigns. Pretending therefore that the

the *Pisidians*, a people of *Asia* the less, not subject to the *Persian*, had invaded his Territory; he raised the siege of *Miletus*, and with all speed marched Eastward, leaving *Tissaphernes* much amazed, who had no leisure to rejoyce that *Cyrus* had left him to himself, when he considered, that so great an Army, and so strong, was never levied against the Rovers of *Pisidia*, but rather against the great King his Master. For which cause taking a band of five hundred horse, he posted away to carry tidings to the Court, of this great preparation.

§. III.

How Cyrus *took his journey into the higher* Asia, *and came up to his Brother.*

THe tumult which his coming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queen *Statira*, against *Parysatis*, the Queen-Mother, whom she called the Author and occasioner of the war. But whilst the King in great fear was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger hasted upon him very fast. For *Cyrus* made great marches, having his number much increased by the repair of his Countrey-men, though most strengthened by the access of seven hundred *Greeks*, and of other four hundred of the same Nation, who revolted unto him from the King. How terrible the *Greeks* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by tryal in a Muster, which (to please the Queen of *Cicilia*, who had brought him aid) he made in *Phrygia*; where the *Greeks* by his direction making offer of a charge upon the rest of his Army, which contained a hundred thousand men, the whole Camp (not perceiving that this was but a bravery) fled a-main, the victuallers and baggagers forsaking their Cabins, and running all away for very fear. This was to *Cyrus* a joyful spectacle, who knew very well, that his Brother was followed by men of the same temper, and the more unlikely to make resistance, because they were prest to the war against their will and dispositions, whereas his Army was drawn along by meer affection and good will. Nevertheless he found it a very hard matter to perswade the *Greeks* to pass the River of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had trodden, wearied them with the conceit of the tedious return. Therefore he was driven, being yet in *Cicilia*, to seek excuses, telling them, that *Abrocomas*, one of the Kings principal Captains, and his own great enemy, lay by the River, against whom he requested them to assist him. By such devices, and excessive promise of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*; where some of the *Greeks* considering, That who so passed the River first, should have the most thanks, and might safely return if the rest should refuse to follow them; they entred the Foords, whereby all were finally perswaded to do as some had begun: and being allured by great hopes, they resolved to seek out *Artaxerxes*, wheresoever he was to be found. The King in the mean time having raised an Army of nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident upon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in trial of a plain battel. *Abrocomas*, who with three hundred thousand men, had undertaken to make good the Streights of *Syria*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a strong wall, and other defences of nature and art, which made the place to seem impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himself toward the Kings forces, not daring to look *Cyrus* in the face; who despairing to find any way by Land, had procured the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, by the benefit whereof to have transported his Army. I do not find that this cowardise of *Abrocomas*, or his Souldiers, who arrived not at the Camp, till five dayes were past after the battel, received either punishment, or disgrace; for they, toward whom he withdrew himself; were all made of the same metal.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* was upon the point of retiring to the uttermost bounds of his Kingdom, until by *Teribazus*, one of his Captains, he was perswaded not to abandon so many goodly Provinces to the enemy, who would thereby have gathered addition of strength, and (which in the sharp disputation of Title to a Kingdom is most available) would have grown superiour in reputation. By such advice, the King resolved upon meeting with his Brother, who now began to be secure, being fully perswaded, that *Artaxerxes* would never dare to abide him in the field. For the King having cast up a Trench of almost forty miles in length, about thirty foot broad, and eighteen foot deep, intended there to have encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so safe, as to be far distant from his enemies.

§. IV.

The Battel between Cyrus *and* Artaxerxes.

THE Army of *Cyrus* having overcome many difficulties of evil waies, and scarcity

ſcarcity of victuals, was much incouraged by perceiving this great fear of *Artaxerxes*; and being paſt this Trench, marched careleſly in great diſorder, having beſtowed their Arms in Carts; and upon Beaſts of carriage; when on the ſudden one of their Van-currors, brought news of the Kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themſelves, and had ranged their Battels in good order upon the ſide of the River *Euphrates*, where they waited for the coming of their enemies, whom they ſaw not till it was afternoon. But when they ſaw the cloud of duſt raiſed by the feet of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, and perceived by their near approach how well they were marſhalled, coming on very orderly in ſilence, whereas it had been expected, that ruſhing violently with loud clamors, they ſhould have ſpent all their force upon the firſt brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were ſo unequal in diſtent, being all embattelled in one body and ſquare, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Perſian* manner) in the midſt of his own, did not with the corner, and utmoſt point thereof, reach to the half breadth of *Artaxerxes* his battel, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greeks* begin to diſtruſt their own manhood, which was not accuſtomed to make proof of it ſelf, upon ſuch exceſſive odds. It was almoſt incredible, that ſo great an Army ſhould be ſo eaſily chaſed. Neverthelеſs, it quickly appeared, that theſe *Perſians*, having learned (contrary to their cuſtom) to give charge upon their enemies with ſilence, had not learned (for it was contrary to their nature) to receive a ſtrong charge with courage. Upon the very firſt offer of an on-ſet, made by the *Greeks*, all that beaſtly rabble of cowards fled amain, without abiding the ſtroke, or ſtaying till they were within reach of a dart. The Chariots armed with hooks and ſithes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twenty) did ſmall hurt that day, becauſe the drivers of them leaping down, fled away on foot. This baſe demeanour of his enemies gave ſo much confidence to *Cyrus* and his Followers, that ſuch as were about him forthwith adored him as King. And certainly, the Title had been aſſured unto him that day, had not he ſought how to declare himſelf worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiving that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompaſs the *Greeks*, and to ſet upon them in the rear, he advanced with ſix hundred Horſe, and gave ſo valiant a charge upon a ſquadron of ſix thouſand, which lay before the King, that he brake it, ſlaying the Captain thereof *Artagerſes*, with his own hands, and putting all the reſt to flight. Hereupon his whole company of ſix hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chaſe, leaving *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiving where the King ſtood in troop, uncertain whether to fight, or leave the field, could not contain himſelf, but ſaid, *I ſee the man*: and preſently, with a ſmall handful of men about him, ran upon his Brother, whom he ſtrake through the Curace, and wounded in the breaſt. Having given this ſtroke, which was his laſt, he received immediately the fatal blow, which gave period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded under the eye with a Dart, thrown by a baſe fellow, wherewith aſtonied, he fell dead from his horſe, or ſo hurt, that it was unpoſſible to have recovered him, though all which were with him, did their beſt for his ſafety; not caring afterwards for their own lives, when once they perceived that *Cyrus* their Maſter was ſlain. *Artaxerxes* cauſed the head and right hand of his Brother to be forthwith ſtricken off, and ſhewed to his people, who now purſuing them, fled apace, calling upon the name of *Cyrus*, and deſiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troops, and utterly diſmaid ſuch *Perſian* Captains, as were now, even in their own eyes, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Camp of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned; from whence *Artaxerxes* making all ſpeed, arrived quickly at the quarter of the *Greeks*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There he met with *Tiſſaphernes*, who having made way through the Battel of the *Greeks*, was ready now to joyn with his Maſter in ſpoiling their Tents. Had not the news, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his Brothers death, been ſufficient to countervail all diſaſters received, the exploit of *Tiſſaphernes* in breaking through the *Greeks*, would have yielded little comfort. For *Tiſſaphernes* had not ſlain any one man of the *Greeks*, but contrariwiſe, when he came upon them, they opening their Battel, drave him with great ſlaughter through them, in ſuch wiſe, that he rather eſcaped as out of an hard paſſage, than forced his way through the ſquadron of the *Greeks*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greeks*, as Maſters of the field, gave chaſe to all that came in their ſight; they ranged their Com-

panies into good order, and followed after these *Greeks*, intending to set upon them in the rear. But these good Souldiers perceiving the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to seek honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being pursued unto a certain Village, that lay under a hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a bravery, than with purpose to attempt upon these bold fellows any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had secured his estate, whom he would seem to have slain with his own hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient to give reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preserve well enough, shewing a manly look half a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore he advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displaid on the top of a Spear. This ensign might have encouraged his people, had not some of the *Greeks* espied it, who not meaning that he should abide so near them, with all their power marched toward him. The King discovering their approach, fled upon the spur: so that none remained in the place of battel, save only the *Greeks*, who had lost that day not one man, nor taken any other harm, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondred that they heard no news of *Cyrus*, but thinking that he was pursuing the Army, they thought it was fittest for them, having that day done enough, to return to their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the Kings coming had given them no leisure to dine.

§. V.

The hard estate of the Greeks *after the fight; and how* Artaxerxes *in vain sought to have made them yield unto him.*

IT was now about the setting of the Sun, and they bringing home dark night with them, found their Camp spoiled, little or nothing being left that might serve for food: so that wanting victuals to satisfie their hunger, they refreshed their weary bodies with sleep. In the mean season *Artaxerxes* returning to his Camp, which he entred by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he perceived that the baseness of his people, and weakness of his Empire, was now plainly discovered to the *Greeks*: which gave him assurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shameful demeanor of his Army, should live to carry tidings home, it would not be long, ere with greater forces they disputed with him for his whole Signory. Wherefore he resolved to try all means, whereby he might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carry tidings of that which he had seen: to which purpose he sent them a brave message the next morning; charging them to deliver up their Arms, and come to his Gates, to await there upon his Mercy. It seems that he was in good hope to have found their high courages broken, upon report of his brothers death: but he was greatly deceived in that thought. For the *Greeks* being advertised that morning from *Arieus*, a principal Commander under *Cyrus*, that his Master being slain, he had retired himself to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from thence, whence intending to return into *Ionia*, his meaning was to dislodge the next day, awaiting for them so long if they would joyn with him, but resolving to stay no longer: they sent answer back to *Arieus*, that having beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durst resist them, they would place *Arieus* himself in the Kings Throne, if he would joyn with them, and pursue the victory. Before they received any reply to this answer, the Messengers of *Artaxerxes* arrived at the Camp, whose errand seemed to the Captains very insolent: One told them, that it was not for the Vanquishers to yield their Weapons; another, that he would dye ere he yielded to such a motion: a third asked, whether the King, as having the victory, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he desired them in a way of friendship; for then would they first know, with what courtesie he meant to requite their kindness. To this question *Phalinus* a *Grecian*, waiting upon *Tissaphernes*, answered; That the King having slain *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the middest whereof he held them fast enclosed with great Rivers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted strength to kill if they would hold up their throats; for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These words, to them, who knew themselves to be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore, one told *Phalinus*, that having nothing left, but their Arms and Valour, whilest they kept their Arms, their Valour would be serviceable; but should they yield them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remain their own. Hereat *Phalinus* laughed, saying;

This

This young man did seem a Philosopher, and made a pretty speech; but that his deep speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Arms and Valour to prevail against the great King. It seems that *Phalinus* being a Courtier, and imployed in a business of importance, thought himself too profound a States-man, to be checkt in his Embassage by a bookish discourser. But his wisdom herein failed him. For whatsoever he himself was (of whom no more is known, than that he brought an unhoneſt message to his own Country-men, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons, and Lives, to the mercileſs *Barbarians*) this young Scholar by him despised, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principal Commanders were surprised by treachery of the *Persians*, being a private Gentleman, and having never seen the wars before, undertook the conduct of the Army, which he brought safe into *Greece*, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than *Phalinus* could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithful to the King, as they had been to *Cyrus*, offering their service in *Egypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might have use of them. But the final answer was, That without Weapons they could neither do the King good as Friends, nor defend themselves from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalinus* delivered the Kings further pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilst they abode where they then were, denouncing War if they stirred thence; Whereunto he required their answer. *Clearchus* the General told him, They liked it. How (saith *Phalinus*) must I understand you? As choosing peace if we stay, or otherwise war, said *Clearchus*. But whether war or peace, quoth this politique Embassadour? To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose,) Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed him, no wiser than he came. All that day the *Greeks* were fain to feed upon their Horses, Asses, and other Beasts, which they rosted with Arrows, Darts, and wooden Targets, thrown away by the Enemies.

§. VI.

How the Greeks *began to return homewards.*

AT night they took their way towards *Ariæus*, to whom they came at midnight; being forsaken by four hundred foot, and forty horse, all *Thracians*, who fled over to the King; by whom how they were entertained, I do not find. Like enough it is that they were cut in pieces, for had they been kindly used, it may well be thought that some of them should have accompanied *Tissaphernes*, and served as Stales to draw in the rest. *Ariæus* being of too base a temper, and birth, to think upon seeking the Kingdom for himself, with such assistance as might have given it unto *Cyrus*, was very well pleased to make covenant with them for mutual assistance unto the last: Whereunto both parts having sworn, he advised them to take another way homeward, which should be somewhat longer, yet safer and fitter to relieve them with victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, having made a wearisome march, and tired the Souldiers, they found the Kings Army which had coasted them, lodged in certain Villages, where they purposed themselves to have encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made directly, because he would not seem by declining them, to shew fear, or weakness. That the Kings men were contented to remove, and give place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former behaviour; Nor strange, that the *Græcians*, being weary and hungry, and lying among enemies in an unknown Countrey, should be very fearful: but it is almost past belief, that the noise which was heard of these poor men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition inforced them to do, should make the *Persians* fly out of their Camp, and so affright the great King, that in stead of demanding their Arms, he should crave peace of them. The next day very early came messengers from *Artaxerxes*, desiring free access for Embassadors, to entreat of peace. Were it not that such particulars do best open the quality of the persons, by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter, to run over the general passages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Messengers to bid the King prepare for battel, because the *Greeks* (as he said) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to hear of truce till their bellies were full; *Artaxerxes* dissembling the indignity, was contented sweetly to swallow down this pill, sending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of victuals to relieve them.

§. VII.

How Tissaphernes, *under colour of peace, betrayed all the Captains of the* Greeks.

HItherto the *Greeks*, relying upon their own virtue, had rather advanced their affairs, than brought themselves into any straights or terms of disadvantage. But now came unto them the subtil Fox *Tissaphernes*, who circumventing the Chief Commanders by fine sleights, did mischievously entrap them, to the extreme danger of the Army. He told them, that his Province, lying near unto *Greece*, had caused him greatly to desire, that their deliverance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countrymen at home, would not be unthankful for such a benefit. Herewithall he forgot not to rehearse the great service that he had done to his Master, being the first that advertised him of *Cyrus* his intent, and having not only brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of battel shewed his face to the *Greeks*, when all others turned their backs: that he, together with the King, did enter their Camp, and gave chase to the *Barbarians* that stood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth he) did I alledge to the King, entreating that he would give me leave to conduct you safe into *Greece*; in which sute I have good hope to speed, if you will send a mild answer to him, who hath willed me to ask you, for what cause ye have born Arms against me. The Captains hearing this, were contented to give gentle words, which *Tissaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly, as he said) that peace should be granted: the conditions whereof were; That they should pass freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for that they took, and committing no spoil: yet that it should be lawful for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refused to afford them an open Market. Hereupon both parties having sworn, the League was concluded; and *Tissaphernes*, returning to the King to take leave, and end all business came unto them again after twenty dayes, and then they set forward. This interim of twenty days, which *Tissaphernes* did spend at the Court, ministred great occasion of mistrust to his new Confederates. For besides his long absence, which alone sufficed to breed doubt, the Brethren, the Kindred of *Arieus*, repairing daily to him, and other *Persians* to his Souldiers, did work him and them so with assurance of pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grew more strange to the *Greeks* than formerly he had been. This caused many to advise *Clearchus*, rather to pass forward as well as he might, than to rely upon covenants, and sit still whilst the King layed snares to entrap them. But he on the contrary perswaded them, to rest contented whilst they were well, and not to cast themselves again into those difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treaty; reciting withall their own wants, and the Kings means, but especially the Oathes mutually given and taken, wherewith he saw no reason why the enemy should have clogged himself if he meant mischief, having power enough to do them harm by a fair and open War.

Tissaphernes was a very honourable man (if honour may be valued by greatness and place in Court) which caused his Oath to be the more esteemed; for as much as no inforcement, or base respect, was like to have drawn it from him. But his falshood was such, both in substance and in success, as may fitly expound that saying, which proceeded from the fountain of Truth, *I hate a rich man a lyar*. A lye may find excuse when it grows out of fear: for that passion hath his original from weakness. But when Power, which is a *Character* of the *Almighty*, shall be made the supporter of untruth, the falshood is most abominable; for the offender, like proud *Lucifer*, advancing his own strength against the Divine Justice, doth commit that sin with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with sure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tissaphernes* found means to destroy all the Captains, whom he subtilly got into his power by a train; making the General *Clearchus* himself the mean to draw in all the rest. The business was contrived thus: Having travelled some days together in such wise, that the *Persians* did not encamp with the *Greeks*, who were very jealous of the great familiarity appearing between *Tissaphernes* and *Arieus*; *Clearchus* thought it convenient to root out of *Tissaphernes* his brains all causes of distrust, whereof many had grown in that short time. To which purpose obtaining private conference with him, he rehearsed the Oath of Confederacy, which had past between them, shewing how religiously he would keep it; and, repeating the benefits, which the *Greeks* did receive by the help of *Tissaphernes*, he promised that their love should appear to him not unfruitful, if he would make use of their service against the *Mysians* or *Pisidians*, who were accustomed to infest his Provinces; or against the

the *Egyptians*, who were then Rebels to the Great King. For which cause he desired him, that whereas all divine and humane respects had linked them together, he would not give place to any close accusation or suspicion, whereby might grow sudden inconvenience to either of them, upon no just ground. The faithless *Persian* was very much delighted with this speech, which ministred fair occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wisely considered, wishing him further to call to mind how many waies he could have used to bring them to confusion, without peril to himself; especially by burning the Country, through which they were to pass, whereby they must needs have perished by meer famine. For which cause he said, that it had been great folly, to seek by perjury, odious to God and Man, the destruction of such as were already in his hands. But the truth was, that his own love to them had moved him to work their safety, not only for those ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleasures that might redound to himself, and the King, by their assistance; but for that he might by their friendship, hope to obtain what *Cyrus* had mist. Finally, he invited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and sent him away so well assured of his good will, that he promised to bring all the Captains with him to the same place, where, in presence of them all, *Tissaphernes* likewise promised to tell openly, which of them had by secret information sought to raise dissention between them. *Clearchus* himself being thus deceived, with great importunity drew all the chief Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders to repair with him to the Camp of *Tissaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers, as it had been to some common Fair. But being there arrived, *Clearchus*, with other the five principal Collonels, were called into the Tent, the rest staying without, where they had not waited long ere a sign was given, upon which they within were apprehended, and the residue slain. Forthwith certain bands of *Persian* Horsemen scoured the field, killing as many *Greeks* as they met, and riding up to the very Camp of the *Græcians*, who wondred much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cause, till one, escaping sorely wounded, informed them of all that had been done. Hereupon the *Greeks* took Arms in haste, thinking that the enemy would forthwith have assailed their Camp. Anon they might perceive the Embassadors of *Tissaphernes*, among whom were his own Brother, And *Ariæus*, followed with three hundred Horse, who called for the principal men in the Army, saying, That they brought a message from the King, which *Ariæus* delivered to this effect: That *Clearchus* having broken his faith, and the league made, was justly rewarded with death; that *Mnemon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the five Collonels, for detecting his treachery, were highly honoured; and finally, that the King required them to surrender their arms, which were due to him, as having belonged unto his servant *Cyrus*. When some altercation had followed upon this message, *Xenophon* told the Embassadors, that if *Clearchus* had in such sort offended, it was well that he was in such sort punished: but he willed them to send back *Menon* and *Proxenus*, whom they had so greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greeks* might be advised how to answer the *Persian*. Hereunto the Embassadors knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without speaking one word more. *Clearchus* and the other four were sent to *Artaxerxes*, by whose commandment their heads were stricken off. I hold it not amiss to prevent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiousness of *Tissaphernes*, the reward which he afterward received. He saw his Province wasted by the *Greeks*, against whom receiving from his Master convenient aid of men and mony, he did so ill manage his affairs, that neither subtilty, nor perjury (to which he failed not to have recourse) availed him; finally, the King was jealous of his cunning head, and sent a new Lieutenant into those parts, who took it from his shoulders. Such was the recompence of his treachery, which made him so mistrusted at home, that the service which he could not do, he was thought upon private ends to neglect; and so hated abroad, that he knew not which way to fly from the stroke, all the world being shut against him. But now let us return to the prosperity, wherein he triumphed without great cause, having betrayed braver men than himself, and intending to bring the like mischief upon the whole Army.

§. VIII.

How Xenophon *heartned the* Greeks, *and in despight of* Tissaphernes *went off safely.*

GReat was the heavineſs of the souldiers, being now left destitute of Leaders, and no less their fear of the evil hanging over their heads, which they knew not well how

how to avoid. Among the reſt, *Xenophon*, whoſe learning ſupplied his want of experience, finding the deep ſadneſs of the whole Army, to be ſuch as hindred them from taking any courſe of preventing the danger at hand, began to adviſe the under-officers of *Proxenus* his Companies, whoſe familar friend he had been, to bethink themſelves of ſome mean, whereby their ſafety might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: ſetting before their eyes whatſoever might ſerve for to give them hope, and above all, perſwading them in no wiſe to yield to the mercy of their barbarous enemies.

Hereupon they deſired him to take upon him the charge of that Regiment; and ſo together with him, the ſame night calling up ſuch as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fitteſt men to ſucceed in the places of thoſe who were ſlain, or taken. This being done, and order ſet down for disburdening the Army of all ſuperfluous impediments, they eaſily comforted themſelves for the loſs of *Tiſſaphernes* his aſſiſtance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheap than he had been wont to ſell them; To which purpoſe they intended to take up their lodging two or three miles further, among ſome plentiful Villages, and ſo to proceed, marching towards the heads of thoſe great Rivers, which lay in their way, and to paſs them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made upon them by *Tiſſapherners*, whom they, ſerving all on foot, were not able to requite for the harm which they received by the *Perſian* Archers, who ſhot at a farther diſtance than the *Greeks* could reach. For this cauſe did *Xenophon* provide ſlings, wherewith he overreached the enemy; and finding ſome horſes fit for ſervice, that were employed among the carriages, he ſet men upon them; training likewiſe his Archers to ſhoot compaſs, who had been accuſtomed to the point-blank. By theſe means did he bear off the *Perſians*, who aſſailed him; and ſometimes gave them chaſe with that band of fifty Horſe, which being well backt with a firm body of footmen, and ſeconded with troops of the light-armed ſhot and ſlingers, compelled the enemy to lye aloof. *Tiſſaphornes* not daring to come to handy gripes with theſe reſolute men, did poſſeſs the tops of mountains, and places of advantage, by which they were to paſs. But finally, when their valour made way through all ſuch difficulties, he betook himſelf to that courſe, which was indeed the ſureſt, of burning the Country. With great ſorrow did the *Greeks* behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some adviſed to defend the Country, as granted by the enemy himſelf to be theirs; others to make more fires, if ſo perhaps the *Perſians* might be aſhamed to do that which was the deſire of ſuch as made paſſage in hoſtile manner; But theſe were faint comforts. The beſt counſel was, that being near unto the *Carduchi*, a people enemy to the *Perſian*, they ſhould enter into their Country, paſſing over ſome high mountains which lay between them. This courſe they followed, which could not have availed them, if *Tiſſaphernes* had begun ſooner to cut off their victuals, rather than to ſeek to force, or circumvent them by his fine wit.

§. IX.

The difficulties which the Greek *Army found in paſſing thorow the Land of the* Carduchi.

ENtring upon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountred with many difficulties of waies, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accuſtomed by force to defend themſelves againſt the huge Armies of the *Perſian*, were no way inferiour to the *Greeks* in daring, but only in the Art of War. They were very light of foot, skilful Archers, and uſed the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Country were of much uſe againſt theſe poor travellers, afflicting them in ſeven daies which they ſpent in that paſſage, far more than all the power of the Great King had done. Between the Territory of theſe *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ran *Centrites*, a great River, upon which the *Greeks* refreſhed themſelves one day, rejoycing that they had ſo well eſcaped theſe dangers, and hoping that the remainder would prove eaſie. But the next morning they ſaw certain troops of Horſe, that lay to forbid their paſſage. Theſe were levied by the Kings Deputies in thoſe parts; *Tiſſaphernes* and his Companies having taken their way towards *Ionia*. The River was broad and deep, ſo that it was not poſſible for ſuch as would enter it, to make reſiſtance againſt thoſe which kept the oppoſite banks. To increaſe theſe dangers, the *Carduchi*, following upon them, lay on the ſide of a Mountain, within leſs than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to diſcover a Foord, by which the greater number of them paſſing over, did eaſily chaſe away the Subjects of the *Perſian*, and then ſending back the moſt expedite men, gave ſuccour to the Rear-ward, againſt which the *Carduchi*

duchi being ſlightly armed, could not on plain ground make reſiſtance hand to hand. Theſe *Carduchi* ſeem to have inhabited the Mountains of *Niphates*, which are not far from the Spring of *Tygris*, though *Ptolemy* place them far more to the Eaſt upon the River of *Cyrus* in *Media*; wherein he differs much from *Xenophon*, whoſe relation being grounded upon his own knowledge, doth beſt in this caſe deſerve credit. Of the River *Centrites* (as of many other Rivers, Towns, and Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a conjecture, which may indure the ſeverity of a *Critick*. For *Ptolemy*, and the whole Nation of *Geographers*, add ſmall light to this Expedition: only of this laſt, I think it the ſame which falleth into *Tygris*, not much above *Artaſigarta*, ſpringing out of *Niphates*, and running by the Town of *Sardeva* in *Gordene*, a Province of *Armenia* the Great, wherein the *Greeks* having paſſed *Centrites* did arrive.

§. X.

How Teribaſus *Governour of* Armenia, *ſeeking to entrap the* Greeks *with terms of feigned peace, was diſappointed, and ſhamefully beaten.*

THe Army finding in *Armenia* good proviſion, marched without any diſturbance about fifty or threeſcore miles to the heads of the River *Tygris*, and paſſing over them, travelled as far further without reſiſtance, till they were encountred by *Teribazus*, at the River *Teleboa*, which *Xenophon* commends as a goodly water, though ſmall, but *Ptolemy* and others omit it. *Teribazus* governed that Country for the *Perſian*, and was in great favour with *Artaxerxes*, whoſe Court may ſeem to have been a School, where the Art of falſhood was taught as wiſdom. He deſired peace of the *Greeks*, which was made upon this condition, That they ſhould take what they pleaſed, but not burn down the Towns and Villages in their way. As ſoon as he had made this league, he levied an Army, & beſetting the ſtreights of certain Mountains which they were to paſs, hoped well to make ſuch benefit of their ſecurity, as might give him the commendation of being no leſs craftily diſhoneſt than *Tiſſaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of ſucceſs. For a great Snow fell, which cauſed the *Greeks* to make many fires, and ſcatter themſelves abroad in the Villages. *Teribazus* alſo made many fires, and ſome of his men wandred about ſeeking relief. By the fires he was diſcovered, and by a Souldier of his that was taken priſoner, the whole plot was revealed. Hereupon the *Greeks*, taking this captive with them for a guide, ſought him out; and coming upon his Camp, did ſo affright him, that before the whole Army could arrive there, the ſhout which was raiſed by the Van-currors, chaſed him away. They took his Pavillion, wherein (beſides many ſlaves, that were Artificers of voluptuouſneſs) very rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Army went Northward, and paſſing *Euphrates*, not far below the ſprings thereof, travelled with much difficulty through deep Snow, being followed aloof by the enemy, who durſt not approach them, but did cut off ſuch as they found ſtragling behind. The Inhabitants of the Country, thorow which they marched, had their wintering houſes under ground, wherein was found great plenty of Victuals, and of Cattel, which likewiſe did winter in the ſame Cellars with the owners. Having refreſhed themſelves in thoſe parts, and taken ſufficient eaſe after the miſerable journey, which had conſumed many of them with extreme cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-ſlaves, and taking away (beſides other Horſes and Cattel) ſome Colts that were bred up for the Great King.

§. XI.

The paſſage of the Army to Trabyzond, *thorow the Countries bordering upon the River of* Phaſis, *and other obſcure Nations.*

SO without impediment they came to the River *Phaſis*, near whereunto the people called *Phaſiani*, *Tacchi*, and *Chalybes* were ſeated. Theſe Nations joyned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountains, which the *Greeks* were to paſs, made countenance of war: but ſome Companies being ſent by night to ſeize upon a place of equal height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, ſecured the aſcent of the reſt; which cauſed theſe people to flye, every one retiring to the defence of his own. The firſt upon whoſe Country the *Greeks* did enter, were the *Tacchi*, who conveying all their proviſion of victuals into ſtrong holds, brought the Army into much want, until with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great ſtore of Cattel were taken; the people, to avoid captivity, threw themſelves head-long down the rocks, the very women throwing down

down first their own children, and then casting themselves upon them. Here was taken a great booty of Cattel, which served to feed them, travelling through the Land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The *Chalybes* were a very stout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountred the *Greeks* hand to hand, killing as many as they took prisoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, singing and dancing, to the great grief of their companions living; who were glad, when after seven dayes journey they escaped from those continual skirmishes, wherewith they had been vexed by these *Barbarians*. Hence travelling through a good corn-Country, inhabited by an obscure Nation called the *Scythini*, they came to a rich Town, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adjoyning, used them friendly, and promised to guide them to a Mountain, whence they might discover the *Euxine* Sea. From *Gymnius* (which was the name of his Town) he led them through the Territory of his enemies, desiring them to waste it with sword and fire. After five dayes march, they came to a Mountain called *Teches*, being (as I think) a part of the Mountains called *Moschici*, whence their guide shewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their course: and passing friendly through the Region of the *Macrones*, (with whom by means of an interpreter, found among themselves, who born in that place had been sold into *Greece*, they made a good peace) they arrived in the Land of *Cholchos*, wherein stands the City of * *Trabisond*, called then *Trapezus*, a Colony of the *Greeks*. The *Colchi* entertaining them with hostility, were requited with the like; for the Army having now good leisure to repose themselves among their friends the *Trapezuntians*, did spoil the Country thirty dayes together, forbearing only the Borderers upon *Trabizond*, at the Citizens request.

* *Trabisond*, a Colony of the *Greeks*, situate in the bottom of the *Euxine* Sea.

§. XII.

How the Army began at Trabizond *to provide a Fleet, wherewith to return home by Sea: how they came into the Territory of* Synope, *and there prosecuted the same purpose.*

HAving now found an Haven-Town, the Souldiers were desirous to take shipping, and change their tedious Land-journies into an easie Navigation. To which purpose *Cherisophus* a *Lacedæmonian*, one of the principal Commanders, promised by means of *Anaxibus* the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, who was his friend, that he would provide Vessels to embark them. Having thus concluded, they likewise took order for the staying of such ships as should pass that way, meaning to use them for their Navigation. Lest all this provision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Army, *Xenophon* perswaded the Cities adjoyning to clear the wayes, and make an easie passage for them by Land; whereunto the Souldiers were utterly unwilling to give ear, being desirous to return by Sea: but the Country, fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to *Xenophons* request. Two ships they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, which they manned and sent to Sea: the one of them sailed directly into *Greece*, forsaking their Companions, who had put them in trust to bring ships into the Port of *Trabizond*: the other took Merchants and passengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Vessels were stayed to increase the fleet. After long abode, when victuals began to fail, by reason that all the Land of the *Colchi*, near unto the Camp, was already quite wasted, they were fain to embark their sick men, with the women, children, and such of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few ships which they had already provided. The rest of the Army took their way by Land to *Cerasus*, a *Greek* Town, where the Fleet likewise arrived. Here the Army being mustered, was found to consist of eight thousand and six hundred men. From hence they passed through the Country of the [a] *Mosynaci*, who were divided into factions. The stronger party despising their friendship, caused them to joyn them with the weaker whom they left Masters of all.

[a] *Mosynaci* a Nation of *Pontus Cappadocius.*

The next place of their abode was [b] *Cotyora*, a *Greek* Town likewise, and a Colony of the *Synopians*, as *Trapezus* and *Cerasus* were; but the entertainment which here they found was very churlish, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the sick men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Town by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sick in convenient lodgings taking into their own hands the custody of the Gates. Provision for the Army they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territory of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Town. These news were unwelcome to [c] *Synope*, whence Embassadors were sent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings,

[b] *Cotyora* a Port-Town in the same Region.

[c] *Sinope* a Port-Town in *Leucosyria*, a Colony of the *Mylesian*.

lings, and threatning to joyn with the *Paphlagonians*, if redreſs could not otherwiſe be had, were roundly anſwered by *Xenophon*, That meer neceſſity had enforced the Army to teach thoſe of *Cotyora* good manners in ſo bad a method: letting them know, that he feared not to deal with them and the *Paphlagonian* at once; though perhaps the *Paphlagonian* would be glad to take *Sinope* it ſelf; to which, if cauſe were given, they would lend aſſiſtance. Upon this anſwer the Embaſſadours grew better adviſed, promiſing all friendſhip that the State of *Sinope* could ſhew, and commanding the Town of *Cotyora* to relieve the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promiſed to aſſiſt them with ſhipping, letting them underſtand how difficult the paſſage by Land would prove, in regard of the many and great Rivers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, which croſſed their way. This good counſel, and the fair promiſes accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Army, which well perceived, that the City of *Sinope* would ſpare for no coſt, to be freed from ſuch a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would paſs the reſt of the way by Sea; provided, that if there ſhould want ſuch number of Veſſels as might ſerve to imbark every one of them; then would they not put from the ſhore.

§. XIII.

Of diſſention which aroſe in the Army, and how it was embarked.

HItherto the danger of Enemies, and miſeries of weather and wants, had kept the company in firm unity; which now began to diſſolve and to thaw, by the neighbouring air of *Greece*, warming their heads with private reſpects to their ſeveral ends and purpoſes. Whilſt they, who were ſent as Agents from the Camp, remained at *Sinope*; *Xenophon* conſidering the ſtrength and valour of his men, and the opportunity of the coaſt whereon they lay, thought it would be an honorable work to build a City in thoſe parts, which were ſoon like to prove great and wealthy, in regard both of their own puiſſance, and of the great repair of the *Greeks* into that quarter. For this cauſe he made ſacrifice, according to the ſuperſtition of his time and Country, divining of his ſucceſs by the entrails of beaſts. The Sooth-ſayer whom he imployed, had received a great reward of *Cyrus*, for conjecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not give battel in ten days: he therefore, having preſerved his money carefully, was deſirous to be ſoon at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpoſe of *Xenophon* was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diverſity of mens opinions; ſome approving the motion, but the greater part rejecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, being informed of this conſultation, were ſore afraid, leſt the poverty of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintain themſelves at home, ſhould give ſucceſs to the project. Which to prevent, they promiſed to ſupply the Army with a ſufficient Fleet, and likewiſe offered mony to ſome of the Captains, who thereupon undertook to give the Souldiers pay, if they would preſently ſet ſail for *Greece*. One of theſe Captains being a baniſhed man, deſired them to follow him into *Troas*; another offered to lead them into *Cherroneſus*. *Xenophon*, who deſired only the common good, was pleaſed greatly with theſe propoſitions, and profeſſed openly that he would have them to ſet forward, and hold together in any caſe, puniſhing him as a Traytor that ſhould forſake the Army, before ſuch time as they were arrived at their journeys end. *Silanus* the Sooth-ſayer, who had uttered *Xenophons* purpoſe, was hereby ſtayed from out-running his fellows, and driven to abide with his wealth among poor men, longer than ſtood with his good liking. Alſo the other Captains were much troubled and afraid, when they perceived, that ſhips were prepared ſufficient for their Navigation, but that the mony promiſed to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Army was now reſolved for the voyage, and that *Xenophon* whom they feared, had perſwaded them to this reſolution, thought it the wiſeſt way to furniſh them with a Navy, whilſt they were in good readineſs, to depart, but to keep the mony to themſelves. The Captains therefore, who being diſappointed by theſe Towns, found themſelves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with fair hopes, repented much of their fair offers, and ſignifying as much to *Xenophon*, prayed him to make propoſition to the Army, of taking the ſhips, and ſailing to *Phaſis*, where they might ſeize upon Lands, and plant themſelves in ſuch wiſe as ſhould ſtand beſt with their good liking. But finding him cold in the buſineſs, they began to work the principal of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the reſt. Theſe news becoming publick, bred a ſuſpition of *Xenophon*, as if he had won the reſt of the Captains to his purpoſe, and meant now

to carry the Army quite another way from their own home. Wherefore assembling the Companies, he gave them satisfaction, and withal complained of some disorders, which he caused them to redress. A general inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of *Cyrus*; which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embassadors from *Corylas*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who sending presents, desired peace of the *Greeks*: the Embassadors were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have been sought, for that the *Greeks*, having now their fleet in a readiness, did soon weigh Anchors, and set sail for *Harmene* the Port of *Sinope*, whither *Cherisophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admiral *Anaxibius*, who promised to give the Army pay as soon as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

§. XIV.

Another great dissention and distraction of the Army. How the mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, *and rescued by* Xenophon.

THe nearer that they approached to *Greece*, the greater was their desire to make provision for themselves, that they might not return home empty-handed. Wherefore trusting well that if the charge of the Army were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, he might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determined to make *Xenophon* sole Commander of all; in whose favour as well the Captains as the common Souldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the *Lacedæmonians*, who were jealous of him already (being incensed by that fugitive who forsook the Army at *Trabizond*, flying with one of their two ships) or moved by some tokens appearing to him in the intrails that threatned ill success to his Government, procured with vehement contention, that this honour was laid upon *Cherisophus* a *Lacedæmonian*. It seems that *Xenophon*, considering the vexation incident to the conduct of a voluntary Army, wanting pay, did wisely in yielding to such tokens as forbad him to accept it: especially, knowing so well their desire, which was, by right or by wrong, to get wealth wheresoever it might be found, without all regard of friend or foe. *Cherisophus* had been General but six or seven days, when he was deposed; for having been unwilling to rob the Town of *Heraclea*, which had sent presents to the Camp, and been very beneficial unto them in lending ships for their transportation. Two daies they had sailed by the coast of *Asia*, when being past those great Rivers, which would have given impediment to their journy by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where consulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea, one seditious man began to put them in mind of seeking to get somewhat for themselves; telling them that all their provision would be spent in three dayes, and that being now come out of the enemies Country, victuals and other necessaries could not be had without money; for which cause he gave advice to send messengers into the Town of *Heraclea*, giving the Citizens to understand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pieces of mony, called *Cyzicens*, which sum amounteth to two thousand and five hundred pound sterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the sum raised to ten thousand *Cyzicens* at least; which to require, they thought *Cherisophus*, as being General, the fittest man; others had more desire to send *Xenophon*, but in vain, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishoneſt. Lest therefore either of these should fail in managing the business which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudency and less discretion were sent; who in such wise delivered their insolent message, that the Citizens taking time to deliberate upon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Town, and shutting the Gates, did forthwith man the Walls. When the Souldiers perceived themselves to be disappointed of their ravenous purpose, they fell to mutiny, saying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them *Arcadians* and *Achæans*, they forsook immediately *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon*, chusing new Leaders out of their own number. Above four thousand and five hundred they were, all heavily armed, who electing ten captains, sailed into the Port of *Calphas*, which is in the midway between *Heraclea* and *Byzantium*, with purpose to assail the *Bythinians* on the sudden. With *Cherisophus* there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom one thousand and four hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thousand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and forty horse; which small band had done good service already, and could not have been spared now. *Cherisophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Governor of *Byzantium*, to meet him at the mouth of the River *Calphas*, whither *Cleander* promised to bring some Gallies

Gallies to convey him over into *Greece*; for which cauſe he took his way thither by Land, leaving to *Xenophon* ſuch ſhipping as he had; who paſſing ſome part of the way by Sea, landed upon the confines of *Heraclea*, and *Thraſia Aſiatica*, intending to make a cut through the mid-land Country to the *Propont*. The Mutiners who had landed at *Calphas* by night, with purpoſe to take ſpoils in *Bythinia*, divided themſelves into ten Companies, every Captain leading his own Regiment into ſome Village, five or ſix miles from the Sea; in the greater Towns were two Regiments quartered: and ſo was that part of the Country ſurpriſed on the ſudden, and ſacked all at one time. The place of Rendezvouz was an high piece of Ground, where ſome of them arrived, finding no diſturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger: two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men eſcaped, the reſt were all put to the ſword. For the *Thracians* which had ſlipt at firſt out of the Souldiers hands, did raiſe the Country; and finding the *Greeks* loaden with booty, took the advantage of their diſorder, cutting in pieces thoſe two Regiments: which done, they attempted the reſt, encompaſſing the hill whereon they encamped. One great advantage the *Thracians* had, that being all light armed, they could at pleaſure make retrait from theſe *Arcadians* and *Achæans*, who wanting the aſſiſtance of horſe, and having neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driven to ſtand meerly upon their defence, bearing off with great danger, and many wounds received, the Darts and Arrows of the *Barbarians*, till finally they were driven from their watering place, and enforced to crave parly. Whatſoever the Articles of compoſition were, the *Thracians* yielded to all; but pledges for aſſurance they would give none, without which the *Greeks* well knew, that all promiſes of ſuch people, eſpecially ſo incenſed, were nothing worth. In the mean time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of ſome Travellers, whether they knew ought of any *Grecian* Army, paſſing along thoſe parts: and receiving by them true information of the deſperate caſe into which theſe Gallants had fooliſhly thrown themſelves, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides, them who gave him the intelligence. His horſemen he ſent before to diſcover, and to ſcour the ways; the light armed footmen took the hill tops on either hand, all of them ſetting fire on whatſoever they found combuſtible: whereby the whole Country ſeemed to be on a light flame, to the great terrour of the enemies, who thought that ſome huge Army had approached. That night he encamped on a hill, within five miles of the *Arcadians*, encreaſing ſtill the number of his fires, which he cauſed haſtily to be quenched ſoon after ſupper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would have fallen upon them in the dark, which cauſed them in all haſte to diſlodge. Early in the next morning *Xenophon* coming thither in very good order, to have given battel, found that his device, to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but he marvelled that the *Grecks* were alſo departed, concerning whom he learned by enquiry, that they removed at break of day, and perceived by ſigns that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calphas*, in which journey he overtook them. They embraced him and his, with great joy: confeſſing that they themſelves had thought the ſame which the enemies did, looking that he ſhould have come by night; wherein finding themſelves deceived, they were afraid leſt he had forſaken them, and therefore haſtened away to overtake him, and joyn with him. So they arrived at the Haven of *Calphas*, where it was decreed, That whoſoever from thenceforth made any motion to diſ-joyn the Army, ſhould ſuffer death.

§. XV.

Of divers pieces of ſervice done by Xenophon; *and how the Army returned into* Greece. *The occaſions of the War between the* Lacedæmonians *and the* Perſians.

THE Haven of *Calphas* lay under a goodly Head-land, that was very ſtrong, and abounding with all kind of Grain and Fruits, except Olives. There was alſo Timber for building and ſhipping, and a very convenient Sea for a great City. All which commodities that might have allured the Souldiers to ſtay there, and to plant, cauſed them to haſte away, fearing leſt *Xenophon* ſhould find ſome device to have ſettled himſelf and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good means to live at home; neither did they ſo much for hope of gain follow *Cyrus* in that War, as in regard of his Honour, and the love which they bare unto him: the poorer ſort were ſuch as left their Parents, Wives and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchaſe) they were now deſirous to return. But whether it were ſo that *Xenophon* found advantage by their own ſuperſtition, to make them ſtay,

which they greatly ſuſpected; or whether the ſigns appearing in the entrails, did indeed forbid their departure; ſo long they were inforced to abide in the place till victuals failed: neither would the Captains lead them forth to forrage the Country, until the Sacrifices ſhould promiſe good ſucceſs. *Cheriſophus* was dead of an Ague, and his ſhips were gone, being returned to the *Heracleans*, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joyned to the reſt of the Army, which the greater it was, the more proviſion it needed, & the ſooner felt want. For which cauſe, he that was choſen Colonel into the place of *Cheriſophus*, would needs adventure to gratifie the Souldiers with the ſpoil of ſome Villages that ſtood near at hand; in which enterprize he found ill ſucceſs, the whole Country lying in wait to intrap him, and an Army of Horſe being ſet by *Pharnabazus* the *Satrapa*, or *Vice-roy* of *Phrygia*, to the aſſiſtance of theſe *Bythinian Thracians*, which troops falling upon the *Greeks* that were ſcattered abroad in ſeeking booty, ſlew five hundred of them, and chaſed the reſt to a certain Mountain thereby. The news of this overthrow coming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Army, to the reſcue of thoſe that ſurvived, and brought them ſafe to the Camp; upon which the *Bythinians* made an offer that night, and breaking a *Corps du guarde*, ſlew ſome, purſuing the reſt to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the preſent condition of the Army, ſo diſheartned and unfurniſhed of neceſſaries, cauſed the *Greeks* to remove their Camp to a place of more ſtrength; which having intrenched, and committed to the defence of ſuch as were leaſt able to endure travel. *Xenophon* with the firmeſt and beſt able men went forth, both to bury thoſe which were lately ſlain, and to abate the pride of the *Thraſians*, and their aſſiſtants. In this journey his demeanor was very honourable. For having given burial to the dead, the enemy was diſcovered, lying on the tops of the hills adjoyning, to whom (notwithſtanding that the way was very rough & troubleſome, ſo that ſome thought it a matter of too great danger, to leave at their backs a wood ſcarce paſſable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, that he had rather follow the enemy with half the number, than turn his back to them with twice as many; and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the *Barbarians*, he would not fail with the greater reſolution to purſue them; from whom if they could ſafely retire to the camp, yet what ſhould they do there, wanting victuals to ſuſtain them in the place, and ſhips to carry them away? Wherefore he willed them rather to fight well that day, having eaten their dinners, than another day faſting; and not to regard the uneaſie return, which might ſerve to ſtay Cowards from running away, but to wiſh unto the Enemy a fair and eaſie way, by which he might fly from them. Theſe perſwaſions were followed with ſo valiant execution, that both *Perſians* and *Bythinians* being chaſed out of the field, abandoned the Country forthwith, removing their Families, and leaving all that could not ſuddenly be conveighed away, to the diſcretion of the *Greeks*, who had good leiſure gathered the Harveſt of theſe bad Neighbours fields. This was the laſt fight which they had on the ſide of *Aſia*. For they were not only ſuffered quietly to enjoy the ſpoil of the Country, but when the opinion grew common in thoſe parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colony on the Port of *Calpas*, Embaſſadours were ſent from the Neigbour people, to deſire friendſhip, and make offer of their beſt aſſiſtance. But the Souldiers had no mind to ſtay. Wherefore entring further into *Bythinia*, they took a great booty, which they carried away unto *Chryſopolis*, a City near unto *Chalcedon*, where they ſold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in *Phrygia* to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly fear, leſt their long ſtay in that Country might breed in them a deſire to viſit his Province, where they might have found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he ſent to the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, intreating him with much inſtance and large promiſes to waft them over into *Europe*; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admiral condeſcending, promiſed to give the Souldiers pay, as ſoon as they arrived at *Byzantium*. So were they carried out of *Aſia* at the intreaty of the *Perſian*, who in the height of his pride had thought them ſo ſurely impriſoned with mighty Rivers, that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to ſurrender their Arms into his hands, and ſo to yield their lives to his diſcretion. How diſcourteouſly they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how, to requite his injurious dealings, they ſeized upon *Byzantium*, which by *Xenophons* perſwaſion they forbare to ſack; I hold it ſuperfluous to relate. For the reſidue of their doings appertain little to the general courſe of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, ſo did it both diſcover the ſecrets of *Aſia*, and ſtir up the *Greeks* to think upon greater enterprizes, than ever their forefathers had undertaken. Likewiſe

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it was the only remarkable action which the time afforded. For the *Roman* Wars did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Towns of *Italy*; and in *Greece* all things were quiet, the *Lacedæmonians* ruling insolently, but without disturbance. True it is, that the seeds of the War shortly following, which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Artaxerxes*, were already sown, before these Companies returned out of the high Countries of *Asia*. For the Towns of *Ionia*, which had sided with young *Cyrus* against *Tissaphernes*, if not against the Great King, prepared to rebel; which they thought safer, than to fall into the hands of *Tissaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Province, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the *Ionians* besought the *Lacedæmonians* to send them aid, whereby to recover their liberty; and obtained their request. For a power was sent over, under conduct of *Thimbro* a *Spartan*, who bestowed his men in such Towns as had already revolted, to secure the Cities, and their Fields, but not to make any offensive War.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Affairs of Greece, *whilst they were managed by the* Lacedæmonians.

§. I.

How the Lacedæmonians *took courage by example of* Xenophons *Army, to make War upon* Artaxerxes.

IT seems that the *Lacedæmonians* did well perceive in how ill part *Artaxerxes* took their favour shewed unto his Brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open War against him, thinking it sufficient to take all care that no advantage might slip, which could serve to strengthen their Estate, by finding the *Persian* work beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophons* Army had revealed the baseness of those effeminate Asiatiques, and rehearsed the many Victories which they themselves had gotten, upon terms of extreme disadvantage; then was all *Greece* filled with desire of undertaking upon this huge unweildy Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joynt-forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to *Susa*, whereof one handful had opened the passage to *Babylon*; and further, finding no power that was able to give them resistance, in all that long journey of four and thirty thousand two hundred and fifty five furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of English miles about four thousand two hundred fourscore and one, a very painful march of one year and three months. Nevertheless, the civil distraction, wherewith *Greece* was miserably torn, and especially that hot fire of the *Theban* War, which, kindled with *Persian* gold, brake forth suddenly into a great flame, drew back out of *Asia* the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the defence of their own Estate; leaving it questionable, whether *Agesilaus* having both the same, and far greater forces, could have wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two years, which he spent in *Asia*, his deeds procured more commendation of magnanimity and fair behaviour, than of stout courage, and great or profitable atchievements. For, how highly soever it pleased *Xenophon*, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other Wars, to extol his virtue; his exploits being onely a few incursions into the Countries lying near the Sea, carrying no proportion to *Xenophons* own journey, which I know not whether any Age hath parallel'd: the famous retrait of *Conon* the *Briton* with six thousand men from *Aqualeia*, to his own Country, through all the breadth of *Italy*, and length of *France*, in despite of the Emperor *Theodosius*, being rather like it than equal. But of *Agesilaus* and his Wars in *Asia* and *Greece*, we shall speak more in due place.

§. II.

The prosperous beginnings of the War in Asia.

THimbro receiving *Xenophons* men, began to take in Towns, and to entertain all such as were willing to revolt from the *Persian*, who were many, and some of them such, as had been highly beholding to the King;

King; who seem to have had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to live under the Government of *Tissaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate, as the King his Master did love him. The managing of the War begun by *Thimro*, was for his oppressions taken out of his hands; and committed to *Dercyllidas* a *Spartan*, who behaved himself as a good man of War, and a wise Commander. For whereas the Rule of the low-Countries of *Asia* was divided between *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, who did ill agree, *Pharnabazus* being the Worthier man, but the other by his Princes favour the greater, and having the chief command in those Wars against the *Greeks*; *Dercyllidas*, who did bear a private hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tissaphernes* was of a mischievous nature, and would not be sorry to see his Corrival throughly beaten, though to the Kings loss) made an appointment with *Tissaphernes*, and forthwith entred *Æolis*, which was under the jurisdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Province in few daies, he brought into his own power.

That Country of *Æolis* had about the same time suffered a violent alteration, which gave easie success to the attempts of *Dercyllidas*. *Zenis* a *Dardanian* had been Deputy to *Pharnabazus* in those parts; after whose death his Wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherein she behaved her self so well, that she not only was beloved of the people under her Government, but enlarged her Territory, by the conquest of certain Towns adjoyning; and sundry times gave assistance to *Pharnabazus* in his Wars against the *Mysians* and *Persians*. For she had in pay some Companies of *Greeks*, whose valour by her good usage, did her great service. But somewhat before the arrival of *Dercyllidas* in those parts, a Son in law of hers, called *Midias*, whom she trusted and loved much, being blinded with ambition, found means to stifle her, and kill her Son of seventeen years old; which done, he seized upon two of her principal Towns, wherein her treasure lay, hoping to have been admitted into possession of her whole Estate. Being denied entrance by her Souldiers that lay in Garrison, he sent Messengers with Presents to *Pharnabazus*, desiring him to make him Governour in the place of *Mania*. His Presents were not only rejected by *Pharnabazus*, but revenge of his foul treason threatned, whereby the wicked villain was driven into terms of almost utter desperation. In the mean time came *Dercyllidas*, to whom the Towns of *Mania*, that held against *Midias*, did quickly open their gates. One only Town stood out four daies (against the will of the Citizens, who were covetous of liberty) the Governor striving in vain to have kept it to the use of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities, *Gergethe* and *Scepsis*, which the Traytor held; who fearing all men, as being loved of none, sent Embassadors to *Dercyllidas*, desiring leave to speak with him, and pledges for his security: upon the delivery of which, he issued out of *Scepsis*, and coming into the Camp, made offer to joyn with the *Greeks* upon such conditions as might seem reasonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercyllidas*, that other condition there was none, than to set the Citizens freely at liberty. And presently upon these words they marched toward *Scepsis*. When *Midias* perceived that it was in vain to strive against the Army, and the Townsmen, who were all of one mind; he quietly went along with *Dercyllidas*, who remaining but a few hours in the City, did a sacrifice to *Minerva*, and then leading away the Garrison of *Midias*, he left the City free, and departed toward *Gergethe*. *Midias* did not forsake his company, but followed him, earnestly entreating that he might be suffered to retain *Gergethe*: but coming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they should be opened; for (quoth *Dercyllidas*) I must here likewise do a sacrifice to *Minerva*. The Traytor, not daring to make denial, caused his Mercenaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllidas*, taking possession of the place, tendred pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serve under his Ensigns. This done, all the goods of *Mania* were seized upon, as belonging to one that had been subject to *Pharnabazus*, who was enemy to the *Greeks*: and so the murderous Wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World he might find any place to hide his detested head. *Dercyllidas* having in eight daies taken nine Cities, purposed for the ease of his Confederates to winter in *Bythinia*, to which end he took Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any desire of War. That Winter, and the Summer ensuing, the Truce being continued, held; in which time, besides the wasting of *Bythinia*, the neck of Land joyning *Cherronea* to the Main, was fortified, being four or five miles in breadth; by which means eleven Towns, with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wilde *Thracians*, and made fit and able to victual the Camp. Likewise the City of *Atarne* was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with provision. After this, *Dercyllidas* had

had command from *Sparta* to divert the War into *Caria*, where was the seat of *Tissaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not uneasie to recover all the Towns of *Ionia*; *Pharax* the Admiral of the fleet (which was a yearly office) being appointed to joyn with him. Though it was manifest that *Tissaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of necessity; yet was he not in his own danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus*, having respect to the Kings service, came to assist his private enemy *Tissaphernes*, and so passing into *Caria*, they thrust Garrisons into all places of strength, which done, they marched towards *Ionia*, hoping to find the Towns ill manned for resistance. As these *Persians* were desirous to keep the War from their own doors, so was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his Confederates the *Ionians* from the spoil and danger of the War, by transferring it into *Caria*. For which cause he passed the River of *Mæander*; and not looking to have been so soon encountred, marched carelesly through the Country: when on the very sudden the whole Army of *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was discovered, consisting of *Persians*, *Carians*, and some Mercenary *Greeks*, who were all marshalled in very good order to present battel. The odds was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readiness, as also in advantage of ground: for the *Persians* had a great multitude of Horse, the *Greeks* very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plain. Therefore all the *Ionians*, together with the Ilanders and others, of such places as bordered upon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themselves to present flight; or abiding a while for shame, did plainly discover by their looks, that they meant not to be more bold than wise. Only *Dercyllidas* with his *Peloponnesians*, regarding their honour, prepared to endure the fight, which must needs have brought them to destruction, if the counsel of *Pharnabazus* had been followed; who perceiving the opportunity of so great a victory, was not willing to let it slip. But *Tissaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, seeing that countenance of resistance was made, began to consider, what strange defence the Souldiers of *Xenophon* had shewed, and thinking that all the *Greeks* were of the like resolution, held it the wisest way to crave parley; the conclusion of which was, That a Truce should be made, to last until *Tissaphernes* might receive answer from the King, and *Dercyllidas* from *Sparta*, concerning the demands propounded in the Treaty; which were, on the one part, That all the *Greeks* in *Asia* might enjoy their own liberty and Laws; but contrariwise on the other side, That the *Lacedæmonians* should depart *Asia*, and leave the Towns to the Kings pleasure. This Treaty was of none effect; only it served to free the *Greeks* from the present danger, and to gain time unto *Tissaphernes*, who desired to avoid the War by procrastination, which he durst not adventure to finish by tryal of a battel.

§. III.

How the Lacedæmonians *took revenge upon the* Eleans *for old displeasures. The discontents of the* Corinthians *and* Thebans, *conceived against the State of* Sparta.

IN the mean season the *Lacedæmonians*, who found none able to withstand them in *Greece*, began to call the *Eleans* to accompt for some disgraces received by them during the late Wars, when leisure was wanting to the requital of such petty injuries. These *Eleans* being Presidents of the *Olympian* Games, had set a fine upon the City of *Sparta*; for Non-payment of which, they forbad them to come to the solemnity; and publickly whipt one of them that was of note, for presuming to contend against their Decree. Likewise they hindred *Agis* King of *Sparta* from doing sacrifice to *Jupiter*; and in all points used great contempt toward the *Spartans*, who now had no business that could hinder them from taking revenge: and therefore sent a peremptory message to the *Eleans*, commanding them to set at liberty the Cities which they held in subjection. This was the usual pretence, which they made the ground of all their Wars: though little they cared for the liberty of such Towns, which they caused afterwards to become followers, and little better than meer Vassals of the *Lacedæmonians*. In their late Wars with *Athens*, the strong opposition which they found, caused this goodly Title of liberty to work very slowly: but having now to do with a State of great spirit and small force, it gave present success to their desires. Two years together they sent an Army into the Country of the *Eleans*: the first year an Earthquake (held in those times a prodigious sign, and which did always forbid the prosecution of any enterprize in hand) caused them to retire: the second year, all the Towns of the *Eleans* did hastily revolt, and the City it self was driven to submission; consenting both to suffer their old subjects freely to enjoy their liberty, and to have her own Walls thrown down. Only the Presidentship of the *Olympian* Games

was

was left unto them, which it was not to be doubted that they would in time coming use modestly, finding themselves to stand at the mercy of *Sparta*. in this expedition all the *Greeks* were assistant to the *Lacedæmonians*, excepting the *Corinthians* and *Beotians*, whose aid having been of as much importance in the late *Peloponnesian* War, as the force of *Sparta* it self, they could not smother their dislike of their unequal division following the victory; which gave to *Sparta* the command of all *Greece*; to *Thebes* and *Corinth*, onely security against *Athens*, but such a security as was worse than the danger. For when the equal greatness of two mighty Estates, did counterpoise each the other, it was in the power of these Neutral Common-weals to adhere to either, as the condition of their affairs required; but when, to revenge injuries, they had by mortal hatred prosecuted the War to extremity, leaving the one City naked of power and friends, the other mightily increased in both; it was then (if not necessary to obey the greatness which themselves had made, yet) foolish and dangerous to provoke it. Nevertheless, it was not the purpose of the *Spartans*, to take occasion of any quarrel, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by victory or composition made some good end with the *Persian*, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

§. IV.

The passage of Agesilaus *into* Asia. *His War with* Tissaphernes. *How* Tissaphernes *was put to death; and the War diverted into another Province, through perswasion and gifts of* Tithraustes *his successor. How careless the* Persian *Lieutenants were of the Kings good.*

Agesilaus newly made King of *Sparta*, was desirous to have the honour of the victory, which not without cause, he expected upon those of *Asia*; and therefore procuring a great Army to joyn with that of *Dercyllidas*, he took his way in great pomp to *Aulis* in *Bœotia*, a Haven lying opposite to the Iland of *Eubœa*; in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all *Greece* to the War against *Troy* many Ages before) had imbarked his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon*, he meant also to do sacrifice in *Aulis*, which the *Thebans*, Lords of that Countrey, would not permit, but saying, that the performance of such Ceremonies in that place, belonged unto their Officers; they were so unable to conceal their malice, that sending some Companies of horse, they threw down his sacrifice from the Altar. It was not then convenient time for *Agesilaus* to entangle himself and his Countrey in a new War; therefore waiting better opportunity of revenge, he quietly swallowed the contumely, and followed his main intendment. Having landed his men at *Ephesus*, he was entertained by *Tissaphernes* with a Treaty of peace, wherein *Agesilaus* peremptorily requiring that the *Persian* should restore to liberty all the *Greek* Towns in *Asia*, was promised that the King, being first informed of his demand, should send answer to his good liking, if he would in the mean while make Truce. Truce was therefore made, which *Tissaphernes* had sought, only to win time of making provision for the War, and getting supply of men and money from *Artaxerxes*, whilst *Agesilaus* was busie in setling the estates of his confederate Cities on that side of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from war was at the coming down of these Forces which *Artaxerxes* had sent: at what time *Agesilaus* received a plain message from *Tissaphernes*, that either he must forthwith depart out of *Asia*, or make good his abode by strong hand. *Agesilaus* returning word, that he was glad to hear that his enemies had by perjury deserved vengeance from heaven, prepared to invade them; and sending word to all the Towns which lay between him and *Caria*, that they should provide victuals and other necessaries for his Army, did easily make *Tissaphernes* believe, that his intent was to invade that Province wherein *Tissaphernes* dwelt, and which was unfit for Horse, in which part of his Forces the *Persian* had most confidence. Therefore *Tissaphernes* bestowing all his Companies of foot in *Caria*, entred with his Horse into the plains of *Mæander*, hoping thereby to stop the passage of a heavy foot-army, not suffering them to pass into that Countrey which was fittest for their service. But the *Greeks* left him waiting there in vain, and marched directly into *Phrygia*, where they took great spoil without resistance, till such time as the Horsemen of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a small skirmish having the better of the *Greeks*, were the occasion that *Agesilaus* returned to *Ephesus*. Although in this last fight only twelve men were lost, yet *Agesilaus* perceiving by that tryal how hard it would be to prevail, and hold the mastery of the field, without a greater strength of Horse, took all possible care to increase that part of his forces. By which means having enabled

enabled himſelf, whilſt Winter laſted, he entred upon the Country of *Tiſſaphernes*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would permit, and not only took a great booty, but finding the Horſe-men of *Tiſſaphernes* in the plain of *Mæander*, without aſſiſtance of their infantery, he gave them battel, and had a great Victory, taking their Camp, in which he found great riches. The blame of this loſs fell heavy upon *Tiſſaphernes*, who either upon cowardiſe had abſented himſelf from the battel, or following ſome other buſineſs, was then at *Sardis*. For which cauſe his Maſter having him in diſtruſt, and thinking that peace might be the ſooner had, which he much deſired, if the man, ſo odious to the whole Nation of the *Greeks*, were taken out of the way; he ſent into thoſe parts *Tithrauſtes* a *Perſian*, to cut off the head of *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſucceed him in the Government. Such was the end of this baſe and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heaven, when by perjury he could advance his purpoſes on Earth, failed at the laſt, through too much over-weening of his own wiſdom, even in that part of cunning wherein he thought himſelf moſt perfect; for ſuppoſing, that by his great skill in ſubtile negotiation he ſhould one way or other circumvent the *Greeks*, and make them weary of *Aſia*; he did not ſeek to finiſh the War, and, according to his Maſters wiſh, bring all things ſpeedily to quiet, but rather to temporize, till he might find ſome opportunity of making ſuch end as might beſt ſtand with the Kings honour and his own. Wherein it ſeems that he much miſtook his Princes diſpoſition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aid which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would he much more gladly have taken it, if he could have found ſuch means whereby the danger it ſelf might have been avoided: as not loving to have War, whilſt by any conditions (honourable, or not) he might obtain peace. And this appeared well by the courſe which *Tithrauſtes* took at his firſt poſſeſſion of the low-Countries. For he ſent Embaſſadours to *Ageſilaus*, in very friendly ſort letting him know, that the man who had been Authour of the War, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleaſure to let the *Greeks* enjoy their own laws and liberty, upon condition, that they ſhould pay him the tribute accuſtomed, and the Army be forthwith diſmiſſed. The anſwer to this propoſition, was by *Ageſilaus* referred to the Council of *Sparta*; in the mean ſeaſon he was content to transfer the War into the Province of *Pharnabazus*, at the requeſt of *Tithrauſtes*, who bought his departure with thirty Talents.

This was a ſtrange manner of War, both on the offenſive, and the defenſive part. For *Ageſilaus* having entertained great hopes of vanquiſhing the great King, was contented to forbear his ſeveral Provinces, at the entreaty of the Lieutenants: and thoſe Lieutenants being employed by the King to maintain his Eſtates againſt all enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their heads might eaſily be taken from their ſhoulders) were little offended at any loſs that fell on their next Neighbour-Princes, which were ſubject likewiſe to the ſam. Crown of *Perſia*, ſo long as their own Government could be preſerved from waſte and danger. The cauſe of this diſorder on the *Perſian* ſide, I can aſcribe to nothing ſo deſervedly, as to the corrupted eſtate of the Court, wherein Eunuchs, Concubines, and miniſters of pleaſure, were able, by partial conſtruction, to countenance, or diſgrace, the actions of ſuch as had the managing of things abroad; and to that fooliſh manner of the Kings (which was ſo uſual that it might be called a rule) to reward or puniſh the Provincial Governour, according to the benefit or loſs, which the Country, given in charge unto each of them, received, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to paſs, that as every one was deſirous to make his own territory yield a large increaſe to the Kings treaſure, ſo no man was carefull to aſſiſt his borderers, if loſs or danger might thereby grow to himſelf and his; but ſate ſtill as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joyning their forces, it had not been uneaſie to recompence the ſpoil of one Country, by conquering another, or defending a third from far greater miſeries.

§. V.

The War and Treaty between Ageſilaus *and* Pharnabazus.

Ageſilaus having thus compounded with *Tithrauſtes*, entred *Phrygia*, burning and waſting the Country without reſiſtance. He took the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant drave him out of the Camp. Theſe Actions, together with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their luſtre, were more glorious than profitable. For he did not win Cities and Places of ſtrength, which might have encreaſed his power, and given aſſurance to the reſt of his proceedings: but purchaſed fame and high reputation, by which he drew

unto him ſome that were diſcontented and ſtood upon bad terms with the great King; whom he loſt again as eaſily, by means of ſome ſlight injury done to them by his under-Captains. *Pharnabazus* did not encloſe himſelf in any Town, for fear of being beſieged, but kept the field, lying as neer as he could ſafely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpoſe to fight, but to make ſome good end by compoſition, which he found not uneaſie to do. For the pleaſures, by him formerly done to the State of *Sparta*, in the times of their moſt neceſſity, had been ſo great, that when he (obtaining parley) did ſet before their eyes his bounty towards them, and his love, (which had been ſuch, that beſides many other hazzards of his perſon, he had for the reſcue of their fleet, when it was driven to run a-ſhore at *Abydus*, adventured to ride into the Seas as far as he could find any ground, and fight on Horſe-back againſt the *Athenians*) together with his faith which had never been violated in word or deed: they knew not how to excuſe their ingratitude, otherwiſe than by telling him, That having War with his Maſter, they were inforced againſt their will, to offend him. *Ageſilaus* did make a fair offer to him, that if he would revolt from the King to them, they would maintain him againſt the *Perſian*, and eſtabliſh him free Prince of the Countrey wherein he was at that time only Deputy to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainly, That if the King his Maſter did put him in truſt to make war againſt them, he would not fail to do the beſt that he could as their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then ſhift ſide, and betake himſelf to their alliance. The iſſue of this parley was, That the Army ſhould no longer abide in *Phrygia*, nor again return into it, whileſt employment could be found elſewhere. The excuſe made by *Ageſilaus*, and the withdrawing of his forces out of thoſe parts, were not ſufficient to appeaſe *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not invaded for want of more neceſſary buſineſs elſewhere; but becauſe his Countrey would yield great booty, and for the hire of thirty Talents. By this means the *Lacedæmonians* changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards requited their unthankfulneſs with full revenge.

§. VI.

The great commotions raiſed in Greece *by the* Thebans *and others, that were hired with gold from the* Perſian.

IN the mean while *Tithrauſtes*, perceiving that *Ageſilaus* meant nothing leſs than to return into *Greece*, and let *Artaxerxes* reſt quietly in *Aſia*, took a wiſe courſe, whereby the City of *Sparta* was not only driven to look to her own, and give over her great hopes of ſubverting the Empire; but was beaten out of all that had been gotten by many late victories, and ſaw her Dominion reſtrained unto the narrow bounds of her own Territory. He ſent into *Greece* fifty talents of ſilver, to be imployed in raiſing war againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; which treaſure was by the ſubtle practice of him that was put in truſt with it, in ſuch wiſe diſperſed among the principal men of the *Thebans*, *Argives*, and *Corinthians*, that all thoſe Eſtates having formerly born ſecret hate to that of *Sparta*, were now deſirous of nothing ſo much, as of open war. And leſt this great heat of the incenſed multitude ſhould, for want of preſent exerciſe, begin to faint and vaniſh away in idle words, occaſion was found out to thruſt the *Lacedæmonians* into Arms, that they themſelves might ſeem Authors of the quarrel. Some land there was in the tenure of the *Locrians*, to which the *Thebans* had in former time laid claim; but the *Phocians* either having the better title, or finding the greater favour, had it adjudged unto them, and received yearly money for it. This money the *Locrians* were either hired or perſwaded to pay now to the *Thebans*, who readily accepted it. The *Phocians* not meaning ſo to loſe their Rent, made a diſtreſs by ſtrong hand, recovering a great deal more than their own; which the *Thebans* (as in protection of their new Tenants) requited with an invaſion made upon *Phocis*, waſting that Countrey in the manner of open war. Such were the beginnings of profeſſed hoſtility between *Thebes* & *Sparta*, & the firſt breaking out of their cloſe enmity, that had long time, though hardly, been concealed. For when the *Phocian* Embaſſadors came to *Sparta*, complaining of the violence done by the *Thebans*, & requeſting ſuccour, they had very favourable audience, & ready conſent to their ſuit, it being the manner of the *Lacedæmonians* to defer the acknowledgment of injuries received, until occaſion of revenge were offer'd, & then to diſcover their indignation in cold blood. At this time they had very good opportunity to work their

their own wills, having no other war to diſturb them in *Greece*, and hearing out of *Aſia* no news that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they ſent *Lyſander* to raiſe all the Countries about *Phocis*, and with ſuch forces as he could levy, to attend the coming of *Pauſanias* King of *Sparta* (for *Sparta*, as hath been ſhewed before, had two Kings) who ſhould follow him with the ſtrength of *Peloponneſus*. *Lyſander* did as he was appointed, and being of great reputation in thoſe parts, he drew the *Orchomenians* to revolt from *Thebes*. *Pauſanias* likewiſe raiſed all *Peloponneſus*, except the *Corinthians* (who refuſed, to aſſiſt him in that enterpriſe) meaning to joyn with *Lyſander*, and make a ſpeedy end of the war. The conſideration of ſo great a danger, approaching ſo ſwiftly, cauſed the *Thebans* to ſeek what help they could abroad, foraſmuch as their own ſtrength was far too little to make reſiſtance againſt ſuch mighty preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the *Lacedæmonians* were otherwiſe affected in heart, than they durſt utter in countenance; but the good wiſhes of ſuch people were little available, conſidering that the moſt which could be expected from them, was, that they ſhould do as little hurt as they could: by which manner of tergiverſation, the *Corinthians* did at that preſent caſt themſelves into the diſpleaſure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the ſafeſt courſe to procure the aſſiſtance of ſome Eſtate that might preſently declare it ſelf on their ſide, which would cauſe many others to follow the example, and make their party ſtrong. To this end they ſent Embaſſadours to *Athens*, excuſing old offences, as either not committed by publick allowance, or done in time of the general war, and recompenced with friendſhip lately ſhewn in their refuſal of aſſiſting *Pauſanias*, when he came in behalf of the thirty Tyrants againſt the good Citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their own Honour ſake, they requeſted them of aid in the preſent war, offering to do the beſt that they could for the reſtoring of *Athens* to her former eſtate and dignity. *Thraſybulus* and his Friends, who, perſecuted by the Thirty, had been well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the City to make a large requital of the courteſie which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of *Athens* ſhould not only refuſe to aid the *Lacedæmonians* in this War; but that it ſhould aſſiſt the *Thebans*, and engage it ſelf in their cauſe. Whilſt *Pauſanias* lay ſtill waiting the arrival of his Confederates; *Lyſander* being deſirous to do ſomewhat that might advance the buſineſs in hand, came to *Haliartus*, where, though *Pauſanias* did not meet him, as had been appointed, yet he attempted the Town, and was ſlain in fight by the *Thebans*, who came haſtily to the reſcue. As this victory did incourage the *Thebans*, ſo the coming of *Pauſanias* with his great Army did again amaze them, with preſentation of extreme danger; but their ſpirits were ſoon revived by the ſtrong ſuccour which was brought from *Athens*, in conſideration of which, and of the late battel, *Pauſanias* durſt not hazzard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of thoſe that were ſlain, by compoſition, departed out of their Territory; for which, either cowardiſe or indiſcretion, he was at his return to *Sparta* condemned as a Traitor, and driven to flie unto *Tegea*, where he ended his dayes in baniſhment.

§. VII.

How Ageſilaus *was called out of* Aſia *to help his Countrey. A victory of the* Spartans. Conon *the* Athenian *aſſiſted by* Pharnabazus, *overcomes the* Lacedæmonian *Fleet*; *recovers the maſtery of the Seas, and re-builds the walls of* Athens.

THis good ſucceſs, and the confederacy made with *Athens*, gave ſuch reputation to the *Thebans*, that the *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, and *Acarnanes*, did forthwith ſide with them, and raiſing a ſtrong Army, determined to give battel to the *Lacedæmonians* as near as they might, to their own doors; Conſidering that the force of *Sparta* it ſelf was not great, but grew more and more by the adjunction of their Confederates. The Magiſtrates of *Sparta* perceiving the danger, ſent for *Ageſilaus*, who readily obeyed them, and promiſing his friends in *Aſia* to return ſpeedily to their aſſiſtance, paſſed the Streights of *Helleſpont* into *Europe*. In the mean time, the Cities of the new league had given battel to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the remainder of their Aſſociats; but with ill ſucceſs. For when the right wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the *Argives* and *Thebans* returning from the chaſe in ſome diſorder, were broken and defeated by the *Lacedæmonians*, who meeting them in good order, won from them the Honour which they had gotten by forcing the left wing of the *Lacedæmonians*, and made the victory of that day entirely their own. The reporters of this battell meeting *Ageſilaus* at *Amphipolis*, were by

him ſent over into *Aſia*, wherein it is not likely that they brought much comfort unto his friend, who had ſince his departure ſeen the *Spartan* Fleet beaten, and *Lyſander* the Admiral ſlain. The ſame man, whoſe endeavour had brought the *Athenians* into order by advancing the Sea-forces of the *Lacedæmonians* with money, and all manner of ſupplies, was now the occaſion that the power of *Athens* grew ſtrong at Sea, when the City was deſpoyled of her old reputation, and ſcarcely able to maintain an Army by Land for her defence. *Pharnabazus* conſidering how much it imported the King his Maſter, to have the *Greeks* divided into ſuch factions as might utterly diſable them from undertaking abroad, thought it the ſafeſt way for himſelf, during theſe broils, to take ſuch order, that he ſhould not need any more to ſeek peace by intreaty and commemoration of old benefits, at their hands, who unprovoked, had ſold his love for thirty Talents. To which purpoſe he furniſhed *Conon* the *Athenian* with eight ſhips, who had eſcaped when the Fleet of *Athens* was ſurprized by *Lyſander* at *Ægos-Potamos*; giving him the command of a great *Navy*, wherewith he requited the loſs received at *Ægos-Potamos*, by repaying the *Lacedæmonians* with the like deſtruction of their fleet at *Cnidus*. After this victory *Conon* ſailed to *Athens*, bringing with him, partly as the liberality of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his victory, ſo ſtrong a *Navy*, and ſo much Gold, as encouraged the *Athenians* to rebuild their Walls, and think more hopefully upon recovering the Signiory which they had loſt.

§. VIII.

Of ſundry ſmall victories gotten on each part. The Lacedæmonians *loſe all in* Aſia; *the* Athenians *recover ſome part of their old Dominion.*

NEvertheleſs, the *Lacedæmonians*, by many victories at Land, maintained for ſome years the honour of their Eſtate, endangered very greatly by this loſs at Sea. For *Ageſilaus* obtained the better with his horſe-men from the *Theſſalians*, who were accounted the beſt riders in *Greece*. He waſted *Bœtia*, and fought a great battel at *Coronea* againſt the *Thebans* and their Allies, whom he overthrew; and by his Marſhall *Gylis* forraged the Countrey of *Locris*: which done, he returned home.

The gain of theſe victories was not great, and the reputation of them was, by many loſſes, much defaced. For the *Thebans* did in the battel of *Coronea* vanquiſh the *Orchomenians*, who ſtood oppoſite unto them, and retired unbroken to Mount *Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Ageſilaus* charged them in the return from the purſute. Likewiſe *Gylis* was ſlain with a great part of his Army by the *Locrians*; and ſome other exploits by the *Lacedæmonians* performed againſt the *Corinthians*, were repayed with equal dammage, received in the parts adjoyning; many Towns being eaſily taken, and as eaſily recovered. The variety of which enterfeats was ſuch, that the *Thebans* themſelves were drawn by the loſs of the haven of *Corinth*, to ſue for peace, but could not get audience, till ſuch time as the news came of a great victory obtained by *Iphicrates*, General of the *Athenian* forces at *Lechæum*; whereupon the *Theban* Embaſſadors being ſent for, and willed to do their meſſage, required only in ſcorn, to have a ſafe conduct given them, that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the War was made for a while only by incurſions, wherein the *Achæans*, Confederates of *Sparta*, felt much loſs, their whole State being endangered by the *Acarnanians*; who held with the contrary ſide, until *Ageſilaus* repayed theſe invaders with equal, or greater calamities, brought upon their own Lands, which did ſo afflict the *Acarnans*, that they were driven to ſue for peace. But the affairs at Sea were of moſt conſequence, upon which the ſucceſs of all depended. For when the Towns of *Aſia* perceived that the *Lacedæmonians* were not only intangled in a hard War at home, but almoſt diſabled to paſs the Seas, having loſt their Fleet at *Cnidus*; they ſoon gave ear to *Pharnabazus*, who promiſed to allow that they ſhould uſe their own laws, if they would expell the *Spartan* Governours. Only the City of *Abydus* did ſtand firm, wherein *Dercyllidas* lay, who did his beſt to contain all the Towns about *Helleſpont*, in the Alliance of the *Lacedæmonians*; which he could not do, becauſe the *Athenian* Fleet under *Thraſibulus*, took in *Bizantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other places thereabout, reducing the Iſle of *Leſbos* to their ancient acknowledgment of *Athens*.

§. IX.

The baſe conditions offered unto the Perſian *by the* Lacedæmonian. *Of ſundry fights and other paſſages in the War. The Peace of* Antalcidas.

ABout this time the *Spartans* began to perceive how uneaſie a thing it would be, to maintain the War againſt men as good as themſelves, aſſiſted with the treaſures of *Perſia*: wherefore they craved peace of *Artaxerxes*, moſt baſely offering not only to renounce the *Greeks* inhabiting *Aſia*, and to leave them to the Kings diſpoſition; but withall, to ſet the Iſlanders, and every Town in *Greece*, as well the little as the great, at full and abſolute liberty, whereby they ſaid that all their principal Eſtates of their Country would be ſo weakened, that no one, nor all of them ſhould be able to ſtir againſt the Great King. And ſure it was, that the power of the Country being ſo broken and rent into many ſmall pieces, could neither have diſquieted the *Perſian*, by an offenſive War, nor have made any good defence againſt him, but would have left it eaſie for him in continuance of time to have taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himſelf Maſter of all. The *Spartans* were not ignorant of this, but were ſo carried with envy, that perceiving how the dominion of the Seas was like to return to *Athens*, they choſe rather to give all from themſelves and others, and make all alike weak, than to permit that any of their own Nation ſhould grow ſtronger than themſelves, who ſo lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the firſt accepted; both in regard that the other Eſtates of *Greece*, who had in the Kings behalf joyned together againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, did by their ſeveral Embaſſadors oppoſe themſelves unto it; and for that it was thought ſafeſt for *Artaxerxes* rather to weaken the *Lacedæmonians* yet more, than by interpoſing himſelf to bring friends and foes on the ſudden to an equality. Eſpecially *Struthas*, whom *Artaxerxes* had ſent as his *Lieutenant* into the low-Countries, did ſeek to repay the harm done by *Ageſilaus* in thoſe parts: which his intent appearing plain, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off, *Thimbro* was ſent into *Aſia* to make War upon *Struthas*; and others were appointed to other places: whereby the War being ſcattered about, all the Iſles and Towns on the firm Land, grew almoſt to the manner of Pyracy and Robbery, affording many skirmiſhes, but few great actions worthy of remembrance. *Thimbro* was ſlain by *Struthas*, and in his place *Diphridas* was ſent, who demeaned himſelf more warily. *Dercyllidas* was removed from his charge at *Abydus*, becauſe he had not impeached *Thraſybulus* in his enterprizes about *Helleſpont*; *Anaxibius*, who ſucceeded him, was ſurprized and ſlain in a skirmiſh by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*. *Thraſybulus* departing from *Lesbos* toward *Rhodes*, was ſlain by the way at *Aſpendus*. The City of *Rhodes* had long before joyned with the *Lacedæmonians*, who erected there (as was their manner) an *Ariſtocratie*, or the Government of a few the principal Citizens; whereas contrariwiſe the *Athenians* were accuſtomed to put the Soveraignty into the hands of the people, each of them ſeeking to aſſure themſelves by erecting in the Town of their Confederates a Government like unto their own: which doing (where more eſpecial cauſe did not hinder) cauſed the Nobility to favour *Sparta*, and the Commons to incline to *Athens*. The people of *Ægina* roved upon the coaſt of *Attica* which cauſed the *Athenians* to land an Army in *Ægina*, and beſiege their Town: but this ſiege being raiſed by the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, the Iſlanders began a-new to moleſt *Attica*, which cauſed the *Athenians* to man their ſhips again, that returned beaten, having loſt four of thirteen. The loſs of theſe ſhips was ſoon recompenced by a victory which *Chabrias* the *Athenian* General had in *Ægina*, whereupon the Iſlanders were fain to keep home, and leave to the *Athenians* the Seas free. It may wel ſeem ſtrange that the City of *Athens*, having but newly raiſed her walls, having not by any fortunate and important Battel ſecured her eſtate from dangers by Land; but only depending upon the aſſiſtance of ſuch Confederates, as, carried unto different ends, had often diſcovered themſelves irreſolute in the common cauſe, would ſend a Fleet and an Army to *Cyprus*, in defence of *Evagoras*, when the Maſtery of the Seas was ſo ill aſſured, that an Iſland in the eye of *Pyræeus*, had ability to vex the coaſt of *Attica*. But as the over-weening of that City did cauſe it uſually to embrace more than it could compaſs; ſo the inſolency and ſhameleſs injuſtice of the people, had now bred in the chief Commanders, a deſire to keep themſelves far out of ſight, and to ſeek employments at ſuch diſtance as might ſecure them from the eyes of the envious, and from publick judgments, out of which few or none eſcaped. For which cauſe *Timotheus* did paſs away much part of his time in the Iſle of *Lesbos*; *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*; and *Chabrias* now did carry away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his

Country

Country could well have ſpared: with which he returned not when the buſineſs in *Cyprus* came to an end, but ſought new adventures in *Egypt*; whereby aroſe neither thanks to himſelf, nor profit to his City, though honour both to him and it. The *Athenians* being thus careleſs of things at hand, had a notable blow given unto them, ſhortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, even within their own Haven. For *Teleutias*, a *Lacedæmonian*, being made Governour of *Ægina*, conceived a ſtrong hope of ſurprizing the Navy of *Athens*, as it lay in *Piræus*; thinking aright, that it was a harder matter to encounter with ten ſhips prepared for the fight, than with twenty lying in harbour, whoſe Mariners were aſleep in their Cabbins, or drinking in Taverns. Wherefore he ſailed by night into the mouth of the Port, which entring at the break of day, he found (according to his expectation) moſt of the men on ſhore, and few or none left aboard to make reſiſtance: by which means he took many ſhips laden with merchandizes, many fiſher-men, paſſengers, and other Veſſels, alſo three or four Gallies; having ſunk or broken, and made unſerviceable, as many of the reſt as the time would ſuffer. About this time *Pharnabazus*, the Lieutenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings Daughters given to him in marriage, with whom he lived about the Court; and many Officers that favoured the *Lacedæmonians*, were placed in the lower *Aſia*; by whoſe aſſiſtance the Fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Helleſpont*; in ſuch wiſe, that perhaps they ſhould not have needed the peace, which they themſelvs procured by *Antalcidas*, from the Great King, the conditions whereof were ſuch as are mentioned before, giving freedom to all the Cities of *Greece*, and dividing the Country into as many ſeveral States as were petty Boroughs in it. Thus *Artaxexes* having bought his own peace with mony, did likewiſe by his mony become Arbitrator and decider of Controverſies between the *Greeks*, diſpoſing of their buſineſs in ſuch wiſe, as ſtood beſt with his own good. The Tenor of *Artaxerxes* his Decree was, That all *Aſia* and *Cyprus* ſhould be his own; the Iſles of *Lemnos*, *Imbrus*, and *Scirus*, be ſubject to *Athens*; all other *Greek* Towns, as well the little as the great, be ſet at liberty; and that whoſoever ſhould refuſe this peace, upon them the approvers of it ſhould make war, the King aſſiſting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ſhips, and treaſure. The *Athenians* were ſo diſcouraged by their loſſes at Sea; the *Lacedæmonians* by revolt of their confederates, and the neceſſity of maintaining many Garriſons, for which they wanted money; and other States by the miſeries of the war, whereof they ſaw no end; that all (excepting the *Thebans*) did conſent unto theſe Articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the *Lacedæmonians* taking upon themſelves the execution, did not only compell the *Argives* to depart out of *Corinth*, (which, under pretence of defending, they held by Garriſons, lately thruſt into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the *Thebans* to leave *Bœotia* free, of which Province *Thebes* had alwayes held the Government, the *Thebans* themſelves being alſo comprehended under the name of the *Bœotians*; but cauſed the *Mantinæans* to throw down their own City, and to dwell in Villages: alledging that they had formerly been accuſtomed ſo to do, though purpoſing indeed to chaſtiſe them, as having been ill-affected to *Sparta* in the late War. By theſe courſes the *Lacedæmonians* did hope that all the ſmall Towns in *Greece* would, when occaſion ſhould require it, willingly follow them in their wars, as Authors of their liberty; and that the great Cities having loſt all their dependants, would be unable to make oppoſition.

§. X.

The War which the Lacedæmonians *made upon* Olynthus. *They take* Thebes *by treaſon*; *and* Olynthus *by Famine.*

WHilſt theſe wars, which ended without either victory or profit, conſumed the riches and power of *Greece*, the City of *Olynthus* in *Thrace* was grown ſo mighty, that ſhe did not only command her neighbour-Towns, but was alſo become terrible to places far removed, and to *Sparta* it ſelf. Great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella*, the principal City of that Kingdom, was taken by the *Olynthians*, who following the uſual pretence of the *Lacedæmonians*, to ſet at liberty the places over which King *Amyntas* did tyrannize, had almoſt now driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themſelves. The Citizens of *Acanthus*, and of *Apollonia*, being neareſt unto the danger of thoſe incroaching neighbours, acquainted the *Lacedæmonians* with their fear, affirming that this Dominion of the *Olynthians*, would be too ſtrong for all *Greece*, if continuance of time ſhould give it reputation, which only it wanted: wherefore they requeſted aſſiſtance, but in ſuch terms as did ſound of compulſion, proteſting that either they muſt war upon *Olynthus*, or become ſubject unto her, and fight in her defence.

Hereupon

Hereupon was made a haſty levy of men, two thouſand being ſent preſently away, with promiſe to be ſeconded by a greater Army. Whilſt theſe two thouſand gave ſuch beginning to the war, as agreed with their ſmall number, the body of the Army following them, ſurprized the Cittadel of *Thebes*, which was betrayed into the hand of *Phœbidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, by ſome of the Magiſtrates, who ſought to ſtrengthen their faction by the ſlavery of their Country. The *Thebans* were ill-affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any point violated the peace lately made between them; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonians* to doubt, whether this act of *Phœbidas* were more worthy of reward or of puniſhment. In concluſion, profit ſo far over-weighed honeſty, that the deed was approved, many principal Citizens of *Thebes* condemn d to death, many driven into baniſhment, and the Traitors rewarded with the Government of the City: by whoſe authority, and the force of the Garriſon, the *Thebans* were compelled to ſerve the *Lacedæmonians*, in all, and more than all that they could require. This acceſs of power having ſtrengthened the *Lacedæmonians*, cauſed them to entertain the greater forces about *Olynthus*, (which notwithſtanding the loſs of one great Battel, and ſome other diſaſters) they compelled at length by famine to render it ſelf unto their obedience.

§. XI.

How the Thebans *recovered their liberty, driving out the* Lacedæmonian *Garriſon.*

AFter this *Olynthian* War, which endured almoſt three years, it ſeemed that no Eſtate in *Greece* was able to make head againſt that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found a means to ſhake off their yoak, and gave both example and means to others to do the like. One of the baniſht men found by conference with a Scribe of the *Theban* Magiſtrates, coming to *Athens*, that the tyranny wherewith his Country was oppreſſed, pleaſed him no better than it did thoſe, who for fear of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laid between theſe two, that ſoon found very good ſucceſs, being managed thus. Seven of the baniſhed men forſook *Athens* privily, and entred by night into the fields of *Thebes*; where ſpending the next day ſecretly, they came late in the evening to the Gates like husband-men returned from work, and ſo paſſed undiſcovered unto the houſe of *Charon*, whom *Phyllidas* the Scribe had drawn into the conſpiracy. The day following, a ſolemn feaſt being then held in the City, *Phyllidas* promiſed the Governours, who were inſolent and luſtful men, that he would convey unto them that night the moſt beautiful Dames of the Town, with whom they ſhould take their pleaſure. Having cheared them with ſuch hope, and plenty of good Wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they urged) came, that he could not make good his promiſe, unleſs they would diſmiſs their followers, becauſe the Gentlewomen, who attended without the Chamber, would not endure that any of the ſervants ſhould ſee their faces. Upon this occaſion the attendants were diſmiſſed, and the Conſpirators, attired like Ladies and their Maids, brought into the place; who taking advantage of the Governours looſe behaviour, ſlew them all upon the ſudden with Daggers, which they brought hidden under their garments. Then preſently caſting off their diſguiſe, they went to other places, where feigning themſelves to come to the Governours upon buſineſs, they got admittance, and likewiſe ſlew thoſe which were of the *Lacædemonian* faction. By the like device they brake into the Priſon, ſlew the Gaoler, and ſet at liberty ſuch as they thought meet; and being followed by theſe deſperate men, proclaimed liberty, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captain of the Caſtle hearing the ſueden Proclamation, thought the Rebels to be ſtronger than indeed they were: the Citizens contrariwiſe miſtruſted, that it was a practice to diſcover ſuch as would be forward upon occaſion of revolting. But as ſoon as daylight revealed the plain truth, all the people took Arms and beſieged the Caſtle, ſending haſtily to *Athens* for ſuccour. The Garriſon alſo ſent for aid unto the Towns adjoyning, whence a few broken troops coming to the reſcue, were defeated on the way by the horſe-men of *Thebes*. On the other ſide, the baniſhed *Thebans* did not only make ſpeed to aſſiſt their Country-men, but procured ſome *Athenians* to joyn with them, & thereby came ſo ſtrong into the City, that the Caſtle was yielded, more through fear than any neceſſity, upon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Arms; for which compoſition, the Captain at his return to *Sparta* was put to death. When the news of the doings at *Thebes*, and the ſucceſs arrived at *Sparta*, an Army was raiſed forthwith, and all things prepared as earneſtly for the recovering of that City, as if ſome part of their ancient Inheritance had been taken from the *Lacedæmonians*, and not a Town,

Town perfidiously usurped by them, restored to her own liberty. *Cleombrotus*, one of the Kings, was sent on this Expedition, who having wearied his followers with a toilsom Winters journey, returned home without any good or harm done; leaving *Sphodrias*, with part of his Army, at *Thespies*, to infest the *Thebans*; who doing them some displeasures, made large amends by a fooliſh attempt upon the Haven of *Athens*; which failing to take, he wasted the Country adjoyning, and drave away Cattel, causing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the war, out of which they were before very carefully seeking how they might possibly withdraw themselves.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flouriſhing Eſtate of Thebes, *from the Battel of* Leuctra, *to the Battel of* Mantinæa.

§. I.

How Thebes *and* Athens *joyned together againſt* Sparta. *How the* Athenians *made peace for themſelves, and others, out of which the* Thebans *were excluded. The Battel of* Leuctra, *and beginning of the* Theban *greatneſs.*

THe *Lacedæmonians* were men of great reſolution, and of much gravity in all their proceedings; but one diſhonourable Rule they held, That all reſpects withſtanding the commodity of *Sparta* were to be neglected; the practice of which Doctrine, even by the beſt and wiſeſt of them, did greatly blemiſh that Eſtate: but when it was put in execution by inſufficient over-weening men, it ſeldom failed to bring upon them, inſtead of profit unjuſtly expected, both ſhame and loſs. And ſo it befell them in theſe enterprizes of *Phœbidas*, upon the Caſtle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrias* upon the *Piræus*. For, howſoever *Ageſilaus* did ſpoil the Country about *Thebes*, in which he ſpent two Summers, yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, who by the good ſucceſs of ſome attempts, grew ſtronger than they were at the firſt.

The *Athenians* likewiſe began to look abroad, ſailing to the Iſle of *Corcyra*, where they ordered things at their pleaſure, and having in ſome fights at Sea prevailed, began, as in the *Peloponneſian* War, to ſurround *Peloponneſus* with a Navy; afflicting ſo the *Lacedæmonians*, that, had not the *Thebans* by their inſolency wearied their friends, and cauſed them to ſeek for peace, it had been very likely that the end of this War, ſhould have ſoon come to a good end, which nevertheleſs, being proſecuted by the *Thebans* (who oppoſed at once both theſe two great Eſtates) left the City of *Sparta* as much dejected, as the beginnings found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians* perceiving how *Thebes* encroached every day upon her weak Neighbours, not ſparing ſuch as had been dependants upon *Athens*, and finding themſelves, whileſt engaged in ſuch a War, unable to relieve their complaining friends, reſolved to ſettle the affairs of *Greece*, by renewing that form of peace which *Antalcidas* had brought from the *Perſian*. Wherefore they ſent Meſſengers to *Thebes*, peremptorily ſignifying, That it was their intent to finiſh the War, to which purpoſe they willed the *Thebans* to ſend Embaſſadors along with them to *Sparta*; who readily condeſcended, fearing otherwiſe that they ſhould be left out of the Treaty of Peace: which came to paſs, being ſo wrought by the couragious wiſdom of *Epaminondas*, who underſtood it far better than his Countrymen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treaty the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* did ſoon agree; but when the *Thebans* offered to ſwear to the Articles in the name of the *Bœotians*, *Ageſilaus* required them to ſwear in their own name, and to leave the *Bœotians* free, whom they had lately reduced under their obedience. Whereunto *Epaminondas* made anſwer, That the City of *Sparta* ſhould give example to *Thebes* by ſetting the *Laconians* free; for that the Signiory of *Bœotia* did by as good right appertain to the *Thebans*, as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was well and truly ſpoken; but was heard with no patience: for *Ageſilaus* bearing a vehement hatred unto thoſe of *Thebes*, by whom he was drawn back out of

of *Aſia* into *Greece*, and diſappointed of all the glory which he had hoped to atchieve by the *Perſian* War, did now paſſionately urge that point of ſetting the *Bœotians* at liberty; and finding it as obſtinately refuſed, he daſht the name of the *Thebans* out of the league. At the ſame time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta*, lay in *Phocis*, who received command from the Governors of *Sparta* forthwith to enter upon the Land of the *Thebans* with all his power; which he did, and was there ſlain at *Leuctra*, and with him the Flower of his Army. This Battel of *Leuctra*, being one of the moſt famous that ever were fought between the *Greeks*, was not ſo notable for any circumſtance foregoing it, or for the managing of the fight it ſelf, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of *Sparta*; but eſpecially, for that after this Battel (between which and the concluſion of the general Peace, there paſſed but twenty days) the *Lacedæmonians* were never able to recover the ſtrength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted far and near: whereas contrariwiſe the *Thebans*, whoſe greateſt ambition had in former times confined it ſelf unto the little Region of *Bœotia*, did now begin to undertake the leading and command of many people and eſtates, in ſuch wiſe, that ſoon after they brought an Army of threeſcore and ten thouſand ſtrong unto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much do the afflictions of an hard War, valiantly endured, advance the affairs of the diſtreſſed, and guide them into the way of Conqueſt, by ſtiffening that reſolution with a manly temper, which wealth and eaſe had through luxury, retchleſneſs, and many other vices or vanities, made ruſty and effeminate.

§. II.

How the Athenians *took upon them to maintain the Peace of* Greece. *New troubles hence ariſing.* Epaminondas *invadeth and waſteth the Territory of* Lacedæmon.

THe *Athenians* refuſing to take advantage of this overthrow fallen upon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedæmonians*, did nevertheleſs finely give them to underſtand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking upon themſelves the maintenance of the Peace lately concluded, which *Ageſilaus* (perhaps of purpoſe to make benefit of quarrels that might ariſe) had left unperfect, they aſſembled the Deputies of all the eſtates confederated at *Athens*; where the general liberty of all Towns, as well ſmall as great, was ratified under the ſtile of the *Athenians*, and their aſſociates. Hereupon began freſh garboils. The *Mantinæans*, claiming power by this Decree to order their affairs at their own pleaſure, did (as it were) in deſpight of the *Spartans*, who had enforced them to raze their Town, re-edifie it, and allie themſelves with ſuch of the *Arcadians* as ſtood worſt affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a ſtrong Nation, conſiſting of many Cities, were diſtracted with factions; ſome deſiring to hold good correſpondency with the *Lacedæmonians*; ſome to weaken and keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedæmonians* durſt not give impeachment to the *Mantinæans*, nor take upon them to correct their ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till ſuch time as the factions brake out into violence, and each party called in foreign help. Then was an Army ſent from *Sparta*, as it were in defence of the people of *Tegea*, againſt the *Mantinæans*, but indeed againſt them both. *Ageſilaus* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time ſubdued the *Phocians*, and were become head of the *Locrians*, *Acarnanians*, *Eubœans*, and many others; with the power of which Countries they entred *Peloponneſus* in favour of the *Arcadians*, who had, upon expectation of their coming, abſtained from giving Battel to *Ageſilaus*. The Army of the *Spartans* being diſmiſſed, and *Epaminondas* joyned with the *Arcadians*, the Region of *Laconia* was invaded and ſpoiled: a thing ſo ſtrange, that no Oracle could have found belief if any had foretold it. Almoſt 600 years were ſpent, ſince the *Dorians*, under the poſterity of *Hercules*, had ſeized upon *Laconia*; in all which time the ſound of an Enemies Trumpet was not heard in that Country. Ten years were not fully paſt, ſince all *Greece* was at the devotion of the *Spartans*: but now the Region which neither *Xerxes* with his huge Army could once look upon, nor the mighty forces of *Athens*, and other enemy-States had dared to ſet foot on, ſaving by ſtealth, was all on a light fire, the very ſmoak whereof the women of *Sparta* were aſhamed to behold. All which indignity notwithſtanding, the *Lacedæmonians* did not iſſue out of *Sparta* to fight, but ſought how to preſerve the Town, ſetting at liberty as many of their *Heilotes* or Slaves, as were willing to bear Arms in defence of the State, and ſomewhat pitifully entreated the *Athenians*, to give them ſuccour. From *Corinth*, and ſome Towns of *Peloponneſus*, they received ſpeedy aſſiſtance; the

Athenians came forward more ſlowly, ſo that *Epimanondas* returned without battel, having rebuilded the City of *Meſſene*, and peopled it a-new by calling home the ancient Inhabitants, whom the *Lacedæmonians* many ages before had chaſed away to other Countries, poſſeſſing their Territories themſelves.

§. III.

The Compoſition between Athens *and* Sparta *for command in War againſt the* Thebans; *who again invade and ſpoil* Peloponneſus. *The unfortunate preſumption of the* Arcadians.

THis journey therefore utterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*, in ſuch wiſe, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, which was to be raiſed, nor any manner of precedence: but ſending Embaſſadors from *Sparta*, and from all the Cities which held league with it, unto *Athens*, they offered to yield the Admiralty to the *Athenians*, requeſting that they themſelves might be Generals by Land. This had been a compoſition well agreeing with the ſituation and quality of thoſe two Cities; but it was rejected, becauſe the Mariners and others that were to be employed at Sea, were men of no mark or eſtimation, in regard of thoſe companies of horſe and foot, whereof the Land-Army was compounded; who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athens*, were to have ſerved under the *Lacedæmonians*. Wherefore it was agreed that the Authority ſhould be divided by time, the *Athenians* ruling five days, the *Lacedæmonians* other five, and ſo ſucceſſively that each of them ſhould have command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifeſt, that in this concluſion vain ambition was more regarded than the common profit; which muſt of neceſſity be very ſlowly advanced, where conſultation, reſolution, and performance are ſo often to change hands. This appeared by a ſecond invaſion of *Peloponneſus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their enemies ſo unable to impeach them, that having fortified *Iſthmus* from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done againſt *Xerxes*, they were driven out of their ſtrength by *Epaminondas*, who forraged the Country without reſiſtance. But as the Articles of this league between *Athens* and *Sparta* did, by dividing the conduct in ſuch manner, diſable the Society, and make it inſufficient to thoſe ends for which it was concluded; ſo the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanity. For the *Arcadians* conſidering their own numbers which they brought into the field, and having found by many tryals that their people were not inferiour to others in ſtrength of body, in courage, or in good Souldierſhip, thought it good reaſon that they ſhould in like manner ſhare the Government, with their friends the *Thebans*; and not alwayes continue followers of others, by increaſing whoſe greatneſs they ſhould ſtrengthen their own yoke. Hereupon they began to demean themſelves very inſolently, whereby they grew hateful to their Neighbours, and ſuſpected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For, a motion of general peace having been made (which took not effect, becauſe the City *Meſſene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedæmonians*) the next enterprize of the *Spartans* and their friends was upon theſe *Arcadians*, who relying too much upon their own worth, were overthrown in a great battel, their calamity being as pleaſing to their Confederates, as to their Enemies.

§. IV.

The great growth of the Theban *Eſtate. Embaſſages of the* Greeks *to the* Perſian; *with the reaſons why he moſt favoured the* Thebans. *Troubles in the* Perſian *Empire. The fruitleſs iſſue of the Embaſſages.*

THe *Thebans*, eſpecially rejoyced at the *Arcadians* misfortune, conſidering, that without their aid, the ſucceſs of all enterprizes proved ſo ill; whereas they themſelves had by their own power accompliſhed very well whatſoever they took in hand, and were become not only victorious over the *Lacedæmonians*, but Patrons over the *Theſſalonians*, and moderators of great quarrels that had riſen in *Macedonia*; where compounding the differences about that Kingdom, as pleaſed them beſt, they carried *Philip* the Son of *Amyntas*, and father of *Alexander* the Great, as an Hoſtage unto *Thebes*. Having therefore obtained ſuch reputation, that little ſeemed wanting to make them abſolute Commanders of all *Greece*, they ſought means of alliance with the *Perſian* King, to whom they ſent Embaſſador the great and famous Captain *Pelopidas*, whoſe reputation drew *Artaxerxes* to grant unto the *Thebans* all that they deſired; whereof two eſpecial points were, That *Meſſene* ſhould remain free from the *Lacedæmonians*, and that the *Athenians* ſhould forbear to ſend their ſhips of War to Sea; only the

the latter of theſe two was ſomewhat qualified with reference to further advice. The other States of *Greece* did alſo ſend their Embaſſadors at the ſame time, of whom few or none received much contentment. For the King having found by long experience, how far it concerned him to maintain a ſure party in *Greece*, did upon many weighty conſiderations reſolve to bind the *Thebans* firmly unto him; juſtly expecting, that their greatneſs ſhould be on that ſide his own ſecurity. The *Athenians* had been ancient Enemies to his Crown; and having turned the profit of their victories upon the *Perſians* to the purchaſe of a great Eſtate in *Greece*, maintained their Signiory in ſuch puiſſant manner, that (ſundry grievous misfortunes notwithſtanding) they had endured a terrible War, wherein the *Lacedæmonians* being followed by moſt of the *Greeks*, and ſupplied with treaſure, and all ſorts of aid by *Darius Nothus*, were not able to vanquiſh them till their own indiſcretion brought them on their knees. The *Lacedæmonians* being victorious over *Athens*, had no ſooner eſtabliſhed their Dominion at home, than they undertook the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, from which though by the commotion raiſed in *Greece* with *Perſian* gold, they were called back, yet having renewed their power, and ſetled things in *Greece*, it was not unlikely, that they ſhould upon the next advantage have purſued the ſame enterprize, had not they been empeached by this *Theban* War. But the *Thebans* contrariwiſe had always diſcovered a good affection to the Crown of *Perſia*. They had ſided with *Xerxes* in his invaſion of *Greece*; with *Darius* and the *Lacedæmonians* againſt *Athens*: And finally, having offered much contumely to *Ageſilaus* when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making War on the Confederates of *Sparta*. Beſides all theſe their good deſervings, they were no Seamen, and therefore unlikely to look abroad; whereupon if perchance they ſhould have any deſire; yet were they diſabled by the want of good Haven-Towns; which they could not ſeize upon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giving liberty to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore *Artaxerxes* did wholly condeſcend unto the requeſts of *Pelopidas*, as far forth as he might, without giving open defiance to the reſt of *Greece*; and by that mean he purchaſed his own quiet, being never afterward moleſted by that Nation in the lower *Aſia*. The ill means which the *Greeks* had to diſturb *Artaxerxes*, was very beneficial to the Eſtate of *Perſia* ſhortly after theſe times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritimate Provinces. For had then the affairs of *Greece* been ſo compoſed, that any one City might without empeachment of the reſt have tranſported an Army to aſſiſt the revolting *Satrapæ*, or *Vice-royes* of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Myſia*, *Lycia*, *Piſidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*; humane reaſon can hardly find the means, by which the Empire could have been preſerved from that ruine, which the Divine Counſel had deferred unto the days of *Alexander*. But this great Conſpiracy of ſo many large and wealthy Provinces, wanting a firm body of good and hardy Souldiers, was in ſhort ſpace diſcuſſed, and vaniſhed like a miſt, without effect: theſe effeminate *Aſiatiques*, wearied quickly with the travels and dangers incident to War, forſaking the common cauſe, and each man ſtriving to be the firſt, that by treaſon to his company ſhould both redeem the former treaſon to his Prince, and purchaſe withal his own promotion with encreaſe of riches. Of this commotion, which in courſe of time followed ſome actions not as yet related, I have rather choſen to make ſhort mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; but for that it was like a ſudden ſtorm, raſhly commenced, idly followed, and fooliſhly laid down, having made a great noiſe without effect, and having ſmall reference to any other action agreeable; as alſo becauſe in the whole reign of *Artaxerxes*, from the War of *Cyrus* to the invaſion of *Egypt*, I find nothing (this inſurrection, and a fruitleſs journey againſt the *Caduſians* excepted) worthy of any mention, much leſs of digreſſion from the courſe of the buſineſs in *Greece*. All, or the moſt of his time paſſed away ſo quietly, that he enjoyed the pleaſures which an Empire ſo great and wealthy could afford unto ſuch an abſolute Lord, with little diſturbance. The troubles which he found were only, or chiefly, Domeſtical; growing out of the hatred which *Paryſatis* the Queen-Mother bare unto his wife *Statira*, and to ſuch as had been the greateſt enemies to her Son *Cyrus*, or gloried in his death: upon whom, when by poyſon and miſchievous practices ſhe had ſatisfied her feminine appetite of revenge, thenceforth ſhe wholly applied herſelf to the Kings diſpoſition, cheriſhing in him the lewd deſire of marrying his own Daughter, and filling him with the perſwaſion, which Princes not endued with an eſpecial grace, do readily entertain; That his own will was the ſupreme law of his ſubjects, and the rule by which all things were to be meaſured and adjudged

to be good or evil. In this imaginary happineſs *Pelopidas*, and the other Embaſſadors of *Greece*, both found and left him; but left him by ſo much more aſſured than they found him, by how much the concluſion of this Treaty with them, being altogether to his own advantage, did ſeem to promiſe, if not the perpetuity, a long endurance of the ſame felicity to him and his, or (at the leaſt) a full ſecurity of danger from *Greece*, whence only could any danger be feared. But ſuch foundations of eternity laid by mortal men in this tranſitory world, like the Tower of *Babel*, are either ſhaken from heaven, or made vain and unprofitable, ere the frame can be raiſed to full height, by confuſion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, and other Eſtates of *Greece* that had ſent Embaſſadors to the *Perſian*. For whereas it had been concluded, that all Towns, as well the little as the great, ſhould be ſet at liberty, and the *Thebans* made Protectors of this common peace, who thereby ſhould become the Judges of all Controverſies that might ariſe, and Leaders in War of all that would enter into this Confederacy; the Kings letters being ſolemnly publiſhed at *Thebes*; in the preſence of Embaſſadors drawn thither from all parts of *Greece*: when an oath was required for obſervation of the form of peace therein ſet down, a dilatory anſwer was made by the Embaſſadors, who ſaid, that they were ſent to hear the articles, not to ſwear unto them. Hereby the *Thebans* were driven to ſend unto each of the Cities to require the Oath; but in vain. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refuſed it, ſaying, that they did not need it; others took courage by their example to do the like, diſappointing the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with *Artaxerxes* gave neither addition nor confirmation of greatneſs, but left them as it found them to relye upon their own ſwords.

§. V.

How all Greece *was divided between the* Athenians *and* Lacedæmonians *on the one ſide, and* Thebans *on the other. Of the great tumults ariſing in* Arcadia.

THe condition of things in *Greece* at that time did ſtand thus. *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each upon envy of the others greatneſs drawn all their followers into a cruel and inteſtine War, by which the whole Country, and eſpecially the Eſtates of theſe two Cities, was brought very low, did now conjoyn their forces againſt the *Thebans*, who ſought to make themſelves Lords of all. The *Eleans*, *Corinthians*, and *Achaians*, followed the party of theſe ancient Governing Cities; either for the old reputation of them, and benefits received, or in diſlike of thoſe, who by ſtrong hand were ready to become Rulers, to which authority they could not ſuddenly aſpire without ſome injury and much envy. The City of *Thebes* abounding with men, whom neceſſity had made warlike, and many Victories in few years had filled with great ſpirits; and being ſo mighty independants, that ſhe had reduced all the continent of *Greece* without *Peloponneſus* (the Region of *Attica*, and very little part beſide, excepted) under ſuch acknowledgement, as wanted not much of meer Vaſſallage, did hope to bring all *Peloponneſus* to the like obedience, wherein already ſhe had ſet good footing by her conjunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argives* had been always bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themſelves in ancient Nobility Superiors, but were far under them in valour, having been often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of loſing all: which cauſed them to ſuſpect and envy nothing more than the greatneſs and honour of *Sparta*, taking truce with her when ſhe was at reſt, and had leiſure to bend her whole force againſt them; but firmly joyning with her enemies whenſoever they found her entangled in a difficult War. As the *Argives* were, in hatred of *Sparta*, ſure friends of *Thebes*, ſo the *Arcadians*, tranſported with a great opinion of their own worthineſs, had formerly renounced and provoked againſt them their old Confederates and Leaders, the *Lacedæmonians*, and were now become very doubtful adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard, it was thought convenient by *Epaminondas* and the State of *Thebes*, to ſend an Army into *Peloponneſus*, before ſuch time as theſe wavering friends ſhould fall further off, and become either Neutral, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And ſurely great cauſe there was to ſuſpect the worſt of them, conſidering that without conſent of the *Thebans*, they had made peace with *Athens*, which was very ſtrange, and ſeemed no leſs to the *Athenians* themſelves, who holding a firm league with *Sparta* at the ſame time when the *Arcadians* treated with them, did nevertheleſs accept this new Confederacy, not relinquiſhing the old, becauſe they found that howſoever theſe *Arcadians* were enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, they ſhould hereby

hereby be drawn ſomewhat further from their alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was unlikely to invade *Peloponneſus* with a ſtrong Army. But this did rather haſten, than by any means ſtay the coming of *Epaminondas*; who finding the way ſomewhat more clear for him (becauſe the City of *Corinth*, which lay upon the *Iſthmus*, and had been adverſe to *Thebes*, was now, by miſeries of this grievous War, driven to become Neutral) took occaſion hereby, and by ſome diſorders among the *Arcadians*, to viſit *Peloponneſus* with an Army, conſiſting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great tumult had riſen in *Arcadia* about conſecrated money, which many principal men among them had laid hands on, under pretence of employing it to publick uſes. In compounding the differences grown upon this occaſion, ſuch as had leaſt will to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the Captain of ſome *Theban* Souldiers, lying in *Tegea*, to take priſoners many of their Countrymen, as people deſirous of innovation. This was done, but the uproar thereby cauſed was ſo great, that the priſoners were forthwith enlarged, and the *Arcadians*, who had in great numbers taken Arms, with much ado ſcarce pacified. When complaint of the Captains proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epimanondas* turned all the blame upon them, who had made the peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that he would be ſhortly among them to judge of their fidelity, by the aſſiſtance which they ſhould give him, in that War which he intended to make in *Peloponneſus*. Theſe Lordly words did greatly amaze the *Arcadians*; who needing not the aid of ſo mighty a power as he drew along with him, did vehemently ſuſpect that great preparation to be made againſt themſelves. Hereupon ſuch of them as had before ſought means to ſettle the affairs of their Country, by drawing things to ſome good concluſion of peace, did now forthwith ſend to *Athens* for help, and withall diſpatched ſome of the principal among them as Embaſſadors to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themſelves to the common defence of *Peloponneſus*, now ready to be invaded. This Embaſſage brought much comfort to the *Lacedæmonians*, who feared nothing more than the coming of *Epaminondas*, againſt whom they well knew, that all their forces, and beſt proviſions, would be no more than very hardly ſufficient. Forbearing therefore to diſpute about prerogatives, they (who had been accuſtomed unto ſuch a ſupremacy, as they would in no wiſe communicate with the powerful City of *Athens*, till other hope of ſecuring their own Eſtate could not be thought upon) did now very gently yield to the *Arcadians*, that the command of the Army in chief, ſhould be given for the time, to that City in whoſe Territory it lay.

§. VI.

A terrible Invaſion of Peloponneſus *by* Epaminondas.

CErtain it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firm conſent, and uniform care of the common ſafety. For, beſide the great forces raiſed out of the other parts of *Greece*, the *Argives* and *Meſſenians* prepared with all their ſtrength to joyn with *Epaminondas*; who having lyen a while at *Nemea*, to intercept the *Athenians*, received their intelligence, that the Army coming from *Athens* would paſs by Sea, whereupon he diſlodged, and came to *Tegea*, which City, and the moſt of all *Arcadia* beſides, forthwith declared themſelves his. The common opinion was, that the firſt attempt of the *Thebans*, would be upon ſuch of the *Arcadians* as had revolted; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonian* Captains to fortifie *Mantinæa* with all diligence, and to ſend for *Ageſilaus* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that ſmall force of able men which remained in the Town, they might be ſtrong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held ſo good eſpial upon his Enemies, that, had not an unknown fellow brought haſty advertiſement of his purpoſe to *Ageſilaus*, who was then well onward in the way to *Mantinæa*, the City of *Sparta* had ſuddenly been taken. For thither with all ſpeed and ſecrecy did the *Thebans* march, who had ſurely carried the City, notwithſtanding any defence that could have been made by that handful of men remaining within it, but that *Ageſilaus* in all flying haſte got into it with his Companies, whom the Army of his Confederates followed thither to the reſcue as faſt it was able. The arrival of the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas*, of taking *Sparta*, ſo it preſented him with a fair advantage upon *Mantinæa*. It was the time of Harveſt, which made it very likely, that the *Mantinæans*, finding the War to be carried from their walls into another quarter, would uſe the commodity of that vacation, by fetching in their Corn, and turning out their Cattel into the fields, whilſt no enemy was near, that might impeach them. Wherefore he turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantinæa*, ſending

ſending his horſemen before him, to ſeize upon all that might be found without the City. The *Mantinæans* (according to the expectation of *Epaminondas*) were ſcattered abroad in the Country, far more intent upon their Harveſt buſineſs, than upon the war, whereof they were ſecure, as thinking themſelves out of diſtance. By which preſumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattel, being unable to recover the Town, were in a deſperate caſe; and the Town it ſelf in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemy ſhould have taken all their proviſion of victuals, with ſo many of the people as had not over-dearly been redeemed, by that Cities returning to ſociety with *Thebes*. But at the ſame time, the *Athenians* coming to the ſuccour of their Confederates, whom they thought to have found at *Mantinæa* were very earneſtly entreated by the Citizens to reſcue their goods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were poſſible by any couragious adventure to deliver thoſe who otherwiſe were given as loſt. The *Thebans* were known at that time to be the beſt Souldiers of all the *Greeks*, and the commendation of good Horſemanſhip had always been given to the *Theſſalians*, as excelling in that quality all other Nations; yet the regard of honour ſo wrought upon the *Athenians*, that for the reputation of their City, which had entred into this War upon no neceſſity of her own, but only in deſire of relieving her diſtreſſed friend, they iſſued forth of *Mantinæa*, not abiding ſo long as to refreſh themſelves, or their Horſes, with meat; and giving a luſty charge upon the enemy, who as bravely received them, after a long and hot fight, they remained Maſters of the field, giving by this Victory a ſafe and eaſie retrait to all that were without the walls. The whole power of the *Bœotians* arrived in the place ſoon after this Battel, whom the *Lacedæmonians* and their aſſiſtants were not far behind.

§. VII.

The great Battel of Mantinæa. *The honourable death of* Epimanondas, *with his commendation.*

EPaminondas, conſidering that his Commiſſion was almoſt now expired, and that his attempts of ſurprizing *Sparta* and *Mantinæa* having failed, the impreſſion of terror which his name had wrought in the *Peloponneſians*, would ſoon vanquiſh, unleſs by ſome notable act he ſhould abate their courage in their firſt growth, and leave ſome memorable character of his Expedition, reſolved to give them Battel, whereby he reaſonably hoped both to ſettle the doubtful affections of his own Aſſociates, and to leave the *Spartans* as weak in ſpirit and ability, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into ſubjection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for that Battel, wherein Victory ſhould be rewarded with Lordſhip of all *Greece*; and finding the alacrity of his Souldiers to be ſuch as promiſed the accompliſhment of his own deſire; he made ſhew of declining the enemy, and entrenching himſelf in a place of more advantage, that ſo by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heat of their valour, and afterward ſtrike their ſenſes with amazement, when he ſhould come upon them unexpected. This opinion deceived him not. For with very much tumult, as in ſo great and ſudden a danger, the enemy ran to Arms, neceſſity enforcing their reſolution, and the conſequence of that days ſervice, urging them to do as well as they might. The *Theban* Army conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends were ſhort of this number, both in horſe and in foot, by a third part. The *Mantinæans* (becauſe the War was in their Country) ſtood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedæmonians*; the *Athenians* had the left wing; the *Achæans*, *Eleans*, and others of leſs account, filled the body of the Army. The *Thebans* ſtood in the left wing of their own Battel, oppoſite to the *Lacedæmonians*, having by them the *Arcadians*, the *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Meſſenians*, and *Theſſalians*, with others, compounding the main Battel; the *Argives* held the right wing, the horſemen on each part were placed in the flanks, only a troop of the *Eleans* were in the rear. Before the footmen could joyn, the encounter of the horſe on both ſides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* prevailed, notwithſtanding the valiant reſiſtance of the *Athenians*: who, not yielding to the enemy either in courage or skill, were overlaid with numbers, and ſo beaten upon by *Theſſalian* ſlings, that they were driven to forſake the place, and leave their infantery naked. But this retrait was the leſs diſgraceful, becauſe they kept themſelves together, and did not fall back upon their own footment; but finding the *Theban* horſe to have given them over, and withal diſcovering ſome Companies of foot, which had been ſent about by *Epimanondas*, to charge their Battel in the rear, they brake upon them, routed them,

them, and hewed them all in pieces. In the mean ſeaſon the Battel of the *Athenians* had not only to do with the *Argives*, but was hardly preſſed by the *Theban* Horſemen, in ſuch wiſe that it begun to open, and was ready to turn back, when the *Elean* ſquadron of Horſe came up to the relief of it, and reſtored all on that part. With far greater violence did the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans* meet, theſe contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour; ſo that equal courage, and equal loſs on both ſides made the hope and appearance of Victory to either equally doubtful: unleſs perhaps the *Lacedæmonians* being very firm abiders, might ſeem the more likely to prevail, as having born the firſt brunt and fury of the on-ſet, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by diſcipline, as it were by Nature, to excel in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practice of a few years, cannot be thought to have gotten a habit ſo ſure and general. But *Epaminondas* perceiving the obſtinate ſtiffneſs of the Enemies to be ſuch, as neither the bad ſucceſs of their own horſe, nor all the force of the *Bœotian* Army, could abate ſo far, as to make them give one foot of ground; taking a choice company of the moſt able men, whom he caſt into the form of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the advantage of that figure againſt a ſquadron, and by his own exceeding virtue, accompanied with the great ſtrength and reſolution of them which followed him, did open their ranks, and cleave the whole Battel in deſpight of all reſiſtance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the *Thebans*, who may juſtly be ſaid to have carried the Victory, ſeeing that they remained Maſters of the ground whereon the Battel was fought, having driven the Enemy to lodge farther off. For that which was alledged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the Victory was partly theirs, the ſlaughter of thoſe Mercenaries upon whom they lighted by chance in their own flight, finding them behind their Army, and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a ceremony regardable only among the *Greeks*, and ſerved meerly for oſtentation, ſhewing that by the fight they had obtained ſomewhat, which the enemy could not get from them otherwiſe than by requeſt. But the *Thebans* arrived at the general immediate end of the battel; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifeſt confeſſion is expreſſed from them, who forſook the place which they had choſen or accepted, as indifferent for trial of their ability and proweſs. This was the laſt work of the incomparable virtue of *Epimanondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike troop of men, which broke the *Lacedæmonians* ſquadron, and forced it to give back in diſaray, was furiouſly charged on the ſudden, by a deſperate Company of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, he nevertheleſs, with a ſingular courage, manitained the fight, uſing againſt the enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his own body; till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Anticrates*, he received ſo violent a ſtroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the iron and piece of the trunchion in his breaſt. Hereupon he ſunk down, and was ſoon conveyed out of the fight by his friends; having by his fall ſomewhat animated the *Spartans* (who fain would have got his body) but much more inflamed with revengeful indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at his heavy miſchance, did with great ſlaughter compel their diſordered enemies to leave the field; though long they followed not the chaſe, being wearied more with the ſadneſs of this diſaſter, than with all the travel of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the Phyſicians, that when the head of the Dart ſhould be drawn out of his body, he muſt needs dye. Hearing this, he called for his ſhield, which to have loſt, was held a great diſhonor: It was brought unto him. He bade them tell him, which part had the Victory; anſwer was made, that the *Bœotians* had won the field. Then ſaid he, It is a fair time for me to dye; and withal ſent for *Iolidas* and *Diophontes*, two principal men of War, that were both ſlain: which being told him, he adviſed the *Thebans* to make peace, whilſt with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to diſcharge the office of a General. Herewithal he willed, that the head of the weapon ſhould be drawn out of his body, comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of iſſue, by telling them, that the Victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantinæa* were two fair daughters, in whom his memory ſhould live.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthieſt man that ever was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to be matched in any Age or Countrey: for he equalled all others in the ſeveral virtues, which in each of them were ſingular. His Juſtice and Sincerity, his Temperance, Wiſdom, and high Magnanimity, were no way inferiour to his Military virtue; in every part whereof he ſo excelled, that he could not properly be called a Wary, a Valiant, a Politick, a Bountiful, or an Induſtrious, and a Provident Captain. Neither

ther was his private converſation unanſwerable to thoſe high parts, which gave him praiſe abroad. For he was Grave, and yet very Affable and Courteous; reſolute in publick buſineſs, but in his own particular eaſie, and of much mildneſs: a lover of his people, bearing with mens infirmities, witty and pleaſant in ſpeech, far from inſolence. Maſter of his own affections, and furniſhed with all qualities that might win and keep love. To theſe graces were added great ability of body, and much Eloquence, and very deep knowledge in all parts of Philoſophy and Learning, wherewith his mind being enlightened, reſted not in the ſweetneſs of Contemplation, but brake forth into ſuch effects as gave unto *Thebes*, which had evermore been an underling, a dreadful reputation among all people adjoyning, and the higheſt command in *Greece*.

§. VIII.

Of the Peace concluded in Greece *after the Battel of* Mantinæa. *The Voyage of* Ageſilaus *into* Egypt. *His death, and qualities; with an examination of the compariſon made between him and* Pompey *the* Roman.

THis Battel of *Mantinæa* was the greateſt that had ever been fought in that Countrey between the Naturals; and the laſt. For at *Maranthon*, and *Platæa*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gave rather a great fame, than a hard trial to the *Grecian* valour; neither were the practice of Arms and Art Military, ſo perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponneſian* War, as long continuance, and daily exerciſe had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, thoſe excepted, which were undertaken againſt foreign enemies, proving for the moſt part unfortunate. But in this laſt fight all *Greece* was intereſſed, which never had more able ſouldiers and brave Commanders, nor ever contended for Victory with greater care of the ſucceſs, or more obſtinate reſolution. All which, notwithſtanding, the iſſue being ſuch as hath been related, it was found beſt for every particular Eſtate, that a general Peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed, every one retaining what he preſently had, and none being forced to depend upon another. The *Meſſenians* were by name comprized in this new league; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonians* not to enter into it. Their ſtanding out hindred not the reſt from proceeding to concluſion, conſidering that *Sparta* was now too weak to offend her Neigbours, and therefore might well be allowed to ſhew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it ſelf in execution. This Peace, as it gave ſome breath and refreſhing to all the Country, ſo to the Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* it afforded leiſure to ſeek after wealth by foreign employment in *Egypt*, whither *Ageſilaus* was ſent with ſome ſmall Forces to aſſiſt, or indeed, as a Mercenary, to ſerve under *Tachos* King of *Egypt* in his War upon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded under *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, went now as a Voluntary, with ſuch Forces as he could raiſe, by entreaty, and offer of good pay, to the ſame ſervice. Theſe *Egyptian* Kings deſcended from *Amyrtæus* of *Sais*, who rebelled againſt *Darius Nothus*, having retained the Country, notwithſtanding all inteſtine diſſentions, and foreign invaſions, during three Generations of their own race, were ſo well acquainted with the valour of the *Greeks*, that by their help (eaſily procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not only to aſſure themſelves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adjoyning, which were held by the *Perſian*. What the iſſue of this great enterprize might have been, had it not fallen by Domeſtical Rebellion, it is uncertain. But very likely it is, that the Rebellion it ſelf had ſoon come to nothing, if *Ageſilaus* had not proved a falſe Traytor, joyning with *Nectanebus*, who roſe againſt his Prince, and helping the Rebel with that Army which the money of *Tachos* had waged. This falſhood *Ageſilaus* excuſed, as tending to the good of his own Countrey, though it ſeem rather, that he grudged becauſe the King took upon himſelf the conduct of the Army, uſing his ſervice only as Lieutenant, who had made full account of being appointed the General. Howſoever it came to paſs, *Tachos* being ſhamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had repoſed his chief confidence, fled unto the *Perſian*, who upon his ſubmiſſion gave him gentle entertainment; and *Nectanebus* (who ſeems to have been the Nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his ſtead. At the ſame time the Citizens of *Mendes* had ſet up another King; to whom all, or moſt of the *Egyptians* yielded their obedience. But *Ageſilaus* fighting with him in places of advantage, prevailed ſo far, that he left *Nectanebus* in quiet poſſeſſion of the Kingdom; who in recompence of his Treaſon to the former King *Tachos*, and good ſervice done to himſelf, rewarded him with two hundred and thirty Talents of ſilver, with which booty ſailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant,

valiant, and a good Leader in War, free from covetouſneſs, and not reproached with any blemiſh of luſt; which praiſes are the leſs admirable in him, for that the diſcipline of *Sparta* was ſuch as did endue every one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent ſtream of an ill nature) with all, or the chief of theſe good qualities. He was nevertheleſs very arrogant, perverſe, unjuſt and vain-glorious, meaſuring all things by his own will, and obſtinately proſecuting thoſe courſes, whoſe ends were beyond hope. The Expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Perſia* ſhould be overthrown; with which conceit being tranſported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans* and their Allies, he did ever after bear ſuch hatred unto *Thebes*, as compelled that Eſtate by meer neceſſity to grow warlike, and able, to the utter diſhonour of *Sparta*, and the irrepayarble loſs of all her former greatneſs. The commendations given to him by *Xenophon* his good friend, have cauſed *Plutarch* to lay his name in the ballance againſt *Pompey* the great; whoſe actions (the ſolemn gravity of carriage excepted) are very diſproportionble. Yet we may truly ſay, That as *Pompey* made great Wars under ſundry Climates, and in all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, exceeding in the multitude of employments all that were before him; ſo *Ageſilaus* had at one time or other ſome quarrel with every Town in *Greece*, had made a War in *Aſia*, and medled in the buſineſs of the *Egyptians*, in which variety he went beyond all his Predeceſſors: yet not winning any Countries, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* never took. Herein alſo they were very like; Each of them was the laſt great Captain which his Nation brought forth in time of liberty, and each of them ruined the liberty of his Country by his own Lordly wilfulneſs. We may therefore well ſay, *Similia magis omnia quam paria; the reſemblance was nearer than the equality.* Indeed the freedom of *Rome* was loſt with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Cæſar*, whom he had inforced to take Arms; yet the *Roman* Empire ſtood, the form of Government only being changed: But the liberty of *Greece*, or *Sparta* it ſelf, was not forfeited unto the *Thebans*, whom *Ageſilaus* had compelled to enter into a Victorious War; yet the Signiory, and ancient renown of *Sparta* was preſently loſt; and the freedom of all *Greece* being wounded in the *Theban* War, and after much blood loſt, ill healed by the Peace enſuing, did very ſoon, upon the death of *Ageſilaus*, give up the ghoſt, and the Lordſhip of the whole Country was ſeized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whoſe actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the Contemporary paſſages of things, in any other Nation.

Finis Libri Tertia.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the Reign of *Philip* of *Macedon*, to the Eſtabliſhing of that Kingdom in the Race of *Antigonus*.

THE FOVRTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of Philip *the Father of* Alexander *the Great, King of* Macedon.

§. I.

What Kings Reigned in Macedon *before* Philip.

THE *Greeks* of whom we have already made large diſcourſe, not as yet wearied with inteſtine War, nor made wiſe by their vain contention for ſuperiority, do ſtill, as in formertimes, continue the invaſion and vaſtation of each other.

Againſt *Xerxes*, the greateſt Monarch of that part of the world, they defended their liberty, with as happy ſucceſs as ever Nation had, and with no leſs honour, than hath ever been acquired by deeds of Arms. And having had a tryal and experience more than fortunate, againſt thoſe Nations, they ſo little regarded what might come from them, who had ſo often forfeited the reputation of their Forces, as whatſoever could be ſpared from their own diſtraction at home, they tranſported over the *Helleſpont*, as ſufficient, to entertain and buſie them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with every man of mark in the world, that they underfal, and periſh by the hands and harms which they leaſt fear; ſo fared it at this time with the *Greeks*. For of *Philip* of *Macedon* (of whom we are now to ſpeak) they had ſo little regard, as they grew even then more violent in devouring each other, when the faſt-growing greatneſs of ſuch a Neighbour-King, ſhould, in regard of their own ſafeties, have ſerved them for a ſtrong argument of

union

union and accord. But the glory of their *Persian* victories, wherewith they were pampered and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themselves, and the rather to value at little the power and purposes of the *Macedonians*, because those Kings and States, which sate nearer them than they did, had in the time of *Amyntas*, the Father of *Philip*, so much weakned them, and won upon them, that they were not (as the *Grecians* perswaded themselves) in any one age, likely to recover their own, much less to work any wonders against their borderers. And, indeed, it was not in their Philosophy to consider, That all great alterations are, storm-like, sudden and violent; and that it is then over-late to repair the decayed and broken banks, when great rivers are once swollen, fast-running, and inraged. No, the *Greeks* did rather imploy themselves, in breaking down those defences which stood between them and this inundation, than seek to rampire and re-enforce their own fields, which by the Level of reason they might have found to have lien under it. It was therefore well concluded by *Orosius*:

Oros. l. 3. cap. 12. *Græciæ Civitates imperare singulæ cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt; The Cities of* Greece *lost their command, by striving each of them to command all.*

The Kingdom of *Macedon*, so called of *Macedon*, the son of *Osirin*, or, as other Authors affirm, of *Jupiter* and *Æthra*, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth *Greece*; It hath to the East, the *Ægean* Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-west, by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*; and on the South and South-west by *Thessaly* and *Epirus*.

Their Kings were of the family of *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, and by Nation *Argives*; who are listed as followeth. About some six years after the translation of the *Assyrian* Empire, *Ambaces* then governing *Media*; *Caranus* of *Argos*, commanded by an Oracle to lead a Colony into *Macedon*, departed thence with many people: and as he was marching through that Countrey, the weather being rainy and tempestuous, he espied a great herd of Goats, which fled the storm as fast as they could, hasting them to their known place of covert. Whereupon *Caranus*, calling to mind, that he had also

Paul. Dion. Conf. Theop. Antio 6. by another Oracle been directed, to follow the first troop of beasts, that should either lead him, or flie before him; he pursued these Goats to the Gates of *Edassa*, and being undiscovered by the Inhabitants, by reason of the darkness of the air, he entred their City without resistance, and possest it. Soon after this, by the overthrow of *Cissius*, *Caranus* became Lord of the rest of *Macedon*, and held it eight and twenty years. *Cœnus* succeeded *Caranus*, and reigned twelve years. *Tyrimas* followed *Cœnus*, and ruled eight and twenty years. *Euseb. in Chro.*

Perdiccas the first, the son of *Tyrimas* governed one and fifty years: a Prince, for his great valour and many other virtues, much renowned: *Solinus*, *Pliny*, *Justine*, *Eusebius*, *Theophilus*, *Antiochenus*, and others, affirm, that he appointed a place of burial for himself, and for all the Kings of *Macedon* his Successors, at *Ægæ*: assuring them, that the Kingdom should so long continue in his Line and Race, as they continued to lay up their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is said, that because *Alexander* the Great failed, therefore the posterity of the *Temenedæ* failed in him: a thing rather devised after the effect, as I conceive, than foretold by *Perdiccas*. *Sol. c. 14. Plin. l. 4. c. 10.*

Argæus succeeded unto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twenty years.

Philip the first, his successor, reigned eight and twenty years. *Euseb. in Chro.*

Æropus followed *Philip*, and governed six and twenty years: in whose infancy the *Illyrians* invaded *Macedon*, and having obtained a great victory, they pursued the same to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the *Macedonians*, gathering new forces, and resolving either to recover their former loss or to lose at once both their Kingdom and their King, they carried him with them in his cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not be beaten, (their King being present) or rather they perswaded themselves that there was no man so void of honour and compassion, as to abandon their natural Lord, being an Infant, and no way (but by the hands of his servants) able to defend himself from destruction. The like is reported by *Aimonius* of *Clotarius* the son of *Fredegunda*. *Euseb. Justin. Ammian. Theo. Ant. &c. Aimon. l. 3. c. 81.*

Alcetas succeeded *Æropus*, and ruled nine and twenty years.

Amyntas the first, succeeded *Alcetas*, and reigned fifty years; He lived a such time as *Darius Hystaspes*, after his unprosperous return out of *Scythia*, sent *Megabazus* with an Army into *Europe*, who in *Darius* name required *Amyntas* to acknowledge him for his Supream Lord, by yielding unto him Earth and Water. But his Embassadors, as you have heard before, were for their insolent behaviour toward the *Macedonian* Ladies, slain by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the son of *Amyntas*, and his Successor. *Her. Eus. Just. &c.*

Alexander sirnamed the Rich, the son of *Amyntas*, governed *Macedon* three and forty years. He did not only appease the wrath of *Megabazus*, for the slaughter of the *Persian* Embassadors by giving *Gygæa* his Sister, to *Eubares* of the blood of *Persia*; but by that match he grew so great in *Xerxes* grace, as he obtained all that Region between the Mountains of *Olympus* and *Hemus*, to be united to the Kingdom of *Macedon*. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the *Greeks*. For *Xerxes* being returned into *Asia*, and *Mardonius* made General of the *Persian* Army; *Alexander* acquainted the *Greeks* with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three sons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*.

Her. l. 8. Plut. Eusib. Just. &c.

Perdiccas the second, the son of *Alexander*, lived in the time of the *Peloponnesian* War, and reigned in all eight and twenty years. The wars which he made were not much remarkable: the Story of them is found here and there by pieces in *Thucydides* his first six Books. He left behind him two sons; *Perdiccas*, who was very young; and *Archelaus*, who was base-born.

Perdiccas the third, being delivered to the custody and care of *Archelaus*, was at seven years of age cast into a well and drowned by his false Guardian: who excusing this fact to *Cleopatra* [the Mother of the young King, said, That the child in following a Goose hastily, fell thereinto by misadventure. But *Archelaus* stayed not here: for having thus dispatched his brother, he slew both his Uncle *Alcetas* the son of *Alexander* the Rich, and *Alexander* the son of this *Alcetas*, his Cousin Germain, and enjoyed the Kingdom of *Macedon* himself four and twenty years.

Plat. in Gorg. Arist. in Pol. 5.

This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Aristotle* make mention, though he made himself King by wicked murder, yet performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is said, That he sought by all means to draw *Socrates* unto him, and that he greatly loved and honoured *Eurypides* the Tragedian. He had two sons, *Archelaus* and *Orestes*.

Archelaus the second succeeded his Father; and having reigned seven years, he was slain in hunting, either by chance, or of purpose, by *Crateus*.

Orestes his younger son was committed to the education of *Æropus* of the Royal blood of *Macedon*, and had the same measure which *Archelaus* had measured to his Pupil; for *Æropus* murthered him and usurped the Kingdom, which he held some six years: the same who denied passage to *Agesilaus* King of *Sparta*, who desired, after his return from the *Asian* expedition, to pass by the way of *Macedon* into *Greece*.

This Usuper left three sons, *Pausanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pausanias* succeeded his father *Æropus*, and having reigned one year, he was driven out by *Amyntas* the son of *Philip*, the son of the first *Perdiccas*, the son of *Alexander* the Rich; which *Philip* was then preserved, when *Archelaus* the Bastard slew his Brother *Perdiccas*; his Uncle *Alcetas*, and his son *Alexander*. This *Amyntas* reigned (though very unquietly) four and twenty years; for he was not only infested by *Pausanias*, assisted by the *Thracians*, and by his Brother *Argæus*, incouraged by the *Illyrians*; and by the said *Argæus*, for two years dispossest of *Macedon*: but on the other side, the *Olynthians*, his Neighbours near the *Ægean* Sea, made themselves for a while Masters of *Pella*, the chief City of *Macedon*.

Diod. Polyæn. Plut. in Demet.

Amyntas the second, had by his wife *Eurydice* the *Illyrian*, three sons; *Alexander* the second, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the second, Father of *Alexander* the Great: and one Daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*. He had also by his second wife *Gygæa*, three Sons; *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterward slain by their Brother *Philip*. He had more by a Concubine, *Ptolomy* sirnamed *Alorites*, of the City of *Alorus*, wherein he was born.

Alexander the second reigned not much above one year, in which time he was invaded by *Pausanias*, the son of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, while he was at that time about *Amphipolis*. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great sum of mony) to leave his youngest brother *Philip* in Hostage with the *Illyrians*, who had subjected his Father *Amyntas* to the payment of tribute. After this, *Alexander* being invited by the *Alevadæ* against *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheres* in *Thessaly*, having redeemed his brother *Philip*; to draw the *Thebans* to his assistance, entred into Confederacy with *Pelopidas*, being at that time in the same Countrey, with whom he also left *Philip* with divers other principal persons, for the gage of his promises to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his Mother falling in love with her Son in Law, who had married her Daughter *Euryone* or *Exione*, practised the death of *Alexander* her son, with a purpose to confer the Kingdom on her Paramour, which *Ptolomy Alorites* did put in execution: by means whereof, he held *Macedon* for three years, but was soon after slain by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*. *Diodore*

hath

Diod. l. 15. & 16. hath it otherwiſe of *Philip* being made pledge; and ſaith, That *Amyntas* his Father delivered him for hoſtage to the *Illyrians*, by whom he was conveyed to *Thebes*, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (while his Father was yet living) was firſt ingaged to the *Thebans*, and delivered for hoſtage a ſecond time by *Alexander* his brother.

Perdiccas the third, after he had ſlain *Alorites* his baſe Brother, governed *Macedon* five years, and was then ſlain in a Battel againſt the *Illyrians*, according to *Diodorus*; but *Juſtin* affirmeth, that he periſhed by the practice of *Eurydice* his Mother, as *Alexander* did. *Juſt. l. 7.*

§. II.

The beginning of Philip's *Reign: and how he delivered* Macedon *from the troubles wherein he found it intangled.*

PHilip the ſecond, the youngeſt ſon of *Amyntaas* by *Eurydice*, having been inſtructed in all knowledge requiſite unto the Government of a Kingdom, in that excellent education which he had under *Epaminondas*, making an eſcape from *Thebes*, returned into *Macedon*, in the firſt year of the hundred and fifth *Olympiad*, which was after the building of *Rome* three hundred fourſcore and thirteen years: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdom was invironed, he took on him, not as a King (for *Perdiccas* left a ſon, though but an Infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of War. Yet his fruitful ambition ſoon over-grew his modeſty, and he was eaſily perſwaded by the people to accept both the title of King, and withall, the abſolute rule of the Kingdom. And, to ſay the truth, the neceſſity of the State of *Macedon* at that time required a King both prudent and active. For, beſides the incurſions of the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, the King of *Thrace* did ſet up in oppoſition *Pauſanias*; the *Athenians*, *Argæus*; ſon of the late Uſurper, *Æropus*: each of theſe labouring to place in *Macedon* a King of their own election. Theſe heavy burdens when *Philip* could not well bear, he bought off the weightieſt by mony, and by fair promiſes unloaded himſelf of ſo many of the reſt, as he ran under the remainder happily enough. For, notwithſtanding that his brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with four thouſand *Macedonians*, beſide thoſe that were wounded and taken priſoners; and that the *Pannonians* were deſtroying all before them in *Macedon*; *Diod. l. 16.* and that the *Athenians* with a Fleet by Sea, and three thouſand Souldiers by Land under *Mantias*, did beat upon him on all ſides and quarters of his Country: yet after he had practiſed the men of War of *Pannonia*, and corrupted them with gifts; and had alſo bought the King of *Thrace* from *Pauſanias*, he forthwith made head againſt the *Athenians* his ſtiffeſt enemies; and, for the firſt, he prevented their recovery of *Amphipolis*, a City on the frontier of *Macedon*: and did then purſue *Argæus*, the ſon of *Æropus*, ſet againſt him by the *Athenians*, and followed him ſo hard at the heels, in his retrait from *Æges*, that he forced him to abide the battel: which *Argæus* loſt, having the greateſt part of his Army ſlain in the place. Thoſe of the *Athenians*, and others which remained unbroken, took the advantage of a ſtrong piece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet avoiding thereby the preſent fury of the Souldiers, they obtained of the Vanquiſhers life and liberty to return into *Attica*. Whereupon a peace was concluded between him and the *Athenians* for that preſent, and for this clemency he was greatly renowned and honoured by all the *Greeks*.

§. III.

The good ſucceſs which Philip *had in many enterprizes.*

NOw had *Philip* leiſure to look Northward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and *Pæonians*, his irreconcileable Enemies and borderers: both which he invaded with ſo proſperous ſucceſs, as he ſlew *Bardillis*, King of the *Illyrians*, with ſeven thouſand of his Nation, and thereby recovered all thoſe places which the *Illyrians* held in *Macedon*: and withal, upon the death of the King of *Pannonia*, he pierc'd that Country, and after a main Victory obtained, he enforc'd them to pay him tribute. This was no ſooner done, than (without ſtaying to take longer breath) he haſted ſpeedily towards *Lariſſa*, upon the River *Peneus* in *Theſſaly*, of which Town he ſoon made himſelf Maſter; and thereby he got good footing in that Country, whereof he made uſe in time following. Now although he reſolved either to ſubdue the *Theſſalians*, or to make them his own againſt all others, becauſe the horſe men of that Country were the beſt, and moſt feared in that part of *Europe*; yet he thought it moſt for his ſafety to cloſe up the entrances out of *Thrace*, leſt while he invaded *Theſſaly* and

Greece

Greece towards the South, those ample Nations, lying towards the North, should either withdraw him, or over-run *Macedon*, as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, seated on the famous river of *Strimon*, which parteth *Thrace* from *Macedon*; and won it. He also recovered *Pynda*, and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the City of *Crenides* (sometime *Datus*) and called it after his name, *Philippi*: to the people whereof, Saint *Paul* afterward directed one of his Epistles. This place, wherein *Philippi* stood, is very rich in mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the advancement of *Philips* affairs, he drew yearly a thousand talents, which make six hundred thousand French Crowns.

And that he might with the more ease disburden the *Thracian* shores of the *Athenian* Garrisons, to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entred into league with his Fathers malicious enemies, the *Olynthians*; whom the better to fasten unto him, he gave them the City of *Pynda* with the territory, meaning nothing less than that they should enjoy it, or their own Estate, many years.

Now that he might by degrees win ground upon the *Greeks*, he took the fair occasion to deliver the City of *Pheres* in *Thessaly*, from the Tyrants *Lycophron* and *Tisiphonus*: who, after they had conspired with *Thebe* the wife of *Alexander*, who usurped upon the liberty of that State, they themselves (*Alexander* being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that *Alexander* did, till by the assistance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* restored to her former liberty. Which act of *Philip* did for ever after fasten the *Thessalians* unto him, and, to his exceeding great advantage, binde them to his service.

§. IV.

Of the Phocian *War which first drew* Philip *into* Greece.

ABout this time, to wit, in the second year of the hundred and sixth *Olympiad*, eight years after the Battel of *Mantinæa*, and about the eighth year of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, began that War, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occasions concur towards the execution of eternal providence, and of every great alteration in the World, there is some preceding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned; so did this revengeful hatred by the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*, conceived against the *Phocians*, not only teach *Philip* how he might with half a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the *Greeks* themselves, beating down their own defences, to give him an easie passage; and beating themselves, to give him Victory without peril; left nothing unperformed towards their own slavery, saving the title and imposition. Of this War the *Thebans* (made over-proud by their Victory at *Leuctra*) were the inflamers. For at the Council of the *Amphyctiones*, or of the general Estates of *Greece*, in which at that time they swayed most, they caused both the *Lacedæmonians* and *Phocians* to be condemned in greater sums of money than they could well bear; the one for surprizing the Castle of *Cadmea* in the time of peace, the other for ploughing up a piece of ground belonging to the Temple of *Delphos*. The *Phocians* being resolved not to obey this Edict, were secretly set on, and encouraged by the *Lacedæmonians*: and for refusal were exposed as Sacrilegers, and accursed to all their neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawful to invade, and destroy them at their pleasures.

The *Phocians* perswaded thereunto by *Philomelus*, a Captain of their own, cast the same dice of hazard that *Cæsar* after many Ages following did; but had not the same chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their own Nation. And the better to bear out an ungracious quarrel, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolved to sack the Temple it self. For seeing that for the ploughing of a piece of *Apollo*'s ground, they had so much offended their Neighbour-god, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worse could not befal them than already was intended; they resolved to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to prevail against all that had commission to call them to account. The treasure which they took out of the Temple in the beginning of the War, was ten thousand talents, which in those days served them to wage a great many men; and such was their success in the beginning of the War, as they won three great battels against the *Thebans*, *Thessalians* and *Locrians*; but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* cast himself headlong over the Rocks.

In the mean while the Cities of *Chersonesus*, both to defend themselves against their bad neighbour *Philip*, who encroached upon them, and to draw others into their quarrel, rendred themselves to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepareth to get them into his hands, and at the siege of *Methone* lost one of his eyes. It is said,

ſaid, That he that ſhot him, did purpoſely direct his arrow toward him, and that it was written on the ſhaft thereof: *After Philippo*; *After to Philip*: for ſo he was called that gave him the wouud. This City he evened with the ſoil.

Plut. in ultian. Strab. l. 8.

The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was buſied on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Theſſalians* ingaged in the holy War, entred *Theſſaly* with new Forces, being aſſiſted by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the *Phocian* Army, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians* hoped ſo to entertain the *Theſſalians* at home, as they ſhould not find leiſure to invade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the ſecond time called into *Theſſaly*; but both the *Theſſalians* and *Macedonians* (*Philip* being preſent) were utterly overthrown by *Onomarchus*, and great numbers of both Nations loſt. From *Theſſaly*, *Onomarchus* drew ſpeedily towards *Bœotia*, and with the ſame Victorious Army brake the forces of the *Bœotians*, and took from them their City of *Coronea*. But *Philip*, impatient of his late miſadventure, after he had re-enforced his Army, returned with all ſpeed into *Theſſaly*, there to find again the honour which he lately loſt: and was the ſecond time encountred by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the field twenty thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. All this great preparation ſufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* ſurmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Army overturned, ſix thouſand ſlain, and three thouſand taken: of which number himſelf being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Thoſe that fled, were in part received by the *Athenian* Gallies, which ſailed along the coaſt, commanded by *Cares*; but the greateſt number of thoſe that took the Sea, were therein devoured ere they recovered them. *Lycophron* was now again driven out of *Theſſaly*, and *Pheres* made free as before.

§. V.

Of the Olynthian *War. The ambitious practices of* Philip.

FRom hence *Philip* reſolved to invade *Phocis* it ſelf, but the *Athenians* did not favour his entrance into thoſe parts; and therefore with the help of the *Lacedæmonians*, they retrench'd his paſſage at the Streits of *Thermopylis*. Whereupon he returned into *Macedon*, and after the taking of *Micyberne*, *Torone*, and other Towns, he quarrelled with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very ſtrong, and had evermore both braved and beaten the *Macedonians*. It is ſaid, that *Philip* having put to death *Archelaus* his half brother (for *Amyntas* had three ſons by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other ſons by *Gygæa*: but *Philips* elder Brother by the ſame Mother being dead, he determined to rid himſelf alſo of the reſt) the two younger held themſelves within *Olynthus*; and that the receiving of them by the *Olynthians* was the cauſe of the War, *Juſtine* affirmeth. Juſt quarrels are ballanced by juſt Princes, but to this King all things were lawful that might ſerve his turn; all his affections, and paſſions, how divers ſoever in other men, were in his ambition ſwallowed up, and thereinto converted. For he neither forbare the murder of his own brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelity: he eſteemed no place ſtrong where his Aſs loaden with gold might enter; nor any City or State unconquerable, where a few of the greateſt, to be made greater, could loſe the ſenſe of other mens ſorrow and ſubjection. And becauſe he thought it vain to practiſe the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had incloſed all the power they had within their own walls; he entred their Territory, and by the advantage of a well-compounded and trained Army, he gave them two overthrows ere he ſate down before the City it ſelf: which done, he bought *Euthicrates* and *Laſthenes* from their people, and from the ſervice of their Countrey and Common-weale, by whoſe treaſon he entred the Town, ſlew his brothers therein, ſackt it, and ſold the Inhabitants for ſlaves by the drum. By the ſpoil of this place he greatly enriched himſelf, and had treaſure ſufficient to buy-in other Cities withal, which he daily did. For ſo was he adviſed by the Oracle in the beginning of his undertaking, *That he ſhould make his aſſaults with ſilver ſpears:* Whereupon *Horace* well and truly ſaid,

—— Diffidit Urbium
Portas vir Macedo, & ſubruit æmulos
Reges muneribus.——

Hor. Carm. Od. 16.

By gifts the *Macedon* clave Gates aſunder,
And Kings envying his eſtate brought under.

And it is true, that he won more by corruption and fraud, than he did by force. For as he had in all the principal Cities of *Greece* his ſecret workers (which way of Conqueſt was well followed by *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain*:) So when in the contention between the

the Competitors for the Kingdom of *Thrace*, he was choſen the Arbitrator; he came not to the Council accompanied with Piety and Juſtice, but with a powerful Army, and having beaten and ſlain both Kings, gave ſentence for himſelf, and made the Kingdom his own.

§. VI.

How Philip *ended the* Phocian *War.*

THe War ſtill continued between the *Phocian* and the Aſſociates of the holy War: the *Bœotians*, finding themſelves unable to ſubſiſt without ſome preſent aid, ſent unto *Philip* for ſuccour, who willingly yielded to their neceſſities, and ſent them ſuch a proportion of men, as were neither ſufficient to maſter their enemies, nor to aſſure themſelves; but yet to enable them to continue the War, and to waſte the ſtrength of *Greece*. They alſo ſent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for ſupply of treaſure, who lent them thirty talents, which makes a hundred and fourſcore thouſand Crowns: but when with theſe ſupplies they had ſtill the worſt againſt the *Phocians*, who held from them three of the ſtrongeſt Cities within *Bœotia* it ſelf, they then beſought *Philip* of *Macedon* that he would aſſiſt them in perſon, to whom they would give an entrance into their Territory, and in all things obey his Commandments in War.

Now had *Philip* what he longed for; for he knew himſelf in ſtate to give the law to both, and ſo quitting all his other purpoſes towards the North, he marched with a ſpeedy pace towards *Bœotia*, where being arrived, *Phallechus* who commanded the *Phocian* Army, fearing to ſhock with this victorious King, made his own peace, and withdrew himſelf with a Regiment of eight thouſand Souldiers into *Peloponneſus*, leaving the *Phocians* to the mercy of the Conqueror; and for concluſion he had the glory of that War called *Sacred*, which the *Grecians* with ſo many mutual ſlaughters had continued for ten years; and, beſides the glory, he poſſeſt himſelf of *Orchomene*, *Coronea*, and *Corſia*, in the Country of the *Bœotians*, who invited him to be victorious over themſelves. He brought the *Phocians* into ſervitude, and waſted their Cities, and gave them but their Villages to inhabit, reſerving unto himſelf the yearly tribute of threeſcore talents, which make ſix and thirty thouſand French Crowns. He alſo hereby (beſides the fame of piety for ſervice of the gods) obtained the ſame double voice in the Council of the *Amphyctiones* which the *Phocians* had, with the ſuperintendency of the *Pytian* games, forfeited by the *Corinthians*, by being partakers in the *Phocian* ſacrilege.

§. VII.

How Philip *with ill ſucceſs attempted upon* Perinthus, Byzantium, *and the* Scythians.

PHilip, after his triumphant return into *Macedon*, by the Lieutenant of his Army *Parmeneo*, ſlaughtered many thouſands of the *Illyrians* and *Dardanians*, and brought the *Thracians* to pay him the tenth part of all their Reveuues. But his next enterprize againſt the *Perinthians* ſtayed his fury. *Perinthus* was a City of *Thrace*, ſeated upon *Propontis*, in the mid-way between *Seſtos* and *Byzantium*, a place of great ſtrength, and a people reſolved to defend their liberty againſt *Philip*, where the *Athenians* incouraged and aſſiſted them. *Philip* ſate down before it with a puiſſant Army, made many fair breaches, gave many furious aſſaults, built many over-topping and commanding Towers about it. But he was repelled with equal violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continual aſſauls to weary them, and waſte both their men and munition, they were ſupplied, not only from the *Perſian* with men and money, and ſuccoured from *Byzantium*, which ſtood upon the ſame Sea-coaſt, but they were relieved from *Athens*, *Chio*, and *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatſoever was wanting to their neceſſity. But becauſe thoſe of *Byzantium* by reaſon of their neighbourhood, and eaſie paſſage by water, gave them often and ready help, *Philip* removed the one half of his Army, and beſieged it, leaving fifteen thouſand foot before *Perinthus*, to force it if they could: But, to be ſhort, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly do that undertake divers enterprizes at one time) and returned into *Macedon* with no leſs diſhonor than loſs: whereupon he made an overture of peace with the *Athenians*, and greatly deſired it: to which though *Phocion* perſwaded them all he could, and that by the occaſion offered they might greatly advantage their conditions; yet *Demoſthenes* with his eloquence prevailed in the refuſal. In the mean while, *Philip* having digeſted his late affront, and ſupplied his expence, by the taking of an hundred threeſcore and ten Merchants ſhips, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his ſon *Alexander*, led them into *Scythia*: but he was alſo unproſperous in that enterprize: For the *Triballi*, a people of

Mœſia,

Mœſia, ſet on him in his return, wounded him, and took from him the greateſt part of the ſpoils which he had gathered.

§. VIII.

How Philip *overthrowing the* Greeks *in the battel of* Cheronæa, *was choſen Captain-General of* Greece. *The death of* Philip.

AMong theſe Northern Nations (part of which he ſuppreſt, and part quieted) he ſpent ſome eight years; and in the ninth year, after the end of the Holy War, he was, by his great advantage, invited again by the *Græcians* to their aſſiſtance. For the Citizens of *Amphiſſa* having diſobeyed the decree of *Amphyctiones*, in which *Philip* had a double voice, and who by reaſon that the *Thebans* and *Locrians* gave countenance and aid to the *Amphiſſonians*, the reſt were not of themſelves able to conſtrain them, they beſought *Philip* to come in perſon to their aſſiſtance. Now you muſt think that *Philip* was not long in reſolving upon this enterpriſe; he needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keep back; nor other diſſwaſion than a maſtering power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Army forthwith to march; the ſame being compounded of thirty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entred *Phocis*, won *Platæa*, and brought into ſubjection all that Region.

The reſt, and eſpecially the *Athenians*, although they had good cauſe to fear that a great part of this ſtorm would fall on themſelves, yet were they diſſwaded by *Demoſthenes* from accepting ſuch reaſonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choice (having drawn the *Thebans* to joyn with them) to leave the enjoying of their eſtates and their freedom to the chance of one battell, than to hold it either by compoſition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Oratours eloquence coſt them dear. It is true, that he could far more eaſily mind them of the vertue of their Anceſtors, than make them ſuch as they were. He might repeat unto them (with words moving paſſion) the wonders they wrought at *Marathon*, but he could not transform the *Macedonians* into *Perſians*, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, an *Ariſtides*, a *Themiſtocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of thoſe famous Commanders, whoſe great vertues they had payed with the greateſt ingratitude that ever Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the ſtrength of a contrary faction he was at this time in diſgrace, and not imployed; in ſo much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the Confederates incountred, although ſome thouſands of the *Athenians* did abide the killing, and the like number well-near of the *Thebans* died with them; yet the want of the worthy men on that ſide to hold up the reſt, and to draw them on, and the many choice Captains of the *Macedonians*, incouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as it gave to *Philip* ſo ſhining a victory, that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in deſpight of all the Nations interjacent) in *Perſia*, *India*, and *Egypt*; ſo it cut to the ground, and gave end and date to all the *Græcian* glory; Yea their liberty (ſaith *Curtius*) with their large Dominion won with ſo many difficulties, continued for ſo many Ages, and ſo often defended againſt the greateſt Kings, was now loſt in a moment, and for ever loſt.

Now this adviſed King (never paſſionate to his diſadvantage) to the end he might obtain the Soveraignty over all *Greece*, and be acknowledged for their Captain-General againſt the *Perſians*, without any further hazzard or trouble, was content to let go thoſe *Athenians* that were taken at this battel of *Cheronæa*, as he alſo forbare to attempt any thing againſt their City: but in *Thebes* (which lately by the vertue of *Epaminondas* triumphed over the reſt) he lodged a Garriſon of *Macedonians*. And being ſoon after (according unto the long deſire which he had nouriſhed of this Soveraignty) by the general States at *Corinth*, ſtyled the firſt Commander of all the *Græcians*, and contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an Army of great ſtrength, and under the Commandment of *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, tranſported the ſame over the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*, to begin the War. Of his enterpriſe againſt *Perſia*, he ſought ſucceſs from the Oracle at *Delphos*, from whence he received ſuch another convertible riddle, as *Cræſus* did when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like ſort miſtaken in the expoſition.

But as it is hard to diſcern and withſtand the flatteries of our own appetites, ſo did *Philips* ambitious deſire to invade *Perſia*, abuſe his judgement, ſo far, that the death, wherewith himſelf was threatned, he underſtood to be delivered of his enemy, whom he intended preſently to invade. Before his purpoſed departure into *Aſia*, he prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra*, with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*; to which feaſt and paſtimes thereat appointed, he invited all his Friends and Allies, with the

principal persons of the *Grecian* Cities, from whom he received much honour and many rich Presents: but this was indeed the Feast of his Funeral. For, having refused to do justice to one *Pausanias*, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly favoured by *Philip*) had first made drunk, and then left to be carnally abused by divers base persons; this *Pausanias* grew into so great a detestation of the Kings partiality in so foul a fact, as, when *Philip* was passing towards the Theater, he drew a sword from under his long garment and wounded him to death, when he had lived six and forty years, and reigned five and twenty. *Justine* reports it, that *Olympias* incouraged *Pausanias* to murder the King her husband; which after his death she bodily avowed, by the honour she did unto *Pausanias*, in crowning his dead body, in consecrating his Sword unto *Apollo*, by building for him a Monument, and other like Graces.

§. XI.

What good foundations of Alexanders *greatness were laid by* Philip. *Of his laudable qualities and issue.*

NOw although he were then taken from the World, when he had mastered all opposition on that side of the Sea, and had seen the fruits of his hopes, and labours, changing colour towards ripeness and perfection; yet he was herein happy, that he lived to see his Son *Alexander* at mans estate, and had himself been an eye-witness of his resolution and singular valour in this last battel.

The foundation of whose future greatness he had laid so soundly for him, with so plain a pattern of the Buildings which himself meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was far more easie to *Alexander*, though more glorious, than the beginnings unto *Philip*, though less famous. For, besides the recovery of *Macedon* it self in competition between him and the Sons of *Æropus*, the one assisted by the *Thracians*, the other by the *Athenians*; and besides the regaining of many places possest by the *Illyrians*, the crushing of all those Northern Kings his Neighbours, the overthrow of *Olynthus*, a State that despised the power of his Father, the many Maritimate Cities taken, of great strength and ancient freedom; and the subjection of that famous Nation of *Greece*, which for so many Ages had defended it self against the greatest Kings of the World, and won upon them; He left unto his Son, and had bred up for him, so many choice Commanders, as the most of them, both for their valour and judgement in the War, were no less worthy of Crowns, than himself was that ware a Crown: For it was said of *Parmenio* (whom *Alexander*, ungratefull to so great vertue, impiously murthered) That *Parmenio* had performed many things challenging eternal fame, without the King; but the King without *Parmenio* never did any thing worthy of renown: as for the rest of his Captains, though content to obey the Son of such a Father, yet did they not after *Alexanders* death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themselves.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more Vices, than Nature and his excellent education had enriched him with vertues. For, besides that he was Valiant, Wise, Learned, and Master of his Affections, he had this savour of Piety, that he rather laboured to satisfie those that were grieved, than to suppress them. Whereof (among many other) we find a good example in his dealing with *Arcadion* and *Nicanor*. Whom when for their evil speech of *Philip*, his familiars perswaded him to put to death, he answered them, That first it ought to be considered, whether the fault were in them that gave him ill language, or in himself; Secondly, that it was in every mans own power to be well spoken of; and this was shortly proved; for after *Philip* relieved their necessities, there were none within his Kingdom that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon he told those that had perswaded him to use violence, that he was a better Physitian for evil speech than they were.

His Epistles to *Alexander* his Son are remembred by *Cicero* and *Gellius*; and by *Dion* and *Chrysostome* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyænus* and *Erontinus*; his wise sayings, by *Plutarch*. And albeit he held *Macedon* as in his own right, all the time of his reign, yet was he not the true and next Heir thereof; for *Amyntas* the Son of his Brother *Perdiccas* (of whom he had the Protection during his infancy) had the

the right. This *Amyntas* he married to his daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philip*'s baſe Son *Aridæus*, her Unkle by the Mothers ſide: both which *Olympias*, *Philip*'s firſt Wife, and Mother to *Alexander* the Great, put to death; *Aridæus* by extreme torments, *Eurydice* ſhe ſtrangled.

Philip had by this *Olympias*, the daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the *Moloſſians* (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Uncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and was after her Bother *Alexanders* death ſlain at *Sardis*, by the commandement of *Antigonus*.

By *Audata* an *Illyrian*, his ſecond Wife, he had *Cyna*, married as is ſhewed before.

By *Nicaſipolis*, the Siſter of *Jaſon*, Tyrant of *Pheres*, he had *Theſſalonica*, whom *Caſſander*, after he had taken *Pidna*, married; but ſhe was afterward by her Father-in-law *Antipater* put to death.

By *Cleopatra* the Neece of *Attalus*, he had *Caranus*, whom others call *Philip*: him *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, cauſed to be roſted to death in a Copper Pan. Others lay his murder to *Alexander* himſelf. By the ſame *Cleopatra* he had likewiſe a daughter called *Europa*, whom *Olympias* alſo murdered at the Mothers breſt.

By *Phila* and *Meda* he had no iſſue.

He had alſo two Concubines, *Arſinoe*, whom after he had gotten with childe, he married to an obſcure man, called *Lagus*, who bare *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, called the Son of *Lagus*, but eſteemed the Son of *Philip*: by *Philinna*, his ſecond Concubine, a publick Dancer, he had *Aridæus*, of whom we ſhall have much occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

CHAP. II.

Of ALEXANDER *the Great.*

§. I.

A brief rehearſal of Alexanders *doings, before he invaded* Aſia.

Alexander, afterwards called the Great, ſucceeded unto *Philip* his Father; being a Prince no leſs valiant by Nature, than by Education, well inſtructed, and inriched in all ſorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his reign over the *Macedonians* four hundred and ſeventeen years, after *Rome* was built, and after his own birth twenty years. The ſtrange dreams of *Philip* his Father, and that one of the gods in the ſhape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, I omit as fooliſh Tales; but, that the Temple of *Diana* (a work the moſt magnificent of the World) was burnt upon the day of his birth, and that ſo ſtrange an accident was accompanied with the news of three ſeveral Victories, obtained by the *Macedonians*, it was very rmarkable, and might with the reaſon of thoſe times be interpreted for ominous, and fore-ſhewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Upon the change of the King, the Neighbour-Nations, whom *Philip* had oppreſt, began to conſult about the recovery of their former liberty, and to adventure it by force of arms. *Alexanders* young years gave them hope of prevailing, and his ſuſpected ſeverity increaſed courage in thoſe, who could better reſolve to die, than to live ſlaviſhly. But *Alexander* gave no time to thoſe ſwelling humours, which might ſpeedily have endangered the health of his Eſtate. For after revenge taken upon the Conſpirators againſt his Father, whom he ſlew upon his Tomb, and the celebration of his Funerals, he firſt faſtened unto him his own Nation, by freeing them from all exactions and bodily ſlavery, other than their ſervice in his Wars; and uſed ſuch Kingly auſterity towards thoſe that contemned his young years, and ſuch clemency to the reſt that perſwaded themſelves of the cruelty of his diſpoſition, as all affections being pacified at home, he made a preſent journey into *Peloponneſus*, and ſo well exerciſed his ſpirits among them, as by the Counſel of the States of *Greece*, he was, according to the great deſire of his heart, elected Captain-General againſt the *Perſians*, upon which war *Philip* had not only reſoved, (who had obtained the ſame title of General Commander) but had tranſported under the leading of *Parmenio*.

menio and *Attalus*, a part of his Army, to recover some places on *Asia*-side, for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the *Persian* occupied all *Alexanders* affections; those fair marks of Riches, Honour, and large Dominion, he now shot at both sleeping and waking; all other thoughts and imaginations were either grievous or hatefull. But a contrary winde ariseth: for he receiveth advertisement, that the *Athenians*, *Thebans* and *Lacedæmonians*, had united themselves against him, and, by assistance from the *Persian*, hoped for the recovery of their former freedom. Hereunto they were perswaded by *Demosthenes*, himself being thereto perswaded by the gold of *Persia*: the device he used was more subtile than profitable; for he caused it to be bruited, that *Alexander* was slain in a battail against the *Triballes*, and brought into the assembly a companion whom he had corrupted, to affirm that himself was present, and wounded in the battail. There is indeed a certain Doctrine of Policy (as Policy is now a-days defined by falsehood and knavery) that devised rumours and lies, if they serve the turn but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true, Common people are sometimes mockt by them as Souldiers are by false alarums in the wars; but in all that I have observed, I have found the success as ridiculous as the invention. For as those that find themselves at one time abused by such like bruits, do at other times neglect their duties, when they are upon true reports, and in occasions perilous, summoned to assemble; so do all men in general condemn the Venters of such trumpery, and for them, fear upon necessary occasion to entertain the truth it self. This labour unlooked for, and loss of time, was not only very grievous to *Alexander*, but by turning his sword from the ignoble and effeminate *Persians*, against which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous *Græcians*, of whose assistance he thought himself assured, his present undertaking was greatly disordered. But he that cannot endure to strive against the wind, shall hardly attain the Port which he purposeth to recover: and it no less becometh the worthiest men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewail them.

He therefore made such expedition towards these Revolters, as that himself, with the Army that followed him, brought them the first news of his preparation. Hereupon all stagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the first that moved, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their Embassadours to pacifie the King, and to be received again into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in resolving; for the *Persians* perswaded him to pardon the *Græcians*. Wise men are not easily drawn from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any King ever brought to effect any great affair, who hath intangled himself in many enterprises at once, not tending to one and the same certain end.

And having now quieted his borderers towards the South, he resolved to assure those Nations which lay on the North-side of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Thracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Getes*, *Agreans*, and other salvage people, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not only other of his Predecessors, but even *Philip* his Father: with all which, after divers Overthrows given them, he made peace, or else brought them into subjection. Notwithstanding this good success, he could not yet find the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more natural to man than liberty: the *Greeks* had enjoyed it over-long, and lost it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once again. The *Thebans*, who had in their Cittadell a Garrison of 3000 *Macedons*, attempt to force it; *Alexander* hasteneth to their succour, and presents himself with 30000. foot, all old Souldiers, and 3000. Horse, before the City, and gave the Inhabitants some days to resolve, being even heart-sick with the desire of passing into *Asia*. So unwilling, indeed, he was to draw blood of the *Græcians*, by whom he hoped to serve himself elsewhere, that he offered the *Thebans* remission, if they would only deliver into his hands *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, the stirrers up of the Rebellion. But they, opposing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking in of the Ocean Sea) instead of such an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should have made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be delivered unto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then layed in the ballance of *Fortune* with the Kingdom of *Macedon*, and many other Provinces, could either have evened the scale or swayed it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacy. For while the *Thebans* oppose the Army assailant, they are charged at the back by the *Macedonian* Garrison, their City taken and razed to the ground, six thousand slain, and thirty thousand sold for slaves, at the price of four hundred and forty Talents. This the King did to the terrour of the other *Græcian* Cities.

Many arguments were used by *Cleadas* one of the Prisoners, to perswade *Alexander*

to

to forbear the deſtruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the King to believe that they were rather miſ-led, by giving haſty credit to falſe reports, than any way malicious; for being perſwaded of *Alexander*'s death, they rebelled but againſt his ſucceſſour. He alſo beſought the King to remember, that his Father *Philip* had his education in that City, yea, that his Anceſtour *Hercules* was born therein: but all perſwaſions were fruitleſs; the times wherein offences are committed do greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and ſpared, and ſet at liberty *Timoclea*, the Siſter of *Theagenes*, who dyed in defence of the liberty of *Greece* againſt his Father *Philip*. This noble woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him raviſhed, he threatned to take her life unleſs ſhe would confeſs her treaſure: ſhe led that *Thracian* to a Well, and told him, that ſhe had therein caſt it: and when the *Thracian* ſtooped to look into the Well, ſhe ſuddenly thruſt him into the mouth thereof and ſtoned him to death.

Now becauſe the *Athenians* had received into their City ſo many of the *Thebans*, as had eſcaped and fled unto them for ſuccour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but upon condition to deliver into his hands both their Orators which perſwaded this ſecond revolt, and their Captains; yet in the end, it being a torment unto him to retard the enterprize of *Perſia*, he was content that the Orators ſhould remain, and accepted of the baniſhment of the Captains; wherein he was exceeding ill-adviſed, had not his fortune, or rather the providence of God, made all the reſiſtance againſt him unprofitable: for theſe good Leaders of the *Græcians* betook themſelves to the ſervice of the *Perſian*, whom after a few dayes he invaded.

§. II.

How Alexander *paſſed into* Aſia, *fought with the* Perſians *upon the River of* Granicus.

WHen all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the truſt of *Antipater* both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the firſt of the Spring did paſs the *Helleſpont*, and being ready to diſ-imbark, he threw a Dart towards the *Aſian* ſhore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waſte in their own Territory, or to burn, or deface thoſe buildings which themſelves were preſently, and in the future to poſſeſs. He landed his Army, conſiſting of two and thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, all old Souldiers, near unto *Troy*, where he offered a ſolemn Sacrifice upon *Achilles* Tomb, his maternal Anceſtor.

But before he left his own coaſt, he put to death, without any offence given him, all his Mother-in-laws Kinſmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly advanced, not ſparing ſuch of his own as he ſuſpected. He alſo took with him many of his tributary Princes, of whoſe fidelity he doubted; thinking by unjuſt cruelty to aſſure all things, both in the preſent and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended unto him, though agreeing very well with the Juſtice of God; for all that he had planted, was ſoon after withered, and rooted up; thoſe, whom he moſt truſted, were the moſt traiterous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by ſuch another mercileſs ſword as his own, and all manner of confuſion followed his dead body to the grave, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexander*'s landing on *Aſia* ſide was brought to *Darius*, he ſo much ſcorned the Army of *Macedon*, and had ſo contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himſelf, as having ſtiled him his ſervant on a letter which he wrote unto him, reprehending his diſloyalty and audacity (for *Darius* intitled himſelf King of Kings, and the Kinſman of the gods) he gave order withall to his Lieutenants of the leſſer *Aſia*, that they ſhould take *Alexander* alive, whip him with rods, and then convey him to his preſence: that they ſhould ſink his ſhips, and ſend the *Macedons* taken priſoners beyond the Red-Sea; belike into *Æthiopia*, or ſome other unhealthfull part of *Africa*.

In this ſort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartleſs multitude which he commanded, diſpoſe of the already-vanquiſhed *Macedonians*: But the ill deſtinies of men bearing them to the ground, by what ſtrong confidence ſoever armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heap into the field, gave rather an exceeding advantage to his enemies, than any diſcouragement at all. For, beſides that they were men utterly unacquainted with dangers; men, who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to prevail againſt thoſe of leſs courage than themſelves; men that took more care how to embroider with gold and ſilver their upper garments, as if they attended the invaſion but of the Sun-beams, than they did to arm themſelves with Iron and Steel

againſt

againſt the ſharp pikes, ſwords, and darts of the hardy *Macedonians*; I ſay, beſides all theſe, even the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which every one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turn to fight, filled every one of them with the care of their own ſafety, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their own breath, and that of their Horſes, in running away. The *Macedonians*, as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themſelves with the Gold and Jewels of *Perſia*, both which they needed; ſo the *Perſians*, who expected nothing in that War but blows and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the King, who had power to conſtrain them in aſſembling themſelves for his ſervice; but their own fears and cowardiſe, which in time of danger had moſt power over them, they only then obeyed, when their rebellion againſt ſo ſervile a paſſion did juſtly and violently require it. For, ſaith *Vegetius*, *Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles prælium cupit, ita formidat indoctus; nam ſciendum eſt in pugna uſum ampliùs prodeſſe quàm vires. As the well-practiſed Souldier deſires to come to battel, ſo the raw one fears it: for we muſt underſtand, that in fight it more avails to have been accuſtomed unto the like, than only to have rude ſtrength.* What manner of men the *Perſians* were; *Alexander* diſcovered in the firſt encounter; before which time it is ſaid, by thoſe that write his ſtory, that it was hard to judge, whether his daring to undertake the Conqueſt of an Empire ſo well peopled, with an handfull of men, or the ſucceſs he had, were more to be wondred at. For at the River of *Granick*, which ſevereth the Territory of *Troy* from *Propontis*, the *Perſians* ſought to ſtop his paſſage, taking the higher ground and bank of the River to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it were) to clime up unto, and ſcale from the Level of the water. Great reſiſtance (ſaith *Curtius*) was made by the *Perſians*, yet in the end *Alexander* prevailed. But it ſeems to me, that the Victory then gotten was exceeding eaſie, and that the twenty thouſand *Perſian* footmen, ſaid to be ſlain, were rather killed in the back, in running away, than hurt in the boſoms by reſiſting. For had thoſe twenty thouſand foot, and two hundred and fifty horſe-men, or, after *Plutarch*, two thouſand and five hundred horſe-men, dyed with their faces towards the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* could not have bought their lives at ſo ſmall a rate, as with the loſs of four and thirty of all ſorts of his own. And if it were alſo true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexander* encountred two of the *Perſian* Commanders, *Spithridates* and *Rœſaches*; and that the *Perſian* horſe-men fought with great fury, though in the end ſcattered; and laſtly, how thoſe *Grœcians* in *Darius* his pay, holding themſelves in one body upon a piece of ground of advantage, did (after mercy was refuſed them) fight it out to the laſt; how then doth it reſemble truth, that ſuch reſiſtance having been made, yet of *Alexander*'s Army there fell but twelve footmen, and two and twenty horſe-men?

§. III.

A digreſſion concerning the defence of hard paſſages, Of things following the Battell of Granick.

THe winning of this paſſage did greatly encourage the *Macedonians*, and brought ſuch terrour upon all thoſe of the leſſer *Aſia*, as he obtained all the Kingdoms thereof without a blow, ſome one or two Towns excepted. For in all invaſions, where the Nations invaded have once been beaten upon a great advantage of the place, as in defence of Rivers, Streights, and Mountains, they will ſoon have perſwaded themſelves, that ſuch an enemy upon equal terms and even ground, can hardly be reſiſted. It was therefore *Machiavels* counſel, That he which reſolveth to defend a paſſage, ſhould with his ableſt force oppoſe the Aſſailant. And to ſay truth, few Regions of any great circuit are ſo well fenced, that Armies of ſuch force as may be thought ſufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the natural difficulty of the wayes. One paſſage or other is commonly left unguarded: if all be defended, then muſt the forces of the Country be diſtracted; and yet lightly ſome one place will be found that is defended very weakly. How often have the *Alpes* given way to Armies, breaking into *Italy*? Yea, Where ſhall we finde that ever they kept out an Invader? Yet are they ſuch as (to ſpeak briefly) afflict with all difficulties thoſe that travel over them; but they give no ſecurity to thoſe that lye behind them: for they are of too large extent. The Towns of *Lombardy* perſwaded themſelves that they might enjoy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the *Switzers* had undertaken to hinder *Francis* the *French* King from deſcending into the Dutchy of *Milan*: but whileſt theſe Patrons of *Milan*, whom their own dwelling in thoſe Mountains had made fitteſt of all other for ſuch a ſervice, were buſied in cuſtody of the *Alpes*; *Francis* appeared in *Lombardy*, ſo much the

the greater terrour of the Inhabitants, by how much the leſs they had expected his arrival. What ſhall we ſay of thoſe Mountains, which lock up whole Regions in ſuch ſort, as they leave but one Gate open; The Streights, or (as they were called) the Gates of *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, and thoſe of *Thermopylæ*, have ſeldom been attempted, perhaps becauſe they were thought impregnable: but how ſeldom (if ever) have they been attempted in vain? *Xerxes*, and long after him, the *Romans*, forced the entrance of *Thermopylæ*; *Cyrus* the younger, and after him *Alexander*, found the Gates of *Cilicia* wide open; how ſtrongly ſoever they had been locked and barred, yet were thoſe Countries open enough to a Fleet that ſhould enter on the back-ſide. The defence of Rivers, how hard a thing it is, we find examples in all hiſtories that bear good witneſs. The deepeſt have many Foords; the ſwifteſt and broadeſt may be paſſed by Boats, in caſe it be found a matter of difficulty to make a bridge. He that hath men enow to defend all the length of his own bank, hath alſo enow to beat his enemy; and may therefore do better to let him come over, to his loſs, than by ſtriving in vain to hinder the paſſage, as a matter tending to his own diſadvantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill caſe, having their means of ſafeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of ſuch as are too good for them. Certainly, if a River were ſufficient defence againſt an Army, the Iſle of *Mona*, now called *Angleſey*, which is divided from *North-Wales* by an Arm of the Sea, had been ſafe enough againſt the *Romans*, invading it under the conduct of *Julius Agricola*. But he wanting, and not meaning to ſpend the time in making Veſſels to tranſport his forces, did aſſay the foords. Whereby he ſo amazed the enemies attending for ſhips and ſuch like proviſion by Sea, that ſurely believing nothing could be hard or invincible to men, which came ſo minded to War, they humbly intreated for peace, and yielded the Iſland. Yet the *Britains* were men ſtout enough, the *Perſians* were very daſtards.

It was therefore wiſely done of *Alexander*, to paſs the River of *Granick* in face of the enemy; not marching higher to ſeek an eaſier way, nor labouring to convey his men over it by ſome ſafer means. For, having beaten them upon their own ground, he did thereby cut off no leſs of their reputation, than of their ſtrength, leaving no hope of ſuccour to the partakers and followers of ſuch unable Protectors.

Soon after this Victory he recovered *Sardis*, *Epheſus*, the Cities of the *Trallians*, and *Magneſia*, which were rendred unto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countrey, he received with great grace, ſuffering them to be governed by their own Laws. For he obſerved it well; *Novum Imperium inchoantibus, utilis clementiæ fama*; *It is commodious unto ſuch as lay the foundations of a new Soveraignty, to have the fame of being merciſull.* He then by *Parmenio* wan *Miletus*, and by force maſtered *Halicarnaſſæus*, which becauſe it reſiſted obſtinately, he razed to the ground. From whence he entred into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queen, who had been caſt out of all that ſhe held (except the City of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Lieutenants, preſented her ſelf unto him, and adopted him her Son and Succeſſor; which *Alexander* accepted in ſo gracious part, as he left the whole Kingdom to her diſpoſing. He then entred into *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, and obtained all the Sea-coaſts, and, ſubjecting unto him *Piſidia*, he directed himſelf towards *Darius* (who was ſaid to be advanced towards him with a marvellous Army) by the way of *Phrygia*: For, all the Province of *Aſia* the leſs, bordering upon the Sea, his firſt Victory laid under his feet.

While he gave order for the government and ſettling of *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, they ſent *Cleander* to raiſe ſome new Captains in *Peloponneſus*, and marching towards the North, he entred *Celenas*, ſeated on the River *Meander*, which was abandoned unto him; the Caſtle only holding out, which alſo after forty dayes was given up: for ſo long time he gave them to attend ſuccour from *Darius*. From *Celenas* he paſs'd on through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a City called *Gordium*, the Regal Seat, in former times, of King *Midas*. In this City it was, that he found the *Gordian*-knot, which when he knew not how to undo, he cut it aſunder with his Sword. For there was an ancient Prophecy did promiſe to him that could untie it, the Lordſhip of all *Aſia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not reſpecting the manner how, ſo it were done, aſſumed to himſelf the fulfilling of the Prophecy, by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of *Aſia* the leſs towards the eaſt, he took care to clear the Sea-coaſt on his back, and to thruſt the *Perſians* out of the Iſlands of *Lesbos*, *Chio*, and *Coos*: the charge whereof he committed unto two of his Captains, giving them ſuch order as he thought to be moſt convenient for that ſervice; and delivering unto

unto them fifty Talents to defray the charge; and withall out of his first spoyl gotten, he sent threescore Talents more to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Greece* and *Macedon*. From *Celenas* he removed to *Ancira*, now called *Anguori*, standing on the same River of *Sangarias*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there he mustered his Army, and then entred *Paphlagonia*, whose people submitted themselves unto him, and obtained freedom of tribute: where he left *Catus* Governour with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arrived.

Here he understood of the death of *Memnon*, *Darius* Lieutenant, which heartned him greatly to pass on towards him; for of this only Captain he had more respect than of all the multitude by *Darius* assembled, and of all the Commanders he had besides. For so much hath the spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath undertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Common-weals, the erection of Monarchies, the Conquest of Kingdoms and Empires, guided handfulls of men against multitudes of equal bodily strength, contrived victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, converted the fearfull passions of his own followers into magnanimity, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; such spirits have been stirred up in sundry Ages of the world, and in divers parts thereof, to erect and cast down again, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, Persons and States, to the same certain ends, which the infinite Spirit of the *Universal*, piercing, moving, and governing all things, hath ordained. Certainly, the things that this King did, were marvellous, and would hardly have been undertaken by any man else: and though his Father had determined to have invaded the lesser *Asia*, it is like enough that he would have contented himself with some part thereof, and not have discovered the River of *Inaus*, as this man did. The swift course of victory, wherewith he ran over so large a portion of the World, in so short a space, may justly be imputed unto this, that he was never encountred by an equal spirit, concurring with equal power against him. Hereby it came to pass that his actions being limited by no greater opposition, than desart places, and the meer length of tedious journies could make, were like the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, not so much to be admired for the workmanship, though therein also praiseworthy, as for the huge bulk. For certainly the things performed by *Xenophon*, discover as brave a spirit as *Alexanders*, and working no less exquisitely, though the effects were less material, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would find the exact pattern of a noble Commander, must look upon such as *Epaminondas*, that encountring worthy Captains, and those better followed than themselves, have by their singular vertue over-topped their valiant enemies, and still prevailed over those, that would not have yielded one foot to any other. Such as these are, do seldom live to obtain great Empires. For it is a work of more labour and longer time, to master the equal forces of one hardy and well-ordered State, than to tread down and utterly subdue a multitude of servile Nations, compounding the body of a gross unweildy Empire. Wherefore these *Parvo-Potentes*, men that with little have done much upon enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choice examples of worth; but great Conquerours, to be rather admired for the substance of their actions, than the exquisite managing: exactness and greatness concurring so seldom, that I can find no instance of both in one, save only that brave *Roman*, *Cæsar*.

Having thus far digressed, it is now time that we return unto our Eastern Conquerour; who is travailing hastily towards *Cilicia*, with a desire to recover the Streights thereof before *Darius* should arrive there. But first making a dispatch unto *Greece*, he sent to those Cities, in which he reposed most trust, some of the *Persian* Targets which he had recovered in this first battel; upon which, by certain inscriptions, he made them partakers of his Victory. Herein he well advised himself; for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gains in the Wars, as he doth of the spoils, shall never be long followed of those of the better sort. For men which are either well-born, or well-bred, and have more of wealth than of reputation, do as often satisfie themselves with the purchase of glory, as the weak in fortune, and strong in courage, do with the gain of gold and silver.

The Governour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexanders* coming on, left some Companies to keep the Streights, which were indeed very defensible; and withall, as *Curtius* noteth, he began over-late to prise and put in execution the Counsel of *Memnon*: who in the beginning of the Wars advised him to waste all the provisions for Men and Horse, that could not be lodged in strong places, and alwayes to give ground to the Invader, till he found some such notable advantage as might assuredly promise him the obtaining of Victory. For the fury of an invading Army

Army is best broken, by delays, change of diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and sometimes too much, sometimes reposing themselves in beds, and more oftner on the cold ground. These and the like sudden alterations bring many diseases upon all Nations out of their own Countries. Therefore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from meat and sleep, and, refusing to give or take battel, had wearied them with his light horse, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, he might perchance have saved his own life, and his estate. For it was one of the greatest incouragements given by *Alexander*, to the *Macedonians*, in the third and last fatal battel, That they were to fight with all the strength of *Persia* at once.

Xerxes when he invaded *Greece* and fought abroad, in being beaten, lost only his men; but *Darius* being invaded by the *Greeks*, and fighting at home, by being beaten, lost his Kingdom. *Pericles* though the *Lacedæmonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not be drawn to hazard a battel: for the invaded ought evermore to fight upon the advantage of time and place. Because we read Histories to inform our understanding by the examples therein found, we will give some instances of those that have perished by adventuring in their own Countries, to charge an invading Army. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brink of their destruction.

Pompey was well advised for a while, when he gave *Cæsar* ground; but when by the importunity of his Captains he adventured to fight at *Pharsalia*, he lost the battel, lost the freedom of *Rome*, and his own life.

Ferdinand, in the Conquest of *Naples*, would needs fight a battel with the *French* to his confusion, though it was told him by a man of sound judgement, that those Counsels which promise surety in all things, are honorable enough.

The Constable of *France* made frustrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the Fifth, when he invaded *Provence*, by wasting the Country, and forbearing to fight; so did the Duke of *Alva* weary the *French* in *Naples*, and dissolve the boistrous Army of the Prince of *Orange* in the *Low-Countries*.

The *Leigers*, contrary to the advice of their General, would needs fight a battel with the *Bourgonians*, invading their Country, and could not be perswaded to linger the time, and stay their advantage; but they lost eight and twenty thousand upon the place. *Philip* of *Valois* set upon King *Edward* at *Cressie*; and King *John* (when the *English* were well-neer tired out, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit have been wasted to nothing) constrained the black Prince with great fury, neer *Poitiers*, to joyn battel with him: But all men know what lamentable success these two *French* Kings found. *Charles* the fifth of *France* made another kind of *Fabian*-Warfare; and though the *English* burnt and wasted many places, yet this King held his resolution to forbear blows, and followed his advice, which told him, That the *English* could never get his inheritance by smoak. And it is reported by *Belloy* and *Herrault*, that King *Edward* was wont to say of this *Charles*, that he wan from him the Dutchy of *Guyen* without ever putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wise men grow short-lived, and the charge of things is committed unto such as either cannot see what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any sound advice. The course which *Memnon* had propounded, must in all appearance of reason have brought the *Macedonians* to a great perplexity, and made him stand still a while at the Streights of *Cilicia*, doubting whether it were more shameful to return, or dangerous to proceed. For, had *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* been wasted whilst *Alexander* was far off; and the Streights of *Cilicia* been defended by *Arsenes*, Governor of that Province, with the best of his forces; hunger would not have suffered the enemy, to stay the trial of all means that might be thought upon, of forcing that passage: or if the place could not have been maintained, yet might *Cilicia*, at better leisure have been so throughly spoiled, that the heart of his Army should have been broken, by seeking out miseries by painful travel.

But *Arsenes* leaving a small number to defend the Streights, took the best of his Army with him, to waste and spoil the Country; or rather, as may seem, to find himself some work, by pretence of which he might honestly run further away from *Alexander*. He should rather have adventured his person in custody of the Streights, whereby he might perhaps have saved the Province; and in the mean time, all that was in the fields, would have been conveighed into strong Towns. So should his Army, if it were driven from the place of advantage, have found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himself with his horsemen have had the less work in destroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gave the *Cilicians* cause to wish for *Alexanders* coming; and as great cause

to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder it. For cowards are wise in apprehending all forms of danger. These Guardians of the Streights, hearing that *Arsenes* made all haste to joyn himself with *Darius*, burning down all as he went, like one despairing of the defence, began to grow circumspect, and to think that surely their General, who gave as lost the Country behind their backs, had exposed themselves unto certain death, as men that were good for nothing else but to dull the *Macedonian* swords. Wherefore not affecting to dye for their Prince and Country (which honour they saw that *Arsenes* himself could well forbear) they speedily followed the foot-steps of their General, gleaning after his Harvest. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardize of his Enemies, and the whole Province that had been alienated from the *Persian* side by their indiscretion.

§. IV.

Of the unwarlike Army levied by Darius *against* Alexander. *The unadvised courses which* Darius *took in this expedition. He is vanquished at* Issus; *where his Mother, Wife and Children are made prisoners: of some things following the battel of* Issus.

IN the mean season *Darius* approached, who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an Army of more than two hundred and ninety thousand Souldiers, out of divers Nations; *Justine* musters them at three hundred thousand Foot, and a hundred thousand Horse; *Plutarch*, at six hundred thousand.

The manner of his coming on, as *Curtius* describes it, was rather like a Masker than a man of War, and like one that took more care to set out his glory and riches, than to provide for his own safety, perswading himself, as it seemed, to beat *Alexander* with pomp and sumptuous Pageants. For, before the Army there was carried the holy Fire, which the *Persians* worshipped, attended by their *Priests*; and after them three hundred and threescore and five young men, answering the number of the days of the year, covered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Jupiter* drawn with white Horses, with their Riders cloathed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; and after it, the Horse of the *Sun*: Next after these follow ten sumptuous Chariots, in-layed and garnisht with silver and gold; and then the Vantguard of their horse, compounded of twelve several Nations, which the better to avoid confusion, did hardly understand each others language; and these marshall'd in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serve very fitly to disorder all that followed them: in the tail of these Horses the Regiment of foot marched, with the *Persians* called Immortal, because if any died, the number was presently supplied: and these were armed with chains of gold, and their coats with the same metal imbroidered, whereof the sleeves were garnished with pearl: baits, either to catch the hungry *Macedonians* withal, or to perswade them that it were great incivility to cut, and to deface such glorious garments. But it was well said, *Sumptuosè indutus miles, se virtute superiorem aliis non existimet, cum in præliis oporteat fortitudine animi, & non vestimentis muniri, quoniam hostes vestibus non debellantur*; *Let no man think that he exceedeth those in valour, whom he exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of mind, and not by the apparel they put on, that enemies are beaten.* And it was perchance from the *Roman Papyrius* that this advice was borrowed, who, when he fought against the *Samnites* in that fatal battel, wherein they all sware either to prevail or dye, thirty thousand of them having apparelled themselves in white garments, with high crests, and great plumes of feathers, bade the *Roman* Souldiers to lay aside all fear: *Non enim cristas vulnera facere, & per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum*; *For these plumed crests would wound no body, and the* Roman *pile would bore holes in painted and gilded shields.*

To second this Court-like company, fifteen thousand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breed the more terror) and these were honored with the Title of the Kings Kinsmen. Then came *Darius* himself, the Gentlemen of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was supported with the gods of his Nation, cast and cut in pure gold; these the *Macedonians* did not serve, but they served their turns of these, by changing their massie-bodies into thin, portable and currant coyn. The head of this Chariot was set with precious stones, with two little golden Idols, covered with an open-winged Eagle of the same metal: The hinder part being raised high whereon *Darius* sate, had a covering of inestimable value. This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thousand Horsemen, their Lances plated with silver, and their heads guilt; which they meant not to imbrue in the *Macedonian* blood, for fear of marring their beauty.

beauty. He had for the proper Guard of his own perſon, two hundred of the blood Royal; blood, too Royal and precious to be ſpilt by any valorous adventure (I am of opinion that two hundred ſturdy fellows, like the *Switzers*, would have done him more ſervice) and theſe were backt with thirty thouſand foot-men, after whom again were led four hundred ſpare horſes for the King, which if he had meant to have uſed, he would have marſhalled ſomewhat nearer him.

Now followed the Reer-ward, the ſame being led by *Siſygambis* the Kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, followed by a great train of Ladies their attendants on horſe-back, with fifteen Wagons of the Kings children, and the wives of the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and fifty Concubines, and a world of Nurſes and *Eunuchs*, moſt ſumptuouſly apparalled. By which it ſhould ſeem that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had been *Comedians* or *Tumblers*; for this troop was far fitter to behold thoſe ſports than to be preſent at battels. Between theſe and a company of light-armed ſlaves, with a world of Varlets, was the Kings treaſure, charged on ſix hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proved, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this ſort came the *May-game-King* into the field, incumbred with a moſt unneceſſary train of Strumpets, attended with troops of divers Nations, ſpeaking divers languages, and for their numbers impoſſible to be marſhalled; and for the moſt part ſo effeminate, and ſo rich in gold and in garments, as the ſame could not but have encouraged the naked'ſt Nation of the world againſt them. We find it in daily experience, that all diſcourſe of Magnanimity, of National Virtue, of Religion, of Liberty, and whatſoever elſe hath been wont to move and encourage Virtuous men, hath no force at all with the common Souldier, in compariſon of ſpoil and riches. The rich ſhips are boorded upon all diſadvantage, the rich Towns are furiouſly aſſaulted, and the plentiful Countries willingly invaded. Our *Engliſh* Nation have attempted many places in the *Indies*, and run upon the *Spaniards* headlong, in hope of their Royals of plate, and Piſtolets; which, had they been put to it upon the like diſadvantages in *Ireland*, or in any poor Country, they would have turned their Pieces and Pikes againſt their Commanders, conteſting that they had been brought without reaſon to the butchery and ſlaughter. It is true that the War is made willingly, and for the moſt part with good ſucceſs, that is ordained againſt the richeſt Nations; for as the needy are always adventurous, ſo plenty is wont to ſhun peril, and men that have well to live, do rather ſtudy how to live well, I mean wealthily, than care to dye (as they call it) honourable. *Car où il n'y a rien a gaigner que des coups, volontiers il n'y va pas. No man makes haſte to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blows.*

Now if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his conſultation with his Sooth-ſayers, he would have ſatisfied himſelf by the outſides of the *Perſians*, and never have looked into the intrails of Beaſts for ſucceſs. For leaving the deſcription of this ſecond battel (which is indeed no where well deſcribed; neither, for the confuſion and haſty running away of the *Aſians*, could it be) we have enough by the ſlaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to inform us what manner of reſiſtance was made. For if it be true that three-ſcore thouſand *Perſian* footmen were ſlain in this battel, with ten thouſand of their horſemen; Or (as *Curtius* ſaith) an hundred thouſand footmen, with the ſame number of horſemen, and beſides this ſlaughter, 40000 taken priſoners, while of *Alexanders* Army there miſcarried but two hundred and four-ſcore of all ſorts, of which numbers *Arrianus* and other Hiſtorians cut off almoſt the one half; I do verily believe, that this ſmall number rather died with the over-travel and pains-taking in killing their enemies, than by any ſtrokes received from them. And ſurely if the *Perſian* Nation (at this time degenerate and the baſeſt of the World) had had any ſavour remaining of the ancient valour of their fore-fathers, they would never have ſold ſo good cheap, and at ſo vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the Kings children; had their own honour been valued by them at nothing, and the Kings ſafety and his eſtate at leſs. *Darius* by this time found it true, that *Charidemus* a baniſhed *Græcian* of *Athens* had told him, when he made a view of his Army about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which he had aſſembled of divers Nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the country, whom in paſſing by they would devour, than to the *Macedonians*, whom they meant to aſſail; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattelled in groſs ſquadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, well covered with Armour for defence, and furniſhed with weapons for offence of great advantage, would make ſo little accompt of his

delicate *Persians*, loving their ease and their palat, being withall ill armed, and worse disciplined, as except it would please him to entertain (having so great abundance of treasure to do it withal) a sufficient number of the same *Grecians*, and so to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equal courage, he would repent him overlate, as taught by the miserable success like to follow.

But this discourse was so unpleasing to *Darius* (who had been accustomed to nothing so much as to his own praises, and to nothing so little as to hear truth) as he commanded that this poor *Grecian* should be presently slain: who while he was a sundring in the Tormentors hand, used this speech to the King, That *Alexander*, against whom he had given this good counsel, should assuredly revenge his death, and lay deserved punishment upon *Darius* for despising his advice.

It was the saying of a Wise man: *Desperata ejus, Principis salus est, cujus aures ita formatæ sunt, ut aspera quæ utilia, nec quicquam nisi jucundum accipiat*; *That Princes safety is in a desperate case, whose ears judge all that is profitable to be too sharp, and will entertain nothing that is unpleasant.*

For, liberty in Council is the life and essence of Council; *Libertas consilii est ejus, vita, & essentia, qua erepta consilium evanescit.*

Darius did likewise value at nothing the advice given him by the *Grecian* Souldiers that served him, who intreated him not to fight in the Streights: But had they been Counsellers and Directors in that War, as they were underlings and commanded by others, they had with the help of a good troop of horsemen been able to have opposed the fury of *Alexander*, without any assistance of the *Persian* foot men. For when *Darius* was overthrown with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those *Grecians*, under their Captain *Amyntas*, held firm, and marched away in order, in despight of the Vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not easily dismayed: we read in Histories ancient and modern, what brave retraits have been made by them, though the rest of the Army in which they have served, hath been broken.

At the battel of *Ravenna*, where the Imperials were beaten by the *French*, a squadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off unbroken and undismayed; whom when *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Neumours*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the Victory not entire by their escape, he was overturned and slain in the place. For it is truly said of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers, fear them not, That, *Neglecto periculo imminentis mali, opus ipsum, quantumvis difficile, aggrediuntur*; *They go about the business it self, how hard soever it be, not standing to consider of the danger, which the mischief hanging over their heads may bring*: and as truly of those that know the Wars but by hear-say; *Quod valentes sunt & prævalentes ante pericula, in ipsis tamen periculis discedunt*; *They have ability enough, and to spare, till dangers appear*; *but when peril indeed comes, they get them gone.*

These *Grecians* also that made the retrait, advised *Darius* to retire his Army into the plain of *Mesopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into those large fields and great Champians, he might have invironed the *Macedonians* on all sides with his multitude; and withal they counselled him to divide that his huge Army into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of Fortune, whereby he might have fought many battels, and have brought no greater number at once than might have been well marshalled and conducted. But this Counsel was so contrary to the cowardly affections of the *Persians*, as they perswaded *Darius* to inviron the *Grecians* which gave the advice, and to cut them in pieces as Traytors. The infinite wisdom of God doth not work always by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdoms and Estates, by taking understanding from the Governours, so as they can neither give nor discern of Counsels. For *Darius* that would needs fight with *Alexander* upon a streightned piece of ground, neer unto the City of *Issus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could (who by the advice of *Parmenio* stayed there, as in a place of best advantage) was utterly overthrown, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Grecian* his followers had perswaded him to leave in *Babylon*, or elswhere) taken prisoners, and all their train of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queen, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexanders* presence, were entertained with all respect due unto their birth, their Honours preserved, and their Jewels and rich Garments restored unto them; and though *Darius* Wife was a most beautiful Lady, and his Daughters of excellent form, yet *Alexander* mastred his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Aristobulus* the Historian, that he imbraced the Wife of the valiant *Memnon*,

non, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damascus* by *Parmenio*, at which time the Daughters of *Ochus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobility of *Persia* in effect, fell into captivity; at which time also *Darius* Treasure (not lost at *Issus*) was seized, amounting to six thousand and two hundred talents of coyn, and of Bullion five hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

Darius himself leaving his brother dead, with divers other of his chief Captains, (casting the Crown from his head) hardly escaped.

After this overthrow given unto *Darius*, all *Phœnicia* (the City of *Tyre* excepted) was yielded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenio* was made Governor.

Aradus, *Zidon* and *Biblos*, Maritimate Cities of great importance, of which one *Strato* was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good fortune followed him so fast, that it trod on his heels; for *Antigonus*, *Alexanders* Lieutenant in *Asia* the less, overthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and others lately revolted; *Aristodemus*, *Darius* Admiral, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly levied; the *Lacedæmonians* that warred against *Antipater* were beaten; four thousand of those *Greeks* which made the retrait at the last battel, forsaking both the party of *Darius* and of *Alexander*, and led by *Amyntas* into *Egypt*, to hold it for themselves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to divide Kingdoms.

Alexander to honor *Ephestion*, whom he loved most, gave him power to dispose of the Kingdom of *Zidon*. A man of a most poor estate, that laboured to sustain his life being of the Royal blood, was commended by the people unto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Beggar and a King in one and the same hour.

It was a good desire of this new King, when speaking to *Alexander*, he wisht that he could bear his prosperity with the same moderation, and quietness of heart, that he had done his adversity; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not perform in himself that which he commended in another mans desire: for it was a sign that he did but accompany, and could not Govern his felicity.

While he made some stay in those parts; he received a letter from *Darius*, importing the ransome of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not vouchsafing in his direction, to stile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans*, after that they had received an overthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned him a more scornful answer upon the offer of peace, than they did before the tryal of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of *Darius* had already cast leaf; the one a resolved, well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* disdained the offers of *Darius*, and sent him word, that he not only directed his letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himself.

§. V.

How Alexander *besieged and wan the City of* Tire.

Alexander coming near the City of *Tyre*, received from them the present of a golden Crown, with great store of victuals, and other presents, which he took very thankfully, returning them answer, That he desired to offer a Sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their City, from whom he was descended. But the *Tyrians* like not his company within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of *Hercules* was seated in the old City adjoyning, now abandoned and desolate. To be short, *Alexander* resolved to enter it by force: and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the Island whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Main, yet with the labour of many hands, having great store of stone from the old *Tyre*, and timber sufficient from *Lybanus*, he filled the passage of the Sea between the Island and the Main, which being more than once carried away by the strength of the Sea upon a storm of wind, sometime by the *Tyrians* fired, and sometime torn asunder; yet with the help of his Navy which arrived (during the siege) from *Cyprus*, he overcame all difficulties and prevailed, after he had spent seven months in that attempt. The *Tyrians* in the beginning of the siege had barbarously drowned the messengers sent by *Alexander*, perswading them to render the City, in respect whereof, and of the great lois of time and men, he put eight thousand to the sword, and caused two thousand of those that escaped the fury, to be hanged on Crosses on the Sea-shore, and reserved for slaves (saith *Diodore*) thirteen thousand; *Arrianus* reckons them at thirty thousand. Many *Arrian.* more

more had died, had not the *Zidonians*, that ſerved *Alexander*, conveyed great numbers away by ſhipping unto their own City.

Juſt. l. 18. Happy it was for *Apollo* that the Town was taken: for one of the *Tyrians* having dreamt, that this god meant to forſake the City, they bound him faſt with a golden chain to the Idol of *Hercules*; but *Alexander*, like a gracious Prince, looſed him again.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprize, and a difficult, but great things are made greater. For *Nebuchodonnoſor* had taken it before, and filled up the chanel that lay between the Iſland and the Main.

The Government of this Territory he gave to *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio*; *Cicilia*, he committed to *Socrates*, and *Andromachus* Lieutenant under *Parmenio*; *Epheſtion* had charge of the Fleet, and was directed to find *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Egypt*.

§. VI.

How Darius *offered Conditions of Peace to* Alexander. Alexander *wins* Gaza, *and deals graciouſly with the* Jews.

IN the mean while *Darius* ſends again to *Alexander*, ſets before him all the difficulties of paſſing on towards the Eaſt, and layeth the loſs of the laſt Battel to the ſtreightneſs of the place: he hoped to terrifie him by threatning to encompaſs him in the plain Countries, he bids him to conſider, how impoſſible it was to paſs the Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the reſt, with all ſuch other fearful things: for he that was now filled with nothing but fear, had arguments enow of that nature to preſent unto another. All the Kingdoms between the River of *Alys*, and the *Helleſpont*, he offered him in Dower with his beloved Daughter. But *Alexander* anſwered, That he offered him nothing but his own, and that which victory and his own virtue had poſſeſt him of; That he was to give conditions, and not to receive any, and that he having paſſed the Sea it ſelf, diſdained to think of reſiſtance in tranſporting himſelf over Rivers. It is ſaid, That *Parmenio*, who was now old, and full of honour and riches, told the King, That were he *Alexander*, he would accept of *Darius* his offers; to which *Alexander* anſwered, That ſo would he, if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Egypt*, and coming before *Gaza*, *Getis*, a faithful ſervant to *Darius*, ſhuts the Gate againſt him, and defends the Town with an obſtinate reſolution, at the ſiege whereof *Alexander* received a wound in the ſhoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his leg with a ſtone. He found better men in this place than he did at the former Battels; for he left ſo many of his *Macedonians* buried in the Sands of *Gaza*, that he was forced to ſend for a new ſupply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* firſt began to change condition, and to exerciſe cruelty. For after that he had entred *Gaza* by aſſault, and taken *Betis* (whom *Joſephus* calleth *Babemeſis*) that was weakned with many wounds, and who never gave ground to the Aſſailants; he bored holes thorow his feet, and cauſed him to be drawn about the ſtreet, whilſt he was as yet alive; who being as valiant a man as himſelf, diſdained to ask him either life or remiſſion of his torments. And what had he to countenance this his tyranny, but the imitation of his Anceſtor *Achilles*, who did the like to *Hector*? It is true; that cruelty hath always ſomewhat to cover her deformity.

From *Gaza* (ſaith *Joſephus*) he led his Army towards *Jeruſalem*, a City, for the antiquity and great fame thereof, well known unto him while he lay before *Tyre*; He had ſent for ſome ſupply thither, which *Jaddus* the High-Prieſt, being ſubject and ſworn to *Darius*, had refuſed him. The *Jews* therefore fearing his revenge, and unable to reſiſt, committed the care of their eſtates and ſafety to *Jaddus*, who, being taught by God, iſſued out of the City covered with his Pontifical Robes, to wit, an upper garment of Purple, embroidered with gold, with his Mitre, and the plate of gold wherein the Name of God was written, the Prieſts and Levites in their rich ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a manner ſo unuſual, ſtately, and grave, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Joſephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the High-Prieſt, as reverencing the name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him for it. Howſoever it was, I am of opinion, that he became ſo confident in his enterprize, and ſo aſſured of the ſucceſs after the Prophecy of *Daniel* had been read unto him, wherein he ſaw himſelf, and the Conqueſt of *Perſia* ſo directly pointed at, as nothing thenceforth could diſcourage him, or fear him. He confeſſed to *Parmenio* (ſaith *Joſephus*) that in *Dio* a City of *Macedon*, when his mind laboured the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, he ſaw in his ſleep ſuch a perſon as *Jaddus*, and ſo apparelled, profeſſing one and the ſame God; by whom he was encouraged to purſue the purpoſe he had in hand, with aſſurance of victory. This apparition, formerly apprehended only by the light of his fantaſie, he now beheld with his bodily eyes, wherewith he was ſo exceed-

Lib. 11. *cap.* *ult.*

ingly

ingly pleaſed and emboldened, as contrary to the practice of the *Phœnicians* (who hoped to have ſacked and deſtroyed *Jeruſalem*) he gave the *Jews* all, and more than they deſired, both of liberty and immunity, with permiſſion to live under their own Laws, and to exerciſe and enjoy their own Religion.

§. VII.

Alexander *wins* Egypt: *and makes a journey to the Temple of* Hammon.

FRom *Jeruſalem*, *Alexander* turned again towards *Egypt*, and entred it; where *Darius* his Lieutenant, *Aſtaces*, received him, and delivered into his hand the City of *Memphis*, with eight hundred talents of treaſure, and all other the Kings riches. By this we ſee, that the King of *Perſia*, who had more of affection than of judgement, gave to the valianteſt man he had, but the command of one City, and to the veryeſt coward the government of all *Egypt*. When he had ſet things in order in *Egypt*, he began to travel after *God-head*, towards *Jupiter Hammon*; ſo fooliſh had proſperity made him. He was to paſs over the dangerous and dry Sands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels back was ſpent, he could not but have periſhed, had not a marvellous ſhowr of rain fallen upon him, when his Army was in extreme deſpair. All men that know *Egypt*, and have written thereof, affirm, That it never rains there: but the purpoſes of the Almighty God are ſecret, and he bringeth to paſs what it pleaſeth him; for it is alſo ſaid, That when he had loſt his way in thoſe vaſt deſarts, that a flight of Crows flew before the Army; who making faſter wing when they were followed, and fluttering ſlowly when the Army was caſt back, guided them over thoſe pathleſs Sands to *Jupiters* Temple.

Arrianus, from the report of *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Lagus*, ſays, That he was led by two Dragons; both which reports may be alike true. But many of thoſe wonders and prodigious things, are fained by thoſe that have written the Story of *Alexander*; as, That an Eagle lay hovering directly over his head at the battel of *Iſſus*; That a Swallow flew about his head when he ſlept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at *Halicarnaſſæus*, fore-ſhewing the treaſon of *Æropus*, practiſed by *Darius* to have ſlain him; That from the Iron bars of which the *Tyrians* made their defenſive Engines, when *Alexander* beſieged them, there fell drops of blood; and that the like drops were found in a loaf of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the ſame time; That a Turf of earth fell on his ſhoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a Bird into the Air. The *Spaniards* in the Conqueſt of the Weſt *Indies* have many ſuch pretty tales; telling how they have been aſſiſted in battel by the preſence of our Lady, and by Angels riding on white horſes, with the like Romiſh miracles, which I think themſelves do hardly believe. The ſtrangeſt thing that I have read of in this kind, being certainly true, was, That the night before the battel at *Novara*, all the Dogs which followed the *French* Army, ran from them to the *Switzers*, leaping and fawning upon them, as if they had been bred and fed by them all their lives, and in the morning following, *Trivulzi* and *Tremouille*, Generals for *Lewis* the twelfth, were by theſe imperial *Switzers* utterly broken and put to ruine.

The place of this Idol of *Jupiter Hammon* is ill deſcribed by *Curtius*: for he bounds it by the *Arabian Troglodites* on the South, between whom and the Territory of *Hammon*, the Region *Thebais*, or the ſuperior *Egypt*, with the Mountains of *Lybia*, and the River of *Nilus*, are interjacent; and on the North he joyns it to a Nation called *Naſſamones*, who bordering the Sea-ſhore, live (ſaith he) upon the ſpoils of ſhip-wrack: whereas the Temple or Grove of this Idol hath no Sea near it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of *Lybia*; theſe *Naſſamones* being due Weſt from it, in the South part of *Marmarica*.

When *Alexander* came near the place, he ſent ſome of his Paraſites before him to practiſe the Prieſts attending the Oracle, That their anſwer might be given in all things, agreeable to his mad ambition; who affected the title of *Jupiter*'s Son. And ſo he was ſaluted, *Son of Jupiter*, by the Devils Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as ſome think) defective in the *Greek* Tongue; For whereas he meant to ſay, *O padion*, he ſaid, *O pai dios*; that is, *O Son of Jupiter*, inſtead of *O dear Son*: for which Grammatical errour he was richly rewarded, and a rumour preſently ſpread, that the Great *Jupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his own.

He had heard that *Perſeus* and *Hercules* had formerly conſulted with this Oracle, The one when he was employed againſt *Gorgon*; The other againſt *Antæus* and *Buſiris*; and ſeeing theſe men had derived themſelves from the gods, Why might not he?

By

By this it seems, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fools, though indeed he made himself one, by thinking to cover from the worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirm his followers in the belief of his Deity, he had practised the Priests to give answer to such as consulted with the Oracle, that it should be pleasing to *Jupiter* to honor *Alexander* as his Son.

Curt. l. 4. Who this *Ammon* was, and how represented, either by a Bos carried in a Boat, or by a Ram, or a Rams head, I see that many wise men have troubled themselves to find out; but, as *Arrianus* speaks of *Doinysius* or *Liber Pater* (who lived, saith S. *Augustine*, in *Moses* time) *Ea quæ de diis veteres fabulis suis conscripsere, non sunt nimium curiose pervestiganda*; *We must not over-curiously search into the fables which the Ancients have written of their gods.*

But this is certain and notable, that after the Gospel began to be preached in the World, the Devil, in this, and all other Idols, became speechless. For, that this *Hammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Cæsar*, and in the time of *Trajan* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witness.

There is found near his Temple a Fountain called *Fons solis* (though *Ptolomy* in his third *African* Table sets it farther off) that at Mid-night is as hot as boiling water, and at Noon as cold as any Ice: to which I cannot but give credit, because I have heard of some other Wells of like nature, and because it is reported by S. *Augustine*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arrianus*, *Curtius*, and others; and indeed our Bathes in *England* are much warmer in the night than in the day.

§. VIII.

How Alexander *marching against* Darius, *was opposed very unskilfully by the Enemy.*

FRom the Temple of *Hammon* he returned to *Memphis*, where, among many other learned men, he heard the Philosopher *Psammones*, who, belike understanding that he affected the title of *Jupiters* Son, told him that God was the Father King of all men in general; and reining the pride of this haughty King, brought him to say, That God was the Father of all mortal men, but that he acknowledged none for his children, save good men.

He gave the charge of the several Provinces of *Egypt* to several Governors, following the rule of his Master *Aristotle*, That *a great Dominion should not be continued in the hands of any one:* whom therein the *Roman* Emperors also followed, not daring to commit the Government of *Egypt* to any of their Senators, but to men of meaner rank and degree. He then gave order for the founding of *Alexandria* upon the Westermost branch of *Nilus*. And having now setled (as he could) the estate of *Egypt*, with the Kingdoms of the lesser *Asia*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria* (which being but the pawns of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happy victory would readily have redeemed) he led his Army towards *Euphrates*, which passage, though the same was committed to *Mazeus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without resistance past it. From thence he marched towards *Tigris*, a River for the swiftness thereof called by the *Persians*, *The Arrow.* Curt. l. 4. Here, as *Curtius*, and Reason it self tells us, might *Darius* easily have repelled the invading *Macedonian*: for the violent course of the stream was such, as it drave before it many weighty stones, and those that moved not, but lay in the bottom, were so round and well polished by a continual rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slippery a footing; nor the *Macedonian* footmen to wade the River, otherwise than by joyning their hands, and enterlacing arms together, making one weighty and entire body to resist the swift passage, and furious race of the stream. Besides this notable help, the Chanel was so deep towards the Eastern shore, where *Darius* should have made head, as the footmen were enforced to lift their Bows, and Arrows, and Darts, over their heads to keep them from being moistened, and made unserviceable by the Waters. But it was truly and understandingly said of *Homer*,

Arist. Pol. lib. 5.

Talis est hominum terrestrium mens,
Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumq;
(Deorumq;

The minds of men are ever so affected,
As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates of the world, by the surfeit of misgovernment have been subject to many grievous, and sometimes mortal diseases: So had the Empire of *Persia* at this time brought it self into a burning and consuming Feaver, and thereby become frantick, and without understanding, fore-shewing manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But *Alexander* hath now recovered the Eastern shores of *Tygris*, without any other difficulty, than that of the nature of the place;

place; where *Mazeus* (who had charge to defend the Paſſage both of *Euphrates* and it) preſented himſelf to the *Macedonians*, followed with certain companies of Horſemen, as if with uneven forces he durſt have charged them on even ground, when as with a multitude far exceeding them, he forſook the advantage which no valour of his enemies could eaſily have overcome. But it is commonly ſeen, that fearfull and cowardly men do ever follow thoſe wayes and counſels, whereof the opportunity is already loſt.

It is true, that he ſet all proviſions afire, wherewith the *Macedonians* might ſerve themſelves over *Tygris*, thinking thereby greatly to have diſtreſſed them; but the execution of good counſel is fruitleſs, when unſeaſonable. For now was *Alexander* ſo well furniſhed with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competency of the Army which he conducted. Thoſe things alſo which he ſought to waſte, *Alexander* being now in ſight, were by his Horſe-men ſaved and recovered. This *Mazeus* might have done ſome dayes before at good leiſure; or at this time with ſo great a ſtrength of horſemen, as the *Macedonians* durſt not have purſued them, leaving the ſtrength of their foot out of ſight, and far behind.

§. IX.

The new Proviſions of Darius. *Accidents foregoing the Battel of* Arbela.

Darius, upon *Alexanders* firſt return out of *Egypt*, had aſſembled all the forces, which thoſe Regions next him could furniſh, and now alſo were the *Arians*, *Scythians*, *Indians*, and other Nations arrived; Nations (ſaith *Curtius*) that rather ſerved to make up the names of men, than to make reſiſtance. *Arrianus* hath numbred them with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all ſorts ten hundred thouſand, and of horſe four hundred thouſand, beſides armed Chariots, and ſome few Elephants. *Curtius*, who muſters the Army of *Darius* at two hundred thouſand foot, and near fifty thouſand Horſe, comes (I think) nearer to the true number; and yet ſeeing he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vaſſals, it is like enough that he had gathered together of all ſorts ſome three or four hundred thouſand, with which he hoped in thoſe fair plains of *Aſſyria*, to have overborn the few numbers of the invading Army. But it is a Rule in the Philoſophy of the War;

In omni prælio non tam multitudo, & virtus indocta, quam ars & exercitium ſolent præſtare victoriam; In every Battel skill and practice do more towards the Victory, than multitude and rude audacity.

While *Alexander* gave reſt to his Army after the paſſage over *Tygris*, there happened an Eclipſe of the Moon, of which the *Macedonians* not knowing the cauſe and reaſon, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude alwayes are) took it for a certain preſage of their overthrow and deſtruction, inſomuch as they began not only to murmure, but to ſpeak it boldly; That for the ambition of one man, a man that diſdained *Philip* for his Father, and would needs be called the Son of *Jupiter*, they ſhould all periſh; for he not only enforced them to make War againſt worlds of enemies, but againſt Rivers, Mountains, and the Heavens themſelves.

Hereupon, *Alexander* being ready to march forward, made a halt, and to quiet the minds of the multitude, he called before him the *Egyptian* Aſtrologers, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be aſſured that this defection of the Moon was a certain preſage of good ſucceſs; for, that it was natural, they never imparted to the common people, but reſerved the knowledge to themſelves, ſo as a ſorry Almanack-maker had been no ſmall fool in thoſe dayes.

Of this kind of ſuperſtitious obſervation *Cæſar* made good uſe, when he fought againſt *Arioviſtus* and the *Germans*: for they being perſwaded by the caſting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moon, they ſhould certainly loſe the Battel, *Cæſar* forced them to abide it, though they durſt not give it; wherein, having their minds already beaten by their own ſuperſtition, and being reſolutely charged by the *Romans*, the whole Army in effect periſhed.

Theſe *Egyptians* gave no other reaſon than this, That the *Grecians* were under the aſpect of the Sun, the *Perſians* of the Moon; and therefore the Moon failing and being darkened, the ſtate of *Perſia* was now in danger of failing, and their glory of being obſcured. This judgement of the *Egyptian* Prieſts being noiſed through all the Army, all were ſatisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the War, which, though deviſed ſince, was well obſerved then: *Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducat; Let not a Captain lead his Army to the fight when it is poſſeſſed with matter of terrour.*

It is truly obſerved by *Curtius*, that the

people are led by nothing so much as by superstition; yea, we find it in all stories, and often in our own, that by such inventions, devised tales, dreams, and Prophecies, the people of this Land have been carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and insurrections, and still to their own loss and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew near the *Persian* Army, certain Letters were surprized, written by *Darius* to the *Gracians*, perswading them for great summs of money, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But these, by the advice of *Parmenio*, he suppressed.

At this time also *Darius* his fair Wife, oppresst with sorrow, and wearied with travel, died. Which accident *Alexander* seemed no less to bewail than *Darius*, who upon the first bruit, suspected that some dishonourable violence had been offered her; but being satisfied by an Eunuch of his own that attended her, of *Alexanders* Kingly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortal gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the *Persian* Empire, then it would please them to conferr it on so just and continent an enemy as *Alexander*; to whom he once again, before the last tryal by Battel, offered these conditions of Peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliver up, and resign all *Asia* the less; and, with *Egypt*, all those Kingdoms between the *Phœnician* Sea, and the River of *Euphrates*; That he would pay him for the Ransome of his Mother, and his other Daughters, thirty thousand Talents, and that for the performance thereof, he would leave his Son *Ochus* in hostage: To this they sought to perswade *Alexander* by such arguments as they had. *Alexander* causing the Embassadours to be removed, advised with his Council, but heard no man speak but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perswaded him to accept of these fair conditions. He told him, That the Empire between *Euphrates* and *Hellespont*, was a fair addition to *Macedon*; that the retaining of the *Persian* Prisoners was a great cumber, and the treasure offered for them of far better use than their persons, with divers other arguments; all which *Alexander* rejected. And yet it is probable, that if he had followed his advice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might have lived as famous for virtue, as for Fortune, and left himself a Successour of able age to have enjoyed his estate, which afterward indeed he much enlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himself: who, to assure themselves of what they had usurped upon his Issues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few years after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going so far into the East, left behinde him the reputation which he brought out of *Macedon*; the reputation of a just and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, advised, and gratefull: and being taught new Lessons by abundance of prosperity, became a lover of wine, of his own flattery, and of extreme cruelty. Yea, as *Seneca* hath observed, the taint of one unjust slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beauty of all his great acts, and glorious victories obtained. But the *Persian* Embassadours stay his answer, which was to this effect, That whatsoever he had bestowed on the wife and children of *Darius*, proceeded from his own natural clemency and magnanimity, without any respect to their Master; but thanks to an enemy was improper: that he made no Wars against adversity, but against those that resisted him; not against Women and Children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius*, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great summs of money to perswade his friends to attempt upon his person, he had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant; yet he could not (were it otherwise and faithfull) resolve in haste to accept the same, seeing *Darius* had made War against him, not as a King with Royal and overt-force, but as a Traitor by secret and base practice; That for the Territory offered him, it was already his own, and if *Darius* could beat him back again over *Euphrates*, which he had already past, he would then believe that he offered him somewhat in his own power: Otherwise he propounded to himself for the reward of the War which he had made, all those Kingdoms as yet in *Darius* possession; wherein, whether he were abused by his own hopes or no, the Battel which he meant to fight in the day following should determine. For in conclusion he told them, that he came into *Asia* to give, and not to receive; That the Heavens could not hold two Suns: and therefore if *Darius* would be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superiour, he might perchance be perswaded to give him conditions fit for a second Person, and his Inferiour.

§. X.

§. X.

The Battel of Arbela: *and that it could not be ſo ſtrongly fought as report hath made it.*

WIth this Anſwer the Embaſſadors return; *Darius* prepares to fight, and ſends *Mazeus* to defend a paſſage, which he never dared yet ſo much as to hazard. *Alexander* conſults with his Captains. *Parmenio* perſwades him to force *Darius* his Camp by night; ſo that the multitude of enemies might not move terrour in the *Macedonians* being but few. *Alexander* diſdains to ſteal the Victory, and reſolves to bring with him the day-light, to witneſs his valour. But it was the ſucceſs that made good *Alexander*'s reſolution, though the counſel given by *Parmenio* was more ſound: For it is a ground in War, *Si pauci neceſſariò cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, conſilium eſt noctis tempore belli fortunam tentare.* Notwithſtanding upon the view of the multitude at hand, he ſtaggers and trenches himſelf upon a ground of advantage, which the *Perſian* had abandoned: And whereas *Darius* for fear of ſurprize had ſtood with his Army in Armour all the day, and forborn ſleep all the night, *Alexander* gave his men reſt and ſtore of food; for reaſon had taught him this Rule in the War, *In pugna Milites validiùs reſiſtunt, ſi cibo potuque refecti fuerint; nam fames intrinſecus magis pugnat, quàm ferrum exteriùs: Souldiers do the better ſtand to it in fight, if they have their bellies full of meat and drink; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than ſteel without.*

The numbers which *Alexander* had, ſaith *Arrianus*, were forty thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe; theſe belike were of the *Europæan* Army: for he had beſides, both *Syrians*, *Indians*, *Egyptians*, and *Arabians*, that followed him out of thoſe Regions. He uſed but a ſhort ſpeech to his Souldiers to encourage them. And I think that he needed little Rhetorick; for by the two former Battels upon the River of *Granick*, and in *Cilicia*, the *Macedonians* were beſt taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true ſaying, *Victoria victoriam parat, animumque victoribus auget, & adverſariis aufert; One victory begets another, and puts courage into thoſe that have already had the better, taking ſpirit away from thoſe that have been beaten.*

Arrianus and *Curtius* make large deſcriptions of this Battel, fought at *Gaugamela*; They tell us of many charges and re-charges; That the Victory inclined ſometime to the *Perſians*, ſometime to the *Macedonians*; That *Parmenio* was in danger of being overthrown, who led the left wing; That *Alexander*'s Rere-guard was broken, and his carriages loſt; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both ſides, Fortune her ſelf was long unreſolved on whom to beſtow the Garland: And laſtly, that *Alexander* in perſon wrought wonders, being charged in his retrait. But in concluſion, *Curtius* delivers us in account but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in all this terrible dayes work, ſaying, That *Epheſtion*, *Perdiccas*, and others of name were wounded. *Arrianus* finds not a third part of this number ſlain; of the *Perſians* there fell forty thouſand (ſaith *Curtius*) thirty thouſand, according to *Arrianus*; ninety thouſand, if we believe *Diodore*. But what can we judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former Battels, the *Perſians* upon the firſt charge ran away, and that the *Macedonians* purſued; For if of thoſe four or five hundred thouſand *Aſians* brought into the field by *Darius*, every man had caſt but a dart or a ſtone, the *Macedonians* could not have bought the Empire of the Eaſt at ſo eaſie a rate, as ſix or ſeven hundred men in three notorious Battels. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* upon the banks of *Euphrates*, and had armed but fifty or threeſcore thouſand of this great multitude, only with Spades (for the moſt of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had been impoſſible for *Alexander* to have paſt that River ſo eaſily, much leſs the River of *Tigris*. But as a man whoſe Empire God in his Providence had determined, he abandoned all places of advantage, and ſuffered *Alexander* to enter ſo far into the bowels of his Kingdom, as all hope and poſſibility of eſcape by retrait being taken from the *Macedonians*, they had preſented unto them the choice, either of death or victory; to which election *Darius* could no way conſtrain his own, ſeeing they had many large Regions to run into from thoſe that invaded them.

§. XI.

Of things following the Battel of Arbela. *The yielding of* Babylon *and* Suſa.

DArius, after the rout of his Army, recovered *Arbela* the ſame night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded unto them that ran after him, his purpoſe of making a retrait into *Media*, perſwading them that the *Macedonians*, greedy of ſpoyl and riches, would rather

attempt *Babylon*, *Susa*, and other Cities filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobility rather obeyed than approved.

Alexander soon after *Darius* his departure arrives at *Arbela*, which with a great mass of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred to him: for the fear which conducted *Darius*, took nothing with it but shame and dishonour. He that had been twice beaten, should rather have sent his treasure into *Media*, than brought it to *Arbela*, so near the place where he abid the coming of his enemies; if he had been victorious, he might have brought it after him at leisure; but being overcome, he knew it unpossible to drive Mules and Camels laden with gold from the pursuing enemy, seeing himself, at the overthrow he had in *Cilicia*, cast the Crown from his head, to run away with the more speed. But errours are then best discerned when most incurable; *Et præterita magis reprehendi possunt quàm corrigi*; *It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past.*

From *Arbela* *Alexander* took his way towards *Babylon*, where *Mazeus*, in whom *Darius* had most confidence, rendred himself, his Children, and the City. Also the Captain of the Castle, who was keeper of the treasure, strewed the streets with flowers, burnt Frankincense upon Altars of silver, as *Alexander* passed by, and delivered unto him whatsoever was committed to his trust. The *Magi* (the *Chaldæan* Astrologers) followed this Captain in great solemnity to entertain their new King: after these came the *Babylonian* horse-men, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poor in warlike furniture. Between these (though not greatly to be feared) and himself, *Alexander* caused his *Macedonian* foot-men to march. When he entred the Castle, he admired the glory thereof, and the abundance of treasure therein found, amounting to fifty thousand Talents of silver uncoyned. The City itself I have elsewhere described, with the Walls, the Towers, the Gates and Circuit, with the wonderful place of pleasure about two miles in Circuit, surrounded with a wall of fourscore foot high, and on the top thereof (being under-born with Pillars) a Grove of beautifull and fruitfull Trees, which it is said that one of the Kings of *Babylon* caused to be built, that the Queen and other Princesses might walk privately therein. In this City, rich in all things, but most of all in voluptuous pleasures, the King rested himself and the whole Army four and thirty dayes, consuming that time in banquetting, and in all sorts of effeminate exercise; which so much softned the minds of the *Macedonians*, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the severe discipline of War, which taught them the sufferances of hunger and thirst, of painful travel, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Here it was that those bands of a thousand Souldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed over them, who thereupon were stiled *Chiliarchi*. This new order *Alexander* brought in, was to honour those Captains which were found by certain selected Judges to have deserved best in the late War. For before this time the *Macedonian* companies consisted but of five hundred. Certainly the drawing down of the foot-bands in this latter age hath been the cause (saith the Marshall *Monluct*) that the title and charge of a Captain hath been bestowed on every *Picque-Bœauf*, or Spurn-Cow; for when the Captains of foot had a thousand Souldiers under one Ensign, and after that five hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the first, the title was honourable, and the Kings were less charged, and far better served. King *Henry* the eighth of *England* never gave the Command of any of his good Ships, but to men of known valour, and of great estate; nay sometime he made two Gentlemen of quality Commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While *Alexander* was yet in *Babylon*, there came to him a great supply out of *Europe*; for *Antipater* sent him six thousand foot, and five hundred horse out of *Macedon*; of *Thracians* three thousand foot, and the like number of horse; and out of *Greece* four thousand and four hundred horse, by which his Army was greatly strengthened: for those that were infected with the pleasures of *Babylon*, could hardly be brought again, *De quitter la plume pour dormir sur la dure*; *To change from soft beds to hard boards.*

He left the Castle and City of *Babylon*, with the Territories about it, in charge with three of his own Captains, to wit, *Agathon*, *Minetus*, and *Appolidorus*; to supply all wants, a thousand Talents: but to grace *Mazeus*, who rendred the City unto him, he gave him the title of his Lieutenant over all, and took with him *Bagistines* that gave up the Castle; and having distributed to every Souldier a part of the Treasure, he left *Babylon*, and entred into the Province *Satrapene*: from thence he went on toward *Susa* in *Persia*, the same which *Ptolomy*, *Herodotus*, and *Elianus* call *Memnonia*, situate

on

on the River *Euleus*, a City sometime governed by *Daniel* the Prophet. *Abulites* also, Governour of this famous City, gave it up to the Conquerour, with fifty thousand talents of silver in bullion, and twelve Elephants for the War, with all other the treasures of *Darius*. In this sort, did those Vassals of fortune, lovers of the Kings prosperity, not of his person, (for so all ambitious men are) purchase their own peace and safety with the Kings treasures. And herein was *Alexander* well advised, that whatsoever titles he gave to the *Persians*, yet he left all places of importance in trust with his own Captains, to wit, *Babylon*, *Susa*, and *Persepolis*, with other Cities and Provinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet living) had beaten the *Macedonians* but in one battel, all the Nobility of *Persia* would have returned unto their natural Lord. Those that are Traitors to their own Kings, are never to be used alone in great enterprises by those Princes that entertain them, nor ever to be trusted with the defences of any frontier-Town, or Fortress of weight, by the rendring whereof they may redeem their liberty and estates lost. Hereof the *French* had experience, when *Don Pedro de Navarra*, being banished out of *Spain*, was trusted, with *Fonterabe*, in the year 1523.

Diodor. speaketh of more than forty thousand talents in bullion, and of nine millions of gold, *sub Dorica forma excusi.*

While *Alexander* spoiled *Arbela*, *Mazeus* might have furnish'd the King from *Babylon*; and while he stayed four and thirty dayes at *Babylon*, *Abulites* might have holpen him from *Susa*; and while he feasted there, *Tiridates* from *Persepolis* might have relieved him; for the great mass of Treasure was laid up in that City. But who hath sought out and friended fearful adversity? It is certain, that benefits bind not the ambitious, but the honest? for those that are but greedy of themselves, do in all changes of fortune only consult the conservation of their own greatness.

The Government of *Susa*, with the Castle and Treasure, he committed to his own *Macedonians*, making *Abulites*, who rendred it unto him, his Lieutenant, as he had done *Mazeus* and others, in giving them titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old Souldiers in Garrison to assure the place; and *Darius* mother and her children to repose themselves.

It is said that *Charles* the fifth, having promised *Charles* of *Bourbon* the Government of *Marseilles*, if he could have forc'd it, and whereof he made sure accompt, told some of his neareſt Counsellors, that he meant nothing less than the performance of that promise, because he should thereby have left the Duke (revolted from his Master) very well wherewithall to have recovered his favour.

§. XII.

How Alexander *came to* Persepolis, *and burnt it.*

FRom *Susa Alexander* leadeth his Army toward *Persepolis*, and when he sought to pass those Mountains which sunder *Susiana* and *Persia*, he was soundly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, who defended against him those Streights, called *Pylæ Persidis*, or *Susæidæ*, and after the loss of many Companies of his *Macedonians*, he was forc'd to save himself by retrait, causing his Foot to march close together, and to cover themselves with their Targets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountain-top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a *Lycian*, living in that Country discovered unto him, and came thereby suddenly in view of *Ariobarzanes*, who being inforc'd to fight upon even ground, was by *Alexander* broken, whereupon he fled to *Persepolis*; but (after that they of *Persepolis* had refused to receive him) he returned and gave a second charge upon the *Macedonians*, wherein he was slain. In like manner did King *Francis* the first, in the year 1515, find a way over the *Alpes*, the *Switzers* undertaking to defend all the passages, who if their footmanship had not saved them upon the Kings descent on the other side, they had been ill payd for their hard lodging on those Hills.

Four thousand *Greeks*, saith *Curtius* (*Justine* numbers them but at eight hundred) having been taken prisoners by the *Persians*, presented themselves to *Alexander* now in sight of *Persepolis*. These had the barbarous *Persians* so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their hands, noses, ears, and other members, as they could no way have been known to their Countrey-men, but by their voices; to each of these *Alexander* gave three hundred Crowns, with new garments, and such Lands as they liked to live upon.

Tiridates, one of *Darius* his false-hearted Grandees, hearing of *Alexanders* approach, made him know that *Persepolis* was ready to receive him, and prayed him to double his pace, because there was a determination in the people to spoyl the Kings treasure. This City was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants upon *Alexanders* arrival, and they that stayed followed the worst Counsel; for all was left to the liberty of the Souldiers, to spoil and kill at their pleasure. There was

no

no place in the world at that time, which, if it had been laid in the ballance with *Persepolis*, would have weighed it down. *Babylon* indeed, and *Susa*, were very rich; but in *Persepolis* lay the bulk and main store of the *Persians*. For after the spoyl that had been made of money, curious Plate, Bullion, Images of Gold and Silver, and other Jewels, there remained to *Alexander* himself one hundred and twenty thousand talents. He left the same number of three thousand *Macedonians* in *Persepolis*, which he had done in *Susa*, and gave the same formal honour to the Traitor *Tiridates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but he that had the trust of the place was *Nicarides*, a creature of his own. The body of his Army he left here for thirty dayes, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thousand Horse, and certain troops of chosen foot, he would needs view in the Winter-time those parts of *Persia*, which the Snow had covered; a fruitless and foolish enterprise, but, as *Seneca* sayes; *Non ille ire vult, sed non potest stare: He hath not a will to go, but he is unable to stand still.* It is said and spoken in his praise, That when his Souldiers cryed out against him, because they could not endure the extreme frost, and make way, but with extreme difficulty, through the snow, that *Alexander* forsook his Horse, and led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby to shew how well himself can endure it? His walking on foot did no otherwise take off their wearines that followed him, than his sometime forbearing to drink, did quench their thirst, that could less endure it. For mine own little judgement, I shall rather commend that Captain that makes careful provision for those that follow him, and that seeks wisely to prevent extreme necessity, than those witless arrogant fools, that make the vaunt of having endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We find in all the Wars that *Cæsar* made, or the best of the *Roman* Commanders, that the provision of victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of *Coligni*, Admiral of *France*; *That who so will shape that Beast* (meaning War) *must begin with his belly.*

But *Alexander* is now returned to *Persepolis*, where those Historians that were most amorous of his vertues, complain, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemency towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drink; That he smothered in carowsing cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were, from the reverend Throne of the greatest King, into the company and familiarity of base Harlots, he began to be despised both of his own and all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was inflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he caused the most sumptuous and goodly Castle and City of *Persepolis* to be consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrary, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the perswasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perswasion to the *Asians*, to think hardly of him, and thereby alien their hearts; for they might well believe that he which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing less than (after such vastation) to hold their possession. *Post vinolentiam crudelitas sequitur; Cruelty doth commonly follow drunkenness:* For it so fell out soon after, and often, in *Alexander*.

Curt. Lib. 5.

Sen. Epist. 8. 4.

§. XIII.

The Treason of Bessus *against* Darius. Darius *his death.*

ABout this time he received a new supply of Souldiers out of *Cilicia*, and goes on to find *Darius* in *Media*. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last Army, which he meant to have increased in *Bactria*, had he not heard of *Alexanders* coming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as he had, which was numbred at thirty or forty thousand) he determined once again to try his fortune. He therefore calls together his Captains and Commanders, and propounds unto them his resolution, who being desperate of good success, used silence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldest men of War, who had sometime lived with *Philip* of *Macedon*, brake the ice, and protesting that he could never be beaten by any adversity of the Kings, from the faith which he had ever ought him, with firm confidence, that all the rest were of the same condition (whereof they likewise assured *Darius* by the like protestation) he approved the Kings resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, to wit, *Nabarzanes* and *Bessus*, whereof the later was Governour of *Bactria*, had conspired against their Master; and therefore advised the King to lay a new foundation for the War, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the

the gods nor fortune had in all things declared themſelves to be an enemy: this preamble *Naburzanes* uſed, and in concluſion adviſed the election of his fellow Traytor *Beſſus*, with promiſe that, the Wars ended, the Empire ſhould again be reſtored to *Darius*. The King ſwollen with diſdain, preſt towards *Naburzanes* to have ſlain him, but *Beſſus* and the *Bactrians* whom he commanded, being more in number than the reſt, with-held him. In the mean while *Naburzanes* with-drew himſelf, and *Beſſus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the reſt of the Army. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithfull ſervant, perſwaded him to be adviſed and ſerve the time, ſeeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that he would at leaſt make ſhew of forgetting the offence made; which the King being of a gentle diſpoſition, willingly yielded unto. *Beſſus* makes his ſubmiſſion, and attends the King, who removes his Army. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of four thouſand *Greeks*, which had in all the former battels ſerved *Darius* with great fidelity, and alwayes made the retrait in ſpight of the *Macedonians*, offered himſelf to guard his perſon, proteſting againſt the Treaſon of *Beſſus*; but it was not his deſtiny to follow their advice who from the begining of the War gave him faithful counſel, but he inclined ſtill to *Beſſus*, who told him, that the *Greeks*, with *Patron* their Captain, were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practiſed the diviſion of his faithful ſervants. *Beſſus* had drawn unto him thirty thouſand of the Army, promiſing them all thoſe things, by which the lovers of the World and themſelves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, ſafety, and honour.

Now the day following, *Darius* plainly diſcovered the purpoſes of *Beſſus*, and being overcome with paſſion, as thinking himſelf unable to make head againſt theſe ungrateful and unnatural Traytors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithfull ſervant to depart from him, and to provide for himſelf. In like ſort he diſcharged the reſt of his attendants, all ſave a few of his Eunuchs; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His *Perſians* being moſt baſe cowards, durſt not undertake his defence againſt the *Bactrians*, notwithſtanding that they had four thouſand *Greeks* to joyn with him, who had been able to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forſakes himſelf, no man follows. It had been far more Man-like, and King-like, to have dyed in the head of thoſe four thouſand *Greeks*, which offered him the diſpoſition of their lives, (to which *Artabazus* perſwaded him) than to have lyen bewailing himſelf on the ground, and ſuffering himſelf to be bound like a ſlave by thoſe ambitious Monſters that laid hand on him, whom neither the conſideration of his former great eſtate, nor the honour he had given them, nor the truſt repoſed in them, nor the world of benefits beſtowed on them, could move to pity: no, nor his preſent adverſity, which above all things ſhould have moved them, could pierce their viperous and ungratefull hearts. Vain it was indeed to hope it; for, Infidelity hath no compaſſion.

Now *Darius*, thus forſaken, was bound and laid in a Cart, covered with hides of Beaſts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be diſcovered; and, to add deſpight and deriſion to his adverſity, they faſtned him with Chains of Gold, and ſo drew him on among their ordinary Carriages and Carts. For *Beſſus* and *Naburzanes* perſwaded themſelves to redeem their lives and the Provinces they held, either by delivering him a priſoner to *Alexander*, or, if that hope failed, to make themſelves Kings by his ſlaughter; and then to defend themſelves by force of Arms. But they failed in both. For it is againſt the nature of God, who is moſt juſt, to pardon ſo ſtrange villany, yea, though againſt a Prince purely Heatheniſh and an Idolater.

Alexander having knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards *Bactria*, and durſt not abide his coming, haſtened after him with a violent ſpeed, and becauſe he would not force his footmen beyond their powers, he mounted on horſe-back certain ſelected companies of them, and beſt armed, and with ſix thouſand other Horſe, rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treaſon of *Beſſus*, and ſecretly forſook him, gave knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Beſſus* took, and how near he was at hand: for many men of worth daily ran from him. Hereupon *Alexander* again doubled his pace, and his Vant-guard being diſcovered by *Beſſus* his Rear, *Beſſus* brought a Horſe to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perſwading him to mount thereon, and to ſave himſelf. But the unfortunate King refuſing to follow thoſe that had betrayed him, they caſt Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beaſts that drew him, and ſlew two poor Servants that attended his perſon. This done, they all fled that could, leaving the reſt to the mercy of the *Macedonian* ſwords.

Polyſtratus a *Macedonian*, being by purſuit of the vanquiſhed preſt with thirſt, as he was

was refreshing himself with some water that he had discovered, espying a Cart with a Team of wounded beasts breathing for life, and not able to move, searched the same, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his own blood: And by a *Persian* Captive which followed this *Polystratus*, he understood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of his barbarous Tragedy. *Darius* also seemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the living God can be comforted) that he cast not out his last sorrows unheard, but that by this *Macedonian*, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on those Traytors, which had dealt no less unworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their revenge to *Alexander* by this messenger, which he besought him to pursue, not because *Darius* had desired it, but for his own honour, and for the safety of all that did, or should after wear Crowns. He also having nothing else to present, rendred thanks to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace used towards his Wife, Mother, and Children, desiring the immortal Gods to submit unto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus speaking, impatient Death pressing out his few remaining spirits, he desired water, which *Polystratus* presented him, after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, wherewith to desire the gods to reward his compassion.

§. XIV.

How Alexander *pursued* Bessus, *and took into his grace* Darius *his Captains.*

IT was now hoped by the *Macedonians*, that their travels were near an end, every man preparing for his return. Hereof when *Alexander* had knowledge, he was greatly grieved, for the bounded earth sufficed not his boundless Ambition. Many arguments he therefore used to draw on his Army farther into the East, but that which had most strength, was, that *Bessus*, a most cruel Traytor to his Master *Darius*, having at his devotion the *Hyrcanians* and *Bactrians*, would in short time (if the *Macedonians* should return) make himself Lord of the *Persian* Empire, and enjoy the fruits of all their former travels. In conclusion he wan their consents to go on: which done, leaving *Craterus* with certain Regiments of foot, and *Amyntas* with six thousand horse in *Parthenia*, he enters not without some opposition into *Hyrcania*; for the *Mardons*, and other barbarous Nations, defended certain passages for a while. He passeth the River of *Zioberis*, which taking beginning in *Parthia*, dissolves it self in the *Caspian* Sea: it runneth under the ledge of Mountains, which bound *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, where hiding it self under ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riseth again, and followeth its former course. In *Zadracarta*, or *Zendracarta*, the same City which *Ptolomy* writes *Hyrcania*, the *Metropolis* of that Region, he rested fifteen dayes, banquetting and feasting therein.

Phataphernes, one of *Darius* his greatest Commanders, with others of his best followers, submit themselves to *Alexander*, and were restored to their places and Governments. But of all other he graced *Artabazus* most highly for his approved and constant faith to his Master *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thousand and five hundred *Greeks*, the remainder of all those that had served *Darius*; He treats with *Alexander* for their pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end, they render themselves simply without promise or composition: he pardons all but the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he imprisoned, their Leader having slain himself. He was also wrought (though to his great dishonour) to receive *Nabarzanes* that had joyned with *Bessus* to murder *Darius*.

§. XV.

Of Thalestris *Queen of the* Amazons; *where, by way of digression, it is shewed, that such* Amazons *have been and are.*

HEre it is said, that *Thalestris* or *Minothea*, a Queen of the *Amazons*, came to visit him, and her sute was, (which she easily obtained) that she might accompany him till she were made with childe by him: which done (refusing to follow him into *India*) she returned into her own Country.

Plutarch citeth many Historians, reporting this meeting of *Thalestris* with *Alexander*, and some contradicting it. But indeed, the letters of *Alexander* himself to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this *Amazonian* business, may justly breed suspition of the whole matter as forged. Much more justly may we suspect it as a vain tale, because an Historian of the same time reading one of his books to *Lysimachus* (then King of *Thrace*) who had followed *Alexander* in all his voyage, was laught at by the King for inserting such news of the *Amazons*; and *Lysimachus* himself had never heard

heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander*, took upon him to write his acts; which to amplifie, He told how the King had fought ſingle with an Elephant, and ſlain it. The King hearing ſuch ſtuff, caught the book, and threw it into the river of *Indus*; ſaying, That it were well done to throw the Writer after it, who by inſerting ſuch fables, diſparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as we believe and know that there are Elephants, though it were falſe that *Alexander* fought with one; ſo may we give credit unto Writers making mention of ſuch *Amazons*, whether it were true or falſe that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaves the matter undetermined. Therefore I will here take leave to make digreſſion, as well to ſhew the opinions of the ancient Hiſtorians, Coſmographers, and others, as alſo of ſome modern diſcoverers touching theſe warlike Women, becauſe not only *Strabo*, but many others of theſe our times make doubt, whether or no there were any ſuch kind of people. *Julius Solinus* ſeats them in the North parts of *Aſia* the leſs. *Pom. Mela* finds two Regions filled with them; the one on the River *Thermodoon*, the other neer the *Caſpian* Sea; *Quas* (ſaith he) *Sauromatidas appellant*; *Which the people call* Sauromatides. The former of theſe two had the *Cimerians* for their Neighbours; *Certum eſt* (ſaith *Vadianus*, who hath commented upon *Mela*) *illos proximos Amazonibus fuiſſe*; *It is certain that the* Cimerians *were the next Nations to the Amazons*. *Ptolomy* ſet them farther in to the Land North-wards, near the Mountains *Hippaci*, not far from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in *Aſia* it ſelf toward *India*, *Solinus* and *Pliny* tell us. Where they governed a people called the *Pandeans* or *Padeans*, ſo called after *Pandea* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the reſt derive themſelves. *Claudian* affirms, That they commanded many Nations: For he ſpeaks (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

Sol. c. 27. & 65.

Lib. 2.

Ptol. lib. 6. Aſiæ Tab. 2.

Plin. l. 6. c. 20.

Claud. de rap. Proſerpinæ.

——*Medis levibuſque Sabæis*
Imperat hic Sextus: Reginarumque ſub armis,
Barbariæ pars magna jacet.

Over the *Medes*, and light *Sabæans* reigns
This female ſex: and under arms of Queen,
Great part of the *Barbarian* Land remains.

Diodorus Siculus hath heard of them in *Lybia*, who were more ancient (ſaith he) than thoſe which kept the banks of *Thermodoon*, a River falling into the Euxine Sea, neer *Heraclium*. *Herodotus* doth alſo make report of theſe *Amazons*, whom he tells us that the *Scythians* call *Æorpatas*, which is as much as *Viricidas*, or men-killers. And that they made incurſion into *Aſia* the leſs, ſackt *Epheſus*, and burnt the Temple of *Diana*, *Manethon* and *Aventinus* report; which they performed forty years after *Troy* was taken. At the ſiege of *Troy* it ſelf we read of *Penthe-ſilea*, that ſhe came to the ſuccour of *Priamus*.

Æniad. 1. l. 3.

Am. Marcellinus gives the cauſe of their inhabiting upon the River of *Thermodoon*, ſpeaking confidently of the wars they made with divers Nations, and of their overthrow.

L. 22. c. 7.

Plutarch in the life of *Theſeus*; out of *Philochorus*, *Hellenicus* and other ancient Hiſtorians, reports the taking of *Antiopa* Queen of the *Amazons* by *Hercules*, and by him given to *Theſeus*; though ſome affirm, That *Theſeus* himſelf got her by ſtealth, when ſhe came to viſit him aboard his ſhip. But in ſubſtance there is little difference; all confeſſing, That ſuch *Amazons* there were. The ſame Author in the life of *Pompey* ſpeaks of certain companies of the *Amazons*, that came to aid the *Albanians* againſt the *Romans*, by whom after the battel, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken up: and he ſaith farther, That theſe women entertain the *Gelæ* and *Legales* once a year, Nations inhabiting between them and the *Albanians*.

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of *Amazons* that were in the old times, *Fran. Lopez*, who hath written the navigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the river of *Amazon* from *Peru* in the year, 1542. (upon which river, for the divers turnings, he is ſaid to have ſailed ſix thouſand miles) reports from the relation of the ſaid *Orellana*, to the Council of the *Indies*, That he both ſaw thoſe women, and fought with them, where they ſought to impeach his paſſage towards the Eaſt-Sea.

Hiſt. Ind. par. 1. c. 28.

It is alſo reported by *Ulrichus Schmidel*, that in the year, 1542. when he ſailed up the Rivers of *Paragua* and *Parabol*, that he came to a King of that Country, called *Scherves*, inhabiting under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, who gave his Captain *Ernando Rieffere*, a Crown of ſilver, which he had gotten in fight from a Queen of the *Amazons* in thoſe parts.

Ed. Lopez, in his deſcription of the Kingdom of *Congo*, makes relation of ſuch *Amazons*, telling us, That (agreeably to the reports of elder times) they burn off their right breaſts, and live apart from men, ſave at one time of the year, when they feaſt and ac-

company them for one month. These (saith he) possess a part of the Kingdom of *Monomotapa* in *Africa*, nineteen degrees to the Southward of the line: and that these women are the strongest Guards of this Emperour, all the *East-Indian Portugals* know.

I have produced these authorities in part, to justifie mine own relation of these *Amazons*, because that which was delivered me for truth by an ancient *Cacique* of *Guiana*, how upon the River of *Papamena* (since the *Spanish* discoveries called *Amazons*) that these women still live and govern, was held for a vain and unprobable report.

§. XVI.

How Alexander *fell into the* Persian *Luxury: and how he further pursued* Bessus.

NOw as *Alexander* had begun to change his conditions after the taking of *Persepolis*: so at this time his prosperity had so much over-wrought his virtue, as he accounted clemency to be but baseness, and the temperance which he had used all his life-time, but a poor and dejected humour, rather becoming the instructers of his youth, than the condition and state of so mighty a King as the World could not equal. For he perswaded himself, that he now represented the greatness of the gods; he was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground and adore him; he ware the robes and garments of the *Persians*, and commanded that his Nobility should do the like: he entertained in his Court and Camp, the same shameless rabble of Curtisans, and Sodomitical Eunuchs, that *Darius* had done; and imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, and detested manners of the *Persians*, whom he had vanquished. So lincentious is felicity, as notwithstanding that he was fully perswaded, that the gods whom he served (detesting the vices of the invaded) assisted him in all attempts against them, he himself, contrary to the Religion he profest (which how Idolatrous soever it were, could not be but fearful unto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, and not by ignorance or education, a more foul and fearful Monster than *Darius*, from whose tyranny he vaunted to have delivered so many Nations. Yea, those that were deareſt and neereſt unto him, began to be ashamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like scornful discourse; That *Alexander* of *Macedon* was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example, the *Macedonians* were in the end of so many travels, more impoverished in their virtues, than inriched by their victories; and that it was hard to judge whether the Conquerors, or the Conquered, were the baser slaves. Neither were these opinions so reserved, but that the noise of them came to his ears. He therefore with great gifts sought to pacifie the better sort, and those of whose judgements he was most jealous; and making it known to the Army, that *Bessus* had assumed the title of a King, and called himself *Artaxerxes*, and that he had compounded a great Army of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations, he had arguments enow to perswade them to go on, to the end that all already gotten, might not with themselves (so far engaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoils of so many Cities, as the whole Army seemed but the guard of their carriages (not much unlike the warfare of the *French*) having commanded every mans fardels to be brought into the Maket-place, he, together with his own, caused all to be consumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but have proved most dangerous unto him, seeing the common Souldiers had more interest in these things which they had bought with their painful travels, and with their blood, than in the Kings ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often observed) his happy temerity overcome all things. As he was in his way, news came to him, that *Satribarzanes*, whom he had established in his former Government over the *Arians*, was revolted; whereupon leaving the way of *Bactria*, he sought him out; but the Rebel, hearing of his coming, fled to *Bessus*, with two thousand Horse. He then went on towards *Bessus*, and by setting a great pile of wood on fire, with the advantage of a strong wind, won the passage over an high and unaccessable Rock, which was defended against him with thirteen thousand foot. For the extremity of the flame and smoak forced them from the place, otherwise invincible. I saw in the third civil War of *France*, certain Caves in *Languedoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high-Rocks, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last, by certain bundles of straw, let down by an Iron chain, and a weighty stone in the midst, those that defended it, were so smothered, as they rendred themselves, with their plate, mony, and other goods therein hidden. There were also some three years before my arrival in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horses, by the Country-people, who

who did ſet the long dry graſs on fire to the Eaſtward of them (the wind in thoſe parts being alwaies Eaſt) ſo as, notwithſtanding their flying from the ſmoak, there was not any one that eſcaped. Sir *John Burrowes* alſo, with a hundred *Engliſh* was in great danger of being loſt at *Margarita*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, by having the graſs fired behind him; but the ſmoak being timefully diſcovered, he recovered the Sea-ſhore with the loſs of ſixteen of his men. I remember theſe things; but to give caution to thoſe that ſhall in times to come invade any part of thoſe Countries, that they alwaies, before they paſs into the Land, burn down the graſs, and ſedge, to the Eaſt of them; they may otherwiſe, without any other enemy than a handful of ſtraw ſet on fire, dye the death of Hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hive.

§. XVII.

A Conſpiracy againſt Alexander; *The death of* Philotas *and* Parmenio.

ALexander was, after he parted hence, no where reſiſted, till he came into *Aria*, to the Eaſt of *Bactria*, where the chief City of that Province, called *Artacoana*, was a while defended againſt him, by the revolt of *Satribarzanes*; but in the end he received the Inhabitants to mercy. At this place his Army was re-enforced with a new ſupply of five thouſand and five hundred foot, and neer five hundred horſe, out of *Greece*, *Theſſalie*, and other places. His journey out of *Perſia* into theſe parts, is very confuſedly deſcribed. For, having (as all his Hiſtorians tell us) a determination to find *Beſſus* in *Bactria*, he leaves it at the very entrance, and takes the way of *Hyrcania*; from thence he wanders Northwards towards the obſcure *Mardi*, upon the *Caſpian*-Sea, and thence over the Mountain *Coronus* into *Aria* and *Dranginia*.

At this time it was that the treaſon of *Dimnus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio* was accuſed, as acceſſary, if not principal. This *Dimnus*, having (I know not upon what ground) conſpired with ſome others againſt the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a young man whom he loved, into the ſame treaſon. The Youth, although he was firſt bound by oath to ſecrecy, when he heard ſo foul a matter uttered, began to proteſt againſt it ſo vehemently, that his friend was like to have ſlain him for ſecurity of his own life. So, conſtrained by fear, he made ſhew as if he had been won by perſwaſion; and by ſeeming at length to like well of the buſineſs, he was told more at large what they were that had undertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of rank, whoſe names *Dimnus* (to countenance the enterprize) reckoned up to *Nichomachus*. *Nichomachus* had no ſooner freed himſelf from the company of this Traytor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his own Brother *Ceballinus* with the whole Hiſtory: whereupon it was agreed between them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with leaſt ſuſpicion) ſhould go to the Court, and utter all. *Ceballinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole buſineſs; deſiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which he promiſed to do, but did not. Two daies paſſed, and *Philotas* never brake with the King about the matter, but ſtill excuſed himſelf to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leiſure. This his coldneſs bred ſuſpicion, and cauſed *Ceballinus* to addreſs himſelf to another, one *Metron*, Keeper of the Kings Armory, who forthwith brought him to *Alexanders* preſence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had paſſed between *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perſwade himſelf that this concealment of the treaſon, argued his hand to have been in the buſineſs. Therefore when *Dimnus* was brought before him, he asked the Traytor no other queſtion than this: *Wherein have I ſo offended thee, that thou ſhouldeſt think* Philotas *more worthy to be a King than I? Dimnus* perceiving when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had ſo wounded himſelf, that he lived no longer, than to give his laſt groan in the Kings preſence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the ſuſpicion, which his ſilence might juſtly breed. His anſwer was, That when the practice was revealed unto him by *Nichomachus*, he judging it to be but frivolous, did forbear to acquaint *Alexander* therewithal, until he might have better information. This error of his, (if it were only an error) although *Alexander*, for the notorious ſervices of his Father *Parmenio*, of his Brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himſelf, had freely pardoned and given his hand for aſſurance; yet, by the inſtigation of *Craterus*, he again ſwallowed his Princely promiſe, and made his enemies his Judges. *Curtius* gives a note of *Craterus* in this buſineſs; How he perſwaded himſelf, that he could never find a better occaſion to oppreſs his private enemy, than by pretending Piety, and duty towards the King. Hereof a Poet of our own hath given a note as much better, as it is moſt general, in his *Philotas*:

(*hate,*
See how these great men cloathe their private
In these fair colours of the publick good;
And, to effect their ends, pretend the State,
As if the State by their affection stood:
And, arm'd with Power and Princes jealousies,
Will put the least conceit of discontent
Into the greatest rank of treacheries,
That no one action shall seem innocent:
Yea, valour, honor, bounty shall be made
As accessaries unto ends unjust:
And even the serivce of the State must lade
The needfull'st undertaking with distrust;
So that base vileness, idle Luxury,
Seem safer far, than to do worthily, &c.

Now, although it were so, that the King, following the advice of *Craterus*, had resolved the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very evening of the same night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a Banquet, and discoursed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to bind him, he cryed out upon the King in these words; *O* Alexander, *the malice of mine Enemies hath surmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is far more constant than the word of a King.* Many circumstances were urged against him by *Alexander* himself (for the Kings of *Macedon* did in person examine the accusations of treason) and this was not the least (not the least offence, indeed, against the Kings humour, who desired to be glorified as a god). That when *Alexander* wrote unto him concerning the title given him by *Jupiter Hammon*; He answered, That he could not but rejoyce that he was admitted into that sacred Fellowship of the gods, and yet he could not but withal grieve for those that should live under such a one as would exceed the nature of man. This was (saith *Alexander*) a firm perswasion unto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in despight. See what a strange Monster Flattery is, that can perswade Kings to kill those that do not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude to hear the Kings Oration against him: he was brought forth in vile garments, and bound like a Thief; where he heard himself, and his absent Father, the greatest Captain of the World, accused; his two other Brothers, *Hector* and *Nicanor* having been lost in the present War. He was so greatly oppress with grief, as for a while he could utter nothing but tears, and sorrow had so wasted his spirits, as he sank under those that led him. In the end, the King asked him, In what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherein it had pleased the King to accuse him; which he did, to the end that the *Persians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might understand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, perswading the assembly, that he disdained the language of his own Country; and so withdrawing himself, left him to his mercilesse enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, seeing the King, who had so sharply inveighed against him, would not vouchsafe to hear his excuse. For not his enemies only were emboldened thereby against him, but all the rest, having discovered the Kings disposition and resolution, contended among themselves, which of them should exceed in hatred towards him. Among many other arguments, which he used in his own defence, this was not the weakest; That when *Nichomachus* desired to know of *Dimnus*, what men of mark and power were his partners in the conspiracy (as seeming unwilling to adventure himself with mean and base Companions) *Dimnus* named unto him *Demetrius* of the Kings Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amyntas*, and some others; but spake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being Commander of the Horse, would greatly have valued the party, and have incouraged *Nichomachus*. Indeed, as *Philotas* said well for himself, it is likely that *Dimnus*, thereby the better to have heartned *Nicomachus*, would have named him, though he had never dealt with him in any such practice. And for more certain proof, that he knew nothing of their intents that practised against the King, there was not any one of the Conspirators, being many, inforced by torments, or otherwise, that could accuse him; and it is true, that adversity being seldom able to bear her own burthen, is for the most part found so malicious, as she rather desires to draw others (not always deserving it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howsoever it were, to avoid the extremity of resistless and unnatural torments, devised by his profest enemies *Craterus*, *Cenus*, *Ephestion*, and others, *Philotas* accused his own self; being perswaded that they would have slain him forthwith. But he failed even in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laid on flesh and blood, he was forced to deliver, not what he knew, but whatsoever best pleased their ears, that were far more mercilesse than death it self.

Of

Aug. de civit. Dei. lib. 1. c. 6.

Of this kind of judicial proceeding St. *Augustine* greatly complaineth, as a matter to be bewailed, saith he, with Fountains of tears, *Quid cum in sua causa quisque torquetur; & cum quæritur utrum sit nocens, cruciatur; & innocens luit pro incerto scelere certissimas pœnas: non quia illud commisisse detegitur sed quia non commisisse nescitur. What shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his own cause; and tormented whilst yet it is in question whether he be guilty; and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault, of which there is no certainty: not because he is known to have committed the offence, but because others do not know that he hath not committed it?*

It had been enough for *Alexanders* safety, if *Philotas* had been put to death without torment, the rest would not much have grieved thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But *Hemolaus*, who afterward conspired against him, made the Kings cruelty and delight in blood, the greatest motive of his own ill intent. Therefore, *Seneca*, speaking of *Alexander*, saith thus, *Crudelitas minime humanum malum est, indignum tam miti animo; ferina ista rabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abjecto homine, in silvestre animal transire; Cruelty is not a humane vice, it is unworthy of so mild a spirit: It is even a beastly rage to delight in blood and wounds, and casting away the nature of man, to become a savage Monster.*

Sen. de Clem. l. 1.

For the conclusion of this Tragedy, *Curtius* makes a doubt, whether the confession that *Philotas* made, were to give end to the torments which he could not any longer endure, or that the same was true indeed; For (saith he) in this case, they that speak truly, or they that deny falsly, come to one and the same end. Now while the Kings hands were yet wet in blood, he commanded that *Lyncestes*, Son in Law to *Antipater*, who had been three years in prison, should be slain: The same dispatch had all those that *Nicomachus* had accused: others there were that were suspected because they had followed *Philotas*; but when they had answered for themselves, that they knew no way so direct to win the Kings favour, as by loving those whom the King favoured, they were dismist. But *Parmenio* was yet living; *Parmenio*, who had served with great fidelity as well *Philip* of *Macedon* the Kings Father, as himself; *Parmenio*, that first opened the way into *Asia*; that had depress *Attalus* the Kings enemy; that had alwaies, and in all hazards, the leading of the Kings Vanguard, that was no less prudent in counsel, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloved of the men of War, and, to say the truth, he that had made the purchase for the King of the Empire of the East, and of all the glory and fame he had: That he might not therefore revenge the death of his Son, though not upon the King (for it was unlikely that he would have dishonored his fidelity in his eldest age, having now lived threescore and ten years) yet upon those that by the witchcraft of flattery had possest themselves of his affection, it was resolved, that he should be dispatcht. *Polydamas* was employed in this business, a man whom of all other *Parmenio* trusted most, and loved best, who (to be short) finding him in *Midia*, and having *Cleander* and other murderers with him, slew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings Letters. *Hic exitus* Parmenionis *fuit, militiæ domique clari viri; Multa sine Rege prospere, Rex sine illo nihil magnæ rei gesserat; This was the end of* Parmenio (*saith* Curtius) *who had performed many notable things without the King; but the King, without him, did never effect any thing worthy of praise.* *lib. 7.*

§. XVIII.

How Alexander *subdued the* Bactrians, Sogdians, *and other people. How* Bessus *was delivered into his hands. How he fought with the* Scythians.

WHen these things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Army, and brought under his obedience the *Araspians*, or *Evergitans*; he made *Amenides* (sometime *Darius* his Secretary) their Governor, then he subdued the *Arachosians*, and left *Menon* to command over them. Here the Army, sometimes led by *Parmenio*, finds him, consisting of twelve thousand *Macedons* and *Greeks*, with whom he past through some cold Regions with difficulty enough. At length he came to the foot of the Mountain *Taurus* towards the East, where he built a City, which he honoured with his own name, and peopled it with seven thousand of his oldest *Macedons*, worn with age, and with travels of the War. The *Arians*, who since he left them were revolted, he subdued again by the industry and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigius*. And now he resolves to find out the new King *Bessus* in *Bactria*. *Bessus*, hearing of his coming, prepares to pass over the great River of *Oxus*, which divides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Artabazus* is made Governor of *Bactria* abandoned by *Bessus*; The *Macedonian* Army suffereth for want of Water, insomuch as when they came to the River

River of *Oxus*, there dyed more of them by drinking inordinately, than *Alexander* had loſt in any one Battel againſt the *Perſians*. And it may well be; For (as *Clytus* did after object unto him) he fought againſt women, and not againſt men; and not againſt their perſons, but their ſhadows. He found on the banks of this great River no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either boats, bridges, or raff, but was forced to ſew together the hides that covered his carriages, and ſtuff them with ſtraw, and on them in ſix days to paſs over his Army; which *Beſſus* might eaſily have diſtreſt, if he had dared but to behold the *Macedonian* Army afar off. He had formerly complained againſt *Darius* for neglecting to defend the banks of *Tygris*, and other paſſages; and yet now, when this trayterous ſlave had ſtiled himſelf a King, he durſt not perform any thing worthy of a ſlave. And therefore thoſe that were neereſt unto him, and whom he moſt truſted, to wit, *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Army, moved both by the care of their own ſafety, and by the memory of *Beſſus* his treaſon and cruelty againſt *Darius*, bound him in the like manner, that he had done his Maſter, but with this difference, that he had the chain cloſed about his neck like a Maſtiff-Dog, and ſo was dragged along to be preſented to his Enemy.

In the mean while *Alexander* was arrived at a certain Town inhabited with *Greeks* of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before he returned out of *Greece*; whoſe Iſſues had well-neer forgotten their Country-language. Theſe moſt cruelly (after they had received him with great joy) he put to the ſword, and deſtroyed their City. At this place he received *Beſſus*, and having rewarded *Spitamenes* with the reſt that delivered him, he gave the Traytor into the hands of *Oxatres*, *Darius* his Brother, to be tormented.

But while he now thought himſelf ſecure, ſome twenty thouſand Mountainers aſſaulted his Camp; in repelling whom he received a ſhot in the leg, the arrow-head ſticking in the fleſh, ſo as he was carried in a Horſe-litter, ſometime by the Horſemen, ſometime by the foot.

Soon after he came unto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Perondinus* takes to be *Samarchand*, the regal City of the great *Tamerlain*. It had in compaſs threeſcore and ten furlongs (*Curtius* ſaith.) Here he received the Embaſſadors of the *Scythians* (called *Avians*) who offered to ſerve him.

The *Bactrians* are ſhortly again with the *Sogdians* ſtirred to rebellion, by the ſame *Spitamenes* and *Catanes*, who had lately delivered into his hands the Traytor *Beſſus*. Many Cities were reſolvedly defended againſt him, all which, after victory, he defaced and razed, killing all therein. At one of theſe he received a blow on the neck, which ſtruck him to the ground, and much diſabled him for many days after. In the mean while *Spitamenes* had recovered *Maracanda*, againſt whom he employed *Menedemus* with three thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe.

In the heat of theſe tumults *Alexander* marched on (if we may believe *Curtius* and others) till he came to the River of *Tanais*; upon whoſe bank he built another *Alexandria*, threeſcore furlongs in compaſs, which he beautified with houſes within ſeventeen days after the walls built. The building of this City is ſaid to have been occaſion of a War between him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perſwading himſelf, that this new Town was fortified of purpoſe to keep him under. I do not well underſtand, why the *Scythians*, offering war in ſuch terrible manner, that *Alexander* was judged by his own Souldiers to counterfeit ſickneſs for very fear, ſhould nevertheleſs make ſute for peace: neither find I the reaſon why *Alexander* (not intending the Conqueſt of thoſe Northern deſarts, but only the defence of his own bank) ſhould refuſe to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they ſhould agree to ſuffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter; and a victory deſcribed; in purſuit of which the *Macedons* ran beyond the bounds and monuments of *Bacchus* his Expedition.

The truth is, That *Curtius* and *Trogus* have greatly miſtaken this River, which they call *Tanais*. For it was the River of *Jaxartes*, that runs between *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* paſt over, while *Menedemus* was employed in the recovery of *Samarchand*: But *Tanais*, which divides *Aſia* from *Europe*, is neer two thouſand miles diſtant from any part of *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, and the way deſart and unknown. So that *Alexander* had (beſides *Jaxartes*) the great River of *Volga*, and many others to ſwim over, ere he could recover *Tanais*: which (from the place where he was) he could hardly have diſcovered with the Army that followed him, if he had employed all the time that he lived in *Aſia* in that travel.

Wherefore it is enough to believe, that the *Aſiatique Scythians*, making ſome offer to diſturb the erection of his new City, which was like to give ſome hinderance to their

their excurſions, were driven away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defenſive Arms, eaſily chaſed ſome ten or twelve miles; which is the ſubſtance of *Curtius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his journey, like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his life-time he were as ſober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken god) went not very far into that waſte Country, where he could find nothing but trees and ſtones, nor other buſineſs than to ſet up a Monument.

Threeſcore of the *Macedonians* are ſaid to have been ſlain, and one thouſand one hundred hurt in this fight, which might eaſily be in paſſing a great River, defended againſt them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* horſes one thouſand eight hundred were brought into the Camp, and many priſoners. It is forbidden by ſome Hiſtorians, and indeed it is hardly poſſible, to ſet down the numbers of ſuch as periſh in Battel: yet *Cæſar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the Victors hath been ſo inquiſitive into the greatneſs of their own ſucceſs, that Writers have been able to deliver ſuch particulars by credible report, I hold it not unlawful to ſet down what we find; eſpecially when it ſerves to give light to the buſineſs in hand. The ſmall number which the *Macedonians* loſt; the omiſſion of the number which they ſlew (a thing not uſual in *Curtius*, who forbears nothing that may ſet out the greatneſs of *Alexander*) and the little booty that was gotten, do make it probable, that this War was no better than the repulſion of a few roving *Tartars* (the like being yearly performed by the *Moſcovite*, without any boaſt) and therefore better omitted by ſome Hiſtorians, than ſo highly extolled as a great exploit by others.

While *Alexander* was aſſuring himſelf of thoſe *Scythians* bordering upon *Jaxartes*, he received the ill news that *Menedemus* was ſlain by *Spitamenes*, the Army (by him led) broken, and the greateſt numbers ſlain, to wit, two thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe. He therefore, to appeaſe the rebellion, and to take revenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haſte he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*. *Alexander* kills, burns, and lays waſte all before him, not ſparing the innocent children, and ſo departs, leaving a new Governor in that Province.

To repair this loſs, he received a great ſupply of nineteen thouſand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lycia*, and *Syria*; with all which, and the old Army he returns towards the South, and paſſeth the River of *Oxus*; on the South ſide whereof he built ſix Towns neer each other for mutual ſuccour. But he finds a new ſtart-up-Rebel, called *Arimazes* (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirty thouſand Souldiers, that defended againſt him a ſtrong piece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when *Alexander* had fought in vain to win by fair words, he made choice of three hundred young men, and promiſed ten talents to the firſt, nine to the ſecond, and ſo in proportion to the reſt, that could find a way to creep up to the top thereof. This they performed with the loſs of ſome two and thirty of their men, and then made a ſign to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandment. Hereupon he ſent one *Cophes* to perſwade *Arimazes* to yield the place; who, being ſhewed by *Cophes* that the Army of *Macedon* was already mounted up, yielded ſimply to *Alexanders* mercy, and was (with all his kindred) ſcourged and crucified to death; which puniſhment they well deſerved for neglecting to keep good watch in ſo dangerous a time. For the place, as ſeems by the deſcription, might eaſily have been defended againſt all the Armies of the World. But, what ſtrength cannot do, Mans wit, being the moſt forcible engine, hath often effected: Of which I will give you an example in a place of our own.

The Iſland of *Sark*, joyning to *Garnſey*, and of that Government, was in Queen *Maries* time ſurprized by the *French*, and could never have been recovered again by ſtrong hand, having cattel and corn enough upon the place to feed ſo many men as will ſerve to defend it, and being every way ſo inacceſſible, that it might be held againſt the Great *Turk*. Yet by the induſtry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this ſort regained. He anchored in the road with one Ship of ſmall burthen, and pretending the death of his Merchant; beſought the *French*, being ſome thirty in number, that they might bury their Merchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chappel of that Iſle; offering a preſent to the *French* of ſuch Commodities as they had aboard; whereto (with condition that they ſhould not come athore with any weapon, no not ſo much as with a Knife) the *Frenchmen* yielded. Then did the *Fleming*, put a Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead carkaſs, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebuſſes; The *French* received them at their landing; and ſearching every of them ſo narrowly as they could not hide a Pen-knife, gave them leave to draw their Coffin up the Rocks with great difficulty; ſome part of the *French* took the *Flemiſh* Boat, and rowed aboard their Ship, to fetch the commodities promiſed, and what elſe

elſe they pleaſed; but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappel, ſhut the door to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, ſet upon the *French*; they run to the Cliff, and cry to their company aboard the *Fleming* to come to their ſuccour, but finding the Boat charged with *Flemings* yielded themſelves and the place. Thus a Fox-tail doth ſometims help well to piece out the Lyons-skin that elſe would be too ſhort.

§. XIX.

How Alexander *ſlew his own friends.*

AFter theſe *Sogdian* and *Scythian* Wars, we read of *Alexanders* killing of a Lion, and other Frivolous matters, and that he committed the Government of *Maracanda*, and the Country about it, to *Clytus*, and how he ſlew him ſoon after, for valuing the virtue of *Philip* the Father before that of *Alexander* the ſon, or rather becauſe he objected to the King the death of *Parmenio*, and derided the Oracle of *Hammon:* for therein he toucht him to the quick, the ſame being delivered in publick, and at a drunken Banquet. *Clytus*, indeed, had deſerved as much at the Kings hands, as any man living had done, and had in particular ſaved his life, which the King well remembred when he came to himſelf, and when it was too late. Yet, to ſay the truth, *Clytus* his inſolency was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgat whom he offended, ſo the King in his (for neither of them were themſelves) forgat whom he went about to ſlay: for the grief whereof he tare his own face, and ſorrowed ſo inordinately, as, but for the perſwaſions of *Caliſthenes*, it is thought he would have ſlain himſelf.

Wine begat Fury, Fury matter of Repentance: But preceding miſchiefs are not amended by ſucceeding bewailing: *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; obſtantem malis conatibus verecundiam removet; ubi poſſedit animum nimia vis vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, ſed protrahit; Drunkenneſs both kindles and lays open every vice; it removes out of the way that ſhame which gives impediment unto bad attempts; where wine gets the maſtery, all the ill that before lay hidden breaks out: drunkenneſs indeed rather diſcovers vices, than makes them.*

Soon after this, *Spitamines*, who ſlew *Beſſus*, and had lately revolted from *Alexander*, was murthered by his Wife, and his head preſented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dacons* alſo ſeized upon his Fellow-Conſpirator *Dataphernes*, and delivered him up. So *Alexander* being now freed from all theſe petty Rebels, diſpoſed of the Provinces which he paſt over, and went on with his Army into *Gabaza*, where it ſuffered ſo much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storm, as he loſt in one Tempeſt a thouſand of his Train. From hence he invaded the *Sacans*, and deſtroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territory of *Cohortanes*, who ſubmitted himſelf unto him, feaſted him greatly, and preſented him with thirty beautiful Virgins, among whom *Roxana*, afterwards his Wife, was one: which although all the *Macedonians* diſdained, yet none of them durſt uſe any freedom of ſpeech after *Clytus* his death. From hence he directed his courſe towards *India*, having ſo increaſed his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand armed men.

In the mean while he would needs be honored as a god: whereto that he might allure the *Macedonians*, he employed two pernicious Paraſites, *Hagis* and *Cleo*; whom *Caliſthenes* oppoſed: For, among many other honeſt arguments uſed to the aſſembly, he told *Cleo*, That he thought, that *Alexander* would diſdain the gift of God-head from his Vaſſals; That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did ſometime follow the death of thoſe, who in their life time had done the greateſt things, yet it never accompanied any one as yet living in the world. He further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a Banquet, and upon drink (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a carowſing feaſt:) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and ſucceeding ages numbred among the gods. *Alexander* ſtood behind a partition, and heard all that was ſpoken, waiting but an opportunity to be revenged on *Caliſthenes*, who being a man of free ſpeech, honeſt, learned, and a lover of the Kings honor, was yet ſoon after tormented to death; not for that he had betrayed the King to others, but becauſe he never would condeſcend to betray the King to himſelf, as all his deteſtable flatterers did. For in a conſpiracy againſt the King made by one *Hermolaus* and others (which they confeſt) he cauſed *Caliſthenes* without confeſſion, accuſation or trial, to be torn aſunder upon the rack: This deed unworthy of a King, *Seneca* thus cenſureth, *Hoc eſt* Alexandri *crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum fœlicitas redimet: Nam quoties quis dixerit,*

dixerit, Occîdit Perſarum multa millia; opponitur, & Caliſthenem. *Quoties dictum erit, Occîdit* Darium; *opponitur, &* Caliſthenem. *Quoties dictum erit, Omnia Oceano tenus vicit, ipſum quoq; tentavit novis claſſibus, & Imperium ex angulo Thraciæ uſq; ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, ſed* Caliſthenem *occîdit. Omnia licèt antiqua Ducum Regumque exempla tranſierit, ex his quæ fecit nihil tam magnum erit quam ſcelus* Caliſthenis; *This is the eternal crime of* Alexander, *which no vertue nor felicity of his in War ſhall ever be able to redeem: For as often as any man ſhall ſay, He ſlew many thouſand* Perſians; *it ſhall be replyed, he did ſo, and he ſlew* Caliſthenes. *When it ſhall be ſaid, he ſlew* Darius; *it ſhall be replyed, and* Caliſthenes. *When it ſhall be ſaid, he wan all as far as the very Ocean, thereon alſo he adventured with unuſual Navies, and extended his Empire from a corner of* Thrace, *to the utmoſt bounds of the Orient; It ſhall be ſaid withall, But he killed* Caliſthenes. *Let him have out-gone all the ancient examples of Captains and Kings; none of all his acts make ſo much to his glory, as* Caliſthenes *to his reproach.*

§. XX.

Of Alexanders *journey into* India. *The battel between him and* Porus.

WIth the Army before remembred, of one hundred and twenty thouſand foot and horſe, *Alexander* did enter the borders of *India*, where ſuch of the Princes, as ſubmitted themſelves unto him, he entertained lovingly, the reſt he conſtrained, killing, Man, Woman, and Childe, where they reſiſted. He then came before *Niſa*, built by *Bacchus*, which after a few dayes was rendred unto him. From thence he removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens, filled with delicate fruits and Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom he made feaſts for ten dayes together. Now when he had drunk his fill, he went on towards *Dedula*, and from thence to *Acadera*, Countreys ſpoyled and abandoned by the Inhabitants; by reaſon whereof, victuals failing, he divides his Army: *Ptolomy* led one part, *Cenon* another, and himſelf the reſt. They take many Towns, whereof that of greateſt fame was *Mazage*, which had in it three hundred thouſand men; but after ſome reſiſtance, it was yielded unto him by *Cleophe* the Queen, to whom again he reſtored it; at the ſiege of this City he received a wound in the leg. After this, *Nora* was taken by *Polyſperchon*, and a Rock of great ſtrength by himſelf: he wan alſo a paſſage upon one *Eryx*, who was ſlain by his company, and his head preſented to *Alexander*. This is the ſum of *Alexanders* doings in thoſe parts, before ſuch time as he arrived at the River of *Indus*. Coming to *Indus*, he found there *Epheſtion*, who (being ſent before) had prepared Boats for the tranſportation of his Army, and ere *Alexanders* arrival, had perſwaded *Omphis* King of that part of the Country, to ſubmit himſelf to this great Conquerour. Therefore, ſoon upon *Alexanders* coming, *Omphis* preſented himſelf with all the ſtrength of his Countrey, and ſix and fifty Elephants, unto him; offering him his ſervice and aſſiſtance. He made *Alexander* know, that he was an Enemy to the next two great Kings of that part of *India*, named *Abiaſares* and *Porus*; wherewith *Alexander* was not a little pleaſed, hoping by this diſ-union to make his own Victory by far the more eaſie. He preſented *Alexander* with a Crown of Gold, ſo did he the reſt of his Commanders, and withall fourſcore Talents of Silver Coyn; which *Alexander* not only refuſed, but to ſhew that he was covetous of glory, not of gold, he gave *Omphis* a thouſand Talents of his own treaſure, beſides other *Perſian* rarities. *Abiaſares*, having heard that *Alexander* had received his enemy *Omphis* into his protection, reſolved to make his own peace alſo: For, knowing that his own ſtrength did but equal that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other difference between them, than that which the chance of War gave, he thought it an ill match, when *Alexander*, who had already beaten under foot all the greateſt Princes of *Aſia*, ſhould make himſelf a Party and Head of the quarrel. So had *Alexander* none now to ſtand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he ſent a commandement, that he ſhould attend him at the border of his Kingdom, there to do him homage. But from *Porus* he received this manly anſwer; That he would ſatisfie him in his firſt demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgment he was reſolved to take counſel of his Sword. To be ſhort, *Alexander* reſolves to paſs over the River *Hydaſpes*, and to find *Porus* at his own home. *Porus* attends him on the farther bank with thirty thouſand foot, fourſcore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troop of Horſe. If *Darius* had done the like on *Tigris*, *Alexander* had ſurely ſtayed ſomewhat longer ere he had ſeen *India*. The River was four furlongs broad, which makes half a mile, and withall deep and ſwift. It

had in it many Islands, among which there was one well shadowed with wood, and of good capacity. *Alexander* sent *Ptolomy* up the River with a great part of the Army, shrowding the rest from the view of *Porus*: who by this device being drawn from his first incamping, sets himself down opposite to *Ptolomy*, supposing that the whole Army of *Macedon*, meant to force their passage there. In the mean while *Alexander* recovers the farther shore without resistance. He orders his troops, and advanceth towards *Porus*, who at first rather believes, that *Abiasares* his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had been come over *Hydaspes* to his aid, than that *Alexander* had past it. But he finds it otherwise, and sends his Brother *Hagis* with four thousand Horse, and a hundred armed Waggons to entertain him. Each Waggon had in it four to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little use: for there had fallen so much rain, and thereby the fields were so moistned, as the horses could hardly trot. The *Scythians* and *Dahans* had the Vantguard, who so galled these *Indians*, as they brake their rains, and other Furniture, overturning the Waggons, and those in them. *Perdiccas* also gave up the *Indian* horse-men, and the one and the other were forc'd to recoil. *Porus* moves forward with the gross of his Army, that those of his Vanguard scattered might recover his Rear; *Alexander* being followed with *Ephestion*, *Ptolomy*, and *Perdiccas*, took on him to charge the *Indian* horse-men on the left wing, commanding *Cenus* or *Cenon* to invade the right; *Antigonus* and *Leonatus*, he directed to break upon *Porus* his battel of foot, strengthened with Elephants, *Porus* himself being carried upon one of them, of the greatest stature. By these beasts the *Macedonian* foot were most offended; but the Archers and Darters, being well guarded with the long and strong pikes of the *Macedonians*, so galled them, as being inraged, they turned head, and ran over the foot that followed them: In the end, and after a long and doubtfull fight, by the advantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulness of the *Macedonian* Captains, the victory fell to *Alexander*, who also far exceeded *Porus* in number: for besides the *Macedonians* and other Eastern and Northern Nations, *Porus* was assailed by his own Confederate and Country-people. Yet for his own person he never gave ground otherwise than with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Army, he became a prisoner to the Conquerour, from whom again he received his estate with a great enlargement.

§. XXI.

How Alexander *finished his Expedition, and returned out of* India.

I Forbear to trouble my self and others with a frivolous discourse of Serpents, Apes and Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in these their travels: or of those petty Wars which *Alexander* made between the overthrow of *Porus*, and his sailing down the River of *Indus*. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better known unto us in this Age, by means of our late Navigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of those Kings we could in no sort be perswaded to believe, till our own experience had taught us, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to be seen between *London* and *Stanes*.

Our great traveller *Mandevile*, who died in the year 1372, and had seen so much of the World, and of the East *India*, we accounted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to judge as we. Witness the Monument made of him in the Covent of the Friers *Guillimius* in *Liege*, where the Religious of that place keep some things of his, *Comme pour honourable memoire de son Excellence*; *For an honourable memory of his Excellency*, saith *Guichardine*. *Guic. in Disc. of the Low Countries*

The Countreys towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where those many Rivers of *Hydaspes*, *Zaradis*, *Acesines*, and the rest fall into the main stream, are now possest by the great *Mogol* the ninth from *Tamberlain*, who commands all the tract between *Persia* and *Indus* towards the West, as also a great extent of Country towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Ascension*, a Ship of *London*, suffered shipwrack, in the year 1609. and some of the company travelled over Land till they came to *Agra*, the same great City (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call *Nagra*, being named of old *Dionysopolis*.

Philostratus in the life of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, speaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* into the East *India*, tells us, that those two great Captains (whom *Alexander* sought by all means to out-fame) when they endevoured to subject to them the *Oxidracæ*, a people inhabiting between the Rivers of *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, they were beaten from the

the assault of their Cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be understood by the great Ordnance that those people had then in use. For it is now certainly known, that the great Kings of the uttermost East, have had the use of the Cannon many hundreds of years since, and even since their first civility and greatness, which was long before *Alexander*'s time. But *Alexander* pierc'd not so far into the East. It sufficed, that having already over-wearied his Army, he discovered the rest of *India* by fame. The *Indian* Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a Prince called *Aggramenes*, who commanded many Nations beyond the River *Ganges*, was the powerfullest King of all those Regions: and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twenty thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though *Alexander* were more inflamed than ever to proceed in this discovery and conquest, yet all the art he had, could not perswade the Souldiers to wander over those great Desarts beyond *Indus* and *Ganges*, more terrible unto them than the greatest Army that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many perswasive Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discover such part of the Ocean Sea, as was nearer at hand, whereunto the River of *Indus* was their infallible guide. *Alexander* seeing that it would be no otherwise, devised a pretty trick, wherewith he hoped to beguile posterity, and make himself seem greater than he was. He enlarged his Camp, made greater trenches, greater Cabbins for Souldiers, greater Horse-stalls, and higher Mangers than Horses could feed in. He caused all furniture of men and horses to be made larger than would serve for use; and scattered these Armours and Bridles about his Camp, to be kept as reliques, and wondred at by the Savages. Proportionable to these he raised up twelve great Altars to be the monument of his journeys end. This was a ready way to encrease the fame of his bigness; to his greatness it could add nothing save a suspition, that it was less than is thought, seeing he strove so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned again to the bank of *Acesines*, and there determined to set up his fleet, where *Acesines* and *Hydaspes* incounter; where to testifie by a surer monument, how far he had past towards the East, he built by those Rivers two Cities: the one he called *Nicæa*, and the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloved Horse *Bucephalus*. Here again he received a fourth supply of six thousand *Thracian* Horse-men, seven thousand Foot; and from his Lieutenant at *Babylon* five and twenty thousand Armours, garnished with silver and gold, which he distributed among his Souldiers. About these Rivers he wan many Towns, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted; It is then written of him, that assaulting a City of the *Oxidracans*, he leapt from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like those of *Bevis* of *Southampton*, frivolous and incredible. Finally, he pass'd down the River with his fleet, at which time also the news came unto him of a rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arrival of an hundred Embassadours from a King of *India*, who submitted himself unto him. He feasted these Embassadours upon a hundred beds of gold, with all the sumptuosity that could be devised, who, soon after their dispatch, returned again with a present of three hundred Horses, one hundred and thirty Waggons, and to each of them four Horses, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, he sailed towards the South, passed through many obscure Nations, which did all yield unto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among these he builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he took in this passage, *Samos* was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought against him with poysoned swords, with one of which *Ptolomy* (afterward King of *Egypt*) was wounded, and cured by an herb which *Alexander* dreamt he had seen in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came neer the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies, as they were on a sudden shuffled one upon another by the Flood, so on the Ebb they were left on the dry ground, and on the sandy banks of the River, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed; but after he had a few dayes observed well the course of the Sea, he past out of the Rivers mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to *Neptune*, returned: and the better to inform himself, he sent *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus*, to discover the coast towards the mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arrianus* in the beginning of his sixth Book hath written this passage down the River of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Vessels in which he transported his Army, the Commanders that were used therein, and other the marvellous provisions made.

Near the out-lets of this River, he ſpent ſome part of the Winter, and in eighteen dayes march from thence recovered *Gedroſia*, in which paſſage his Army ſuffered ſuch miſery for want of food, that of a hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe, which he carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned alive.

§. XXII.

Of Alexanders *Riot, Cruelty, and Death.*

FRom *Gedroſia*, *Alexander* led his Army into *Carmania*, and ſo drawing near to *Perſia*, he gave himſelf wholly to feaſting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swiniſh vice be hatefull enough in it ſelf, yet it alwayes inflamed this King to Cruelty. *For* (ſaith *Curtius*) *the Hang-man followed the feaſt: for* Aſpaſtes, *one of his Provincial Governours, he commanded to be ſlain; ſo as neither did the exceſs of voluptuouſneſs qualifie his cruelty, nor his crueity hinder in ought his voluptuouſneſs.*

While he refreſhed his Army in theſe parts, a new ſupply of five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellows, that had been employed in the Killing of *Parmenio*. Againſt theſe Murderers, great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Provinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were ſo outragious, as *Alexander* was perſwaded, that, had they not altogether deſpaired of his return out of *India*, they durſt not have committed them. All men were glad of the occaſion, remembring the vertue of him, whom they had ſlaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander*, and the other chief, with ſix hundred Souldiers by them employed, were delivered over to the Hang-man: every one rejoycing that the Ire of the King was at laſt executed on the miniſters of his Ire.

Nearchus and *Oneſicritus* were now returned from the coaſt, and made report of an Iſland rich in gold, and of other ſtrange things; whereupon they were commanded to make ſome farther diſcovery: which done, that they ſhould enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and find the King at *Babylon*.

Arrianus hath a far different deſcription of *Cyrus* Tomb.

As he drew near to *Babylon*, he viſited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Paſargada*, now called *Chalquera*: where he was preſented with many rich gifts by *Orſines*, one of the Princes of *Perſia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But becauſe *Bagoas*, an *Eunuch* in ſpecial favour with the King, was neglected; he not only practiſed certain looſe fellows to witneſs againſt *Orſines*, that he had robbed *Cyrus* Tomb, for which he was condemned to dye; but he aſſiſted the Hang-man with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time alſo *Alexander* cauſed *Phradites* to be ſlain, ſuſpecting his greatneſs. *Cæperat* (ſaith *Curtius*) *eſſe præceps ad repræſentanda ſupplicia, item ad deteriora credenda; He began head-longly to ſhed blood, and believe falſe reports.* It is true, that he took a way to make all men weary of his Government, ſeeing cruelty is more fearful, than all adventures that can be made againſt it.

At this time it is ſaid, that *Calanus* the Philoſopher burnt himſelf, when he had lived threeſcore and thirteen years. Whether herein he followed the cuſtome of his Country, being an *Indian*, or ſought to prevent the grief and incommodity of elder age, it is uncertain: but in this the Hiſtorians agree, that fore-ſeeing and fore-ſhewing *Alexanders* death, he promiſed to meet him ſhortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Paſargada* he came to *Suſa*, where he married *Statira Darius* his eldeſt Daughter, giving her younger ſiſter to his beloved *Epheſtion*, and fourſcore other *Perſian* Ladies to his Captains. There were ſix thouſand gueſts invited to the feaſt, to each of which he gave a cup of gold. Here there came unto him three thouſand young Souldiers, out of his conquered Provinces, whereat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus*, his Treaſurer in *Babylon*, having laviſhly conſumed the moneys in his keeping, got him going with five thouſand Talents, and ſix thouſand hired Souldiers; but he was rejected in *Greece*, and there ſlain. *Alexander* greatly rejoyced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with theſe forces and treaſures could not ſtirr: yet he ſent commandment, that they ſhould again receive their baniſhed men, whereunto (fearfull of his indignation) all ſubmitted themſelves (except the *Athenians*) though they reſolved, that it was a manifeſt preparation towards their bondage. After this, there followed a marvellous diſcontentment in his Army, becauſe he had reſolved to ſend into *Macedon* all thoſe old Souldiers which could no longer endure the travel of War, and to keep the reſt in *Aſia*. He uſed many Orations to ſatiſfie them, but it was in vain during the tempeſt of their fury. But afterward, as Whales are drawn to the Land with a twine-thred, when they have tumbled a while; ſo are the unconſiderate multitude eaſily conducted when their firſt paſſions are evaporate. With ſuch as were licenſed to depart, he

he sent *Craterus*, to whom he gave the Lieutenantship of *Macedon*, *Thessaly*, and *Thrace*, which *Antipater* had held from his first departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the rebellions *Greeks* in his absence, discharged the trust committed unto him with great fidelity, and sent him so many strong supplies into *Asia* from time to time. Certainly, if *Alexander* had not taken counsel of his cups, he would have cast some better colour on this alteration, and given *Antipater* a stronger reason for his remove, than to have imployed him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the War being now at an end. For *Antipater* saw nothing in this remove, but the Kings disposition to send him after *Parmenio*, and the rest. With this *Antipater*, the King, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, do not stand in doubt of every man ill-affected, though valiant: but there is a kind of Kingly courage, compounded of hardiness and understanding, which is many times so fearfull unto them, as they take leave both of Law and Religion, to free themselves thereof.

After he had sent for *Antipater*, he made a journey into *Media* to settle things there; where *Ephestion*, whom he favoured most of all men, dies. The King, according to the greatness of his love, laments his loss, hangs his Physician, and bestows upon his Monument twelve thousand talents: After which he returns to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* came not, but sent; and not to excuse himself, but to free himself. For if we believe *Curtius* (whom *Plutarch* and others gainsay) *Antipater* by his Sons, *Cassander*, *Philip*, and *Iolla*, who waited on *Alexanders* cup, gave him poyson; *Thessalus* (who was of the Conspiracy) having invited him to a drinking-feast of purpose. For after he had taken a carouse in *Hercules* his cup, a draught of drink stronger than *Hercules* himself, he quitted the World within a few dayes.

Certainly the Princes of the World have seldom found good, by making their Ministers over-great, and thereby suspicious to themselves. For he that doth not acknowledge fidelity to be a debt, but is perswaded, that Kings ought to purchase it from their Vassals, will never please himself with the price given. The only restorative, indeed, that strengthens it, is the goodness and virtue of the Prince, and his liberality makes it more diligent; so as proportion and distance be observed. It may be, that *Antipater*, having commanded two or three Kingdoms ten or twelve years, knew not how to play any other part; no more than *Cæsar* did, after he had so long a time governed the *Gauls*, where he utterly forgat the art of obedience. A most cruel and ungrateful Traitor *Antipater* was, if *Curtius* do not belye him: For though he feared some ill measure upon his remove (the Tragedies of *Parmenio*, *Clytus*, and *Callisthenes*, having been so lately acted) yet he knew nothing to the contrary, but that the King had resolved to have given him some other great Government in *Asia*: The old Souldiers thence returned, having perchance desired to be governed by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former War.

§. XXIII.

Of Alexanders *person and qualities.*

HOwsoever it were, *Alexanders* former cruelties cannot be excused, no more than his vanity to be esteemed the Son of *Jupiter*, with his excessive delight in drink and drunkenness, which others make the cause of his feaver and death. In that he lamented his want of enterprising, and grieved to consider what he should do when he had conquered the World, *Augustus Cæsar* found just cause to deride him, as if the well-governing of so many Nations and Kingdoms, as he had already conquered, could not have offered him matter more than aboundant, to busie his brains withall. That he was both learned, and a lover of learning, it cannot be doubted. Sir *Francis Bacon*, in his first Book of the Advancement of Learning, hath proved it sufficiently. His liberality, I know not how to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is said, That when he gave a whole City to one of his servants, he, to whom it was given, did out of modesty refuse it, as disproportionable to his fortune: to whom *Alexander* replyed, That he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to give: of which *Seneca*; *Animosa vox videtur & regia, cùm sit stultissima. Nihil enim per se quenquam decet. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare, ubi, &c. sine quibus facti ratio non constabit; habeatur personarum & dignitatum proportio, & cum sit ubiq; virtutis modus, æquè peccat quod excedit, quàm quod deficit; It seems a brave and Royal speech, whereas indeed it is very foolish. For nothing simply considered by it self beseems a man. We must regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which considerations, no act can be approved. Let honours be proportioned unto the persons: for whereas virtue is ever limited* L. 2. de Ben. c. 1.

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by measure, the excess is as faulty as the defect.

For his Person, it is very apparent, That he was as valiant as any man; a disposition, taken by it self, not much to be admired: For I am resolved, that he had ten thousand in his Army as daring as himself. Surely, if adventurous natures were to be commended simply, we should confound that virtue with the hardiness of Theeves, Ruffians, and Mastiff-Dogs. For certainly it is no way praiseworthy, but in daring good things, and in the performance of those lawful enterprises, in which we are employed for the service of our Kings, and Common-weals.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other troublers of the world, who have bought their glory with so great destruction and effusion of blood, I think him far inferiour to *Cæsar*, and many other that lived after him, seeing he never undertook any warlike Nation, the naked *Scythians* excepted: nor was ever encountred with any Army of which he had not a most mastering advantage, both of Weapons and Commanders, every one of his Fathers old Captains by far exceeding the best of his Enemies. But it seems Fortune and Destiny (if we may use those terms) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his own, both heaps of Men, that willingly offered their necks to the yoke, and Kingdoms that invited and called in their own Conquerours. For conclusion, we will agree with *Seneca*, who speaking of *Philip* the Father, and *Alexander* the Son, gives this judgement of them: *Quod non minores fuere pestes mortalium, quàm inundatio, qua planum omne perfusum est, quàm conflagratio, qua magna pars animantium exaruit; They were no less plagues to mankind, than an overthrow of waters, drowning all the level; or some burning drought, whereby a great part of living creatures are scorched up.*

CHAP. III.

The Reign of Aridæus.

§. I.

Of the Question about Succession to Alexander.

THE death of *Alexander* left his Army (as *Demades* the *Athenian* then compared it) in such case, as was that monstrous Gyant *Polyphemus*, having lost his only eye. For that which is reported in Fables of that great *Cyclops*, might well be verified of the *Macedonians*: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance uneffectual, and harmfull chiefly to themselves. The causes whereof (under the divine ordinance) were partly the uncertainty of Title to succession in the Kingdom of *Macedon*, partly the stubborn pride of *Alexander* himself, who thinking none worthy to be his heir, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leaving every one to his own fortune: but especially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Master to suffer no equals; a lesson soon taught unto spirits reflecting upon their own worth, when the reverence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly been shewed, That *Philip* (the Father of *Alexander*) governing in *Macedon* as Protector, assumed unto himself the Kingdom, not rendring it unto *Amyntas*, (the Son of his elder Brother *Perdiccas*) when he grew to mans estate; but only bestowing upon him in marriage a Daughter of his own: by which bond, and much more by his own proper strength, he assured the Crown unto himself: *Amyntas* never attempting ought against *Philip*; though (with price of his life) he did against *Alexander* in the beginning of his reign. Wherefore *Eurydice*, the sole issue of this marriage, ought in reason to have been acknowledged Queen after *Alexander*; as having better Title thereunto, than either He or *Philip* had, when they lived, unless (peradventure) some Law of that Nation forbad the reign of Women. But the excellent virtue of these two Princes had utterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their own bodies: and so great were their Conquests, that *Macedon* it self was (in regard of them) a very small Appendix, and no way deserving to be laid in ballance against the demand of their posterity, had they left any able

able to make challenge of the Royal Seat.

Alexander having taken many Wives, had issue by none of the principal of them. *Barsine* the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian*, had born unto him a young Son: and *Roxane* the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom he had more solemnly married) was left by him great with child. But the baseness of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alledged in Barr of Plea made for them, by some that would (perhaps) have wrought out their own ends, under the name of *Alexanders* children.

Cleopatra a Sister of *Alexander*, widow to the King of *Epirus*, and *Aridæus* his base Brother (Son to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had marryed the Lady *Eurydice* before mentioned, were next in course. Of *Cleopatra* there was no speech, which may give suspition, that either Law or Custom had made that Sex uncapable of the Soveraignty: *Aridæus* (besides his bastardy) was neither for person nor quality fit to rule as King; yet upon him the election fell, but slowly, and (as happeneth often) for lack of a better: when the Counsellors having overlaboured their disagreeing wits in devising what was best, were content for very weariness to take what comes next to hand.

Ptolomy (soon after King of *Egypt*) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the half-*Persian* brood, King *Alexanders* children, was of opinion, that the rule of all should be given to the Captains; that going for Law, which by the greater part of them should be decreed: so far was he from acknowledging any one as true Heir to the Crown.

This *Ptolomy* was called the Son of *Lagus*, but reputed of *Philip*: who having used the company of *Arsinoë* *Ptolomy*'s Mother, delivered her in marriage to *Lagus*, being great with child. Therefore, whether it were so, that he hoped well to work his own fortune out of those dissentions, which are incident unto the consultations of many ambitious men, equal in place, forcing them at length to redeem their quiet with subjection to one, deserving regard by his blood, and trust for his even carriage; or whether he desired only to get a share to himself, which could not have come to pass, had all been given to one: plain enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Aridæus* before himself: and therefore gave such counsel as fitted his own and other mens purposes. Yea, this device of his took place indeed, though not in form as he had propounded it; For, it was in effect all one, to have assembled at *Alexanders* empty Chair, as *Ptolomy* had conceived the form of their consultations, or to set in the Chair such a King as *Aridæus*, no wiser than the Chair it self. Also the Controversies arising were determined by the greater part of the Captains; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puissance.

But as these counterfeit shews of dissembling aspirers do often take check by the plain-dealing of them who dare to go more directly to work: so was it like to have fared with *Ptolomy* and the rest, when *Aristonus*, another of the Captains, interpreted the very words of *Alexander*, saying, That he left his Kingdom to the worthiest, as designing *Perdiccas*, to whom (lying at the point of death) he delivered his ring. It seemed good in reason, that *Alexander* should be disposer of his own purchases: and those tokens of *Alexanders* purpose appeared plain enough, so long as no man would interpose anothers construction: every one being uncertain how the secret affections of the rest might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their love, or because they would not be of the latest, urged *Perdiccas* to take upon him the estate Royal. He was no stranger to the Royal blood; yet his birth gave him not such reputation, as the great favour of his dead King, with whom he had been very inward, and that especially since the death of *Ephestion* (a powerfull Minion) into whose place he was chosen. For his own worth he might well be commended, as a good man of War, and one that had given much proof of his private valour. But very surly he was: which quality (joyned with good fortune) carried a shew of Majesty: being checkt with misadventure, it was called by a true name, Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the present business a foolish over-weening did him as great harm, as it had been great happiness to have succeeded *Alexander*. For, not content to have the acclamation of the Souldiers, approving the sentence of *Aristonus*, he would needs counterfeit modesty; thinking that every one of the Princes would have intreated him to take the weighty burden of an Empire, which would be the less envious, the more solemnity he used in the acceptance. It is truly said, He that feigneth himself a Sheep, may chance to be eaten by a Wolf. *Meleager*, (a man by nature envious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*) took advantage of his irresolute behaviour, and very bitterly inveighed against him. In conclusion, he pronounced, That whosoever was Heir to the Crown, the souldiers ought to be heirs to the Treasure; and therefore he invited them,

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who were nothing slow, to share it. This disturbed all the Consultation. The Captains were left alone, far enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the Souldiers, who greedy of spoil, thronged about *Meleager*.

§. II.

The Election of Aridæus, *with the troubles thereabout arising; the first Division of the Empire.*

During this up-roar, mention was made of *Aridæus* by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, untill at last it grew to the voice of the Army. *Meleager* having withdrawn himself tumultuously from the company of the Lords, was glad of so fair an occasion to make himself great: therefore he produced *Aridæus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, investing him in *Alexander*'s Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withstood this election, but in vain: for they could not resolve what course to follow, rejecting this. Only *Python*, a hot-headed man, took upon him to proclaim the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counsel which *Perdiccas* at first had given, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* his Protectors. But the child was not yet born, which made that attempt of *Python* vain. Finally, *Perdiccas* with six hundred men, and *Ptolomy* with the Kings Pages, took upon them to defend the place where *Alexanders* body lay: but the Army conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new King about whither he listed, easily brake in upon them, and inforced them to accept *Aridæus* for their Soveraign Lord. Then by the intercession of the ancient Captains, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

Leonatus, who was of Royal blood, a goodly Gentleman, and valiant, issued out of *Babylon*, being followed by all the horse, which consisted (for the most part) of the Nobility. *Perdiccas* abode in the City (but standing upon his guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any commotion that should happen among the Infantry. The King (who was governed by *Meleager*) commanded, or gave leave to have *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt succeeded ill, being neither secretly carried, nor committed to sure executioners. Their coming was not unexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with such gravity, that they departed honester than they came; being sorry for their bad enterprise. Upon the news of this attempt, the Camp was in an up-roar, which the King seeking to pacifie, wanted authority, as having newly got the Crown by them, and holding it by their courtesie. The matter it self afforded no good excuses, and his indiscretion made them worse. He said that no harm was done, for *Perdiccas* was alive: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which he imputed to *Meleager*; abandoning the surest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeased, untill the King by offering to resign his estate unto them, renewed out of their pity that favourable affection, which had moved them to set him up at the first.

Perdiccas having now joyned himself with *Leonatus*, kept the fields, intending to cut off all provision of victuals from the City. But after sundry Embassies passing between the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to have the Authors of sedition given up into their hands; the King, that *Meleager* might be joyned with *Leonatus* and *Perdiccas*, as a Third in government of the Army) things were compounded according to the Kings desire. *Meleager* should have done well to consider, That such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to give him a principal place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treachery lurked under their great facility. General peace was renewed, and much love protested where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had been in *Alexanders* time: but no longer now did the same heart give it life; and windy spirits they were which moved in the arteries. False reports were given out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his own disgrace, but in such terms as might seem to have proceeded from *Meleager*: who finding part of the drift, but not all, took it as an injury done to himself; and (as desirous of a true friendship) desired of *Perdiccas*, that such authors of discord might be punished. *Perdiccas* (as a lover of peace) did well approve the motion; and therefore agreed that a generall Muster should be made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receive their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Army. The plot was mischievously laid. Had *Meleager* given way to seditious rumours, he must needs have incurred the general hatred of all, as a

ſower of diſſention, and thereby with a publick approbation might have been cut off, as having often offended in that kind; his Prince being too weak a Patron. Now ſeeking redreſs of theſe diſorders, he haſtened his own ruine, by a leſs formal, but more ſpeedy way. This kind of Muſter was very ſolemn, and practiſed with many ceremonies, as for cleanſing the Army. The Horſe-men, the Elephants, the *Macedonian* foot, the Mercenaries were each according to their quality ſet in array, apart from others, as if they had been of ſundry ſorts, met at adventure: which done, the manner was to skirmiſh (as by way of exerciſe) according to the direction of their ſeveral Captains. But at that time the great battel of *Macedonian* Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpoſe beſtowed in a ground of diſadvantage; and the countenance of the Horſe and Elephants beginning to give charge upon them, was ſuch, as diſcovered no jeſting paſtime, nor good intent. Kings were always wont to fight among the horſemen: of which cuſtom *Perdiccas* made great uſe that day, to the utter confuſion of his enemies. For *Aridæus* was always governed by him, who for the preſent had him in poſſeſſion. Two or three days before, he ſought the death of *Perdiccas* at the inſtigation of *Meleager:* now he rides with *Perdiccas* up and down about the footmen, commanding them to deliver unto the death all ſuch as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were caſt unto the Elephants, and by them ſlain, in the preſence of the King (who ſhould have defended them) and of their affrighted companions. But theſe three hundred were not the men whoſe puniſhment *Meleager* had expected: they were ſuch as had followed him, when he diſturbed the firſt conſultation that was held about the election of a new King, and ſome of them his eſpecial friends. Having therefore kept himſelf quiet a while, as unwilling to give offence to them that had the advantage; when he ſaw their proceedings tend very manifeſtly to his deſtruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for thither they ſent and ſlew him.

The Army being thus corrected, was led into the City, where a new Council of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King was, divided all the Provinces of the Empire among themſelves; leaving to *Aridæus* the office of a Viſitor, and yet making *Perdiccas* his Protector, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought upon; whoſe body having been ſeven days neglected, was opened and embalmed by the *Egyptians:* no ſign of poyſon appearing, how great ſoever the ſuſpicion might be. The charge of his burial was committed to *Aridæus*, one of the Captains, who was two years preparing of a great and coſtly ſhew, making a ſtately Chariot in which the corps was laid; many coarſes of his friends being laid in the ground before that of *Alexander* was beſtowed in *Alexandria*, a City of his own building, in *Egypt*.

§. III.

The beginning of the Lamian *War.*

WHileſt theſe things were in doing, or preſently after, *Antipater* and *Craterus*, two principal Noblemen, and inferior to none of *Alexanders* followers, if not greater than any of the reſt, were buſied in *Greece* with a War, which the *Athenians* more bravely than wiſely had begun in *Alexanders* life, but now did proſecute more boldly than before, upon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander*, not long before he died, had commanded that all the baniſhed *Greeks* (few excepted) ſhould be reſtored unto their former places. He knew the factious quality of the *Grecian* Eſtates, and therefore thought ſo to provide, that in every City he would have a ſure party, But it fell out otherwiſe: For he loſt the hearts of many more than he won by this proud injunction. His pleaſure indeed was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being againſt all order of Law, and a beginning of open tyranny. The *Athenians* greatly decayed in eſtate, but retaining more than was needful of their ancient ſpirits, forbad the execution of this Decree in their Dominions; ſo did alſo the *Ætolians* who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them took Arms, but ſeemed to bear themſelves, as men that had done no more than they might well Juſtifie by reaſon: nevertheleſs to prevent the worſt, the *Athenians* gave ſecret inſtructions to *Leoſthenes*, a Captain of theirs, willing him to levy an Army, but in his one name, and to keep it in a readineſs for their uſe. This was no hard thing for *Leoſthenes* to do: great numbers of *Greek* Souldiers being lately returned from the *Aſian* War in poor eſtate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captains. Of theſe he had gathered up eight thouſand, when the certain news was brought of *Alexanders* death: at which the City of *Athens* declared it ſelf, and more

honorably than wisely, proclaimed War against the *Macedonians* for the liberty of *Greece*. Hereupon *Leosthenes* drew in the *Ætolians* and some other Estates, gave battel to the *Bœotians*, who sided with *Antipater*, and overthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and so strong in adherents, that *Antipater* (arming in all haste, yet suspecting his own strength) was fain to send into *Asia* to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vain than the fears and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their destinies a far off, which deceive all mortal wisdom, even when they seem near at hand. One month was scarcely past, since nothing so heavily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the return of *Craterus* into *Macedon*; which he then feared as death, but now desired as the most likely assurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the most assured unto him, was sent into *Macedon* to convey home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) and to succeed *Antipater* in the government of *Macedon* and *Greece*. The suspitions were strong that he had a privy charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly published sound much better; which was, That *Antipater* should be sent unto the King, as Captain of the young Souldiers, newly to be levied in *Europe*. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his Mother *Olympias:* and would sometimes give out speeches, testifying his own jealousie and hatred of him; but yet he strove to smother it, which in a cruel Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexanders* Lieutenants had escaped with life: most of them indeed were mean persons in regard of those who followed him in his *Indian* expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the Kings rigour was such, as could find rebellious purposes (for so he interpreted even lewd government) in base persons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who having sitten Vice-roy ten years in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of to fell a Master, and the envy of a Court, wherein they had been his inferiours, which would now repine to see him their equal. Therefore whether his fear drew him to prevention, working first the Kings death by poyson, given by his Son *Iolaus*, *Alexanders* Cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth untill opportunity had changed it into the passion of revenge, which was cruelly performed by his son *Cassander*; great cause of much fear he had; which I note in this place, as the ground of effects to be produced in very few years.

At the present, *Craterus* was sent for, and all the Captains of companies lying near, solicited to make haste. Not without cause: For in *Macedon* there could not at that time be raised more than thirteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse; which Muster was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Countrey being emptied into *Asia*. The *Thessalians* indeed who had long stood firm for *Philip* and *Alexander*, who also were the best horsemen of *Greece*, furnished him with very brave troops, that might have done great service, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of *Greece*. With these forces did *Antipater* in *Thessaly* try the fortune of a battel with *Leosthenes*; rather (as may seem) fearing the increase of his enemies power, and rebellion of the *Greeks*, (were they not checkt at the first) than presuming on his strength. For *Leosthenes* had of *Athenians*, *Ætolians*, and Mercenaries, two and twenty thousand foot, besides the assistance of many petty Signories, and of some *Illyrians* and *Thracians*: of horse he brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but over-strong he was that way also, when once the *Thessalians* had revolted unto him. So *Antipater* lost the day; and his loss was such, that he neither was able to keep the field, nor to make a safe retreat into his own Country; therefore he fled into the Town of *Lamia*, which was well fortified, and well provided of all things necessary to bear out a siege. Thither did *Leosthenes* follow him, present him battel again, and upon refusal close up the Town with Earth-works, and a Wall. There will we leave him for a while, travelling in the last honorable enterprize that ever was undertaken by that great City of *Athens*.

§. IV.

How Perdiccas *employed his Army.*

KIng *Aridæus* living under the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his own Province, kept a naked Court: all his greatness consisting in a bare Title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make use of him. *Perdiccas* had no Province of his own peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he should visit in his Government. A stronger Army than any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that unsettled condition of things to make better worth to him

then

than many Provinces could have been. The better to accompliſh his deſires, he cloſely ſought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the ſiſter of *Alexander*; yet about the ſame time he either married *Nicæa* the daughter of *Antipater*, or made ſuch love to her as blinded their eyes, who did not ſomewhat narrowly ſearch into his doings.

Ariarathes the *Cappadocian*, the ſecond of that name, and tenth King of that Country, had continued faithful to the *Perſian* Empire as long as it ſtood: following the example of his fo re-fathers, even from *Pharnaces* the firſt that reigned in *Cappadocia*, who married *Atoſſa* ſiſter to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Anceſtors had (indeed) been oppreſſed by the *Perſian*: but what Fortune took from them at one time, Vertue reſtored at another, and their faithful Princes had much encreaſed all. But now in the fatal Period of ſo great an Empire, with much wiſdom, and (*Darius* being ſlain) with ſufficient honor, he might have acknowledged the *Macedonian* in the *Perſians* room. This he did not; neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with great cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater buſineſs wherein to entertain his Army, found it expedient both for the honor of the Empire, to take that in-land Kingdom, ſurrounded with Provinces of the *Macedonian* conqueſt, and for his own particular, to have one opportune place of ſure retreat, under the government of a ſtedfaſt friend. Therefore he entred *Cappadocia*, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the field 30000 foot, and 15000 horſe (a ſtrong Army, had it not encountred a ſtronger, and better trained) wan the victory, and thereby the whole Kingdom. But with much cruelty did he uſe the victory: for having taken *Ariarathes* priſoner, with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light upon, and ſo delivered that Province to *Eumenes*, whom of all men living he truſted moſt. Another part of his forces he had committed to *Python*, rather as to the moſt honorable of ſuch as remained about him, than as to the moſt aſſured. *Python* was to ſubdue the *Greeks* rebelling in the high Countries of *Aſia*. About twenty thouſand foot, and 3000 horſe they were (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by *Alexander* to bridle the barbarous nations, were ſoon weary of their unpleaſant habitations, and the rude people, among whom they lived: and therefore took advantage of the preſent troubles to ſeek unto themſelves a better fortune. Againſt theſe *Python* went, more deſirous to make them his own, than to deſtroy them: which intent of his *Perdiccas* discovering, did both give him in charge to put all thoſe Rebels to the ſword, giving the ſpoils of them to his Souldiers, and further injoyned it upon *Pythons* Captains (his own creatures) that they ſhould ſee his commandment executed. Theſe directions for uſe of the victory, might have proved needleſs; ſo uncertain was the victory it ſelf. A Captain of the Rebels commanding over three thouſand, corrupted by *Python*, did in the heat of the fight (which was very doubtful) retire without neceſſity to a hill not far off. This diſmayed the reſt, and gave the day to *Python*: who being far enough from *Perdiccas*, offered compoſition to the vanquiſhed, granting unto them their lives and liberty, under condition of laying down their arms; and hereupon he gave them his faith. Being Maſter of theſe companies, he might well have a good opinion of his own power: all power being then valued by ſtrength in followers, when as none could vaunt himſelf as free Lord of any Territory. He had thirteen thouſand foot, and eight thouſand eight hundred horſe, beſides these new Companions, whom needleſs fear without great loſs had cauſed to leave the field: but in true eſtimation, all the greatneſs whereof *Python* might think himſelf aſſured, was (and ſoon appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe, of thoſe which followed *Python*, levied; the Rulers of the Provinces carefully obeying the letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enjoyned to give aſſiſtance to that buſineſs; and by virtue of the precept given unto them by *Perdiccas*, did the *Macedonians* cut in pieces all thoſe poor men who had yielded themſelves; leaving *Python* as naked as he came forth to return unto his great Maſter.

Now was *Perdiccas* mighty above the mighty, and had fair leiſure to purſue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himſelf Lord of all: but this muſt be ſecretly carried for fear of oppoſition. How it ſucceeded, will appear when the *Lamian* War taketh ending.

§. V.

The proceſs of the Lamian *War.*

WE left *Antipater* hardly beſieged, wanting means to free himſelf without ſuccours from his friends in *Aſia*. Thoſe helps not appearing ſo ſoon as he expected, he came to parley with *Leoſthenes*, and would have yielded unto any terms of

reason, wherewith men possessed with hope of victory, do seldom limit their desires. *Leosthenes* willed him without further circumstance to submit himself to discretion. This was too much for him that had once commanded over them, who now required of him such a dishonourable composition. Wherefore knowing that the extremity, from which as yet he was far enough, could bring no worse with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Town, which felt great want of victuals.

In this lingring War the *Ætolians* (whether weary of sitting still at a siege, or haveing business which they pretended at home) took their leave, and returned into their own Countrey. Their departure left the trenches so thinly manned, that *Antipater* found means to sally out upon his enemies to their great loss: for many were slain, and *Leosthenes* himself among them, ere he could be repulsed into the Town. Yet hereby the *Macedonians* were nothing relieved, their victuals wasted, and they were not strong enough to deal with the *Greeks* in open fight. *Craterus* was long in coming. *Lysimachus*, who was neerest at hand in *Thrace*, had work too much of his own, leading no more than four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, against *Seuthas* the *Thracian* King, who brought into the field above four times that number; and though *Lysimachus*, not without loss, had gotten one victory, yet the enemy abounding in multitude, felt not the blow so much as might abate his courage. Therefore *Leonatus* was earnestly solicited by *Antipaters* friends, to make all haste to the rescue. He had the government of *Phrygia* the less, and was able to raise an Army of more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; whether levied out of his Province, or appointed unto him out of the main Army, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the journey into *Greece*, than *Antipater* was to have him come. For *Cleopatra* had written unto him, desiring his presence at *Pella*, the chief City of *Macedon*, and very kindly offering her self to be his Wife; which letters he kept not so close as had been requisite, and therefore brought himself into great suspicion, that soon ended with his life. *Antiphilus*, chosen General by the *Athenians* in place of *Leosthenes*, hearing of his approach, forsook the siege of *Lamia*, and took the ready way to these great Conquerors of *Asia*, with purpose to give them an evil welcome home, before *Antipater* and they should joyn in one. He had (notwithstanding the departure of the *Ætolians*) the advantage of *Leonatus* in horse, by the odds of two thousand *Thessalians*; in other things he was equal with him; n cause he thought himself Superior, in the fortune of that day he proved so: for he wan a great victory (chiefly by virtue of the *Thessalians*) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himself; who fighting valiantly, was driven into a marish piece of ground, where he found his death, which he desperately had sought among the *Indians*, but it waited for him at home, not far from the place of his nativity. He was the first of *Alexanders* Captains which dyed in battel; but all, or most of the rest shall follow him the same way. After this day, the *Athenians* did never any thing suitable to their ancient glory.

The vanquished *Macedonians* were too weak to renew the fight, and too proud to flie. They betook themselves to high grounds unfit for service on horseback, and so abode in the sight of the enemy that day; the day following, *Antipater* with his men came into their Camp, and took the charge of all. The *Athenians* perceiving their strength to be at the greatest, and fearing lest that of the enemy should increase, did earnestly seek to determine the matter quickly by another battel. But still *Antipater* kept himself on ground of advantage; which gave more than reasonable confidence to the *Greeks*, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemy to be vanquished. This wretchlesness (incorrigible in an Army of Voluntaries) was very inexcusable; seeing that the victories by Land were very much defaced by losses at Sea, where the *Athenians*, labouring to have made themselves once again Masters, were put to the worst.

But now the fatal captivity of *Greece* came on, of which she never could be delivered unto this day. *Craterus* with a strong Army having made great marches from *Cilicia*, passed over into *Europe*, and coming into *Thessaly*, joyned himself with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus* being joyned in one, contained forty thousand weightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and five thousand horse; of which numbers the *Greeks* wanted a thousand and five hundred in horse; in foot, eighteen thousand. Carefully therefore did *Antiphilus* labour to avoid the necessity of a battel, until such time as the Towns confederate should return unto the Camp those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in coming,

and

and *Antipater* ſo urgent upon the *Greeks*, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the victory: for the *Theſſalians* had the upper hand, and held it, until ſuch time as they perceived their battels (over-laid with multitude) retire unto the higher ground, which cauſed them alſo to fall back. So the *Macedonians* became Lords of the field, having little elſe to boaſt of, conſidering that with the loſs of an hundred and thirty men, they had only purchaſed the death of ſome five hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great uſe made: For the *Greeks*, as not ſubject unto the full command of one General, and being every one deſirous to preſerve his own eſtate and City: concluded to make a treaty of peace with *Antipater*; who being a ſubtle Artificer, and well underſtanding their aptneſs to diviſion, refuſed to hearken to any general compoſition, but willed every City to deal apart for it ſelf. The intent of his device was ſo apparent, that it was rejected: the *Greeks* chooſing rather to abide the coming of their aſſiſtants, whoſe unreaſonable careleſneſs betrayed the cauſe. *Antipater* and *Craterus* beſieging and winning ſome Towns in *Theſſaly*, which the Army of the Confederates wanted means and courage to relieve, wearied that Nation from attending any longer upon other mens unlikely hopes, with their own aſſured and preſent calamity.

§. VI.

Of the peace granted to Athens *by* Antipater. *Of* Demoſthenes *his death.*

THe *Theſſalians* falling off, all the reſt ſoon followed ſeverally, and ſued for peace; the gentle conditions given to the moſt forward, inviting ſuch as were ſlack. Only the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* held out. Little favour could they hope for, having been Authors of this tumult, and their fear was not great; the ſeat of the war being far from them. But the celerity of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who ſate ſtill at *Athens*, deviſing upon courſes of proſecuting the War to come, which came to their doors before their conſultation could find iſſue. He was ready to enter upon their Frontiers; they had no ability to reſiſt, and were as heartleſs as friendleſs. All that remained was to ſend Embaſſadors, deſiring peace upon ſome good terms: neceſſity enforcing them to have accepted even the very worſt. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philoſopher, were chief of this Embaſſage; *Phocion*, as the moſt honorable; *Demades*, as a ſtrong perſwader (both of them well reſpected by *Antipater*;) and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wiſdom, gravity of manners, and virtue; but all theſe ornaments conſiſting in ſpeculation, and therefore of leſs regard, when their admiration was to coſt them much in real effects.

Antipater calling to mind the pride of *Leoſthenes*, required of the *Athenians*, that they ſhould wholly ſubmit themſelves to his pleaſure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the War paſt, to pay a fine, and entertain a Garriſon. Further, he abrogated the popular eſtate, committing the government of the City to thoſe of moſt wealth, depriving of the right of ſuffrage all ſuch as wanted a convenient proportion of riches.

About nine thouſand they were, all men of good ſubſtance, to whom the adminiſtration of the Commonwealth was given; a number great enough to retain the name and form of a Democracy. But the raſcal multitude of beggarly perſons, accuſtomed to get their livings out of the common troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giving their voyces, cryed out, that this was a meer Oligarchy, the violent uſurpation of a few incroaching upon the publick right. Theſe turbulent fellows (of whom King *Philip* had been wont to ſay, That war to them was peace, and peace war) *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, and gave them lands to manure; leaving as few of them as he could to moleſt the quiet of *Athens*.

To the ſame end (yet withal for ſatisfying his own ſuſpitions and hatred) he cauſed *Demoſthenes* and *Hyperides* famous Orators, with ſome others, to be ſlain. Had the death of theſe two, eſpecially of *Demoſthenes*, been forborn, the reſt of his proceedings in this action might well have paſſed for very mild; whereas now, all ſuch as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demoſthenes*, or have ſurrendred their judgements to Authors juſtly admiring him, as the moſt eloquent of all that ever did ſpeak and write, condemn him utterly, calling him a bloody Tyrant. Such grace and reputation do the Learned Arts find in all Civil Nations, that the evil done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemiſh any action, how good ſoever otherwiſe it be, or honorably carried.

Demoſthenes had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Iſle of *Calauria*; there

there did *Archias* (sent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpose) find him, and gently perswaded him to leave the place; but no so prevailing, he threatned violence. Then *Demosthenes* entreating a little respite, as it had been to write somewhat, secretly took poyson, which he had kept for such a necessity, and so died; rather choosing to do the last execution upon himself, than to fall into the hands of such as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable perhaps in a Heathen man) argued some valour in him; who was otherwise too much a coward in battel, howsoever valiant in perswading to enterprizes, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceeding dangerous. He loved money well, and had great sums given him by the *Persian*, to encourage him, in finding work for the *Macedonians* at home. Neither did he ill (me thinks) in taking from the *Persians* which loved not his Country, great reward, for speaking such things as tended to his Countries good; which he did not cease to procure, when the *Persians* were no longer able to give him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can endure no honorable, though true, mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) believe *Lucian*, who tells us, That it was *Antipaters* purpose to have done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a stedfast enemy to the *Macedonians*; therefore discretion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of *Athens* being thus ordered, the chief command was left in the hands of *Phocion*, a vertuous man, and lover of his Country, yet applying himself to the necessity of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the City much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grievous to free-men, yet favourable to the vanquished) he endeavoured carefully to preserve.

§. VII.

How Craterus *and* Antipater *were drawn from their* Ætolian *wars into* Asia. *The grounds of the first civil war between the* Macedonian *Lords.*

SO *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into *Macedonia*, where they strengthened their friendship with a new alliance; *Craterus* taking *Phila*, the Daughter of *Antipater* to Wife.

Shortly after they went against the *Ætolians*, whose poverty was not so easily daunted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerful State of *Athens* had been. Their Country was rough and mountainous, having many places of great fastness, into which they conveyed such of their goods as they most esteemed, and of their people, as were least fit for War: with the rest they fortified the strongest of their Cities, and so abode the coming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully resisted. With great obstinacy did the *Macedonians* contend against the difficulties of the places, which the *Ætolians* made good as long as their victuals held out. But when *Craterus* had shut up all passages, and utterly debarred them of relief, then were they put to a miserable choice; either to descend from their strong holds, and fight upon equal ground, with unequal numbers, or to endure the miseries of hunger and cold, against which they could make no long resistance; or to yield themselves to the *Macedonians*, who, incensed by the loss of many good Souldiers, were not like to leave so stubborn enemies in places which might give confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremity much fineness of wit apprehending all circumstances of danger, commonly doth more hurt than a blunt consideration of that only which at the present is in hand. These *Ætolians* did not as yet want meat; but their enemies daily molested them: wherefore as yet they thought upon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For such news came out of *Asia* into the *Macedonians* Camp as made *Antipater* and *Craterus* think every hour a month, till they had rid their hands of these *Ætolians*, giving them whatsoever conditions they would ask: yet with purpose to call them to severe account; yea, to root them out of *Greece* by death, or by captivity, when once they should have settled the affairs of *Asia*; as they hoped and desired. But of mens purposes God is disposer: in whose high Counsel it was ordained, that this poor Nation should continue a troublesome bar to the proceedings of *Macedon* and *Greece*, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchy) an open gate to let the *Roman* Conquerors into those and other Provinces. Likewise concerning the matters of *Asia*, the reformation intended by *Antipater* and *Craterus*, was so far from taking effect, that it served meerly as an introduction to all the civil Wars ensuing.

The grounds of the *Asiatique* Expedition, which did set the world in an uproar, were these. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexanders* Captains the mightiest in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedency, and the present rule which he bare in the parts of *Europe*. The other, as of all

men

men the best beloved, and most respected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole Army. Next unto these had *Perdiccas* been; whom the advantage of his presence at the Kings death did make equal, or superior, to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of *Perdiccas* were, to have consorted with these two, and to have been with them a third partner in the Government of all; to which purpose he entertained the discourse of marriage with one of *Antipaters* Daughters. But feeling in short space the strength of that gale of wind which bore him up, he began to take wing and soar quite another way. *Aridæus* was a very simple man, yet served well enough to wear the title of that Majestie, whereof *Perdiccas* being Administrator, and hoping to become Proprietary, the practice was more severe than had been in the days of *Alexander:* the desire to seem terrible, being very familiar with weak Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who know no other means of preserving themselves from contempt, and of giving such a fiery lustre to their actions, as may dazle the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poor *Greeks* in the higher *Asia* were all put to the sword; and how tyrannously the King and Princes of *Cappadocia* were crucified, hath already been shewed. The *Pisidians* were the next who felt the wrath of these counterfeit *Alexanders*. One City of theirs was utterly razed; the children sold for slaves, and all the rest massacred. The *Isaurians*, by this example grown desperate, when after two or three days trial they found themselves unable to continue the defence, lockt themselves into their houses, and set the Town on fire, into the flame whereof the young men did throw themselves, after that they had a while repelled the *Macedonians* from the walls.

These exploits being performed, the Army had no other work than to sift the ashes of the burnt City for gold and silver; but *Perdiccas* had business of greater importance troubling his brains. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to sit still without employment, letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whilst others grew great, and took deep root in their several Provinces. He purposed therefore to transport his forces into *Europe*, under pretence of bringing the King into *Macedonia*, the seat of his Ancestors, and head of the Empire. The Kings presence would make the Offices of his Vice-Roys (during the time) actually void; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in case of private men, and only *Perdiccas* holding authority, the match with *Cleopatra* might easily be made. So should greatness meet with a good title; and what more could be wished? Some impediment the power of *Ptolomy* might give, who held *Egypt* well fortified with men, but much better with love of the people; yet if the business prospered in *Macedonia*, like enough it was that either *Ptolomy* would follow of himself, or be driven to come to reason. *Antigonus* likewise then Governing in *Phrygia*, a busie-headed man, and ill affected to the side, was to be looked into and made away, for fear of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceived in so thinking. *Antigonus* was as good a man of War, of as deep a judgement, as high a spirit, and as great undertaking, as any of *Alexanders* Captains. His imployments had been less than some of theirs, which made him also the less respected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for he valued himself by his own worth, not by the opinions of other men; with careful attention had he watched *Perdiccas*, and sounded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time to discover. For *Perdiccas* having with a jealous eye pryed into the demeanor of *Antigonus*, and finding him no way fit for his turn; caused him to be charged with such accusations, as might suffice to take away his life, especially by a Judge that sought his death. This device *Antigonus* would not seem to perceive, but prepared himself in shew to make answer, indeed, to make escape; which easily he did, putting himself and his Son *Demetrius* aboard of some *Athenian* Gallies, that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with such tidings as finished the *Ætolian* War before mentioned.

As the coming of *Antigonus* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifestly perceive their own danger: so his flight gave *Perdiccas* to understand that his intentions were laid open, and must now be justified by the sword. Therefore he prepared as fast as he could, not only for defence, but (as having on his side the Kings name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing slack in providing to encounter him. *Ptolomy* being advertised of these proceedings, and considering how nearly they concerned him, sided with *Antipater*. To his Government of *Egypt* he had annexed the Dominion of *Cyrene*, not without consent of the chief Citizens; and now in the midst of these garboyls he celebrated the funeral of *Alexander* with great solemnity, purchasing thereby to himself much good will and many partakers, notwithstanding the terrible report of the Kings Army coming against him.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Perdiccas *his voyage into* Egypt, *and his death.*

Perdiccas, uncertain which way to bend his main power, at length reſolved to ſet upon *Ptolomy*; leaving *Eumenes* to keep to his uſe, againſt *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Aſia* bordering upon *Europe*.

It may ſeem ſtrange, that he did not rather make head againſt thoſe who were to come out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men than *Ptolomy* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with *Ptolomy*; or believed that *Craterus* would not be ready for him ſoon enough. Sure it is, that he took a bad courſe and made it worſe with ill handling.

Ptolomy by his ſweet behaviour allured many to his party, without help of any bad arts. *Perdiccas* contrariwiſe was full of inſolency, which never fails to be rewarded with hatred; which is truly defined, An affection founded upon opinion of an unjuſt contempt. The whole ſtory of his proceedings in *Egypt* is not worth relation: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilful man) tired his followers, and waſted them in hard enterprizes without ſucceſs. His moſt forceable attempt was upon a little Town, called the *Camels Wall*: thither he marched by night, with more haſte than good ſpeed; for *Ptolomy* preventing him, did put himſelf into the place, where behaving himſelf not only as a good Commander, but as a ſtout Souldier, he gave the foil to *Perdiccas*, cauſing him to retire with loſs, after a vehement, but vain aſſault, continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made another journey (which was his laſt) and came to the diviſions of *Nilus*, over againſt *Memphis*. There with much difficulty he began to paſs over his Army into an Iſland, where he meant to incamp. The current was ſtrong, the water deep, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants above the paſſage, to break the violence of the ſtream, and his horſemen beneath it, to take up ſuch as were carried away by ſwiftneſs of water. A great part of his Army being arrived on the further bank, the channel began to wax deep; ſo that whereas the former companies had waded up to the chin, they who ſhould have followed could find no footing. Whether this came by the riſing of the water, or flitting away of the ground; (the earth being broken with the feet of ſo many Men, Horſe, and Elephants) no remedy there was, but ſuch as had paſſed muſt repaſs again, as well as they might: for they were too weak for the enemy, and could not be relieved by their fellows. With great confuſion therefore they committed themſelves to the River, wherein above two thouſand of them periſhed, a thouſand were devoured by Crocodiles, a miſerable ſpectacle even to ſuch as were out of danger; ſuch as were ſtrong and could ſwim, recovered the Camp; many were carried down the ſtream, and driven to the contrary bank, whereby they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exaſperated the Souldiers againſt their General, giving liberty to their tongues, which long time had concealed the evil thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, news came from *Ptolomy*, which did ſet them in an up-roar. *Ptolomy* had not only ſhewed much compaſſion on thoſe who fell into his hands alive, but performed all rights of Funeral to the dead carkaſſes, which the River had caſt upon his ſide: and finally, ſent their bones and aſhes to be interred by their Kinſmen or Friends. This did not only move the common Souldiers, but made the Captains fall to mutiny, thinking it unreaſonable to make war upon ſo vertuous and honorable a perſon, to fulfil the pleaſure of a Lordly ambitious man, uſing them like ſlaves. The ſedition growing ſtrong, wanted only a head, which it quickly found. *Python* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the diſgrace which he had ſuffered by his procurement, after the victory upon the rebellious *Greeks*. *Python* had lived in honorable place about *Alexander*; he was in the diviſion of the Provinces made Governor of *Media*; he had followed *Perdiccas*, and being in all things (the Protectorſhip excepted) equal to him, had nevertheleſs been ſcornfully uſed by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the Captains, and a good part of the Horſe, which conſiſted of the Gentry (the footmen having declared themſelves before) he entred the Tent of *Perdiccas*, where without further circumſtance they all ran upon him, and ſlew him. Such end had the proud miſ-governing authority of *Perdiccas*. He might have lived as great as any, could he have ſuffered any as great as himſelf; yea, peradventure maſter of all, had he not been too maſterly over thoſe which were already his.

The next day *Ptolomy* came into the Camp, where he was joyfully received; he excuſed himſelf of things paſt, as not having been Author, or given cauſe of the War, and was eaſily believed: the favour of the Army being ſuch toward him, that needs they

they would have made him Protector in the room of *Perdiccas*. But this he refuſed. It was an Office fit for one that would ſeek to increaſe his greatneſs with his trouble. *Ptolomy* was well enough already; wherefore, for his own quiet he forbare to accept it, and for their well-deſerving of him, he procured that honourable charge to *Python*, and to *Aridæus* the Captain, who having had ſome companies of Souldiers, to furniſh with their attendance the ſolemnities of *Alexanders* Funerals, did with them adhere to him againſt *Perdiccas*.

In the midſt of theſe buſineſſes came news of two great Victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which news, had they arrived two or three dayes ſooner, had been entertained with joyfull acclamations; and would have given ſuch reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had cauſed both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to have accepted any tolerable compoſition. But theſe good tidings coming in ill time, when death had ſtopped the ears which would have given them welcome, found bad acceptance, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

§. IX.

Victories of Eumenes *in the lower* Aſia.

BEfore we proceed in the relation of things happening about the perſon of the King, it is meet that we ſpeak of thoſe buſineſſes in the lower *Aſia*, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexterity, whileſt *Perdiccas* was occupyed in the *Egyptian* Wars. *Alcetas* the Brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had received command from *Perdiccas* to be aſſiſtant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alcetas* made flat anſwer that he would not; alledging the backwardneſs of his men to bear Arms againſt ſo great a perſon as *Antipater*, and a man ſo much honoured as *Craterus*. *Neoptolemus* was content to make fair ſhew, but inwardly he repined at the precedency given to *Eumenes*, as thinking himſelf the better man. *Eumenes* diſcovering, through the counterfeited looks of *Neoptolemus*, the miſchief lurking in his heart, wiſely diſſembled with him, in hope to win him by gentle behaviour, and ſweet language, that commonly are loſt, when beſtowed upon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himſelf, that he might ſtand upon his own ſtrength, he raiſed out of the Countries under his juriſdiction, about ſix thouſand Horſe, giving many priviledges to ſuch as were ſerviceable, and training them well up. Not without great need. For when upon advertiſement of the great preparations made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly paſſed the *Helleſpont*) for the invaſion of his Provinces, he willed *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power; *Neoptolemus* did (indeed) advance, but in hoſtile manner, though unprovoked, preſented him Battel. *Neoptolemus* had ſecretly covenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, which now intending to perform, he was ſhamefully diſappointed. For, though his foot-men, being all *Macedonians*, had much the better, and prevailed far upon *Eumenes* his Battels; yet were his horſe driven out of the field, and himſelf compelled, with a few of them, to run away, leaving naked the backs of his *Macedonian* foot-men to be charged by *Eumenes*, who forced them in ſuch wiſe, that caſting down their Pikes, they cryed for mercy, and gladly took their oath to do him faithful ſervice. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeavoured with many goodly promiſes to draw *Eumenes* into their ſociety, who contrariwiſe offered himſelf as a mean of reconciliation, between *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearly loved; profeſſing withall his hatred to *Antipater*, and conſtant faith to the cauſe which he had undertaken to maintain.

Whileſt theſe negotiations were on foot, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crew to *Antipater*, and his Aſſociates, vilifying *Eumenes*, and calling him a Scribe (at which fooliſh railing they laught) but extolling the virtue of *Craterus* (as well he might) with high commendations; aſſuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appear, or that his voice were but heard by any *Macedonian* in *Eumenes* his Camp, the Victory was won; for they would all forthwith revolt unto him. Earneſtly therefore he deſired them to give him aid againſt *Eumenes*, and eſpecially requeſted that *Craterus* might have the leading of the Army to be ſent. Their own affections did eaſily lead them to condeſcend to his motion: a good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might prevail as much as the force which he drew along. For he had in the midſt of *Alexanders* vanities, when others (imitating their King) betook themſelves to the *Perſian* faſhions of garments and cuſtoms, retained the ancient *Macedonian* form of behaviour, and apparrel; whereby he became very gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld theſe new tricks of *Aſia* with diſcontented eyes, as reproachful and derogatory to the manners of their native Country. So *Antipater*

took the way toward *Cilicia*, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to joyn with *Ptolomy*. *Craterus* used great celerity, to have taken *Eumenes* revelling (as he hoped) according to the common fashion of Captains, after a great Victory. But he had a wary and well-advised enemy to encounter, who kept good espial upon him, and with much wisdom fore-saw all that was to be feared, and the means of prevention, which his courage did not fail to execute. *Eumenes* was not ignorant that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without Battel, yea without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the Army following him: (yet the Army following him was such, as much exceeded his own footmen, but was inferiour in horse-men) and thought it more uneasie to keep the *Macedonians* from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a strange piece of work, which desperation of all courses else taught him, and wise managing prosperously accomplished. He gave out reports, that *Neoptolemus* was returned with such company as he could gather together, and had gotten *Pigres* (a Captain of no great estimation, who lay not far off) to joyn with him. Having animated his men against *Neoptolemus*, whom he knew to be despised and hated among them, (as having been vanquished by some of them, and forsaken others in plain field, whilest they valiantly fought in his quarrel) he took great care to keep them from receiving any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded that no messenger nor trumpeter should be admitted; and not herewith satisfied, he placed against *Craterus* no one *Macedonian*, nor any other that much would have regarded him, had he been known: but *Thracians*, *Cappadocians*, and *Persians*, under the leading of such, as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* and himself. To these also he gave in charge, that without speaking or hearkning to any word, they should run upon the enemy; and gave him no leisure to say, or do any thing but fight. The directions which he gave to others, he did not fail to execute in his own person: but placing himself in the right wing of his Battel, opposite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as he understood) conducted the left wing on the contrary side, he held the *Macedonians* arranged in good order, and ready to charge the enemy as soon as the distance would give leave. A rising piece of ground lay between them, which having ascended, the Armies discovered each other: but that of *Eumenes* every way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long journeys, which over-hastily they had made, seeking the deceitful issue of frivolous hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (having failed in surprising them as enemies) to discover himself to his old friends, and fellow-souldiers, of whom he could see none. *Phœnix* a *Tenidian*, and *Artabazus* a *Persian*, had the leading of that side, who, mindful of their instructions began to give battel upon him, with such countenance as told him his error; which to redeem, he bade his men fight, and redeem the day, and take the spoil to themselves; but the Bear, whose skin he sells, is not yet caught. The ground whereon the Battel was fought, gave most advantage to the horse, who encountred very roughly on all parts: especially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*; who, as soon as they had discovered one another, could not contain themselves, but with great rage met body to body, and letting loose their bridles, grappled, so violently together, that their horses ran from under them, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* rose first up, but *Eumenes* had his sword first drawn, wherewith he houghed the other, causing him to fall down and fight upon one knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giving slight ones, took such as were deadly, by which he died in the place, and was there (being half-dead, half-alive) stripped by his mortal enemy, whose revilings he requited, lying even at the last gasp, with one wound in the groin, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* caused his followers to run away upon the spurre, and seek shelter behind the Battels of their Foot. They were nothing hotly pursued. For *Eumenes* pained himself to carry succour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed; but found accompanied with the same fortune, that had assisted him when he fought in person. *Craterus* had gallantly born himself a while, and sustained the impression of *Artabazus* and *Phœnix* with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little estimation or note. Otherwise it is not unlikely that he might have either carried the day, or preserved himself to a better adventure by giving ground, as the rest (when he and *Neoptolemus* were slain) did. But whilst he sought to preserve his reputation, he lost his life by the fall of his Horse, or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound received; upon which accident he was trampled under foot by many that knew him not, and so perished unknown, till

it

it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* coming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as having alwayes loved and honoured *Craterus*, of whoſe death he was now become the inſtrument. The vanquiſhed Army entertained a treaty of peace with *Eumenes*, making ſhew of willingneſs to become his followers; but their intent was only to refreſh themſelves, which (by his permiſſion) having done, they ſtole away by night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

This Battel fought within ten dayes of the former, wan to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his own Souldiers took the death of *Craterus* heavily; and the Armies lying further off were inraged with the news. But other matters there were which incenſed men againſt him, beſides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manifeſtly appeared, that he was as ſorry as any that pretended greater heavineſs. His Army wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wiſely amended, by giving to them the ſpoil of ſuch Towns as were ill-affected to him. So he redeemed the love of his own men, who of their meer motion appointed unto him a Guard for defence of his perſon. Others were not ſo eaſie to be reconciled. They who had been Traitors to *Perdiccas*, hated him for his faithfulneſs, as greatly, as they thought he would hate them for their falſhood; neither found they any fairer way of excuſing their late revolt, than by accuſing and condemning the ſide which they had forſaken. Wherefore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor, and condemned him to dye: but it was an eaſier matter to give that ſentence, than to put it in execution.

§. X.

Quarrels between Eurydice *the Queen, and* Python *the Protector.* Python *reſigns his Office, into which* Antipater *is choſen.*

Python and *Aridæus* being choſen Protectors of King *Aridæus*, and the children of *Alexander*; took the way to *Aſia* the leſs, conducting the Army thorow *Syria*. Of theſe two, *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet far too weak to ſuſtain ſo important a Charge. For *Eurydice*, wife to King *Aridæus*, was come to her husband, a Lady of a maſculine ſpirit, well underſtanding what ſhe was or ſhould be, and thinking her ſelf able to ſupport the weight which fortune laid upon her fooliſh husband, being due to her own title. Her mother *Cyna*, Siſter to *Alexander*, by her Father King *Philip*, was married (as hath been ſhewed) to *Amyntas*, who was the right Heir to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, being the only Son of King *Perdiccas*, *Philips* elder Brother.

This *Cyna* was a warlike woman; ſhe had led Armies, and (as a true Siſter of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Cæria* Queen of the *Phrygians*, a *Virago*, like unto her ſelf, had ſlain her. She brought up this *Eurydice* in the ſame unwomanly Art of War, who now among the Souldiers began to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the ſmall contentment of *Python*, that could not brook her too curious intermedling in his charge. Whether it were ſo, that *Python* had ſome purpoſe to advance the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdom, (as once he had ſought to do;) or whether the Queen did ſuſpect him of ſome ſuch intent; or whether only deſire of rule cauſed her to quarrel with him; quarrel ſhe did, which diſturbed the proceeding againſt *Eumenes*. The Army having ſhaken off ſuch a rank-rider as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward be reined with a twined thread. *Python* bearing himſelf upon his office, took upon him to give directions in the Kings name, which the Queen did oftentimes controll, uſing the ſame name with more authority, and better liking of the Souldiers. *Python* ſeeing this, would needs reſign his office, whether upon wearineſs of the contentions daily growing, or on purpoſe to bring the Queen into envy, it is uncertain. Perhaps he thought, that now being the far worthieſt man in the Camp, he ſhould be intreated to retain the place, and have his authority confirmed, or (as might be) increaſed, were it but for want of a fit Succeſſor. *Eurydice* was nothing ſorry at this courſe; for now ſhe thought to manage the affairs of the Empire at her own will, being freed from the troubleſome aſſiſtance of a Protector. But the Souldiers diſappointed both her and *Python* of their contrary expectations; chuſing *Antipater*, the only powerful man of *Alexanders* Captains, then living, into the room of *Python*. Hereat the Queen fretted exceedingly, and began to deal earneſtly with the *Macedonians*, that they ſhould acknowledge no Lord ſave only the King their Soveraign. Yet ſhe failed of her purpoſe, being hindred (as may ſeem) by three things: the apparent weakneſs of her husband; the growth of *Alexanders* children, who (though born of outlandiſh women) were bred in the *Macedonian* Camp; and the mightineſs of *Antipater*, who commanding a great Army near at hand, arrived in few dayes at the Camp, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her ſelf content. *Antipater* was of ſuch power, that he needed not to work by any cloſe devices, as *Per-*

diccas had done: he had no concurrents, all the Governours of Provinces that remained alive, acknowledged him their better; yea many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their rooms. This done, he took the King, Queen, and Princes along with him into *Macedonia*, leaving *Antigonus* General of the Royal Army: to whom for his good services done, and to be done against *Eumenes*, he gave the rule of *Susiana*, besides his former Provinces, and committed into his hands the Government of *Asia* during that War.

§. XI.

Antigonus *Lieutenant of* Asia, *wins a Battel of* Eumenes, *and besiegeth him in* Nora: *He vanquisheth other followers of* Perdiccas.

HEre begins the greatness of *Antigonus*, whose power in few years over-growing the rest, wanted little of spreading it self over the whole Monarchy. He was to make War upon *Eumenes*, *Alcetus*, the Brother, and *Attalus* the Brother-in-law to *Perdiccas*: work enough to keep his Army imployed in the publick service, till such time as he might find occasion to make use of it in his own business. The first of these which he undertook, was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alcetus* and *Attalus* refused to joyn, having unseasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chief place. *Eumenes* had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needful provisions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tryed all wayes of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Army with letters: which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made shew as if he himself had scattered abroad those Letters to try the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captains as he thought most easie to be won. Of these Captains one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any help was near him, yet looking so carelesly to himself, that he and his were surprised, when he thought his enemies far off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with *Antigonus*) kept his treachery secret, reserving it for the time of execution. Upon confidence of the treason which this false man, *Apollonides*, had undertaken. *Antigonus* presented battel to *Eumenes*; in the heat whereof *Apollonides*, General of the Horse to *Eumenes*, fled over to the contrary side, with such as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose company he desired not. *Eumenes* perceiving the irrecoverable mischief which this traiterous practice had brought upon him, pursued the villain, and cut him off before he could thrust himself into the troops of *Antigonus*, and boast of his treachery. This was some comfort to *Eumenes* in the loss of that Battel, which disabled him utterly to keep the field, and left it very hard for him to make a safe retrait. Yet one thing he did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused *Antigonus* himself to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the Victory, to get possession of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whilest *Antigonus* held him in chase, turned out of the way, and fetching a compass, returned to the place where the Battel had been fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and ashes of the Captains and common Souldiers apart, raising up heaps of earth as mountains over them, and so went his way. As this bold adventure bred in the *Macedonians* (returned to their Camp) great admiration of his brave spirit: so the news which *Menander* (who was set to look unto their carriages) brought and published among them, enticed them to love him as their honourable friend. He had found *Menander* in an open Plain, careless, as after an assured Victory, and loaden with the spoils of many Nations, the rewards of their long service; all which he might have taken: but fearing lest such a purchase should prove a heavy burden to him, whose chief hope consisted in swift expedition, he gave secret warning to *Menander* to fly to the mountains, whilest he detained his men (whom authority could not have restrained) by this sleight, setting them to bait their horses. The *Macedonians* extolled him for this courtesie, as a noble Gentleman, that had forborn when it lay in his power to strip them out of all their wealth, and make their children slaves, and to ravish their wives: but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not forborn to do this out of any good will to them; but out of meer subtilty had avoided those precious fetters, which would have hindred his speedy flight. He told them true. For *Eumenes* did not only think all carriages to be over-burdensome, but the number of his men to be more troublesome than available in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them to shift for themselves; and retaining only five hundred horse, and two hundred foot. When he had wearied *Antigonus*

gonus a while in following him up and down, he came to *Nora*, where again keeping no more about him than neceſſity required to make good the place, he lovingly diſmiſſed all the reſt. *Nora* was a little fortreſs in the borders of *Lycaonia* and *Cappadocia*, ſo ſtrongly ſituated, that it ſeemed impregnable, and ſo well victualled and ſtored with all neceſſaries, that it might hold out for many years. Thither did *Antigonus* follow him, with more deſire to make him his friend, than to vanquiſh him in War. To this purpoſe he entertained parley with him, but in vain. For, whereas *Antigonus* offered him pardon and his love; *Eumenes* required reſtitution of his Provinces, which could not be granted without *Antipaters* conſent. Then was *Nora* cloſed up; where *Antigonus* leaving ſufficient ſtrength for continuance of the ſiege, took his journey into *Piſidia* againſt *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, with whom he made ſhort work. He came upon them unexpected, and ſeiſed on paſſages, which wanted not men, but ſuch a Captain as *Eumenes*, to have defended them. *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, as they had been too ſecure before his coming, ſo were they too adventurous, in fighting at the firſt ſight, upon all diſadvantages: and their folly was attended with ſuitable event. *Attalus*, with many principal Captains was taken; *Alcetus* fled to the City of *Termeſus*, where the love of the younger ſort toward him was ſo vehement, that ſtopping their ears againſt all perſwaſions of the ancient men, they needs would hazard their lives, and their Country in his defence. Yet this availed him nothing: for the Governours of the Town having ſecretly compounded with *Antigonus*, cauſed the young men to ſally out; and uſing the time of advantage, they with their ſervants did ſet upon *Alcetus*, who unable to reſiſt, ſlew himſelf. His dead body was conveyed to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarouſly torn, was caſt forth without burial. When *Antigonus* was gone, the young men interred the carkaſs with ſolemn Funerals, having once been minded to ſet on fire their own Town in revenge of his death. Such favour had he purchaſed with courteous liberality. But, to make an able General, one virtue, how great ſoever, is inſufficient.

§. XII.

Ptolomy *wins* Syria *and* Phœnicia. *The death of* Antipater.

WHileſt theſe things were in doing, the reſt of the Princes lay idle, rather ſeeking to enjoy their Governments for the preſent, than to confirm or enlarge them. Only *Ptolomy* looking abroad, wan all *Syria* and *Phœnicia*: an action of great importance, but not remarkable for any circumſtance in the managing. He ſent a Lieutenant with an Army, who quickly took *Laomedon* priſoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may ſeem) without any great ſtrength of Souldiers, far from Aſſiſtants, and vainly relying upon the Authority which had given him that Province, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with ſeeking to maintain him in his Office.

Antipater was old and ſickly, deſirous of reſt, and therefore contented to let *Antigonus* purſue the diſpatch of thoſe buſineſſes in *Aſia*. He had with him *Polyſperchon*, one of the moſt ancient of *Alexanders* Captains, that had lately ſuppreſſed a dangerous inſurrection of the *Ætolians*, which Nation had ſtirred in the quarrel of *Perdiccas*, prevailing far at the firſt, but ſoon loſing all that they had gained, whileſt *Antipater* was abroad in his *Cilician* Expedition. In this *Polyſperchon*, *Antipater* did repoſe great confidence; ſo far forth, that (ſuſpecting the youth of his own Son *Caſſander* of inſufficiency in ſo great a charge) he bequeathed unto him on his death-bed the Government of *Macedon* and *Greece*, together with his office of Protectorſhip. So *Antipater* died, being fourſcore years old, having alwayes travelled in the great affairs of mighty Princes, with ſuch reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatneſs was jealous of him, and the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* did either quietly give place unto him; or were unfortunate in making oppoſitions. In his private qualities, he was a ſubtle man, temperate, frugal, and of a Philoſophical behaviour, not unlearned, as having been Scholar to *Ariſtotle*, and written ſome Hiſtories. He had been much moleſted by *Olympias*, *Alexanders* Mother; whom after the death of her Son, he compelled to abſtain from coming into *Macedonia*, or entermedling in matters of State: yea, at his own death he gave eſpecial direction, that no woman ſhould be permitted to deal in the adminiſtration of the Empire. But this precept was ſoon forgotten; and yet, ere long, by ſorrowfull experience approved to have been found and good.

§. XIII.

§. XIII.

Of Polysperchon, *who succeeded unto* Antipater *in the Protectorship. The insurrection of* Cassander *against him.*

Polysperchon was very skilfull in the Art of War, having long time been Apprentice in that occupation; other qualities, requisite in so high an Office as he underwent, either Nature had not given to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his business more formally than wisely, as a man of a second wit, fitter to assist, than command in chief. At the first entrance upon the stage, he called to counsel all his friends, wherein for weighty considerations (as they who weighed not the contrary reasons held them) the Queen *Olympias* was revoked out of *Epirus* into *Macedon*, that the presence of *Alexanders* mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For, the condition of the times requiring, that the Governours of Provinces abroad should keep greater Armies, than were needful or easie to be retained about the person of the King in *Macedonia*; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all Majesty, that might give authority to the Injunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awfull regard contain within the limited bounds of duty such as could not by force have been kept in order, being strong, and lying too far off.

Such care was taken for prevention of imaginary dangers and out of sight, whilest present mischiefs lay unregarded in their bosoms. *Cassander*, the Son of *Antipater*, was not able to discover that great sufficiency in *Polysperchon*, for which his father had reposed in him so much confidence: neither could he discern such odds in the quality of himself and *Polysperchon*, as was in their fortune. He was left Captain of one thousand; which Office by practice of those times was of more importance, than the title now seems to imply. He should thereby have been as Camp-master, or Lieutenant general to the other: a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himself the better man. Therefore he began to examine his own power, and compare it with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had relyed on his Father, were his own assured, especially such as commanded the Garrisons bestowed in the principal Cities of *Greece*. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principal authority, in those Common-weals, whose forms had been corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow the side, and draw in many partakers: it concerned these men in their own particular to adhere unto the Captains, by whom their faction was up-held; and by whom the rascal multitude, covetous of re-gaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised over the principal Citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. Besides all these helps, *Cassander* had the secret love of Queen *Eurydice*, who had in private rendred him such courtesie, as was due only to her husband. But neither the Queens favour, nor all his other possibilities, gave him confidence to break out into open rebellion; becaus he saw *Polysperchon* much reverenced among the *Macedonians*, and strong enough to suppress him, before he could have made head. Therefore he made shew of following his pleasures in the Country, and calling many of his friends about him, under pretence of hunting, advised with them upon the safest course, and most free from all suspicion. The necessity was apparent of raising an Army, before the business was set on foot; and to do this, opportunity presented him with fair means. *Ptolomy* had by fine force, without any commission, annexed *Syria* to his Government of *Egypt* and *Cyrene*: this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonus* upon the first news of *Antipaters* death, began to lay hold upon all that he could get, in such sort, that he manifestly discovered his intent of making himself Lord of all *Asia*. These two therefore stood in need of a Civil War; which *Cassander* well noted, and presumed withall, That the friendship which had passed between his Father and them, would avail him somewhat. Whereupon he secretly dispatched messengers to them both; and within a little while conveyed himself on a sudden over the *Hellespont*, that he might in person advance the business with greater speed. Much perswasion is needless in winning a man to what he desireth. *Antigonus* coveting nothing more, than to find *Polysperchon* work, by raising some commotion in *Greece*. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) *Cassander* did very earnestly press him, by the memory of his Father, and all requisite conjurations, to assist him in this enterprise; telling him, that *Ptolomy* was ready to declare for them, and urging him to a speedy dispatch. *Antigonus* on the other side repayed him with the same coin, saying, That for his own sake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearly loved, he would not fail to give him all manner

manner of ſuccour. Having thus feaſted one another with words, they were nothing ſlack in preparing the common means, leading to their ſeveral ends.

§. XIV.

The unworthy courſes held by Polyſperchon, *for the keeping down of* Caſſander.

GReat neceſſity there was of timely proviſion. For, *Polyſperchon* needed no other inſtructions to inform him of *Caſſanders* drift, than the news of his departure. He was not ignorant of the ready diſpoſition, which might be found in *Antigonus* and *Ptolomy*, to the ſtrengthening of rebellion; and well he knew that one principal hope of *Caſſander* was repoſed in the confidence of ſuch as ruled in the *Græcian* Eſtate. Therefore (loving to work circumſpectly) he called another Council, wherein it was concluded, That the popular form of Government ſhould be erected in all the Cities of *Greece*; the Garriſons withdrawn; and that all Magiſtrates and principal Men, into whoſe hands *Antipater* had committed the ſupreme Authority, ſhould forthwith be either ſlain or baniſhed. This was a ſure way to diminiſh the number of *Caſſanders* friends, and to raiſe up many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was diſcloſed both an unthankful nature in *Polyſperchon*, and a factious malice in his adherents. For, how could he be excuſed of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the Son went about to diſhonour the Fathers actions, whoſe only bounty had inabled him to do it? Or what could be ſaid in their defence, who ſought to deſtroy many worthy men, friends to the State, by whom the *Greeks* were held reſtrained from ſtirring againſt the *Macedonians?* and in oppoſition to their private enemy, gave the rule of things to baſe Companions, and ſuch as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in mans body, through ſinews newly iſſuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next neighbour, than by any diſtemper in the contrary hand: ſo in bodies politick, the humours of men ſubdivided in faction, are more inraged by the diſagreeable qualities of ſuch as curb them in their neareſt purpoſes, than they are exaſperated by the general oppoſition of ſuch as are divided from them in the main trunk. Hereby it comes to paſs, that contrary Religions are invited to help againſt Neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawn in, to a part in civil Wars, and ancient hatred called to counſel againſt injurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guilty; ſhe hath taught the arm to offer it ſelf unto manifeſt loſs in defence of the head: They are depraved affections, which render men ſenſible of their own particular, and forgetfull of the more general good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the *Greeks* were preſented with a vain ſhew of liberty, ran under the Kings name; but ſo, as one might eaſily diſcern, that *Polyſperchon* had guided his pen. For the main point was, That they ſhould follow ſuch directions, as *Polyſperchon* gave, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the reſt it contained ſuch a deal of kindneſs as proceeding on a ſudden from thoſe who had kept them in hard ſubjection, might well appear to have ſome other root than the pretended good will; and was of it ſelf too baſe and unfit for a King to uſe toward his conquered Subjects, and often-ſubdued Rebels.

§. XV.

Of the great Commotions raiſed in Athens *by* Polyſperchons *decree. The death of* Phocion.

NEvertheleſs the *Athenians* with immoderate joy entertained this happy-ſeeming Proclamation, and ſought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Captain of the Garriſon, which kept one of their Havens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Town, would needs take longer time of deliberation, than was pleaſing to their haſty deſires.

Nicanor, as a truſty follower of *Caſſander*, was by him ſhifted into the place, and *Menillus* (that was Captain there before) diſcharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His coming to *Athens* was no way gratefull to the Citizens, who ſoon after hearing the news of *Antipater's* death, cried out upon *Phocion*, ſaying, That he had ſufficient intelligence of that accident, and might, by advertiſing them in due time, have put into their hands a fair opportunity of thruſting out the *Macedonians*. But theſe exclamations argued no more than a deſire to ſhake off the *Macedonian* yoke. Far more grievouſly would they have been offended, had they known the inſtructions which *Caſſander* had given to *Nicanor*, and his reſolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he ſhould not only retain *Munychia*, any injunction to the contrary notwithſtanding; but that he ſhould find means to thruſt ſome companies

companies into *Piræus*, and fortifie that also, which was the principal Haven, against the high Town. How to accomplish this, he rather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good ability. But the *Athenians* were not long in giving him sufficient cause to do that, which he would have done without any cause given. They desired him to come unto their Council, assembled in the *Piræus*, there to consider of the Kings Proclamation: whither upon *Phocions* word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with *Cassander* in the War which was ready to break forth. Contrariwise; they urged him first of all, to make them masters of their own, which how to use, they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to condescend unto the others demand; the *Athenians* (who did alwayes measure justice by profit, yet seldom thrived by that course) practised with *Dercillus*, a Captain following *Polysperchon*, and then lying near at hand, that he should enter into the Town, and take *Nicanor* prisoner. But *Phocion*, who then governed in *Athens*, a man very unlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with such a trick of politick dishonesty, did quietly suffer him to depart and save himself.

Nicanor hereupon began to devise upon taking *Piræus*; not as following now the project of *Cassander*, but prosecuting his own just revenge. He levied as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into *Munychia*; which done, he issued into *Piræus*, took it, and intrenched himself therein, to the exceeding discomfort of the *Athenians*, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Haven, saw him now master of both. *Alexander*, the son of *Polysperchon*, came thither shortly after with an Army. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recovering all, and addressed themselves unto him; who made fair shews, intending meer mischief, which they perceived not, being blinded with the vain Epistles of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queen. *Olympias*, taking upon her to command, before she durst well adventure to return into *Macedon*, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor* to restore to the *Athenians* the places which he held: but he would first consider more of the matter. *Polysperchon* had further ordained, that the Isle of *Samos* should be rendred unto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeed) so far from purposing to let them have *Samos*, that as yet he did not throughly intend to let them have themselves. The commodity of their Havens was such, as he would rather get in to his own hands, than leave in theirs; yet rather wished in theirs, than in *Cassanders*. His Son *Alexander*, not ignorant of this, made fair shew to the *Athenians*, and spent much labour in communing with *Nicanor*, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labour, to intermeddle with the business. Hereupon the Citizens grew jealous, and the displeasure they conceived against him, they poured out upon *Phocion*, depriving him of his office. This was done with much tumult: banished men and strangers thrusting themselves into the assembly of the Citizens, who distracted with sundry passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought every one that best could inveigh against things past, a most likely man to finde some remedy for the evil threatning them. In this hurly-burly was *Alexander* devising how he might come to some good point of composition with *Nicanor*, and held much privy conference with him; which he could not so secretly carry, but that his negotiation was discovered, whereby the uproar in the Town was so far increased, that *Phocion* with many of his friends were accused, and driven to seek safeguard of their lives by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gave them his letters of commendation to his Father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

Polysperchon was in the Country of *Phocis*, ready to enter with an Army into *Attica*. Thither came *Phocion* with his companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their own deserts (having alwayes been friends to the *Macedonians*, as far as the good of their Country gave leave) should be enough to get patronage to their innocency. Besides all this, *Dinarchus* a *Corinthian*, *Polysperchons* familiar friend, went along with them (in an evil hour) who promised to himself and them great favour, by means of his acquaintance. But *Polysperchon* was an unstable man, very earnest in what he took in hand, yet either for want of judgement in following them, or of honesty in holding the best of them, easily changing his intended courses, and doing things by the halves, which made him commonly fail of good success. For fear of *Cassander* he had offered wonderful kindness to the *Athenians*; this had caused them to love him: out of their love he gathered hope of deceiving them, which made him to change his mind, and seek how to get into his own hands those keys, with which *Cassander* held them fast lockt up: finding himself disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a false dishonourable man, he stood wavering between

tween the contrary allurements of profit and reputation. To keep the *Athenians* perforce at his devotion, would indeed have done well: but the effecting of this began to grow deſperate; and many Towns of importance in *Greece*, began to caſt their eyes upon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore he thought it the wiſeſt way to redeem their good opinion, by giving all contentment unto the popular faction, which was then grown to be Maſter of that City. And in good time for this purpoſe were the *Athenian* Embaſſadors come, treading (as one may ſay) upon *Phocions* heels, whom they were ſent to accuſe. Theſe had ſolemn audience given to them in the Kings preſence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for oſtentations ſake was glorified with all exterior ſhews of Majeſtie; yet all too little to change *Aridæus* into *Alexander*: for he did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as he ſaw others do. For beginning of the buſineſs; *Polyſperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* ſhould be tortured and ſlain. This was enough to teſtifie his hearty affection to the Commonalty of *Athens*, in that he ſpared not his old acquaintance for their ſake; whoſe Embaſſadors he then bade to ſpeak. When their errand was done, and anſwer to it made by the accuſed, who had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the reſt were pronounced guilty of Treaſon; but to give ſentnece, and do the execution upon them, was (for honors ſake) referred unto the City of *Athens*, becauſe they were Burgeſſes. Then were they ſent away to *Athens*, where the raſcal multitude, not ſuffering them to ſpeak for themſelves, condemned them to dye. So they periſhed being innocent. But the death of *Phocion* being very conſpicuous, made the fortune of the reſt to be of the leſs regard. Five and forty times had he been choſen Governor of the City, never ſuing for the place, but ſent for when he was abſent, ſo well was his integrity known, and ſo highly valued, even of ſuch as were no pretenders to the ſame virtue. He was a good Commander in War, wherein, though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance, and never unfortunate. Never did the City repent of having followed his counſel: nor any private man of having truſted his word. *Philip* of *Macedon* highly eſteemed him; ſo, and much more did *Alexander*, who (beſides other ſigns of his love) ſent him two hundred talents of ſilver, and offered to beſtow upon him of four Cities in *Aſia*, any one which he would chuſe. But *Phocion* refuſed theſe and other gifts, howſoever importunately thruſt upon him; reſting well contented with his honeſt poverty: wherein he lived about fourſcore years, and then was compelled by the unjuſt judgement of wicked men, to drink that poyſon, which by juſt judgement of the righteous God, ſo infected the City of *Athens*, as from that day forwards it never brought forth any worthy man reſembling the virtue of their Anceſtors.

§. XVI.

Of Polyſperchon *his vain Expedition againſt* Caſſander.

NOt long after theſe things were done, *Caſſander*, with ſuch forces as *Antigonus* lent him, entred into *Piræus*; which news drew *Polyſperchon* headlong into *Attica*, with a great Army, but ſo ill victualled, that he was fain to depart without any thing done. Only he had given ſome impediment to the enemy; who, not contented with defending what he held, began to look out, and made new purchaſes abroad. Finding therefore himſelf funable to drive *Caſſander* out of *Athens*, he left his Son *Alexander*, with ſuch number of men as exceeded not the proportion of victuals, to withſtand his further incroaching. The greateſt part of his Army he carried into *Peloponneſus*, to make the Country ſure to himſelf, wherein *Caſſander* had many friends.

His doings in *Peloponneſus* were ſuch, as they had been in other parts of *Greece*. Firſt, he began to fight with Edicts, reſtoring the Democraty, or popular form of Government. He commanded that the principal Citizens, that had by *Antipater* been made Rulers, ſhould be either ſlain, or driven into exile. This Decree took immediate effect in moſt places: the vulgar ſort being very ready to ſeal the Charter of their freedom and authority, with the blood of thoſe who had kept them in ſubjection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chief Citizens; and many which wiſhed well to *Caſſander*, eſpecially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polyſperchon* meant to inflict an exemplary puniſhment of diſobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fifteen thouſand ſerviceable men, wel furniſhed of neceſſaries, and reſolved to endure the worſt. And need there was of ſuch reſolution. For *Polyſperchon* coming thither with all his power, did ſo much, that he overthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the ſpace of wall between them. But the Defendants manfully

repelled the *Macedonians* which came up to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raised up an inner wall, to bear out the next assault. The Assailants having failed to carry the Town at the first attempt, took much pains to clear the ground, and make fair way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to overthrow all that came in their way. But the Townsmen perceiving their drift, prepared boards driven thorow with long nails, which they used as gall-throps, bestowing them sleightly covered, with the points upward, in the way by which the beasts were to pass. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certain light-armed men to beat upon their sides with Arrows and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the *Asian* Wars. Of these provisions they made happy use in the next assault. For, by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemy chiefly trusted) either sorely hurt, or driven back upon the *Macedonians*, whom they trampled under feet. *Polysperchon* came as ill furnisht for long abode to *Megalopolis* as before to *Athens*. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the business quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, he forsook the siege, with some loss, and much dishonour, leaving some part of his Army to lie before the Town for his credit.

After this he sent *Clitus*, his Admiral, to Sea, to joyn with *Aridæus* that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enemy out of *Asia*. *Cassander* also sent his whole fleet under *Nicanor*, who taking along with him some ships of *Antigonus*, came to the *Propontis*, where he fought with *Clitus*, and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the overthrow, gathered together the ships that were escaped, and manning them very well, sent out *Nicanor* again, assuring him of the Victory, as well he might. For he sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom he caused to be watted over the Streights in small Vessels by night; these before day-light setting upon *Clitus*, drave his men, that lay securely on the Land, head-long into their ships; in which tumult *Nicanor* arriving, did assail them so lustily, that few or none escaped them.

This loss at Sea, together with his bad success by Land, brought *Polysperchon* into great contempt. He had a good faculty in penning bloody Decrees, but when the execution was referred to his own sword, he could find the matter more difficult. Wherefore the *Athenians*, perceiving that he had left them to shift for themselves, and was not able to give them protection against the enemy which lay in their bosomes, came to agreement with *Cassander*; accepting a Governor of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the party of *Cassander*, was found in very many Cities of *Greece*, which daily and willingly revolted unto him, as to an industrious man, and likely to prevail in the end. Thus was the whole Country set in a combustion, uneasie to be quenched; which presented unto *Antigonus* an opportunity, that he neglected not, of making himself Lord of *Asia*.

§. XVII.

Antigonus *seeks to make himself an absolute Lord: and thereupon treats with* Eumenes, *who disappointeth him.* Phrygia *and* Lydia *won by* Antigonus.

ANtigonus had in *Antipaters* life-time a firm resolution, to make unto himself the utmost benefit that he might of the Army committed to his charge. And in fair season for advancement of his purposes came the news of *Antipaters* death; even then, when all the business in *Pisidia* was dispatched, and no more employment for the Army remaining, save only the continuance of the siege of *Nora*, a small thing of it self, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Fort of *Nora*, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutability, to which the present Estate was manifestly subject, would in continuance of some years (which he might abide) work more for him, than his enemies in that space could work against him. His most fear was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, his men and horses might grow sickly and unserviceable: which made him to practise many devices of keeping them in health and lusty. But when he had continued shut up in this manner about a year, his hopes came to good pass, and he was eased of his cares by *Antigonus* himself, whose forces held him besieged.

Antigonus knowing the great sufficiency of *Eumenes*, and considering his fidelity shewed unto *Perdiccas*, thought that he could not find in all the world a fitter man than him, to employ in managing those high designs wherein he doubted not that he should be withstood by the mightiest Princes of the

the Empire. He sent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a better Lord than ever he had been, and the next man to himself, if things fell out as he desired: in regard whereof he required only his friendship, and thereupon sent him an oath to take; which done, he might at his good pleasure issue safely out of *Nora*, and enjoy his perfect liberty. *Eumenes* perusing the form of the oath, did perceive the meaning of *Antigonus*; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the blood, rather to keep the *Decorum*, than upon any loyal intent, the binding words and sum of all were such, as tied him fast only to *Antigonus*, omitting all reservation of duty, to the King or any other. This he liked not, holding it unseemly to become a sworn man to him, with whom he had fought for the mastery; and being assured that his voluntary assistance, which way soever he gave it, would be more acceptable, and far more honourable, than the course propounded. Yet would he not therefore break off the negotiation, and wait for some better occasion of inlargement, which might perhaps be long in coming: but seeming to be well agreed with *Antigonus*, he prepared to give up his Hold and depart. As for the oath it self, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemn enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in testifying in their allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay incamped before *Nora*, liked his words, and gave him leave to put in *Olympias*, and the children of *Alexander*, binding himself to them and their adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and so he departed.

Antigonus had taken upon him, as soon as he came down to the Sea-side, to remove some of the Governors of the Provinces, behaving himself according to the authority which he had received of *Antipater*, to exercise in the time of War. Neither did he want sufficient pretence whereby to justifie his proceeding. For, if *Polysperchon* might lawfully hold the Protectorship, which the old man doting on his death-bed bequeathed unto him, as a Legacy, without consent of the Princes and Souldiers; why might not he himself as well retain the Lieutenantship of *Asia*, that was granted unto him for the general good of the State, in presence of the whole Army, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordain what should seem convenient whilst he lived, not to dispose of things that should happen after his death? To give a fair colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith satisfied, he had threescore thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and thirty Elephants in a readiness to answer them.

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to resist him, was *Aridæus* Governor of *Phrygia*; who fortified the Towns of his own Province, and sought to have won *Cizicus*, a fair Haven Town, and seated very conveniently for him, but was fain to go away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* took occasion to command him out of the Country. *Aridæus* was so far from obeying him, that he sent forces to relieve *Eumenes*. Nevertheless finding that he was unable of himself to make long resistance, he took such companies as he could draw along with him, and so passed over into *Europe*, to complain at the Court. The like fortune had *Clytus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and sought the like remedy of his fortune, with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vanished; and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already been declared.

§. XVIII.

Antigonus *pursues* Eumenes. Eumenes *having authority from the Court, raiseth great war against* Antigonus *in defence of the Royal house.*

ANtigonus having thus gotten into his hands all, or most of all *Asia* the less, was able to have entred *Macedon* and seized upon the Court; which that he forbare to do, it proceeded (as may seem) from some of these reasons. It would have bred as much jealousie in *Cassander*, as fear in *Polysperchon*, which might have brought them to terms of reconciliation: It would ask more time than he could spare; and the envy which followed the Protectorship was such, as he that had power enough without the office, ought rather to shun, than to pursue. Besides all this, it was manifest that *Eumenes* would not only refuse to take his part, but would make war upon him in defence of the Royal house, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not stand well-affected. Against him therefore he bent his course, and with an Army of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, made great haste towards *Cilicia*, hoping to suppress him before he should be able to make head.

Eumenes was one of those few that continued faithful to their dead Master, which being well known in the Court, he had commission sent unto him from thence to raise an Army, and make war upon *Antigonus*, taking of the Kings treasure as much as he should need. Other letters also there were directed to all the Governors of Provinces, requiring them to give assistance to *Eumenes*, and be ordered by his direction: especially to the Captains of the old Souldiers, called the *Argyraspides*, or Silver-shielded bands, commandment was given to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, before this Authority was given him: but now he purposed with all the strength which he could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Royal blood. *Olympias* had written to him, desiring him to bring help to her, and her Nephew the Son of *Alexander*; and in the mean time to give her his advice in that which *Polysperchon* required of her: for she was desirous to return into *Macedon*, but suspected his ambition, as not contained within lawful bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counselled her to remain in *Epirus*, till such time as he could bring the war to a good issue; which done, he promised that his faith and care should not be wanting to the seed of *Alexander*.

Strange it is to consider, that in all the Empire, scarce any one could be found among the Noblemen, in whom *Alexanders* Mother, Wives and Children, might repose firm confidence, saving only this *Eumenes*, a stranger to the *Macedonian* blood, born at *Cardia*, a City of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his own virtue had made it; his followers obeyed at their own discretion; and compelled he was to travel as far as *Persia*, to gather together an Army sufficient to resist the enemies that pursued his heels.

§. XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon *stood affected mutually.* Olympias *takes* Aridæus *and* Eurydice, *whom she cruelly puts to death.*

NOw, forasmuch as in this present War all the Rulers of the Provinces did intermeddle; and great alterations happened, not only in the parts of *Asia*, but *Macedon* it self, which brought a new face unto the State, by the extirpation of the Royal house of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it convenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the War it self, to shew briefly how the great Ones did mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were drawn into those courses, which overthrew most of them, and out of their ruines built the greatness of a few: as likewise to what extremity the faction brake out in *Macedon* it self, about the main Controversie of the Title to the Crown, whereupon all other quarrels were or should have been depending.

Aridæus the King, being simple and fearful, did only what he was bidden.

Polysperchon, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to advance the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane* to the Kingdom, and become Governor to a King of his own making.

Eurydice the Queen discovering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing less than to let her husband serve as a Stale, keeping the Throne warm till another were grown old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turn.

Cassander held fresh in mind the danger wherein his family had been through *Alexanders* malice, together with the indignity offered to himself by *Alexander*, who knocked his head against a wall for deriding one that adored him after the *Persian* manner. The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure which he took in the amorous Queen, made him to resolve, both to suppress the linage which he hated, and to maintain his beloved Mistress, either by supporting her weak Husband, or by taking her to be his own Wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent, who reigned over all, so as they might reign in their several Countries, and establish their authority in such wise, that it might not be taken from them.

Among these, *Ptolomy* and *Antigonus* were well enough already, if their ambition would have suffered them to see it.

Pitho and *Seleuchus* lying far off, and being strong, had some good hope to incroach upon their neighbours. Against these, *Peucestes*, and some others, with much ado hardly made resistance, until such time as *Eumenes* came to them; who propounded to himself great matters, which he lived not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queen (as it is common with step-dames) hated the children of her husband by his other wives. It was thought that she had given poyson to *Aridæus*, which failing to take away his life, had much impaired

paired both his body and wits. Now ſhe conſidering, that *Eumenes* was too full of buſineſs to come home ſo ſoon as ſhe wiſhed that he ſhould; and that *Caſſander* daily prevailed in *Greece:* thought it the beſt way to joyn with *Polyſperchon*, and ſet up, as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the Son of *Roxane*, removing *Aridæus* before *Caſſander* were able to defend him. To this intent ſhe procured men among her kindred in *Epirus*, and ſo took her way towards *Polyſperchon*, who joyning with her, entred into *Macedon*.

Eurydice hearing theſe news, wrote very earneſtly to *Caſſander*, praying him to ſet aſide all other buſineſs, and come to ſuccour her. She her ſelf by entreaty, gifts, and promiſes, drew to her party as many of the *Macedonians* as ſhe could, until ſhe thought her own ſide ſtrong enough; and then taking her husband with her, went boldly forth againſt *Olympias*, and the Traytor *Polyſperchon*.

Theſe two Queens met armed, as if the matter ſhould have been determined by their own hands, which ended without any ſtroke ſtricken, by the revolt of thoſe who followed *Eurydice*. For as ſoon as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*; calling to mind her former Eſtate, and the victorious reigns of her Husband and Son, they refuſed to lift any weapon againſt her. *Eurydice* finding her ſelf thus forſaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*, but was intercepted, and made priſoner with her Husband.

Olympias having obtained this Victory without blood, thought that all things would ſucceed as eaſily, and upon the ſame conſiderations for which they had refuſed to bear Arms againſt her, the *Macedonians* would not ſtick to maintain her, whatſoever her proceedings were. Having therefore ſhut up *Aridæus* and his wife in a cloſe room, where they could ſcarce turn round, ſhe fed them thorow a little hole, till after a while it came in her head (for fear leſt the people ſhould have commiſeration of him, that had reigned almoſt ſix years and a half) to put them to death. So ſhe delivered *Aridæus* to ſome barbarous *Thracians*; who took away his life by cruel torments: to *Eurydice* ſhe ſent a ſword, a halter, and a cup of poyſon, willing her to chuſe the inſtrument of her own death, who praying that the like preſents might one day be ſent to *Olympias*, yielded her neck to the halter, having ſpent her laſt curſes not in vain. *Nicanor* the Brother of *Caſſander*, and a hundred the chief of his friends, did *Olympias* then chuſe out, all whom ſhe commanded to be ſlain. His Brother *Iolaus* that was already dead and buried, ſhe accuſed of poyſon given to *Alexander*, and thereupon cauſed his Tomb to be thrown down, and his bones to be ſcattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondring at this fury, began to condemn themſelves, and the folly of *Polyſperchon*, who had, quite contrary to *Antipaters* charge given on his death-bed, called this outragious woman to the Government of the Empire.

§. XX.

How Caſſander *was revenged upon* Olympias

†. I.

The great Expedition of Caſſander. Olympias *ſhuts her ſelf into* Pydna, *where* Caſſander *beſieged her.* Æacides *King of* Epirus, *coming to ſuccour* Olympias, *is forſaken and baniſhed by his own Subjects.*

CAſſander at that time lay before *Tegea*, in *Peloponneſus*; whither when all theſe ill tidings were brought to him, he never ſtayed to take the City, nor to give order for the ſtate of things in that Country, (though *Alexander* the Son of *Polyſperchon*, were there with an Army) but compounding with them of *Tegea*, he willed his aſſociates to look to themſelves as well as they could, till his return; and ſo in all haſte he took his journey towards *Macedon*, carried headlong with the greedy deſire of juſt revenge. The *Ætolians* had taken the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, in favour of the Queen and *Polyſperchon*, to hinder his paſſage; but he, not willing to miſpend any time in dealing with them, got together as many ſhips as he could, great and ſmall, with which he tranſported his Army into *Theſſaly*. There he divided his companies, appointing ſome under *Callas*, a ſubtil Captain, to hold *Polyſperchon* buſied, who then lay incamped neer to *Perhæbia*, with the reſt he marched directly againſt *Olympias*. She, having once prevailed by the reſpect given to her dignity took more care how to appear Majeſtical, than to make her ſelf ſtrong. To this end ſhe made a ſolemn progreſs to *Pydna*, a Sea-Town, and well fenced, having in her company all the flower of the Court, eſpecially the great Ladies, among whom was *Roxane*, and her young Son *Alexander*, heir to the great *Alexander*, by his Grand-mothers deſignment: who during his minority, kept his Soveraign power in her own hands. But all this pomp ſerved to little uſe againſt the violence of the enemy, that ſoon preſented himſelf before the walls; only it fed the beſieged

ſieged with a vain hope of ſuccour, that would from all parts arrive, to reſcue perſons of their quality. And hereof there ſoon appeared fair likelihood, which as ſoon vaniſhed, and went away in ſmoak.

For *Æacides* King of *Epirus* made great haſte to bring ſuccour to *Olympias* his Couſin, with whom *Deodamia* his daughter was alſo ſhut up. Nevertheleſs, his Subjects were nothing forward in this Expedition; but finding certain paſſages taken in the way by *Caſſanders* men, they called upon him to retire, and quit the enterprize. The Kings importunity urging them to proceed, and the obſtinate refuſal of the Army, brake out at length into ſuch terms, that when he had raged in vain againſt the multitude, his authority, with which he thought to have prevailed upon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forſake his Kingdom, and to wander up and down in foreign Countries a baniſhed man, his people joyning with the enemy, againſt whom he had led them forth to war.

Pydna in the mean time was cloſed up ſtreightly, both by Sea and Land, ſo that neither any could iſſue out of the City, nor any relief be conveyed into it, but it held out as long as any food was left; no memorable ſervice being done there, whilſt great actions were managed abroad.

§. II.

A continuation of Olympias *her ſtory.* Polyſperchon *defeated.* *Extreme Famine in* Pydna. Olympias *yields to* Caſſander.

NOw, though order of time require it, that we ſhould rehearſe the doings of *Eumenes* and *Antigonus* in this place, leaving *Olympias* yet a while to the hour of her deſtiny; which grows the faſter upon her, becauſe ſhe may diſcern it coming: yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the courſe of our narration, by inſerting her Tragedy in the midſt of things not manifeſtly coherent with it; we will here (as elſewhere we have done, and elſewhere muſt) continue to an end one Hiſtory, that we may not be therewith diſtracted, when we ſhall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the beſieged, remaining in *Polyſperchon*, was in like manner diſappointed as their former truſt had been, which was repoſed in the ſuccours of the *Epirots*. For *Callas*, who was ſent againſt him, found the means to corrupt the greateſt part of his Army with mony, leaving him within a little while ſo tenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other buſineſs of war, than a ſwift retrait. When famine had ſo far prevailed in the City, that the horſes were killed as a precious food, many men feeding on the dead carkaſſes of their fellows, and ſaw-duſt being given to the Elephants for provender; ſome of the Souldiers obtaining the Queens leave (who could not deny it) others, without asking leave, yielded themſelves to the enemy, and were by him gently relieved, and ſent abroad into the Country. The news of the Queens affairs, diſperſed by theſe men, did ſo affright her well-willers, that ſuch as had reſerved themſelves to the event, came in apace, and ſubmitted to *Caſſander*. At length, when the mortality was ſo great in the Town, that the living were even poyſoned with the noiſome ſent of the dead; *Olympias* bethought her ſelf of ſtealing away by Sea in a Galley that ſhe had: wherewith her ſucceſs was as bad as in the reſt. For God had appointed this Town, by her choſen as a place of refuge, to be unto her as a houſe of torment, and a Gaol, out of which ſhe ſhould not be delivered, but unto an evil death. Being therefore utterly broken with miſeries, which daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, unaccuſtomed to ſo wretched a kind of life, ſhe offered compoſition, and with much labour hardly obtained of *Caſſander* (who having fetcht her Gally out of the Haven, accounted himſelf as good as maſter of her body) a grant of her own life. Immediately upon her apprehenſion, *Pella*, the chief City of the Kingdom, was yielded to *Caſſander*. *Amphipolis* did ſtand out: for *Ariſtonus* (to whom *Olympias* had given charge of ſuch Forces as were left abroad in the Country, taking courage from the ſucceſs of ſome petty ſervices wherein he had prevailed) began to promiſe himſelf great unlikelihods. But *Olympias*, to win *Caſſanders* favour, very earneſtly required him upon his faith to her, that he ſhould give it up. He did ſo, and preſently after was killed by his private enemies, that were ſet on by *Caſſander*, who partly hated him upon old reſpects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to ſeek Innovation.

§. III.

The death of Olympias, *and her conditions.*

WHen *Olympias* had now heard ſorrowful tidings of all her friends, ſhe her ſelf was called into queſtion, and accuſed in an Aſſembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murthers (they were ſo ſtiled in her affliction, which

which in time of proſperity ſhe called juſtice) by her committed. There was ſhe (being not heard, nor called to ſpeak) condemned to die. The ſute was commenced and proſecuted againſt her, by the kindred of thoſe whom ſhe had ſlain. But it was at *Caſſanders* inſtigation, who (to haſten the execution) ſent her word, that he would furniſh her with a ſhip, and other neceſſaries, to ſave her ſelf by flight: which when ſhe refuſed, ſaying, that ſhe would plead for her ſelf, and tell her own tale; he diſſembled no longer, but ſent unto her ſuch men, as hated her moſt, who took away her miſerable life. She was Daughter, and Siſter, unto two Kings of *Epirus*; Wife and Mother unto two the mightieſt Kings, of that, or many other ages; a ſtout Lady, and of unreproveable chaſtity; but her ambition was boundleſs, her hatred unappeaſable, and her fury in revenge moſt unwomanly. Her perverſe conditions made her Husband ſeek other Wives and Concubines, which cauſed her to hate both him, and them. She was thought privy to her Husbands death; after which, very cruelly ſhe ſlew his late Wife *Cleopatra*, having firſt murthered one of her two children in her arms, and with a beaſtly fury broiled the other alive in fire, in a Copper-baſon. For theſe things, her Son *Alexander* (otherwiſe loving her well) forbade her to meddle in the Government of *Macedon*. But God, more ſevere unto cruel Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their wills, permitted her to live and fulfil the reſt of her wickedneſs (which was his juſtice upon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppreſſion done by him and others;) after all which, he rewarded her malice, by returning it upon her own head.

§. IV.

Caſſander *celebrates the Funeral of* Aridæus *and* Eurydice; *and ſeeks to make himſelf King of* Macedon.

AFter her death, *Caſſander* gave honorable burial to *Aridæus* and *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his own poſſibilities of greatneſs, he married the Lady *Theſſalonica*, whom he had taken at *Pydna*, being the Daughter of King *Philip*, by another of his Wives; that by her he might have ſome title to the Crown. For the ſame end he committed *Roxane*, and her young Son to cloſe Priſon, removing thereby ſome part of his impediment. And, the better to encreaſe his fame, and purchaſe love, built a City, called by his own name *Caſſandria*, that ſoon grew to be very great and powerful. He re-edified likewiſe *Thebes* in *Greece*, and reſtored it unto the old Inhabitants, after it had lain twenty years waſte, being utterly razed by *Alexander*. By theſe means, eſpecially by the reſtauration of *Thebes*, whereunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew ſo ſtrong, that few remained enemies unto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could reſiſt him. Leaving him therefore daily prevailing in *Greece*, we will return to them, who contended in *Aſia*, for leſs titles, but larger Provinces, with greater forces.

CHAP. IV.

Of the great Lordſhip which Antigonus *got in* Aſia.

§. I.

The Journey of Eumenes *into* Perſia. *His wiſe dealing with thoſe that joyned with him.*

EUmenes, having joyned unto his company the *Argyraſpides*, made haſte into the Eaſtern parts, to take poſſeſſion of thoſe Countries, according to his Commiſſion, and ſtrengthen himſelf againſt *Antigonus*. He took his journey through *Cœloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, hoping to reclaim thoſe Provinces, uſurped the reſt of *Syria* (as hath been ſhewed) by *Ptolomy*, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this, his haſte of his paſſing forward was too great, his Army too little, and the readineſs of the people, to return their due obedience, none at all. Beſides all which Impediments, one inconvenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the leſs effectual. The Captains of the *Agyraſpides* were ſo froward,

froward, that they scorned to repair to him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was so unsteady, that they might more easily have dealt with open Traytors. It was not expedient, that he, being General, should weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keep them in order by compulsion. Therefore he feigned, that *Alexander* had appointed unto him, in a dream, a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich pavilion, wherein an empty throne was placed, as if *Alexander* himself had been present at their consultations. Thus he freed himself from their vain pride; but of their faith he could have no assurance. Yet when *Ptolomy* requested them, and *Antigonus* bribed them to forsake him, they continued (though not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So he marched on, sending before him the Kings Warrant; which *Pytho* and *Seleucus* refused to obey; not as rejecting the Kings Authority, but excepting the person of *Eumenes*, as a man condemned to die by the *Macedonian* Army, for the death of *Craterus*. *Eumenes*, knowing well that he was not to rely upon their assistance, who stood otherwise affected than his affairs required, and were not to be dealt with by perswasion, sought passage by strong hand through the Country of *Babylon*; in such wise that *Seleucus*, having in vain assayed to hinder him, by opening the sluces of *Euphrates*, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to *Peucestes* and the rest of the Eastern Lords, who were glad of his company, because of the differences between *Pytho*, *Seleucus*, and themselves. Yet the contention about superiority grew very hot among them, every one finding matter enough to feed his own humour of self-worthiness. But the former device of assembling in one pavilion, made all quiet; the conclusion ever being sure to follow that which *Eumenes* propounded, who was both wisest in giving advice, and best able to reward, by means of the authority given him, to take what he pleased of the Kings treasures. By these means he won to himself many of those, who had most power to do good or hurt.

§. II.

How Antigonus, *coming to set upon* Eumenes, *was driven off with loss.*

ANtigonus, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the Province of *Susa*, had an earnest desire to follow him, and drive him further from the Kings treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soon as he had made himself strong enough, he removed out of *Mesopotamia*, where he had wintered; and taking to him *Pytho* and *Seleucus*, with their men, he marched directly against the enemies, with intent to give them battel. *Eumenes* had fortified the Castle of *Susa*, and was retired back toward *Persia*, keeping the River of *Tigris* between him and his pursuers. The passages of the River were well guarded, and good espial kept upon *Antigonus*, to observe which way he took. Before he came to *Tigris* it self, he was to pass over *Coprates*, a great River, and not foordable, which he sought to do by small Vessels, whereof he had no great store. A great part of his Army had gotten over, when *Eumenes*, who kept a bridge upon *Tigris*, came with a thousand horse, and four thousand foot, to see their demeanor: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and drave them headlong back into *Coprates*, wherein most of them were drowned; very few escaping with life, except four thousand that yielded themselves prisoners in sight of *Antigonus*, that was not able to relieve them. This loss made *Antigonus* glad to fall off; and the heat of that Country in the Dog-days, breeding diseases in his Army, by which many perished, caused him to remove as far as into *Media*. So he took *Python* with him; (leaving *Seleucus* to besiege the Castle of *Susa*) and seeking to go the neerest way, passed through savage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men, before he could arrive in *Media*, with his Troops that were quite heart-broken.

§. III.

Of Eumenes *his cunning. A Battel betwee*n *him and* Antigonus.

AFter his departure, *Eumenes* with his associates fell into consultation, about the remainder of their business. Fain he would have had them to enter upon those Provinces, which *Antigonus* had left behind him; to which also the Captains of the *Argyraspides* or *Silver-shields*, were very inclinable, as desiring to draw near to *Greece*. But *Peucestes*, and the rest, whose dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their own particular Estates, and would needs march Eastward. These carried it; for the Army was not strong enough to divide it self into parts.

When

When they came into *Persia*, *Peucestes* ruling there, feasted them royally, and sought by all means to win the Souldiers love to himself. *Eumenes* perceiving whereunto those doings tended, suffered him a while to keep good chear, till the time of War drew near. Then did he feign an Epistle, directed, as from *Orontes* Governor of *Armenia*, to *Peucestes* himself: The purport whereof was; that *Olympias* had vanquished *Cassander*, and sent over a great Army under *Polysperchon*, to joyn with *Eumenes*. These news, as they filled the Camp with vain joy, so they wrought in all mens minds a great willingness to obey *Eumenes*, by whom was the likeliest appearance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wisely, he being far the most sufficient Commander, as they found soon after. For when *Antigonus*, coming out of *Media*, drew near unto them, *Eumenes*, by some mischance was fallen sick, and fain to be carried in a Litter; the Army marched in very bad array, and was likely to have been forced to take battel in that disorder. But *Eumenes*, when the rest of the Captains were amazed, was carried about the Army in his Litter, and upon the sudden did cast his men into so good form, that *Antigonus*, perceiving him afar off, could not refrain from giving him deserved commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewards to the Captains, and all sorts of men, if they would forsake *Eumenes*: which hopes deceiving him, he came to the trial of a battel. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus*; otherwise, he was inferiour in number both of horse and foot by a third part. The battel was fought with variable success, and great loss on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the victory was uncertain. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lye far from their carriages: by which means *Antigonus* (who had a more absolute command over his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies, which was accounted the sign of victory; for he buried his own, and gave leave to his enemies craving it, to do the like. But a greater sign of victory had *Eumenes*. For he abode still in the same place, and not only buried his men very honourably, at great leisure, but held the Country round about; whereas *Antigonus* was glad (having tarried but one day) to steal away by night, and return into *Media*, from whence he came.

§. IV.

Of divers stratagems practised by Antigonus, *and* Eumenes, *one against the other.*

THus did the War continue doubtful, and was protracted to a greater length, each part having stout Souldiers, and skilful Generals: but the side which had hitherto prevailed, being hindred by the equal authority of many, from pursuing all advantanges to the best, *Antigonus* grew daily weaker, in men and reputation, so that to repair himself he could find no way safer, than to put all to adventure. He knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered far asunder, so that if he could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distress. Between him and them, the way was not long, being only nine days journey, but very bad, through a rough dry wilderness, hardly passable. Another way, fairer and leading through a Country well peopled, but requiring twenty five days journey, he forsook; partly for the length, partly, and chiefly, because he would come undiscovered. So therefore taking his journey in the dead of Winter, he forbade unto his men the use of fire by night, because he would not have them discryed afar off. This commandment had been well observed four or five days, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cherish themselves, being near to their ways end. The light of these fires gave notice of their coming; which being reported to *Peucestes*, and other Captains, they were so astonished with the sudden danger, that in all haste they betook themselves to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the news, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promising to make *Antigonus* march leisurely, and willing them to abide, and draw up their men together. They could scarce believe him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He took with him some companies of the readiest men, wherewith he occupied certain tops of mountains, looking toward the Camp of *Antigonus*: there he chose a convenient ground to encamp upon, and made great store of fires in sundry places, as if the whole Army had been present. This was a sorrowful spectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himself prevented of his purpose; and began to fear lest he should be compelled to fight, whilest his men were tired with a long and painful journey. There-

fore he reſolved to turn aſide, and take the way to ſuch places, as might better ſerve to refreſh his Army. This he did with great care and circumſpection, at the firſt, as knowing how ready *Eumenes* would be upon all advantages. But after a while, conſidering that no enemy ſtirred about him, he began to pauſe, and think in himſelf, that ſomewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he cauſed ſome Inhabitants of that deſart to be taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had ſeen no other Army than his thereabout, but only a few men that kept fires on the hill-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to find that he had been ſo deluded. Therefore he went againſt theſe Troops with great fury, meaning to take ſharp vengeance on them, for having ſo deceived him. But by this time, ſufficient ſtrength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much buſineſs, and long ſtay. All the Army was come, ſave only *Eudamus*, Captain of the Elephants, who, beſides thoſe beaſts, had no more than four hundred horſemen in his company. *Antigonus* hearing of this ſupply coming to his enemies, ſent above two thouſand horſe, and all his light-armed foot-men, to cut it off by the way. *Eudamus* being fallen into this danger, was fain to place his Elephants round about his carriages, and ſo to defend himſelf as well as he could; for his horſe-men, overlaid with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driven to run away upon the ſpur. Neither knew they, who ſate upon the Elephants, which way to turn them, for on all ſides they received wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremity there appeared brave Troops of horſe and foot, that came unexpected to the reſcue; and charging the Aſſailants upon the back, drave them to ſeek their own ſafety by ſpeedy flight. Theſe were ſent by *Eumenes*; who though he knew not what his Adverſary meant to do, yet he knew very well what was fitteſt for him to do: and therefore, playing both games himſelf, provided the remedy.

§. V.

The conſpiracy of Peuceſtes *and others, againſt* Eumenes *his life.*

BY theſe means *Eumenes* won great honor, and was by the whole Army acknowledged a moſt expert General, and well worthy of the chief command. But *Peuceſtes*, and the other Captains, guilty of their own much inſufficiency, were ſo tranſported with Envy, that they could no longer contain their vile thoughts, but held communication, as upon a neceſſary point, how they might find means to murther him.

Surely, it is great injuſtice to impute the miſchief contrived againſt worthy men, to their own proud carriage, or ſome other ill deſerving: For, though it often happen, that ſmall vices do ſerve to counterpoize great vertues; (the ſenſe of evil being more quick and laſting than of good) yet he ſhall bewray a very fooliſh malice, that, wanting other teſtimony, will think it a part of wiſdom, to find good reaſon of the evils done to vertuous men, which oftentimes have no other cauſe than vertue it ſelf. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of ſingular courteſie, of a very ſweet converſation among his friends, and careful by all gentle means to win their love, that ſeemed to bear him any ſecret ill affection. It was his meer vertue that overthrew him, which even they that ſought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he ſhould not be ſlain, before the battel were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confeſſed that it ſtood beſt with their ſafety, to be governed by his direction. Of this treaſon he was quickly advertiſed by *Eudamus*, to whom he had done many pleaſures, and by ſome others of whom he uſed to borrow money when he needed not, to the end that they ſhould be careful of his good, for fear of loſing their own. Conſidering therefore, and diſcourſing with himſelf of the villany intended againſt him, he made his laſt Will, and burnt all his Writings that contained any matter of ſecret: which done, he revolved many things in his mind; being doubtful what courſe he were beſt to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire ſtood ill affected to the Royal blood, excepting thoſe which were with him, that were more in number than in worth. How things at that time ſtood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to ſeek their help, that needed his. To make his own peace with *Antigonus*, had been againſt his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cauſe alſo it may be thought, that he forbare either to loſe the battel willingly, or to fly into *Cappadocia*, and make ſhift for himſelf among his old friends. At length he reſolved to do his beſt againſt the common enemy, and afterwards to look to himſelf as well as he might.

§. VI.

§. VI.

The laſt battel between Antigonus *and* Eumenes.

THe Souldiers, eſpecially thoſe old bands of the *Silver-ſhields*, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cauſe, entreated him not to doubt of the victory, but only to bring them in the field, and ſet them in array; for the reſt, they alone would take ſufficient order. The like alacrity was generally found in the common Souldiers faces; but the chief Commanders were ſo miſchievouſly bent againſt him, that they could not endure to think of being beholding to him for the victory. Yet he ordered the battel ſo well, that, without their own great fault, they could hardly fail of getting the upper hand.

Before the Armies came to joyning, a horſeman from the ſide of *Eumenes*, proclaimed with a loud voyce unto the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickedneſs in fighting againſt their own Fathers, would now be puniſhed, as it well deſerved. This was not ſpoken in vain, For the *Silver-ſhields* were men of threeſcore or ſeventy years old, and ſtrengthened more by continual exerciſe, than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as having paſſed through greater dangers, than any like to be preſented in that fight.

Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often been beaten by them, and were now to try their laſt hope with theſe reſolute warriors, the moſt Ancient and beſt regarded of all *Alexanders* Souldiers) grew very penſive, and advanced heavily, ſuſpecting their own cauſe, and fearing that the threatnings uttered would prove true.

Antigonus was now again far the ſtronger in horſe, which gave him cauſe of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plain levelled field. Placing therefore himſelf and his ſon *Demetrius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Python*, he did ſet forward couragiouſly againſt the Enemies, that were ready to give him a ſharp entertainment.

Eumenes took unto him *Peuceſtes*, with the reſt of the Lords, and ſtood in the left wing of his battel, in the face of *Antigonus*; meaning both to prevent the Traytors, his Companions, of all means to make head againſt him on the ſudden; and (withal) to give proof of his own valour, which perhaps he ſhould no more do, in the face of all his Enemies. In the right wing, oppoſite unto *Python*, he beſtowed the weakeſt of his Horſe and Elephants, under one *Philip*, an honeſt man, and (which was enough at ſuch a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the fight, and make a reaſonable retrait, expecting the event of the other ſide.

So they joyned very fiercely; *Antigonus*, labouring to make himſelf maſter of all; *Eumenes*, to die an honorable death, or to win ſuch a victory upon his open enemies, as might give him leiſure and opportunity to deal with his falſe friends.

The footmen of *Antigonus*, being, even in their own opinions, far inferior to thoſe whom they muſt encounter, were at the firſt brunt preſently defeated by the *Silver-ſhields*, who ſlew above five thouſand of them, loſing of their own not one man. But in Horſe, *Eumenes* was ſo over-matched, that he could not repel *Antigonus*, who preſſed him very hard, but was fain to ſtand wholly upon defence. Yet his courage wrought ſo well by example, among his followers, that the Enemy could not win one foot of ground upon him, until ſuch time as *Peuceſtes*, with one thouſand five hundred Horſe, withdrew himſelf out of the battel, leaving his companions fighting to defend his back.

Then did *Eumenes* deſperately ruſh amongſt his Enemies, labouring to break open the way unto *Antigonus* himſelf. And though he failed of his purpoſe; yet with great ſlaughter he did ſo beat upon them which came in his way, that the victory hung a long time in ſuſpence, uncertain which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a ſlight ſandy mould, through the trampling of horſes, men and Elephants, did caſt up ſuch a cloud of duſt, as hindred the proſpect, ſo that no man could ſee what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this advantage, diſpatched away ſome companies of Horſe, that paſſed undiſcovered beyond *Eumenes* his battels, and came to his carriages, which lay about half a mile from the place of fight, ſlenderly guarded (for that the whole body of the Army lay between them and danger) and therefore eaſily taken. Had *Peuceſtes* retired himſelf no further than unto the carriages, he might not only have defended them, but peradventure have ſurprized thoſe which came to ſurprize them, and ſo have done as good a piece of ſervice as a better man. But he was gotten ſomewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the event; and *Eumenes* was ſo over-laboured both in body and mind, that he could not poſſibly give an eye to every place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It hapned ſo, that the Elephants meeting together, thoſe of *Antigonus*, had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himſelf every way overcharged, began to give back, and withdrew himſelf and his companies in good order, to the other ſide of the battel, where *Philip* (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from loſs. The *Antigonians* had felt ſo much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well content to let him depart quietly, and wiſhed not to ſee him come again; as fain he would have done.

The loſs of the carriages was reported unto him, as ſoon as he had any leiſure to hear how things went: whereupon he preſently ordered his men for a freſh charge, and ſent for *Peuceſtes* that was not far off, requeſting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby he truſted, not only to recover their own goods, but to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of the enemies. *Peuceſtes* not only refuſed to joyn with him, but immediately withdrew himſelf into a ſafer place, where he might be further from ſuch dangerous temptations.

By this the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were deſirous to return into their Camps. Yet *Antigonus* conceived hope of doing ſomewhat more, and therefore taking halt his horſemen, he waited upon *Eumenes* a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other half he committed to *Python*, willing him to ſet upon the *Silver-ſhields* in their retrait; which yet he forbare to do, becauſe it appeared too full of danger. So the battel ended; wherein *Antigonus* had not ſo much the better in horſe, as the worſe in foot: but the ſpoil which he got, by ſurprizing his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other loſſes.

§. VII.

How Eumenes *was betrayed to* Antigonus, *and ſlain.*

EUmenes, coming into his Camp, and finding the *Silver-ſhields* extremely diſcontented with their misfortune, began to cheer them up, and put them in hope of recovering all with advantage. For their brave demeanor that day had ſo cruſhed the enemy, that he had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much leſs able to draw their Carts after him, through that great wilderneſs, over the high mountains.

But theſe perſwaſions availed nothing. *Peuceſtes* was gone; the other Captains would needs return into the high Countries; and the Souldiers had no deſire either to fly or to fight, but only to recover their goods. Wherefore *Teutamus*, one of the two Captains of the *Silver-ſhields* (who had in former times readily conſented unto trayterous motions, in hope of gain, but was letted by his partner *Antigenes*) finding, as he thought a fit occaſion of making himſelf great, and winning the love of thoſe bands, dealt ſecretly with *Antigonus*, requeſting him to reſtore unto thoſe old Souldiers their goods, which he had taken, being the only reward of their ſervices, in the Wars of *Philip* and *Alexander*.

Antigonus, as a ſubtile man, knew very well, that they which requeſted more than they had reaſon to expect, would alſo with little entreaty, perform a great deal more than they promiſed; and therefore he lovingly entertained the meſſengers, filling them with hopes of far greater matters than they deſired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were ſeduced to make War againſt him. This anſwer pleaſed them ſo well, that they forthwith deviſed how to deliver him alive. Wherefore coming about him, as at other times, to do their duty, and pretending more joy of their victory, than ſorrow of their loſs, which they ſaid they would redeem by another fight; in the midſt of this goodly talk, they leapt upon him, caught hold of his ſword, and bound him faſt. So they haled him away; and, ſtopping their ears againſt all perſwaſions, would not yield ſo far as to looſen one of his hands, and let him kill himſelf, but brought him alive (that was their own General, under whom they had obtained many victories) as it had been in triumph, into the Camp of their enemies.

The preſs of men, running out of the Camp to ſee him, was ſo great, that *Antigonus* was fain to ſend a guard of Horſemen and Elephants, to keep him from being ſmothered; whom he could not ſuddenly reſolve either to kill or ſave. Very few they were that ſued for his life, but of theſe, *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus* was one, the reſt were deſirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were ſaved, he would ſoon be the chief in reputation, for his great ability. So, after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded that it was the ſafeſt way to put him to death; which intending to have done by famine (perhaps becauſe he would keep it a while in his own power, to reverſe the ſentence, as deſiring, if it might be, to have him live his friend) haſte

of

of other buſineſs made him do it by the ſword.

To this end came all the travels of that worthy General *Eumenes*; who had with great wiſdom, fidelity and patience, laboured in vain to uphold the family which God had purpoſed to caſt down. He is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutability, but more notable was his Government of himſelf, in all her changes. Adverſity never leſſened his courage, nor proſperity his circumſpection. But all his virtue, induſtry and wit, were caſt away, in leading an Army, without full power, to keep it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill anſwered by *Gaſper de Coligny*, Admiral of *France* in our days, to one that foretold his death, which enſued ſoon after in the maſſacre of *Paris*: That rather than to lead again an Army of Voluntaries, he would dye a thouſand times.

Antigonus himſelf gave to the body of *Eumenes* Honourable Funerals; and rewarded the Treaſon, wrought againſt him, with deſerved vengeance. One chief Captain of the *Silver-ſhields* he burnt alive; many of the other Captains he ſlew; and to the whole multitude of the *Silver-ſhields*, that had betrayed ſo worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader that ſhould carry them into far Countries, under pretence of Wars; but with a privy charge, to conſume them all, as perjured wretches, letting none of them return alive unto his friends and kindred, or ſo much as once behold the Seas that beat upon the ſhores of *Greece* and *Macedon*.

§. VIII.

How Antigonus *ſlew* Python, *and occupied* Media. *How he removed Governors of Provinces, and made himſelf Lord of* Perſia, *carrying away* Peuceſtes.

THe two Armies being joyned thus in one, were carried into *Media*, where they ſpent the reſt of the Winter: the common Souldier idly; the principal men intentively bent unto the buſineſs enſuing. *Python* began to conſider his own deſervings; for the whole War had been chiefly maintained by the ſtrength, and riches of this Province. Beſides, he thought himſelf as good a man as *Antigonus*, unleſs it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he judged eaſie to be purchaſed with gifts, and therefore ſpared not to aſſay them with great liberality. But in following this courſe he was driven by neceſſity to truſt many, of whom he ſtumbled upon ſome, that were unſecret, and others, bearing him no ſincere affection. Thus was his purpoſe diſcovered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Python*) diſſembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of diſſention between him, and his honorable friend, unto whom he meant to commit the Government of all thoſe Countries: his own buſineſs calling him into the lower *Aſia*. Theſe reports coming daily to his ears, did finely delude *Python*. By his greatneſs with *Alexander*; his authority in that Province where they lay, whereof he was Governor; and the love of the Souldiers which he had bought with money; he was ſtrong enough to maintain, even an offenſive War. But what need had he to uſe the ſword, when he was likely without contention, to obtain more than his own asking? Therefore he came as ſoon as he was ſent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to divide the Provinces with him, that meant nothing leſs than to yield to any ſuch diviſion. As ſoon as he came, he was taken, and accuſed, condemned to dye, and ſlain out of hand. For *Antigonus*, having begun with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterward reſtrained by any conſideration of old acquaintance, from cutting down indifferently all that ſtood in his way: but ſwam careleſly thorow the blood, wherein at the firſt he doubtfully waded.

When this buſineſs was ended, he appointed a new Governor in *Media*, to order the Province, and a Captain, to ſuppreſs all commotions: thinking belike that the power and authority, ſo divided, would hardly agree in one againſt him, from whom both were derived.

After this he marched into *Perſia*, where he was entertained as abſolute Lord of *Aſia*. There began he to ſhew how well he underſtood his own mightineſs. For he placed and diſplaced at his own pleaſure, Governors in all Provinces, leaving none in Office, that were not his own creatures, except ſuch as lay too far off to be diſlodged eaſily.

Peuceſtes, who ruled in *Perſia*, thought with good cheer to redeem old offences; but was deceived, having to do with one that could not be taken with ſuch baits: he was carried away, and feaſted with goodly words of promiſe, that never after took effect. Thus he, that envied the virtue of his friend, was driven to flatter (in vain) the fortune of his enemy, after which he led a moſt contemptible life, till he died obſcurely a man forgotten.

§. IX.

§. IX.

How Seleucus *was chased out of* Babylon *by* Antigonus. *The great riches of* Antigonus.

Seleucus was the next in this Visitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good will to *Antigonus*, and now gave proof of his hearty affection toward him, by making the Captain of the Caste of *Susa* to meet him on the way, rendring unto him that strong Piece, and all the treasures therein bestowed. This offer was so great, that *Antigonus* (though having in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly believe it; but used him with excessive kindness, for fear so good a mood should change. In that Castle he found all the treasures of *Alexander*, with the Jewels of the *Persian* Kings, which, added to his former store of money, made up five and twenty thousand talents. Having all this, he might well account himself a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happiness. But large dominion was the mark at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leave no Country behind his back, that should not acknowledge him for Soveraign Lord. Coming to *Babylon*, he was entertained by *Seleucus*, with all possible demonstration of love, and honored with presents beseeming the Majestie of a King. All this he accepted with great gravity, as being due to him; and began to require an account of the revenues of that Province. This demand *Seleucus* held unreasonable; saying, That it was not needful for him to render unto any man an account of that Province, which was given unto him, in respect of his many good services to the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficeth, that *Antigonus* was powerful; who urged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessity, moved *Antigonus* to press him thus, but only the desire to pick matter of quarrel against him, whereof it was likely that he should find such issue, as *Python* and *Peucestes* had done. Therefore taking with him only fifty horse, he conveyed himself away, and fled into *Ptolomies* Dominions; desiring him to protect him from such a man as went about to oppress all, that in former times had been his betters, or at least his equals. *Antigonus* was glad of his flight; for now all those Countries were yielded unto him without battel, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them, he wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his desire, having received many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Chaldæans* brought a strange Prophecy to *Antigonus*, bidding him look well to himself; and know, that if *Seleucus* did escape his hands, he should recover *Babylon*, yea, win all *Asia*, and kill *Antigonus* in battel. Easie believers may give credit to this tale. Had it been true, methinks *Antigonus* rather should have hanged those *Chaldæans*, for giving him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers (as they say that he did) after him, whom the Destinies preserved for so great purposes. When he had settled things at *Babylon*, he took his journey into *Cilicia*, where he wintered. There he took up ten thousand Talents more of the Kings treasures, and casting his accounts, found his yearly in-come to amount unto eleven thousand Talents.

CHAP. V.

Of the great War between Alexanders *Captains: and how they assumed the Name and State of Kings.*

§. I.

The Combination of Ptolomy, Cassander, *and others against* Antigonus. *Their demands, and his Answer.*

THis great riches, and the rest of his Power, made *Antigonus* dreaded, envied and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new War. *Ptolomy*, *Cassander* and *Lysimachus*, had privily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason than of his own accord he seemed like to yield unto. Of their practices he had some notice; the good entertainment given unto *Seleucus*, giving him sufficient

ſufficient cauſe of miſtruſt. Therefore he ſent Embaſſadors to them ſeverally, entreating them to continue firm in their love toward him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. The cold anſwers which they made, occaſioned his haſty preparation againſt the moſt forward of them, which was *Ptolomy*, it being likely that a good Army ſhould prevail more than a fair meſſage. Therefore, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would permit, he took the way toward *Syria*, and was encountred by Embaſſage from them all. Theſe told him, that their Lords did much rejoyce at his victory obtained againſt *Eumenes* their common enemy, and the honor that he had thereby gotten. In which War, foraſmuch as they being his Confederates, muſt have indured great loſs, with hazard of their whole Eſtates, if the contrary faction had prevailed; they held it very juſt, that all ſhould be partakers in the fruits of that voyage, wherein they had been all adventurers. Wherefore they deſired him, that making between them all an equal diviſion of the treaſures that were in his hands (a thing eaſie to be done) he would alſo take ſome convenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchaſes. This might beſt be to every ones liking, if he would make over *Cappadocia*, with *Lycia*, to *Caſſander*; and *Phrygia*, bordering upon the *Helleſpont*, to *Lyſimachus*: for whereas his own Dominions were ſo much extended Eaſtward by his late victory, he might well ſpare ſome of thoſe Weſtern Provinces, to thoſe that were ſeated in the Weſt. As for *Ptolomy*, he would not crave any new addition, but reſt contented within his own Territories. Provided always, that *Seleucus* their common friend, and partner in the late War, might be reſtored to his own, out of which he had been driven ſo injuriouſly, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly conſent unto their demands, which otherwiſe they muſt labour to obtain with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many loſſes received, he ſhould yet be able to redeem Peace whenſoever he liſted, with theſe, or perhaps with eaſier conditions. Neither was he ſo weak, to give away quietly any part of his ſtrength into the hands of ſuch bad friends, for fear only, leſt it ſhould be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he ſhould be able to find them work, more than enough to defend their own. Therefore he roundly anſwered the Embaſſadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victory, which he alone without other mens help had obtained. Though indeed they had already ſufficiently gained by him, if they could ſee it, having by his means kept their Government, whereof they were like to be diſpoſſeſſed by *Polyſperchon*, and the counſel of eſtate in *Macedon*. But what marvel was it, if they conſidered not how he had ſaved them, ſeeing one of them had forgotten the time, when coming to him as a fugitive, and begging ſuccour, he was by his meer bounty relieved, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Caſſander* did not (ſaid he) in thoſe days command me to ſurrender Provinces, and give him his equal ſhare of my treaſures; but (for his Fathers ſake) deſired me to pity him, and help him againſt his enemies: which I did; by lending him an Army, and Fleet, on confidence whereof he now preſumes to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, How can he complain of wrong, that durſt not ſtay to plead his right? I did uſe him well, but his conſcience told him that he had deſerved ill; elſe he would not have fled. Let them that ſo curiouſly ſearch into my doings, conſider well their own, which ſome of them can hardly juſtifie. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolomies* proceedings, and after him to deal with others, if they continue to provoke me.

§. II.

The preparation and beginnings of the Wars.

WHen the Embaſſadors were diſmiſſed with this anſwer, nothing was thought upon but War. *Antigonus* perceiving that he ſhould be invaded from *Europe*, as ſoon as he was entred into *Syria*, left his Nephew *Ptolomy* to guard the Sea-coaſt, and hinder *Caſſander* from landing in *Aſia*: giveing him alſo charge, to drive out of *Cappadocia*, ſome that were already ſent over to moleſt him. Likewiſe he diſpatched Meſſengers into *Greece* and *Cyprus*, not unfurniſhed of mony; to draw friends to his ſide, and raiſe up troubles to his enemies. Eſpecially, he laboured to make himſelf the ſtrongeſt by Sea; to which purpoſe he rather haſtened, than foreſlowed his journey into *Syria*, that he might get poſſeſſion of Mount *Libanus*, which afforded many excellent commodities for building of a Navy. Therefore, having erected Beacons, and laid poſt-horſes throughout all *Aſia*, to give ſwift advertiſement of all occurrences, he invaded *Syria*, that was not held againſt him

him by any power sufficient to maintain the field.

Ptolomy lay in *Egypt*, the strength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloved and honored of the people as their natural Lord: his other Provinces be kept with a few Garrisons, better serving to contain the people within obedience, than to confront a foreign enemy. So *Antigonus* took many Cities and Places of that Country, and began to set great numbers of Artificers on work in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these businesses he consumed a year and three months; not idly. For he took *Joppe* and *Gaza*, which were yielded unto his discretion, and well used. The strong City of *Tyrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end by famine, to render it self upon composition, that *Ptolomies* Souldiers might depart with their Arms; which was permitted.

Ptolomy was not asleep, whilst these things were in doing, though he kept himself within the bounds of *Egypt*, as indeed it behoved him to do. His forces were not able to stand against *Antigonus* in plain field, but likely they were to encrease, which made him willing to protract the time. Nevertheless by Sea (where his enemy was as yet unready) he sent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chief command.

Seleucus passed with an hundred sail along the coast of *Syria*, in the full view of *Antigonus* and his Army, to their no little discomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which was then governed by many petty Lords: of whom the greatest adhered to *Ptolomy*, the rest were by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the *Egyptian* with sharp steel.

The same commodity of aid by Sea, encouraged the President of *Caria* (called also *Cassander*, but not the Son of *Antipater*, howsoever by the painful and Learned Writer *Reinerus Reineccius*, he is, by some oversight, counted for the same) to declare for *Ptolomy* and his Confederates, and busily imploy in their quarrel all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enjoyed rest; but now he threw himself into dangerous War, chusing rather to undergo trouble at hand, than to fall under certain ruine, though somewhat further distant, which would have overwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the rest.

§. III.

How each party sought to win the assistance of Greece. Antigonus *his declaration against* Cassander. Alexander *the Son of* Polysperchon *revolteth from* Antigonus, *who had set him up.*

IN the mean season all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure unto them the people of *Greece*, whose aid, which way soever inclined, was of great importance. Herein at the first, *Antigonus* sped so well by large effusion of his treasure, that he drew to him the *Lacedæmonians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, of whom he waged eight thousand; and caused *Polysperchon* (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rowse himself again, and taking upon him the title of Captain of *Peloponnesus*, to make head against *Cassander*.

These hopeful beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kind. Wherefore to make *Cassander* the more odious, he called together both his own Souldiers, and all the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, that *Cassander* had very cruelly slain *Olympias*, Mother to the great *Alexander*; and not herewith contented, had shut up in close prison the poor Lady *Roxane*, *Alexanders* Wife, and his Son begotten on her body. That all this proceeded from a desire to make himself King over the *Macedonians*; which well appeared by his enforcing the Lady *Thessalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a match unfit for a man of no greater parentage than he, to joyn with him in marriage. That in meer despite of those dead Princes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, he had planted the *Olynthians*, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new City by him built, and called by his own name *Cassandria*; and had re-edified the City of *Thebes*, which for the great treason of the Inhabitants, was leveled with the ground by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For these reasons he required them to make a Decree, that *Cassander* should restore to absolute liberty the Lady *Roxane*, and her Son; and should yield obedience to the Lord Lieutenant General of the Empire (by which name *Antigonus* himself was understood) or else should be reputed a Traytor, and open Enemy to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of *Greece* should be restored into freedom: this he did, not because he was careful of their good, but for the need which he had of their assistance.

These things being decreed, *Antigonus* was

was perſwaded, that not only the *Greeks* would adhere unto him, as to their loving Patron, and fall off from *Caſſander*, but that the rulers of Provinces, who had hitherto ſuſpected him as a man regardful of nothing but his own benefit, would correct their opinion, and think him the moſt faithful of all others to the Royal blood. But concerning his loyalty to the young Prince, the world was too wiſe to be deceived with vain ſhews. His undertaking for the liberty of the *Greeks* was more effectual, and got eaſie belief, in regard of his preſent hatred to *Caſſander*. Yet herein alſo *Ptolomy* ſtrove to be as earneſt as he, making the like decree, in hope to win to himſelf that valiant Nation, which afforded men far more ſerviceable in War, than were to be found in any Province of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point at which both ſides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinking to make all ſure, deceived himſelf, not without great coſt. For he gave to *Alexander* the Son of *Polyſperchon* five hundred talents, willing him to ſet the War on foot in *Peloponneſus*, whereby it might appear, that on his ſide was meant nothing elſe, than what was openly pretended.

In *Peloponneſus*, *Caſſanders* men had with much blood-ſhed, grievouſly afflicted the contrary faction, and he himſelf perceiving, that they were more eaſily ſpoiled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the beſt way to make what uſe he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiving that *Alexander* came furniſhed with plenty of gold, wherewith he was able not only to win the doubtful, but to corrupt ſuch as might ſeem beſt aſſured; he thought it a part of wiſdom, to ſurrender upon fair conditions, that which he could not aſſure himſelf to hold any long time by force. Therefore he ſent one to deal with *Alexander* about the matters in controverſie; telling him, that *Antigonus* was very skilful in ſetting men together by the ears, not caring who prevailed, but only deſiring to have them weary themſelves, whilſt he was buſied elſewhere; that ſo at length he might find opportunity to ſet upon the ſtronger. If therefore *Alexander* were ſo wiſe, as to keep in his purſe the five hundred talents which he had, and, without ſtroke ſtricken, to receive the whole Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*, it ſhould be freely put into his hands by *Caſſander*; provided, that he ſhould from thenceforth renounce all confederacy made with *Antigonus*, and enter into a ſure and faithful league with *Ptolomy*, *Caſſander*, and the reſt of the Confederates. Otherwiſe he might well perſwade himſelf, that the Country which his Father could not keep, when he was indeed the Lieutenant of the Empire, ſhould not in haſte be won by him, that was only the Factor of a proud injurious man, ſo ſtiling himſelf, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had lived a while with *Antigonus* ſince the beginning of theſe wars; among whoſe followers it was not hard to diſcover the intent (which he did not carry very ſecret) of making himſelf abſolute Lord of all. Therefore he was ſoon entreated to accept ſo good an offer; and did not ſtick to enter into that league, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and ſubject unto no mans control.

Howbeit, this his honor continued not long, ere he loſt both it and his life together, by treaſon of the *Sicyonians*; who thinking thereby to have made themſelves free, were ſoon after vanquiſhed in battel by *Crateſipolis*, *Alexanders* Wife, a diſcreet and valiant Lady. She in revenge of her Husbands death, crucified thirty of the Citizens taken in fight; and having by ſeverity taught them obedience, did afterwards continue her Army in good order, and governed thoſe places that ſhe held, with the commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

§. IV.

The Ætolians *riſe againſt* Caſſander *in favour of* Antigonus, *and are beaten. A Fleet, and Land-Army of* Antigonus *utterly defeated by* Ptolomies *Lieutenant. In what terms the War ſtood at this time.* Antigonus *draws nearer to* Greece.

ANtigonus, when he found, that with ſo much money he had only bought an enemy, began to raiſe troubles to *Caſſander*, and his other Adverſaries in *Greece*, by ſtirring up the *Ætolians* againſt them: Likewiſe he laboured to win to his party the Iſlands in the *Greek* Seas, by whoſe aſſiſtance he might be the better able to deal with *Ptolomy*, that greatly prevailed by reaſon of his ſtrong Fleet. But neither of theſe attempts had the ſucceſs which he expected. The *Ætolians*, a factious Nation, and alwayes envying the greatneſs of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but ſo, that commonly their gains equalled not their loſſes. *Caſſander* wan ſome of their own Country, fortified the *Acarnanians* againſt them, and compelled *Glaucias*, King of the *Illyrians*, whom he vanquiſhed in battel, to forſake their ſide, and bind himſelf,

ſelf to bear no Arms againſt *Caſſanders* friends.

On the other ſide, as many petty Iſlands were drawn to joyn with *Antigonus*; ſo the Fleet of the Rhodians under *Theodatus*, who was Admiral to *Antigonus*, paſſing along the coaſt of *Aſia* towards *Cyprus*, with an Army under conduct of *Perilaus* marching on the ſhore for mutual aſſiſtance, was quite overthrown by *Ptolomies* Navy. *Polyclytus*, who in *Ptolomies* behalf had been ſent into *Peloponneſus* againſt *Alexander*, finding no need of his ſervice in that Country, becauſe *Alexander* was come over to their ſide, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the courſe which theſe *Antigonians* held, whom he very cunningly ſurprized. He rode with his Fleet behind a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambuſh, whereinto *Perilaus* falling was taken priſoner, with many of his men, and many were ſlain, making little reſiſtance. *Theodatus* the Admiral perceiving this, made all haſte to help his fellows that were on Land; but whilſt he with all his Fleet were intentive only to that buſineſs, *Polyclytus* appeared at their backs; who as ſoon as he perceived their diſorder, haſtened about the Cape, and charging them behind, ſuffered not one of them to eſcape him. Theſe ill tidings cauſed *Antigonus* to deal with *Ptolomy* about ſome compoſition. Firſt, he ſent Embaſſadors; afterwards they met in perſon. But *Antigonus* would not yield unto the demands of *Ptolomy*: ſo the parley was vain.

Hitherto each part ſeemed to have indifferently ſped in the War, and thereby to have equal cauſe of hope and fear. This late Victory, with the good ſucceſs of his affairs in *Cyprus*, did ſeem to make amends to *Ptolomy* for his loſſes in *Syria*. Likewiſe the revolt of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equal the confederacy made between the *Ætolians* and him; as alſo thoſe petty skirmiſhes, that had been in *Aſia* the leſs, to *Antigonus* his advantage, were ſufficiently recompenced by others of like regard, but adverſe to him, and by the troubles brought upon his eſtates in thoſe parts by the two *Caſſanders*.

Contrariwiſe, *Antigonus* valued the loſs of his men, money and ſhips, no otherwiſe than as the pairing of his nails, that were left long enough, and would eaſily grow again, but the enlargement of his Territory by addition of *Syria*, he prized at a higher rate; as if thereby he had fed upon a limb of *Ptolomy* his enemy, and ſtrengthened the body of his own Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto ſufficient to counterpoize the bad, he meant to proceed as occaſion ſhould direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no money.

That which moſt moleſted him, was the attempts of his enemies upon *Aſia* the leſs; wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cauſe to fear, leſt the people being tied unto him by no bond of allegiance, might upon ſmall occaſion revolt from him, to men of as honorable reputation as he himſelf. To prevent this, and to be neerer to *Greece*, he held it expedient for him to be there in perſon, where his affairs did ſeem to proſper the worſe, by reaſon of his abſence. Therefore he left part of his Army in *Syria*, under his Son *Demetrius*, to whom being then but two and twenty years old, he appointed many ancient Captains, as Aſſiſtants, or rather as Directors: the reſt he carried with him into *Phrygia*, where he meant to winter.

§. V.

How Lyſimachus *and* Caſſander *vanquiſhed ſome enemies, raiſed againſt them by* Antigonus. *The good ſucceſs of* Antigonus *in* Aſia *and* Greece: *with the rebellion of many Cities againſt* Caſſander.

THe coming of *Antigonus* into thoſe parts, wrought a great alteration in the proceſs of his buſineſs thereabouts. For his enemies had ſhort leiſure to think upon moleſting him in *Aſia*: they themſelves were held over-hardly to their own work on *Europe* ſide. *Seuthes* a King of the *Thracians*, joyning with ſome Towns that rebelled againſt *Lyſimachus*, brought alſo the bordering *Scythians* into the quarrel. All theſe relied upon *Antigonus*, who was to help them with money and other aid. The *Ætolians* likewiſe took courage, and roſe againſt *Caſſander*, having *Æacides*, lately reſtored to the Kingdom of *Epirus*, their Aſſiſtant. But *Lyſimachus* gave unto his Rebels no time to confirm themſelves. He ſuddenly preſented himſelf before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by fear to return unto their former duty. He fought a battel with the *Scythians*, and wilde *Thracians*, and drave them out of the Country. Finally, he overcame *Seuthes*; and following the heat of his Victory, ſlew *Pauſanias* in Battel, whom *Antigonus* had ſent over with an Army; and all his men he did either put to ranſome, or fill up with them his own Bands. The like ſucceſs had

Philip,

Philip, *Cassanders* Lieutenant, against the *Ætolians*. For he wasted their Country; fought with the *Epirotes*, that came to help them: and after the victory, fought again with their forces joyned in one, overthrowing them, and, killing *Æacides* that unfortunate King. Finally, he drave the *Ætolians* out of most of their Countrey, and forced them to seek their safety among the wild Mountains. Of the *Epirotes* he sent as prisoners to *Cassander*, the principal Authors of the Kings restitution, and of the present War.

Yet these actions required some time, and wearied *Antigonus* his Adversaries with painful travel; after which they remained only savers. *Antigonus* himself at fair leisure wan all *Caria* the whilst, and sent Armies into *Peloponnesus*, and other parts of *Greece*, bestowing liberty upon all the Cities he took out of *Cassanders* hands. The whole Country of *Peloponnesus* (excepting *Sicyon* and *Corinth*) with the Isle of *Eubœa*, and many places of the firm Land, were by those means won to be his in true and vehement affection, ready to do or suffer any thing for him that had made so evident a demonstration of his readiness, to give them the liberty in deed, which others had promised in idle words. Many States desirous of the same benefit, would fain have shewed their good will; but they were kept in by *Cassanders* Garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore *Antigonus* made shew as if he would pass over into *Macedon*: by which terror he forced *Cassander* to repair thither in all haste, with the best of his strength, leaving many good Towns of *Greece* so weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to help themselves, if any foreign succour appeared. The aid which they desired was not long wanting. The Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, taking the advantage of *Cassanders* departure, entred the Country; drave his Garrisons out of divers Cities; forced the Governor of *Athens* to enter into league with their Lord; wan the Citadel of *Thebes*, and set the people at liberty. This last action was somewhat remarkable. For *Thebes* had not long before been raised out of her old ruines by the meer power of *Cassander*; of which act he was accused by *Antigonus*, as if it had been some hainous crime. Yet now the same *Antigonus* winneth the City, and the love of the Inhabitants, only by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thank the Increaser, than the Author of their good; and rather to look forward upon those hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all measure, than backward upon their miserable nullity, that held them uncapable of being any thing.

§. VI.

Victories of Ptolomy *by Sea. A great Battel at* Gaza, *which* Ptolomy *and* Seleucus *wan, against* Demetrius *the Son of* Antigonus.

AS the presence or neerness of *Antigonus* gave life to his affairs in the lower *Asia* and *Greece*; so the designs of his enemies, taking advantage at his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great works in the Eastern parts, wherewith in the year preceeding he had over-topped them. The Isle of *Cyprus*, whose Princes wavered between contrary affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their covenant with *Ptolomy*, was visited by an *Egyptian* Fleet, wherewith *Ptolomy*, in his own person easily reduced them to a more settled order, putting some to death, carrying others away prisoners, and leaving a Lieutenant of his own appointment, Governour of the whole Country. With the same Fleet he ran along the Sea-coasts, wasting a great part of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, with the spoils of which he enriched his followers, and returned loaden to *Cyprus*. *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miseries, wherewith his Fathers subjects were oppressed, made all haste out of *Syria* to the rescue, taking only his horses, and light-armed foot with him, because the business required expedition. But in vain did he tire himself and his followers, in hasty seeking of one, that by lanching out into the deep, could in a few minutes delude the labour of so many days, if need had so required. Answerable to the vanity of this expedition was the success. For *Ptolomy* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into *Cilicia*. Neither was it certain, whether having lightned his ships of their burthen in *Cyprus*, he would return upon those maritime Countries, or make towards *Syria*, where his coming was expected. He was indeed gone into *Egypt*, and there with *Seleucus* was describing a Royal Army, which he levied with all convenient speed, for the recovery of *Syria*. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore he was fain to chuse out of uncertainties the most likelihood, and return the way that he came, with all his companies, which were fitter for service in the open field, than to be bestowed in Garrisons among the *Cilicians*. He had

ſcarce refreſhed his men and horſes in *Syria*, when the news arrived of *Ptolomies* coming with a puiſſant Army, to give him battel. Hereupon he called to counſel his principal friends, who adviſed him to give way to the time, and expect ſome better opportunity in the future, being a young man, and weakly furniſhed with means to reſiſt ſuch ancient and famous Generals, as *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus*. This counſel ſeemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of thoſe aged men that gave it, than from any neceſſity growing out of the preſent buſineſs. For *Demetrius* conſidering himſelf to be the Son of *Antigonus*, and now General of his Fathers Army, thought his own title weighty enough to be laid in ballance againſt the bare names of thoſe two great Commanders. Neither found he much reaſon that ſhould move him to diſtruſt his forces, as inſufficient. His men were better exerciſed than the enemies, and promiſed as much as could be required. Therefore perſwading himſelf, that ſuch odds of number, and of great fame, would rather ſerve to adorn his victory, than hinder him in obtaining it, he reſolved to put the matter to tryal, without expecting the advantage of more help. So animating his Souldiers with hope of ſpoil and rewards, he abode the coming of the Enemies at *Gaza*, with purpoſe to encounter them, as ſoon as they had finiſhed their wearisome journey over the Deſarts of *Arabia*.

Ptolomy and *Seleucus* iſſuing out of ſo rich a Province as *Egypt*, came ſo well provided of all neceſſaries, that their Army felt not any great grievance of the evil way, when battel was preſented them, which confidently they undertook. In all things elſe they had the odds of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were utterly unprovided. But how to deal with thoſe Beaſts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kind of Paliſado, faſtened ſtrongly together with chains, and ſharpened in ſuch a manner, that the Elephants could not ſeek to break upon it, without receiving much hurt. The reſt of their forces (which (beſides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate ſervices, by them performed that year, whilſt the enemies had wearied themſelves, either with vain journeys, or long and dulling expectation) they diſpoſed in ſuch order, as beſt anſwered to the form wherein *Demetrius* was embattelled. The fight began, and was maintained with equal courage, for a long time, each part ſtriving more to win honor, than to ſatisfie any other paſſion, as having little cauſe of hatred, or revenge. But after ſome continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of *Demetrius*, who upon no neceſſity would needs fight a battel with diſadvantage, began to appear by his loſſes. He had committed himſelf to Fortune, having more to loſe by her than he could get: but in this fight ſhe was idle, and left all to be decided by ſtrong hands; unleſs it may be ſaid, that the terror brought upon his men, by the loſs of his Elephants, was bad luck. Thoſe beaſts were in that kind of War hardly to be reſiſted on plain ground; and therefore at the firſt they made great ſpoil amongſt *Ptolomy's* men. Afterward ſeeking to break thorow the Paliſado, they were ſorely hurt, and every one of them taken. This diſaſter cauſed the horſemen of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, and prevailed little, till now perceiving that all muſt lye upon their hands, who were ill able to make their own places good, they began to ſhrink, and many of them to provide for their ſafety by timely flight, which example the reſt quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had ſtroven ſo long in vain to make his men abide, that he himſelf was likely to be loſt; he was fain to give place to the ſtronger, making a violent retrait as far as to *Azotus*, which was about thirty miles from the place of Battel. A great part of his carriages was in *Gaza*, whither ſome of his company turned aſide, hoping to ſave ſuch goods, as in haſte they could pack up. This fooliſh covetouſneſs was their deſtruction, and the loſs of the Town. For, whilſt they, forgetful of the danger, had filled the ſtreets with ſumpter-horſes, and cloyed up the gates, thronging, ſome to get in and fetch; others, to carry out what they had already loaden, *Ptolomy's* Army brake in without reſiſtance, taking them with their goods and the City altogether.

This Victory reſtored unto *Ptolomy* the beſt part of *Syria*, a Province more eaſie in thoſe times to get, than to keep; and opened the way unto all the greatneſs of *Seleucus*. For between *Gaza* and *Phœnicia* no place offered reſiſtance. In *Cœloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, ſome Towns held out a while, but were ſoon taken in by *Ptolomy*. Among theſe were the great Cities of *Tyrus* and *Sydon*; of which *Sidon* was given up by the Inhabitants; *Tyrus* by the Garriſon, falling to mutiny againſt their Captain, who truſting to the ſtrength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolomy*, and honorably entertained in reſpect of his fidelity.

§. VII.

§. VII.

How Seleucus *recovered* Babylon, *and made himſelf Lord of many Countries in the higheſt* Aſia. *The* Æra *of the Kingdom of the* Greeks, *which began with the Dominion of* Seleucus.

WHile *Ptolomy* followed his buſineſs with ſuch proſperity, *Seleucus* took leave of him, and went up to *Babylon*, to try his own fortune; which he found ſo favourable, that recovering firſt his own Province, he became at length maſter of the better part of *Alexanders* purchaſes.

This expedition of *Seleucus* was very ſtrange, and full of unlikelihoods. His train conſiſted of no more than eighteen hundred foot, and two hundred horſe, a number too ſmall to have been placed as Garriſon, in ſome one of thoſe main great Cities, againſt which he carried it into the higher *Aſia*. But little force is needful, to make way into ſtrong places, for him that already ſtands poſſeſſed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of *Seleucus* was enough; whom the *Babylonians* had found ſo good a Governor, that none of them would find courage to reſiſt him; but left that work to *Antigonus* his own men, wiſhing them ill to ſpeed. Some of the *Macedonians* that were in thoſe Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of War, which by eaſie compulſion they left off, and followed new Enſigns. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and ſubmitted themſelves joyfully to *Seleucus*. In a defection ſo general, it was not a ſafe courſe for the *Antigonians*, to thruſt themſelves into the Towns of moſt importance: for every man of them ſhould have been troubled with daily enemies in his own lodging. It remained that they ſhould iſſue forth into the field, and try the matter by fight. But the treaſon of one principal man, who revolted to the enemy, with more than a thouſand Souldiers following him, ſo diſmayed the reſt, that they did no more than ſeek to make good one ſtrong place, wherein were kept the Hoſtages and Priſoners, that *Antigonus* held for his ſecurity in thoſe quarters. This Caſtle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leiſure, againſt dangers, that were not then apparent. *Seleucus* quickly took it; and ſo got the entire poſſeſſion of *Meſopotamia* and *Babylon*.

Antigonus had beſtowed in *Media* and *Perſia*, forces convenient for defence of thoſe Provinces, that were the utmoſt of his Dominion. In the Countries about *Euphrates* he had not done the like: for his own great Army lay between them and all enemies. Therefore when the victory at *Gaza* had opened unto *Seleucus* the way into thoſe parts; he found little impediment in the reſt of his buſineſs. Having now gotten what he ſought, it behoved him to ſeek how he might keep his gettings: for his own forces were too ſmall, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not do for him, his enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his Army in *Media*, joyning unto himſelf, out of *Perſia* and other Countries, all needful help, came, with ten thouſand Foot, and ſeven thouſand Horſe, either to ſave all from being loſt, or to drive *Seleucus* out of that which he had won. 308

Againſt this power, *Seleucus* had only four hundred Horſe, and ſomewhat above three thouſand Foot, wherewith to oppoſe himſelf: his large Conqueſt of unwarlike Nations having yielded him many loving Subjects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were near to the River of *Tigris*, he withdrew himſelf from the place where his reſiſtance was expected, into certain mariſhes not far off; where he lay ſecretly waiting for ſome advantage. *Nicanor* thought that he had been fled, and was the leſs careful in fortifying his Camp. In recompence of this vain ſecurity, his Camp was taken by ſurprize, the firſt night of his arrival; the *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Perſia*, together with ſundry of the Captains, were ſlain; he himſelf was driven to flee for his life into the deſarts, and the whole Army yielded unto *Seleucus*: whoſe gentle demeanor, after the victory, drew all *Media*, *Suſiana*, and the Neighbour Provinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further ſtroke ſtricken.

This victory of *Seleucus* gave beginning unto the new ſtile of, *The Kingdom of the Greeks*, an accompt much uſed by the *Greeks*, *Chaldæans*, *Syrians*, and other Nations in thoſe parts. I will not make any long diſputation about the firſt year of this *Æra*. The authority of that great Aſtrologer *Ptolomy*, from which there is no appeal, makes it plain, that *the five hundred and nineteenth year of* Nabonaſſar, *was the fourſcore and ſecond year of this accompt*. Other inference hereupon is needleſs, than that note of the learned *Gauricus*, *That the firſt of theſe years was reckoned compleat, at* Babylon, *together with the end of four hundred thirty and eight years after* Nabonaſſar. With the obſervation of the *Saturn*, recorded by *Ptolomy*, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Bunting*; finding

Pol. Almag. lib. 11. *cap.* 7. *&* 8.

L. Gauric. in annot. ad locum citatum.

finding the same Planet to have been so placed in the sign of *Virgo*, as the *Chaldæans* had observed it, in the same year; which was from *Nabonassar* the five hundred and nineteenth; from *Seleucus* the fourscore and second year; and the last of the hundred thirty and seventh *Olympiad*. These observations of the celestial bodies, are the surest marks of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrances in History, and the years of succeeding Princes (that are not seldom ambiguous, by reason of unremembred fractions) if they seem to be here-against, it is not greatly material. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that these years of the *Greeks* were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one year, that is found between actions, related by the several Authors of the two Books of the *Maccabees*, who follow divers accompts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolomy*, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a years distance.

§. VIII.

How Ptolomy *lost all he won in* Syria. *What the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed unto the* Macedonians, *by those that had been subject unto the Persian Empire. Of divers petty enterprizes, taken in hand by* Antigonus *and* Demetrius, *with ill success.*

IN a happy hour did *Seleucus* adventure to go up to *Babylon*, with so few men as his friend could then well spare: for had he stayed longer upon hope of getting more Souldiers, *Ptolomy* could have spared him none at all. *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, having lost the battel at *Gaza*, received from *Ptolomy* all his own goods, his Pages, and Servants, in free gift, and therewithal a courteous message, to this effect: That no personal hatred was the ground of this War, which he and his Confederates held with *Antigonus*; but only terms of honor, wherein they would seek to right themselves after such manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrel, should not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of *Ptolomy*, did kindle in *Demetrius* an earnest desire of requiting him, with some as brave liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken Troops; drew as many as could bespared, out of the Garrisons in *Cilicia*, or other Provinces thereabouts, and advertising his Father of his misfortune, besought him to send a new supply, wherewith he might redeem his honor lost. *Antigonus* upon the first news of this overthrow, had said, That the victory which *Ptolomy* wan upon a beardless Boy, should be taken from him by bearded men: yet upon desire that his son, whom he tenderly loved, should amend his own reputation, he was content to make a stand in *Phrygia*. *Ptolomy* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did nevertheless follow his own business in *Cœlosyria*; thinking it enough to spend part of his Army under *Cilles* his Lieutenant, against the remnant of those, that had been already vanquished, when *Cilles* too much undervalued the power of such an Enemy. He thought that this young Gallant, having lately saved his life by flight, would now be more careful of having a a fair way at his back, than adventurous in setting further forward, than urgent reason should provoke him. In this confidence he passed on without all fear; as one that were already Master of the field, and should meet with none, that would issue out of their places of strength, to make resistance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this careless march; he took the lightest of his Army, and made his journey with such diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came upon *Cilles* unexpected, and was on the sudden, without any battel, Master of his Camp: taking him alive, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit served not only to repair the credit of *Demetrius*, which his loss at *Gaza* had almost ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bounty of *Ptolomy*, with equal favour, in restoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich presents. But neither was *Ptolomy* so weakned by this loss, nor *Demetrius* so emboldned by his victory, that any matter of consequence thereupon ensued. For *Demetrius* feared the coming of *Ptolomy*; and therefore he fortified himself in places of advantage: *Ptolomy* on the other side was loth to engage himself in an enterprize, wherein he might perceive, that if the coming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he should either be driven to make a shameful retrait, or a dangerous adventure of his whole estate, in hope of not much more than already he possessed.

Antigonus, indeed, was nothing slow in his way towards *Syria*; whither he made all haste, not so much to relieve his son, as to embrace him. For he rejoyced exceeding, that the young man had so well acquitted

quitted himſelf, and being left to his own advice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to encreaſe the reputation of this late victory, he brought ſuch forces, as might ſerve to re-conquer all *Syria:* meaning, that the honor of all ſhould be referred unto the good foundation laid by his ſon; whom from this time forwards, he imployed in matters of greateſt importance.

Ptolomy had now leſs reaſon to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his coming to have aſſailed the Camp of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of conſultation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captains adviſed him to retire into *Egypt*, alledging many good arguments to that purpoſe: which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his own intent, by his propounding that courſe; not without remembrance of the good ſucceſs againſt *Perdiccas*, in the like defenſive War. So he departed out of *Syria*, preſerving his honor; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any ſudden paſſion of fear: and he departed at fair leiſure, not only carrying his treaſures along with him, but ſtaying to diſmantle ſome principal Cities, that he thought moſt likely to trouble him in the future. All the Country that he left at his back, fell preſently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: ſo eaſie was it in thoſe times, for the Captain of a ſtrong Army, to make himſelf Lord of a great Province.

We may juſtly wonder, that theſe Kingdoms of *Syria*, *Media*, *Babylon*, and many other Nations (which the victory of *Alexander* had over-run with ſo haſty a courſe, as gave him not leiſure to take any good view of them) were ſo eaſily held not only by himſelf, but by the Captains of his Army after him. The hot contentions for ſuperiority between the King of *Iſrael*, and thoſe of *Damaſcus*; between *Egypt* and *Babylon*; *Babylon* and *Nineve*; the *Perſians* and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to have once been in thoſe people; which are now ſo patient of a foreign yoke, that like Sheep or Oxen, they ſuffer themſelves to be diſtributed, fought for, won, loſt, and again recovered by contentious Maſters; as if they had no title to their own heads, but were born to follow the fortune of the *Macedonians*. This will appear the more ſtrange, if we ſhall conſider, how the ſeveral States of *Greece* (many of which had never poſſeſſed ſo large Dominion, as might cauſe their ſpirits to ſwell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occaſions of liberty: and how theſe proud Conquerors were glad to offer it, deſiring to have them rather friends than ſervants, for fear of further inconvenience.

It muſt therefore be noted, that moſt of theſe Countries had always been ſubject unto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords, whom the *Babylonians* and *Perſians* long ſince had rooted out, and held them in ſuch bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of foreign Maſters. This had utterly taken from them all remembrance of home-born Princes, and incorporated them into the great body of the *Perſian* Empire: ſo that wanting within themſelves all ſoveraign power, or high authority, the life and ſpirit of every Eſtate; they lay as dead, and were bereaved of motion, when that Kingdom fell, whereof they lately had been members.

Why the *Perſian Satrapæ*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the *Macedonian* Captains after the death of *Alexander*, ſtrive to lay hold upon thoſe Provinces, which had many ages been ſubject unto them, and ſcarce four years in quiet poſſeſſion of their enemies; or why at leaſt they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conqueror did ceaſe to affright them) to get their ſhares among his followers, if not wholly to diſpoſſeſs them of their new purchaſes: it is a queſtion, wherein who is not ſatisfied, may find no leſs reaſon to ſuſpect the Hiſtory, than authority to confirm it. For we ſeldom read, that any ſmall Kingdom, prevailing againſt a far greater, hath made ſo entire a conqueſt, in the compaſs of ten years, as left unto the vanquiſhed no hope of recovery, nor means to rebel; eſpecially when ſuch diſorders, or rather utter confuſion hath enſued, by the fury of civil War among the Victors.

The cauſe why the *Macedonians* held ſo quietly the *Perſian* Empire, is well ſet down by *Machiavel*; and concerns all other Kingdoms, that are ſubject unto the like form of Government: the ſum whereof is this; Whereſoever the Prince doth hold all his Subjects under the condition of ſlaves, there is the conqueſt eaſie, and ſoon aſſured: Where ancient Nobility is had in due regard, there is it hard to win all, and harder to keep that which is won. Examples of this are the Turkiſh Empire, and the Kingdom of *France*. If any Invader ſhould prevail ſo far upon Turky, that the great *Sultan* and his Children (for Brethren he uſeth not to ſuffer alive) were taken or ſlain: the whole Empire would quickly be won,

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and easily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the Bassaes, how great soever they may seem, are meer slaves; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whose personal regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, wherein hope of private gain should not countervail, all apparent matter of fear. Contrariwise, in *France*, it were not enough for him that would make a conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though he further got the better part of the Country, and were by far the strongest in the field. For, besides the Princes of the Royal blood, there are in that Kingdom store of great men; who are mighty in their several Countries, and having certain Royalties and Principalities of their own, are able to raise War in all quarters of the Realm; whereunto the remembrance of their own ancient Families, and long continued Nobility, will always stir up and inflame them: so that until every ones piece were won, and every one (an endless work) of the chief Nobility brought under or destroyed, the victory were not compleat, nor well assured. It is true, that such power of the Nobility, doth often times make way for an Invader; to whom the discontentments of a few can easily make a fair entrance. But such assistants are not so easily kept, as they are gotten; for they look to be satisfied at full, in all their demands; and having what they would, they soon return to their old allegiance, upon condition to keep what they have, unless they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himself. The *Turk*, on the other side, needs not to fear any peril, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principal men. The greatest mischief that any of them could work against him, were the betraying of some frontier Town, or the wilful loss of a battel: which done, the Traytor hath spent his sting, and must either fly to the enemy, whereby he loseth all that he formerly did hold; or else, in hope of doing some further harm, he must adventure to excuse himself unto his Master, who seldom forgives the Captain, that hath not strived by desperate valour against misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great *Sultan*, and so joyning themselves unto any Invader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them have any followers or dependants at all, other than such as are subject unto them, by vertue of their Offices and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principal men, doth leave unto them no means, whereby to oppose themselves against the flourishing estate of their Prince; so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giving him assistance; if adversity should make him stand in need of them. For there is scarce any one among the *Turks* Bassaes, or Provincial Governors, that knows either from whence he was brought, or from whom descended, nor any one among them, that by the loss and utter ruin of the *Turkish* Empire, can lose any foot of his proper inheritance; and it is the proper inheritance of the subject, which is also a Kingdom unto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conqueror, who hath no other device painted on his Ensign, than the picture of slavery.

As is the *Turkish* Empire, so was the *Persian*, void of liberty in the Subjects, and utterly destitute of other Nobility, than such as depended upon meer favour of the Prince. Some indeed there were of the Royal blood, and others, descended from the Princes that joyned with *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, in oppressing the *Magi*: these were men of reputation in *Persia*, but their reputation consisted only in their Pedigree, and their safety in not medling with affairs of State, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these *Persian* Princes were held, it may appear by this, that the Kings Uncles, Cousin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their Slaves*, and so did stile themselves, in speaking unto these great Monarchs. That upon every light occasion of displeasure they were handled as Slaves, it is easie to be discerned, in that example of cruelty, practised by *Xerxes* upon his own brother *Masistes*; which hath been formerly noted, in place more convenient. As for the *Satrapæ*, or Governors of the Provinces, it is needless to cite examples, proving them to have been meer slaves: it may suffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of those Women and Eunuchs, by whom the King was governed.

To this want of Nobility in *Persia*, may be added the general want of liberty convenient among the people: a matter no less available, in making easie and sure the conquest of a Nation, than is the cause assigned by *Machiavel*. For as *Æsop* his Ass did not care to run from the enemies, because it was not possible, that they should load him with heavier burthens, than his Master caused him daily to bear: so the Nations, that endure the worst under their own Princes,

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are not greatly fearfull of a forein yoke; Nor will be hasty to shake it off, if by experience they find it more light, than was that whereunto they had been long accustomed. This was it that made the *Gascoignes* bear such faithful affection to the Kings of *England*; for that they governed more mildly than the *French*. This enlarged the *Venetian* jurisdiction in *Lombardy*; for the Towns that they wan, they wan out of the hands of Tyrannous oppressors: and this did cause the *Macedonians*, with other Nations that had been subject unto the posterity of *Alexanders* followers, to serve the *Romans* patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eased of many burthens, which had been imposed upon them by their own Kings.

So that of this tameness, which we find in those that had been subjects of the *Persian* Kings, the reasons are apparent. Yet some of these there were, that could not so easily be contained in good order by the *Macedonians*: for they had not indeed been absolutely conquered by the *Persian*. Such were the *Sogdians*, *Bactrians*, and other Nations about the *Caspian* Sea. Such also were the *Arabians* bordering upon *Syria*: against whom *Antigonus* sent part of his Army; thinking therewith to bring them under, or rather to get a rich booty. The Captains that he sent, fell upon the *Nabathæans*, at such time as they were busied in a great Mart; wherein they traded with the more remote *Arabians* for Mirrh, Frankincense, and other such commodities. All or most of these rich wares, together with five hundered talents of silver, and many prisoners, the *Macedonians* laid hold upon: for their coming was sudden and unexpected. But ere they could recover *Syria*, the *Nabathæans* overtook them, and finding them weary with long marches, made such a slaughter, that of four thousand foot, and six hundered horse, only fifty horse escaped. To revenge this loss, *Demetrius* was set out with a great power: yet all in vain; for he was not resisted by any Army, but by the natural defence of a vast Wilderness, lack of water, and of all things necessary. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein he lost not much honour: for they craved it, and gave him presents. Returning from the *Nabathæans*, he viewed the Lake *Asphaltites*, whence he conceived hope of great profit, that might be raised, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good husbandry of his Son, *Antigonus* was well pleased, and appointed men to the work: but they were slain by the *Arabians*, and so that hope vanished.

These petty enterprises, with the ill success accompanying them, had much impaired the good advantage against *Ptolomy*: when the news of *Seleucus* his victories in the high Countries, marred all together. For neither was the loss of those great and wealthy Provinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it safe to transport the War into the parts beyond *Euphrates*, whereby *Syria*, and the lower *Asia* should have been exposed to the danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle course was thought the best; and *Demetrius*, with fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, was sent against *Seleucus*. These forces being sent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his Son did less. For *Seleucus* was then in *Media*; his Lieutenants about *Babylon* withdrew themselves from necessity of fight; some places they fortified and kept: *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without setting in Garrison more men than he could spare, neither did he get much; and therefore was fain to set out the bravery of his Expedition, by burning and spoiling the Country: which he did thereby the more alienate, and, as it were, acknowledge to belong unto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his own assured.

Antigonus had laid upon his Son a peremptory commandment, to return unto him at a time prefixed: reasonably thinking (as may seem) that in such an unsettled state of things, either the War might be ended, by the fury of the first brunt; or else it would be vain to strive against all difficulties likely to arise, where want of necessaries should frustrate the valour, that by strength of time was like to become less terrible to the enemy. *Demetrius* therefore leaving behind him five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, rather to make shew of continuing the War, than to effect much, where himself with greater forces could do little more than nothing, forsook the enterprize, and went back to his Father.

§. IX.

A general Peace made and broken. How all the house of Alexander *was destroyed.*

THese ambitious heads, having thus wearied themselves with uneffectual travel, in seeking to get more than any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them should hold quietly, that which at the present he had in possession. As no private hatred, but meer desire of Empire, had moved them to

enter into the War; so was it no friendly reconciliation, but only a dulness growing upon the slow advancement of their several hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, till occasion might better serve to fight again.

Besides that main point, *Of retaining the Provinces which every man held*, there were two Articles of the peace, that gave a fair, but a false colour, to the business; *That the Son of* Alexander *by* Roxane, *should be made King when he came to full age*; and, *That all the Estates of* Greece *should be set at liberty*. The advancement of young *Alexander* to his Fathers Kingdom, seems to have been a matter forceably extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was discovered a purpose, to have made himself Lord of all. But this, indeed more neerly touched *Cassander*. For in his custody was the young Prince and his Mother: neither did he keep them in a sort answerable to their degree; but as close prisoners, taken in that War, wherein they had seen the old Queen *Olympias* taken and murdered, that sought to put them in possession of the Empire. The mutual hatred and fear between them, rooted in these grounds, of injuries done, and revenge expected; upon this conclusion of peace, grew up faster than any time before, in the heart of *Cassander*: who saw the *Macedonians* turn their favourable expectation, towards the Son of their late renowned King.

All this either little concerned *Antigonus*; or tended greatly to his good. The young Prince must first have possession of *Macedon*: whereby *Cassander* should be reduced to his poor office, *of Captain over a thousand men*, if not left in worse case. As for them that held Provinces abroad, they might either do as they had done under *Aridæus*; or better, as being better acquainted with their own strength. He, in the meane time, by his readiness to acknowledge the true Heir, had freed himself from that ill-favoured imputation, of seeking to make himself Lord of all that *Alexander* had gotten.

The like advantage had he in that Article, *Of restoring the Greeks to their liberty*. This liberty had hitherto been the subject of much idle discourse: but it never took effect. *Antigonus* held scarce any Town of theirs, *Cassander* occupied most of the Country: which if he should set free, he must be a poor Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrel against him, as against a Disturber of the common Peace.

In the mean season, the Countries lying between *Euphrates* and the *Greek* Seas, together with a great Army, and mony enough to entertaine a greater, might serve to hold up the credit of *Antigonus*, and to raise his hopes as high as ever they had been.

With much disadvantage do many men contend against one that is equal to them all in puissance. *Cassanders* friends had left him in an ill case; but he could not do withall: for, where every one mans help is necessary to the War, there may any one make his own peace; but no one can stand out alone, when all the rest are weary. The best was, that he knew all their affections: which tended to no such end as the becoming Subjects unto any man, much less to the Son of an *Asiatique* woman, of whom they had long since refused to hear mention. Therefore he took a short course, and caused both the Child and his Mother to be slain: freeing thereby himself in a trice, from the dangerous necessity of yielding up his Government, which he must have done when the Child had come to age. *Roxane* was a Lady of singular beauty, which was perhaps the cause, why *Perdiccas* desired to have her Son, being as yet unborn, proclaimed Heir to the great *Alexander*. Immediately upon the death of *Alexander*, she had used the favour (if it were not love) of *Perdiccas*, to the satisfying of her own bloody malice, upon *Statira*, the Daughter of King *Darius*, whom *Alexander* had likewise married, according to the custom of those Countries, wherein plurality of Wives is held no crime. For, having by a counterfeit Letter, in *Alexanders* name, gotten this poor Lady into her hands, she did, by assistance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her Sister, and threw their bodies into a Well, causing it to be filled up with earth. But now, by Gods just vengeance, were she and her Son made a way, in the like secret fashion; even at such time as the neer approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wearisome imprisonment, grow dearer unto her than it was before.

The fact of *Cassander* was not so much detested in outward shew; as inwardly it was pleasing unto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords of all that they had under them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of War; wherein every one perswaded himself of success, rather better than worse. Hereupon all of them (except *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had work enough at home) began to rowze themselves: as if now the time were come, for each man to improve his own stock. *Antigonus* his Lieutenants were busie in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellespont*: while their Master was carefull

careful in following other, and ſome greater matters that were more ſecretly to be handled. He pretended the liberty of *Greece*: yet did the ſame argument miniſter unto *Ptolomy* matter of quarrel, againſt both him and *Caſſander*; *Ptolomy* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garriſons into ſome Towns, which ought, in fair dealing, to be ſet at liberty. Under colour of redreſſing this enormity, he ſent an Army into *Cilicia*, where he won four Towns, and ſoon after loſt them, without much labour of his own or his enemies.

After this, putting to Sea with a ſtrong Fleet, he ran along the coaſt of *Aſia*, winning many places: and in that voyage allured unto him a Nephew of *Antigonus* (a good Commander, but diſcontented with the ill requital of his ſervices) whom finding ſhortly, as falſe to himſelf as he had been to his own Uncle, he was fain to put to death. But in doing theſe things, his deſire to ſet the *Greeks* at liberty, appeared not ſo plain, as he wiſhed that it ſhould: for their caſe was no way bettered by his moleſting *Antigonus* in *Aſia*. Therefore to get the love of that valiant Nation, he made at the laſt an Expedition into *Greece* it ſelf: where having ſet free ſome little Iſlands, and landed in *Peloponneſus*, he raiſed ſo great an expectation of finiſhing the long-deſired work, that *Crateſipolis*, the Widow of *Alexander*, *Polyſperchons* Son, gave up into his hands the Towns of *Sycion* and *Corinth*.

Ptolomy had conceived a vain belief, that the *Greeks*, emboldened by his countenance and aſſiſtance, would all of them take heart and riſe up in arms; whereby with little labour their liberty might be gotten; and he be acknowledged as Author of this immortal benefit. But long ſervitude had wellneer extinguiſhed the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recover freedom, had ſo tired their ſpirits, that they would no more ſtir in purſuit thereof; but ſate idly ſtill, as wiſhing it to fall into their mouthes.

The *Lacedæmonians*, about theſe times, began to fortifie their Town with walls; truſting no longer in their vertue (for both it, and the diſcipline that upheld it, were too much impaired) that had been a wall to their Town and Territory.

The *Athenians* were become as humble ſervants, as they had been in times paſt inſolent Maſters: erecting as many ſtatues in honor of *Demetrius Phalereus*, as there were days in the year. This *Demetrius* was now their Governor; and he governed them with much moderation: but, in ſpight of their hearts, as being ſet over them by *Caſſander*. By this baſe temper of the principal Cities, it is eaſie to gather, how the reſt of the Country ſtood affected. *Ptolomy* could not get them to ſet their helping-hands to their own good, and to furniſh him with the promiſed ſupplies of mony and victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thraldom; as judging the commodity that would ariſe by annexing them to his party, a matter of more weight than the loſs that *Caſſander* ſhould receive thereby, who could hardly retain them, if once *Antigonus* took the work in hand. But when he found ſuch difficulty in the buſineſs, he changed his purpoſe: And renewing his former friendſhip with *Caſſander*, he retained *Sycion* and *Corinth* in his own poſſeſſion.

Before the coming of *Ptolomy* into *Greece*, *Caſſander* had been held occupied with very much work. For (beſides his pains taken in Wars among barbarous Princes) he found means to allure unto himſelf the Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponneſus*, and about *Helleſpont*: making his own advantage of their diſcontentments. By the like skilful practice he freed himſelf from a greater danger, and made thoſe murthers which he had committed ſeem the leſs odious, by teaching his enemies to do the like. Old *Polyſperchon*, that had made ſo great a ſtir in the reign of *Aridæus*, did after the death of *Roxane* and her child, enter again upon the Stage: leading in his hand another Son of the great *Alexander*, and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this young Prince was *Hercules*: he was begotten on *Barſine* the daughter of *Artabazus Perſian*; but had been leſs eſteemed than the ſon of *Roxane*, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or elſe perhaps, in regard of the favour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympias*, did bear unto *Roxane*. At this time the death of his Brother had moved ſuch compaſſion, and regard of his being *Alexanders* only living child, had procured unto him ſuch good will, that the demand which *Polyſperchon* made in his behalf, was deemed very juſt and honorable. There were indeed more hearts than hands, that joyned with this young Prince: yet wanted he not ſufficient ſtrength of hands, if the heart of him that leaſt ought, had not been moſt falſe. *Caſſander* had raiſed an Army to withſtand his entry into *Macedon*: but little truſt could he repoſe in that Army, whoſe wiſhes he perceived to be with *Hercules*. Therefore he

assailed *Polysperchon* himself with gifts and promises; wherewith at length he prevailed so far, that the old Villain was contented to murther his Pupil; chusing rather with many curses and foul dishonor, to take the offered Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, and Commander of an Army; than to purchase a noble fame with dangerous travel, in maintaining his faith, unto both his dead and living Soveraigns.

Antigonus had not all this while been asleep; though his losses were hitherto the chief witnesses of his having been a stirrer in these commotions. He thought it enough for him at the present to retain his own: and therefore took order for the recovery of those places which *Ptolomy* had taken pains to win. As for the rest, it no way grieved him to see *Cassander* incur the general hatred of men, by committing those murthers of which the profit was like to redound unto him that was the most powerful, or to see *Polysperchon* and *Ptolomy* sweat in a busie War against *Cassander*. If they would have continued their quarrels, he could well have afforded them leisure, and have thought the time well spent in beholding their contentions. For he was throughly perswaded, that when the rest had wearied themselves in vain with long strife, his Armies and Treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all under. According to these haughty conceits, he demeaned himself among his followers; looking big upon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that caused so many of them to revolt from him: but it was no great loss to be forsaken by those that looked with envious eyes upon that fortune whereon their own should have depended. Against this envy of his men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* busily sought a remedy, such as was like to give him a goodly title to the whole Empire.

Cleopatra Sister unto the great *Alexander*, lay for the most part in *Sardes*: whom he had a great desire to take to Wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for howsoever she discovered much unwillingness thereunto, yet was she in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for fear of being enforced. But it was not his purpose to get her by compulsive means: either because his fancy, being an old man, was not over-violent; or rather because his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could have made small use of her, by doing such apparent wrong. She had been married unto *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, after whose death she came to her Brother in *Asia*; hoping belike to find a new Husband in his Camp. But neither any of those brave Captains, that were, in times following so hot in love with her, durst then aspire unto her marriage: nor did her Brother, full of other cares, trouble himself with providing her of an Husband. She therefore, being a lusty Widow, suffered her blood so far to prevail against her honor, that she supplied the want of an Husband by entertainment of Paramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a jest: saying, That she was his Sister, and must be allowed this liberty, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death the Empire lay in a manner void, and the portion due to her therein grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had been: then did many seek to obtain her, while she her self desired only a proper man, with whom she might lead a merry life. To this purpose did she invite *Leonatus* unto her; who made great haste, but was cut off by death ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long tarrying, she had her choice of all the great Commanders, *Antigonus*, *Ptolomy*, *Lysimachus* and *Cassander*, being all her earnest Wooers. All these (*Antigonus* excepted) had Wives already; *Ptolomy* had many Wives, and many Concubines whom he respected as much as his Wives, being noted of too much dotage in that kind. This hindred not his suit: peradventure it advanced it, by giving to *Cleopatra* some hope of mutual toleration. To him therefore she bequeathed her self, and was taking her journey from *Sardes* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputy in that City, made her to stay, until his Masters further pleasure should be known. *Antigonus* had now a Wolf by the ears: he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her go. She would not be his Wife; he had no honest pretence to force her; and to keep her prisoner, had been the way, by which he might have incurred a general hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by *Cassander* against *Roxane* (a Lady less respected than *Alexanders* own Sister) did well testifie. Therefore he thought it the wisest way to procure her death: for to let any other enjoy the commodity of so fair a title to the Kingdom, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Governor of *Sardes*, willing him in any case to do it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certain women about her put in trust with the murther: which women afterwards were put to death, as mischievous conspirers against the life of that good Lady. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the least in his own opinion:

opinion: but the world was leſs fooliſh, than to be ſo deluded. How the murther was detected, we need not ask: for ſeldom is that bloody crime unrevealed, and never ſo ill ſmothered, as when great perſons are the Authors.

Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the great extinguiſhed, and it was extinguiſhed by the hands of ſuch as thought upon nothing leſs than the execution of Gods juſtice, due unto the cruelty of theſe powerful, but mercileſs Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by theſe Tyrants, upon ſo wicked foundations of innocent blood, were ſoon after caſt down, overwhelming themſelves or their children, with the ruines, as the ſequel will declare.

§. X.

How Demetrius, *the ſon of* Antigonus, *gave liberty to* Athens, *expelling the Garriſons of* Caſſander *out of thoſe parts. The immoderate honor decreed by the* Athenians *to* Antigonus *and* Demetrius.

NOne being left alive that had any title to the Kingdom; it ſtood with good reaſon, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, acknowledging no Superiour, ſhould freely profeſs themſelves Kings in name, as they were already in ſubſtance. Yet had this name ill-beſeemed the weaker, while the ſtrongeſt of all did forbear it: neither ſeemed it convenient in the judgement of *Antigonus*, to crown his laſt action with ſuch a title, as if he had attained unto greatneſs by that foul murther, the infamy whereof he was careful how to diſcharge from his own head. He purpoſed therefore to undertake a plauſible enterprize, even the liberty of *Greece*: whereby it was apparent, that he might get ſuch honor as would not only drown all bad reports, but make him be thought equal to any name of Royalty, whereof in ſeeming modeſty, he was not covetous. To this purpoſe he delivered a ſtrong Army, with a Navy of two hundred and fifty ſail, and fifty thouſand talents of ſilver, unto *Demetrius* his ſon: willing him to begin at *Athens*, and thence to proceed, in ſetting all the Country free.

Demetrius came to *Athens* before he was expected: ſo that without reſiſtance he entred the Haven; it being thought that a fleet of *Ptolemy*, *Caſſanders* good friend, had been arrived. But when it was known, both who he was, and what was the cauſe of his coming; the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations: *Demetrius Phalereus* forſook the Town, and withdrew himſelf to *Thebes* under ſafe conduct; only the Garriſon in *Munichya* ſtrove to make good that piece, which after a while was won upon them by force. During the ſiege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the Garriſon of *Caſſander*, and ſo reſtored the City to liberty.

I think it not impertinent, ſometimes to relate ſuch accidents, as may ſeem no better than meer trifles: for even by trifles are the qualities of great perſons as well diſcloſed, as by their great actions; becauſe in matters of importance, they commonly ſtrain themſelves, to the obſervance of general commended rules; in leſſer things they follow the current of their own Natures. The Lady *Crateſipolis* lay in *Patras*, and had a great deſire to ſee *Demetrius*; hoping, belike, that ſhe might by his means better her eſtate, and recover her Towns of *Sycion* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolomy*; to whoſe Lieutenant in thoſe places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered money for the ſurrender of them. Yet the only buſineſs pretended was love. He being advertiſed hereof, left his forces in the Country of *Megara*, and taking a company of his lighteſt armed, for guard of his perſon, made a long journey to meet with her. This troop alſo he cauſed to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might ſee her when ſhe came. As cloſely as the buſineſs was carried, ſome of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men might overthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to any terms of reaſon, by taking his dear ſon priſoner. Their project fell but a little ſhort of the effect. For they came ſo ſuddenly upon him, that he had no better ſhift, than to muffle himſelf in an old cloak, and creep away diſguiſed; leaving them to ranſack his Tent. There was in this Prince a ſtrange medly of conditions; eſpecially an extreme diſſoluteneſs in wanton pleaſures, and a painful induſtry in matters of War. He was of a moſt amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in deviſing Engines of War, and curious in working them with his own hands. He knew better how to reform his bad fortune, than how to rule his good. For adverſity made his valour more active: proſperity puffed him with over-weening, wherein he thought that he might do what he liſted. His fortune was changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her Wheel, till ſhe had wound up the thred of his life,

in

in such manner as followeth to be shewed.

Returning to his Camp, and finishing his business at *Megara*; he resolved no longer to attend the issue of a siege, to assail *Munychia* by force, that so he might accomplish the liberty of *Athens*: which, until it was fully wrought out, he refused to enter into the City. *Munychia* was strongly fortified: yet by continuance of the assault, the multitude without, through help of their Engines that scoured the walls, prevailed upon the resolution of those that lay within it, and wan the place in two days. The walls, and all the defences of that piece against the City, were levelled with the ground, and so was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withal was given their liberty, with promise to aid them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowder, than of any other victory gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill and industry. For the *Athenians*, having forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make up that defect with their tongues: converting to base flattery, that eloquence of theirs which the vertues of their Ancestors had suited unto more manly arguments.

They decreed unto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* the name of Kings; they consecrated the place in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entred their City, and built there an Altar, calling it of *Demetrius*, *The alighter*; they called them by the names of the *gods their Saviours*, ordaining that every year, there should be chosen a Priest of these gods; and further, that such as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of these two Princes, should not be called Embassadors, but *Theori*, or *Consulters with the gods*; like as were they, whom they sent unto the Oracle of *Jupiter*, or *Apollo*.

It were a frivilous diligence to rehearse all their flatteries, these being so gross. Hereby they not only corrupted the young Prince; but made that acclamation, which best would have pleased the old man, to be of no use. For he could not handsomely take upon him the name of King, as imposed by the *Athenians*, unless he would seem to approve their vanity, in loading him with more than humane honors. Yet was he so tickled with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theori* or *Consulters* came shortly after, desiring him to relieve them with Corn and Timber to build ships; he gave them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheat, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first Oracle: or rather so weak is great power in resisting the assauls of flattery.

§. XI.

The great victory of Demetrius *against* Ptolomy *in* Cyprus. *How* Antigonus *and* Demetrius *took upon them the stile of Kings; wherein others followed their example.*

FRom this glorious work, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius*, unto a business of greater difficulty; meaning to employ his service against *Ptolomy*, in *Cyprus*. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he was willed to establish a general Council, that should treat of matters concerning the common good of the Country. About the same time *Antigonus* withdrew his own Garrison out of *Imbros*, committing their liberty entire, into the peoples hands; whereby it might appear, that as he would not permit any other to oppress the *Greeks*, so would he be far from doing it himself. This was enough to hold his reputation high, among these new purchased Friends: it followed, that he should convert his forces, to the winning of ground upon his Enemies.

A pitiful Tragedy had lately hapned in *Cyprus*, through the indiscretion of *Menelaus*, *Ptolomies* brother, and his Lieutenant in that Isle. *Nicocles*, King of *Paphos*, was entred into some practice with *Antigonus*: yet not so far that he thought himself past excuse; by which confidence, he was perhaps the more easily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the false-hearted King of *Paphos* at one blow, *Menelaus* was sent thither: who surrounding *Nicocles* his house with Souldiers, required, in *Ptolomies* name, to have him yielded to the death. *Nicocles* offered to clear himself; but *Menelaus* told him, that dye he must, and bad him come forth quietly. This desperate necessity caused the unhappy King to rid himself of life: and his death struck such an impression into his wife, that she not only slew her self, but perswaded the wives of her husbands brethren to do the like. Also those brethren of *Nicocles*, unto whom *Ptolomy* had intended no ill, being amazed with the suddenness of this calamity, did shut up the Palace, and setting it on fire, consumed it, with all that was in it, and themselves together.

Whatsoever the crime objected was; *Nicocles* perished as a man innocent, because he was not suffered to make his answer. Of this sad accident, though *Menelaus* deserved the blame,

blame, for his rigorous proceeding; yet it is to be thought, that much diſlike fell alſo upon *Ptolomy:* as men that are grieved, caſt an ill affection even upon thoſe that gave the furtheſt removed occaſion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into *Cyprus*, with a power ſufficient, againſt any oppoſition that *Ptolomy* was like to make. The *Cypriots* did little or nothing againſt him, either becauſe they had ſmall ſtrength or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being ſure that they ſhould not themſelves have the rule of their own Country. *Menelaus* therefore, out of his Garriſons, drew forth an Army, and fought with *Demetrius*. But he was beaten, and driven to ſave himſelf within the walls of *Salamis*, where he was ſo hardly beſieged, that without ſtrong ſuccour, he had no likehood to make good the place, much leſs to retain poſſeſſion of the whole Iſland. His greateſt help at the preſent was the fidelity of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could win from him, nor good uſage (when any of them were taken priſoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keep from returning to him, with the firſt opportunity. Moſt of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in *Egypt*, which was enough to keep them faithful. Yet could not this their reſolution have ſtood long againſt the odds of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as reſolute, and againſt his terrible Engines of battery, if *Ptolomy* had not haſted to the reſcue.

Ptolomy brought with him a hundered and forty Gallies, beſides two hundered Ships of burden, for tranſporting his Army and Carriages. This Fleet made a terrible ſhew, when it was deſcribed afar; though more than half of it was unfit for ſervice in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadful, *Ptolomy* ſent unto *Demetrius* a threatning meſſage: willing him to be gone, unleſs he would be overwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this young gallant repayd him with words of as much bravery, promiſing to let him eſcape upon condition, that he ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of *Sycion* and *Corinth*.

Demetrius had no more than one hundered and eighteen Gallies; but they were, for the moſt part, greater than thoſe of *Ptolomy*; better ſtored with weapons fit for that ſervice; and very well furniſhed with Engines in the prows, to beat upon the enemy. Nevertheleſs he ſtood in great doubt of threeſcore Gallies that lay in the Haven of *Salamis*, leſt *Menelaus* with them ſhould ſet upon his back: in which caſe, it was very likely that all would go very ill with him. Againſt this miſchief, he beſtowed ten of his own Gallies in the mouth of that Haven, to keep *Menelaus* from iſſuing forth, and ſetting his horſemen on the ſhore, to give what aſſiſtance they could, he with the reſt of the Fleet, puts to Sea againſt *Ptolomy*.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtful ſucceſs. The generals were not ranged oppoſite one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his own Fleet. Each of them prevailed againſt the ſquadron wherewith he encountered; but the ſucceſs of *Demetrius* was to better purpoſe. For his victory in one part was ſuch, as cauſed others to fall out of order, and finally drave all to betake themſelves unto ſpeedy flight. As for *Ptolomy*, he was fain to leave his advantage upon the enemy in one part of the fight, that he might relieve and animate thoſe of his own which needed him in another: wherein he found his loſs over-great to be repaired, by contending any longer againſt the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured only to ſave himſelf, in hope of better event, that might follow ſome other time.

There fell out in this battel no unuſual accident; yet was the victory greater than could have been expected. The occaſions whereof were, partly the great skill in Sea-ſervices, which the *Greeks* and *Phœnicians* that were with *Demetrius*, had above thoſe which followed *Ptolomy*: partly, the good furniture of the Ships, wherein conſiſted no leſs, than in the quality of thoſe with whom they were manned. Further, we may reaſonably judge, that the two hundered ſhips of burthen, carrying the ſtrength of *Ptolomies* Army, did not more encourage his own men, and terrifie his enemies the day before the fight, than breed in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the fight they fell off, and ſtood aloof. For though it were fitting that they ſhould ſo do; yet a multitude, prepoſſeſſed with vain conceits, will commonly apprehend very ſlight occaſions to think themſelves abandoned. Beſides all this, the expectation that *Menelaus*, iſſuing with his fleet out of *Salamis* ſhould charge the enemy in the ſtern, was utterly fruſtrate. He was kept in perforce, by the ten ſhips appointed to bar up the mouth of the Haven: which they manfully performed, as great neceſſity required.

Such diſappointment of expectation doth much abate the courage of men in fight: eſpecially of the aſſailants: whereas on the contrary, they find that ſome part of their

fears

fears vain, do easily gather hopeful spirits, and conceive an opinion of their own ability, to do more than they thought upon, out of their not suffering the harm that they had imagined.

Whatsoever the causes of this victory were, the fruit was very great. For *Ptolomy* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the rest of his fleet was either taken or sunk. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer strive against the violence of fortune; but yielded up all that he held in *Cyprus*, together with his Army, consisting of twelve thousand foot, and a thousand and two hundred horse, and those Gallies in the Haven of *Salamis*. The same dejection of spirit was found in the common Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had served the *Egyptian* by Land; none of them reposing any more confidence in *Ptolomy*, but willingly becoming followers of a new Lord, whose Army they now increased.

It was generally believed, that much more depended on the event of this fight, than the Isle of *Cyprus*, for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great; especially *Antigonus*, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking every day a year, till he were advertised of the issue. In this mood *Aristodemus* found him, a noble flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honored with the Message of these good news. *Aristodemus* had bethought himself of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his joyful errand: He caused his ships to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore; he himself landed in a Cock-boat, which he sent immediately back to the ship; and so all alone he went forward, looking very sadly, that no part of his tidings might appear in his countenance. Report of his arrival (for it was not known where he had been) came presently to *Antigonus*, who sent Messenger after messenger to meet him on the way, and bring speedy word how all went. But neither any answer, nor so much of a look, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be won from this demure Gentleman. Thus marched he fair and softly forward with a great throng at his heels (that served well to set out his Pageant) until he came in sight of *Antigonus*, who could not contain himself, but went down to meet him at the Gate, and hear the news. Then did *Aristodemus*, upon the sudden, with a high voyce salute *Antigonus* by the name of King; uttering the greatness of the victory (with as much pomp, as before he had covered it, with silence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loud acclamations, gave that name of King, both to *Antigonus* and his son *Demetrius*. *Antigonus*, in requital of the long suspence, wherein *Aristodemus* had held him, said, That it should also be long ere he received his reward. But the Title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did set on his head, he could not wish a fairer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his son.

When it was once noised abroad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themselves Kings; it was not long ere their fellows were ready to follow the good example. *Ptolomy* his friends would by no means endure, that their Lord should be thought a man dejected for the loss of a fleet; therefore they saluted him also King. *Lysimachus* in *Thrace* had boldness enough to put the Diadem about his own head. *Seleucus* had, before this time, among the barbarous people, taken upon him as King: but now he used the stile indifferently, as well among the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Cassander* held himself contented with his own name: whereby, howsoever he might shadow his pride, he no way lessened the fame of his cruelty against his Masters house. But the name which he forbore, his sons after him were bold to usurp, though with ill success, as will appear when they shall enter upon the Stage, whereon these old Tragedians, under new habits, as no longer now the same persons, begin to play their parts, with bigger looks, and more boistrous actions, not with greater grace and judgement, than in the Scenes already past.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Wars between the Kings of Egypt, Aſia, Macedon, Thrace, *and others; untill all* Alexanders *Princes were conſumed.*

§. I.

The Expedition of Antigonus *againſt* Egypt, *with ill ſucceſs.*

ALl the reſt of theſe Kings had taken that name upon them, in imitation of *Antigonus* himſelf, as beſeeming his greatneſs: which was ſuch as gave him hope to ſwallow them up, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his own ſtrength, he reſolved to ſingle out *Ptolomy*, and make him an example to others: who ſhould hardly be able to ſtand, when the greateſt of them was fallen. To this purpoſe he prepared an Army of eighteen thouſand foot, and eight thouſand Horſe, with fourſcore and three Elephants: as likewiſe a fleet of an hundred and fifty Gallies, and a hundred ſhips of burthen. The Land forces he commanded in perſon: of the Navy *Demetrius* was Admiral.

When all was ready for the journey, the Sea-men adviſed him to ſtay yet eight dayes longer, and expect the ſetting of the *Pleiades*. But his haſty deſire to prevent all preparations for reſiſtance that *Ptolomy* ſhould make, rejected this counſel; imputing it rather to their fear than skill: wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Town which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his own name, that was ſoon changed into *Seleucia*, by his mortal enemy) and came to *Gaza*, where he met with his Fleet. The neerer that he drew to *Egypt*, the more haſte he made: thinking by celerity to prevail more than by his great power. He cauſed his Souldiers to carry ten dayes proviſion of Victuals; and had many Camels loaden with all neceſſaries for paſſing the Deſarts, over which he marched with no ſmall toil, though he met with no reſiſtance. At Mount *Caſſius*, which is near adjoyning to *Nilus*, he ſaw his Fleet riding at Anchor, not far from the ſhore, in ill caſe, and many Ships wanting. It had been ſorely beaten with foul weather, wherein ſome were loſt, others driven back to *Gaza*, or ſcattered elſewhere into ſuch creeks as they could recover: *Demetrius* himſelf, with the beſt and ſtrongeſt Veſſels, did ſo long bear it up againſt the winde, that all his freſh water was ſpent; in which extremity, he and all his muſt have periſhed, had not the tempeſt ceaſed when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in ſight, from whom theſe over-wearied, thirſty and Sea-beaten Souldiers received relief. After theſe painful travels, there followed a War no leſs painful than to little purpoſe; for *Ptolomy* had ſo fortified all the paſſages upon the River of *Nilus*, as he aſſured himſelf either to end the war there, or if his guards ſhould happen to be forced, yet could it not be done but ſo much to the weakning of the Aſſailants, as he ſhould afterward, with a ſecond Army (which he held entire) entertain the Invader upon advantage enough. All that *Antigonus* ſought, was to come to blows ſpeedily: *Ptolomy* on the contrary, to beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true that *Nilus* gave him water enough, but wood he had none to warm it: and while *Antigonus* aſſaulted the Rampiers, raiſed upon the River, in vain, *Ptolomy* aſſayed the faith of his Souldiers, with good ſucceſs; for, with great gifts, and greater promiſes, he ferried them over ſo faſt, as had not *Antigonus* thruſt ſome aſſured Regiments upon the paſſages next the enemy, and in the mean while taken a reſolution to return, *Ptolomy* had turned him out of *Egypt* ill attended.

Some of them indeed he laid hands on, in the way of their eſcape, and thoſe he put to death with extreme torments; but in all likelihood with the ſame ill ſucceſs that *Perdiccas* had formerly done, when he invaded *Egypt*, had he not readily removed his Army further off, from the noyſe of their entertainment, that had already been won from him. To prevent therefore as well the preſent danger of his ſtay, as the ſhame following a forc'd retrait, he ſecretly practiſed the advice of his Councel, upon whom the burthen muſt be laid of his entrance, and leaving *Egypt*.

It is indeed leſs prejudicial in ſuch like caſes, that errors, diſhonours, and loſſes, be laid on Counſellors and Captains, than on Kings; on the Directed, than on the Director: for the honour and reputation of a Prince is far more precious than that of a Vaſſal. *Charles* the fifth, as many other Princes have done, laid the loſs and diſhonour he received in the invaſion of *France*, by the way of *Provence*, to *Antony de Leva*, whether juſtly or no, I know not; but howſoever, all the Hiſtorians of that time agree, that the ſorrow thereof coſt that brave Captain his life. Certainly to give any violent advice in doubtfull enterpriſes, is rather a teſtimony of love, than of wiſdom, in the giver; for the ill ſucceſs is always caſt upon the Counſel, the good never wants a Father, though a falſe one, to acknowledge it. Yet I have ſometime known it, that great Commanders, who are for the preſent in place of Kings, have not only been diſſwaded, but held, in a kind, by ſtrong hand, from hazzarding their own perſons, and yet have thoſe kind of Mutiners never been called to a Marſhals Court.

§. II.

How the City of Rhodes *was beſieged by* Demetrius.

THis departure of *Antigonus*, left behind it many dead Carcaſſes, and a great deal of joy in *Egypt*. *Ptolomy* held a ſolemn Feaſt, and ſent Meſſengers abroad, loaden with glad news, to *Seleucus*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Caſſander*, his Confederates: ſtrongly encouraging all that ſide, with the report of this his late felicity, though it appeared but in a defenſive War. *Antigonus* on the contrary, flattered himſelf with another interpretation, calling the joyes of his enemies for witneſſes of his own greatneſs, ſeeing they aroſe but from ſo little things: his enemies being but bare ſavers by the laſt bargain, and himſelf, as he ſuppoſed, having loſt but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retrait. Howſoever it were, yet he meant to follow his affairs henceforth in another faſhion; for that which he could not cleave aſunder by great blows, he purpoſed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the branches firſt, to fell the Tree it ſelf with the more facility. To effect which, he reſolved (leaving the great ones to grow a while) to root up the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, whom the fore-named Confederates ſhould be forc't either to relieve, or to loſe; and hereby he doubted not to draw them into the field, where the advantage of power, and of all other warlike proviſion promiſed him victory.

At this time the City of *Rhodes* was very mighty, being well governed, and having long held it ſelf in good Neutrality; it drew the better part of all the trade of thoſe parts, and therein a great deal of riches to it ſelf; to maintain which, and to encreaſe it, it furniſhed and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed Ships, by which it not only beat off all Pyrates and petty Theeves, but the reputation of their ſtrength was thereby ſo much increaſed, as all the Neighbour Princes ſought their alliance and confederacy.

In this ſo dangerous a time (in which they muſt either refuſe all that ſought them, and ſo ſtand friendleſs and apart; or joyn themſelves to ſome one, and thereby forego the peace, by which their greatneſs had grown) their affections carried them to the *Egyptian*: both becauſe the greateſt part of their trade lay that way, as alſo for that *Antigonus* his diſpoſition, greatneſs, and neighbourhood was fearfull unto them. This affection of theirs, with ſome other paſſages more apparent, gave argument of quarrel to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himſelf againſt them by petty injuries, of taking ſome of their ſhips, with ſuch other grievances, while he made a more weighty preparation, to purſue the War againſt them openly and ſtrongly. All things ſoon after ordered according to the greatneſs of the enterpriſe, he employed his Son *Demetrius* againſt them in their own Iſland, who brought ſuch terror upon the Citizens, that laying aſide all reſpect of friendſhip and honour, they offered him their aſſiſtance and ſervice againſt whomſoever. *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perſwaded by fear, and not by love; raiſed his demands to an intollerable height, requiring a hundred Hoſtages to be delivered him, and liberty to lodge in their Port as many ſhips of War as himſelf pleaſed. Theſe conditions, more properly to be impoſed upon a State already conquered, than on thoſe who as yet had heard of nothing but a conſtrained aſſiſtance, reſtored unto the *Rhodians* their loſt courage, and made them reſolve to defend their liberty to the laſt man: this taught them to infranchiſe all their able bond-men, and wiſely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themſelves fellow-ſlaves with them.

Demetrius having refuſed the fair conditions

tions offered (as the *Rhodians* the fearfull ones propounded unto them) makes preparation for a long ſiege, and finding no appearance to carry the place in fury, he ſet in hand with his Engines of battery; in the invention and uſe of which, he did never ſhew himſelf a greater Artiſan, than in this War. But in concluſion, after the Citizens had ſuſtained all the aſſaults given them for a whole year, after many brave ſallies out of the Town, and the famine which they endured within the Town, which had proved far more extream, if *Ptolomy* had not with many hazzards relieved them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Embaſſadors, gave over the ſiege; a hundred hoſtages they gave him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magiſtrates and Officers of the City.

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the uſual policy of War, and State: for while with the flower of all his Fathers forces he lay before *Rhodes*, *Caſſander* recovered many of thoſe places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Caſſander* make the War as in former times, by practice and ſurpriſe, but by a ſtrong and well compounded Army, which he himſelf lead as far as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly diſtreſſed and endangered *Athens* it ſelf. On the other ſide (though with leſs ſucceſs) did *Polyſperchon* invade *Peloponneſus*. Theſe dangerous undertakings upon *Greece*, adviſed the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* to diſpatch their Embaſſadours towards *Demetrius*, and adviſed *Demetrius* rather to abandon the enterpriſe of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten by ſetting all *Greece* at liberty.

Demetrius was no ſooner out of the Iſland, than that the *Rhodians* erected Statues in honour of *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander*; but for *Ptolomy*, whom they moſt affected, and from whom they received their moſt relief, they conſulted with the Oracle of *Jupiter*, whether it were not lawfull to call him a *god*. The Prieſts which attended in the Temple of *Hammon*, gave the ſame fair anſwer for *Ptolomy*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander* his Maſter; for as *Alexander* conſulted the Oracle with an Army at his heels, ſo was *Ptolomy* at this time Lord of the ſoil: and yet was this a far more cleanly creation than that done by the *Athenians*, who deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* by decree of the people. A mad age it was, when ſo many of *Alexanders* Captains could not content themſelves with the ſtyle of Kings, but that they would needs be called gods.

§. III.

How Demetrius *prevailed in* Greece. Caſſander *deſires peace of* Antigonus, *and cannot obtain it. Great preparations of War againſt* Antigonus.

Demetrius coming with a ſtrong Fleet and Army into *Greece*, quickly drave *Caſſander* out of *Attica*; and purſuing his fortune, chaſed him beyond the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ*. Herein his reputation did much avail him; which was ſo great, that ſix thouſand of his enemies Souldiers revolted unto him. So, partly by the greatneſs of his name, partly by force, he recovered in ſhort ſpace all that *Caſſander* held in thoſe ſtraits, and giving liberty unto the people, he beſtowed upon the *Athenians* thoſe pieces, which had been fortified againſt them, to block them up. Then went he into *Peloponneſus*, where he found the like or more eaſie ſucceſs: for he ſuddenly took *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the moſt of the Country, beſtowing liberty upon ſuch as needed it. The Town of *Sicyon* he tranſlated by conſent of the Citizens, from the old ſeat into another place, and called it after his own name, *Demetrius*. This done, he betook himſelf to his pleaſure. At the *Iſthman* games he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Captain General of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) he deſpiſed all others, making it a matter of jeſt, that any, ſave himſelf or his father, ſhould uſurp the Name of King. But in his behaviour he was ſo farr unlike to a King, that in all the time of his leaſure, he deſerved none other name than of a drunken *Palliard*. Yet were the *Athenians* as ready as ever to deviſe new honours for him: among which they made one Decree, That whatſoever King *Demetrius* ſhould command, ought to be held ſacred with the gods, and juſt with men.

All *Greece* being now at the diſpoſition of *Antigonus*, *Caſſander* ſtood in great fear, leſt the war ſhould fall heavily upon him in *Macedon*: which to avoid, he knew no better way than to make peace with his enemies betimes. And to that purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadors; but had no better anſwer from *Antigonus*, than that he ſhould ſubmit his whole eſtate to his diſcretion. This proud demand made him look about him, and labour hard in ſolliciting his friends, both to aſſiſt him, and take heed to themſelves; neither found he them ſlow in apprehending the common danger: for *Lyſimachus* knew

that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soon be Master of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himself in quiet possession of those Provinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with joint-forces they should all together set upon the common Enemy.

Hereof *Antigonus* had notice: but scorned all their preparations, saying, That he would as easily scatter them, as a flock of birds are driven away with a stone. With these conceits he pleased himself, and no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemy. He lay at that time in his Town of *Antigonia* (a name that it must shortly lose) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately game and Pageants, in ostentation of his glory. But thither was brought unto him the tumultuous news of *Lysimachus* his victories about *Hellespont*. For *Cassander* had committed unto *Lysimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to pass over into *Asia*, while he himself with the rest should oppose *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lysimachus* passing the *Hellespont*, began to make hot war upon the subjects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to joyn with him by fair means: winning others by force, and wasting the Countrey round about.

To repress this unexpected boldness, *Antigonus* made hasty journeys, and came soon enough to recover his losses, but not strong enough to drive *Lysimachus* home, or compell him to come to battel. *Lysimachus* waited for the coming of *Seleucus*; keeping himself the whilest from necessity of fighting. But *Babylon* was far off; and *Seleucus* his preparations were too great to be soon in a readiness. The Winter also did hinder his journey: which inforced them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrel in open field, held all those Nations in a great suspence, and bred much expectation. Yet might all have come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* been so forward, that he refused to yield upon any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew neer with a mighty Army of his own (for he had gathered strength in that long time of leasure, which *Antigonus* had given him) and with great aid from *Ptolomy*, that was joyned with his forces.

To help in this needful case, *Demetrius* was called over into *Asia* by his Fathers letters: which he readily obeyed. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Cassander*, upon reasonable terms: to the end he might not be driven to leave any part of his Army for defence of the Countrey; and that his journey might be without any such blemish of reputation, as if he had abandoned his Dependants: for one Article of the Peace was, that all the Cities of *Greece* should be at liberty. *Cassander* was glad to be so rid of an Enemy that was too strong for him. Yet would this league have done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwise than they did in *Asia*; seeing the ratification thereof was referred unto *Antigonus*. It sufficed, that for the present, every one found means to clear himself of all incumbrances else-where, to the end that each of them might freely apply himself to the tryal of the main controversie in *Asia*.

§. IV.

How Antigonus *was slain in a great battel at* Ipsus, *neer unto* Ephesus; *wherein his whole estate was lost.*

SEleucus, with his Son *Antiochus*, joyning with *Lysimachus*, compounded a great Army, which was (all considered) not inferiour to that of the *Enemy*. In greatness of name (that helpeth much in all Wars, but especially in the Civil) they were rather unanswerable than unequal to their adversaries: for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them under with a mastering spirit, and had been reputed a King indeed, when the rest were held but Usurpers of the Title. Likewise *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a brave Commander, having given proof of his worth in many great services of all kinds, and enriched the art of War with many inventions, which even his enemies, and particularly *Lysimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had some times flattered *Antigonus*, and fearfully stoln away from him to save his life, with young *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this journey; and *Lysimachus*, that had lived long in a corner, hardly keeping his own from the wilde *Thracians*; wanted much in reputation of that which was yielded to their opposites: yet so, that as ancient Captains under *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthy enough to receive any benefit that Fortune might give, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both sides, were for the most part hardy and well exercised: many of them having served under *Alexander*; though of those old Companies, the long space

ſpace of two and twenty years had conſumed the greateſt number. But concerning their affections, the followers of *Seleucus* were eaſily perſwaded, that in this battel they muſt either get the upper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged unto the Confederate Princes; whereas *Antigonus* his men could diſcern no other neceſſity of fighting, than the obſtinate quality of their Lord, that needs would be Maſter of all. *Antigonus* had about threeſcore and ten thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and threeſcore and fifteen Elephants. His enemies were ſix thouſand ſhort of him in number of their foot; in horſe they had the odds of five hundred; of Elephants they had four hundred, and an hundred and twenty armed Chariots of War: which helps, though they little had availed the *Perſians*, yet were they not to be deſpiſed, in the hands of a good Captain.

Antigonus himſelf, either troubled with the unexpected greatneſs of his enemies forces, or preſaging little good like to enſue, grew very penſive, communing much in private with his Son whom he commended to the Army as his Succeſſor: whereas in former times he had never been ſo jocund, as towards the hour of battel, nor had been accuſtomed to make his Son, or any other private to, his counſel, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad luck, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards deviſed, I hold it needleſs to recount. *Diana* of *Epheſus* dwelt neer to the place of battel, a buſie goddeſs in many great fights; and therefore likely to have been thruſt into the fable, if any matter neerly reſembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is eaſie to believe, that theſe two ſo gallant Armies, containing well neer all the ſtrength of *Alexanders* whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by ſuch worthy Commanders, and whom the iſſue thereof did highly concern. Yet are few of the particulars recorded: an eaſie loſs in regard of the much variety, wherewith every ſtory aboundeth in this kind. The moſt memorable things in the battel, were theſe: *Demetrius* with his beſt force of Horſe, charged valiantly upon young *Antiochus*; whom when he had broken, and put to flight, he was ſo tranſported with the heat of his good ſucceſs, that he never gave over his purſuit, but left his Father naked, and loſt thereby both him, and the victory. For when *Seleucus* perceived this advantage, he interpoſed his Elephants, between *Demetrius* and the Phalanx of *Antigonus*; and with many troops of horſe offering to break upon the enemies battel, whereſoever it lay moſt open, he did ſo terrifie the *Antigonians*, that a great part of them rather choſe to revolt from their Lord, whileſt they were fairly invited, than to ſuſtain the fury of ſo dangerous an impreſſion. This cowardize, or rather Treaſon of ſome, diſcouraged others; and finally, caſt them all into flight; expoſing their General to the laſt end of his deſtinies. *Antigonus* was then fourſcore years old, very fat and unweildy, ſo that he was unapt for flight, if his high ſpirit could have entertained any thought thereof. He had about him ſome of his moſt truſty followers, and as many others as he could hold together. When one that perceived a great troop making towards his perſon, told him, *Sir King, yonder company means to charge you*; He anſwered, *Well may they; for who defends me? but anon* Demetrius *will relieve us.* Thus expecting to the very laſt, that his Son ſhould come to the reſcue, he received ſo many Darts into his body, as took away his lately ambitious, but then fearfull hopes, together with his troubleſome life.

His great ability in matter of Arms, together with his unſatiable deſire of Empire, have ſufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loved by his friends; as one that could not moderate his Fortune, but uſed inſolence toward all alike, as if it had been ſome vertue neereſt repreſenting a Kingly Majeſty. This was the cauſe that ſo many of his followers revolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Army forſook him in his laſt neceſſity. For thoſe Kings and Princes that call all the carefull endeavours of their Vaſſals, only duty and debt; and are more apt to puniſh the leaſt offences, than to reward the greateſt ſervices: ſhall finde themſelves upon the firſt change of fortune, (ſeeing it is love only that ſtayes by adverſity) not only the moſt friendleſs, but even the moſt contemptible, and deſpiſed of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he lived; in part he left it to be verified upon his Son.

§. V.

§. V.

How Demetrius, *forsaken by the* Athenians *after his overthrow, was reconciled to* Seleucus *and* Ptolomy, *beginning a new fortune, and shortly entring into quarrels.*

FOR *Demetrius*, at his return from the idle pursuit of young *Antiochus*, finding all quite lost, was glad to save himself, with four thousand horse, and five thousand foot, by a speedy retreat unto *Ephesus*, whence he made great haste unto *Athens*, as to the place, that for his sake would suffer any extremity. But whilest he was in the midst of his course thither, the *Athenian* Embassadours met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings should be admitted into their City. These were Embassadours, not *Theori*, or Consulters with the Oracle. It was a shameless ingratitude in the *Athenians*, to reward their Benefactor, in his misery, with such a decree: neither did any part of his calamity more afflict the unfortunate Prince, than to see his adversity despised by those whom he had thought his surest Friends. Yet was he fain to give good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Haven, of which he now stood in great need; and therefore was fain to speak them fair, that sometimes had grossly flattered him. But he shall live to teach them their old language, and speak unto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships, he sailed to the *Isthmus*, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrisons were every where broken up; the Souldiers having betaken themselves to his enemies pay. So that he was King only of a small Army and Fleet, without money or means wherewith to sustain him and his followers any long time. All the rest, or the greatest part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in dividing among the Conquerours, and those few places which as yet held for him (having not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieve: for to put himself into the field on that side of the Sea, he had no power; and to include himself in any of them, how strong soever, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeed to bury himself and his estate: He therefore creeping thorow those bushes that had fewest bryers, fell upon a corner of *Lysimachus* his Kingdom, whereof he gave all the spoil that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his own losses having been too great to be repayed again by small prizes.

In the mean while the Confederate Princes had wherewithall to busie themselves, in the partition of those Provinces, of which their late victory had made them Lords: wherein *Seleucus* had a notable advantage by being present, and Master of the field; for neither *Ptolomy* nor *Cassander* were at the overthrow given, having only sent certain troops to re-inforce the Army which *Seleucus* led, who took hold of a part of *Asia* the less, and all *Syria*, being no otherwise divided from his own Territory, than by the River of *Euphrates*, For there had not any order been taken by the Confederates, for the division of all those Lands: because they did not expect so prosperous an issue of that War, which they made only in their own common defence. It was therefore lawfull for *Seleucus*, to make the best benefit that he could of the Victory, at which nevertheless others did repine; and though they neither could nor durst accuse him of ill dealing for the present, yet seeing the over-greatness of *Seleucus* brought no less danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they consulted upon the same reason of State as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined; for he read it in the Law universal of Kingdoms and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendships on all sides, and cure themselves of all unprofitable passion: the hatred of each to other, and their loves being laid on the one side, against their profits on the other, were found so far too light, as *Seleucus*, who had to day slain *Antigonus* the Father, and driven *Demetrius* the Son out of *Asia*, sought to morrow how to match himself with *Stratonica*, *Demetrius* his Daughter; and so by *Demetrius* to serve his turn against *Lysimachus*.

The story of this *Stratonica*, with whom young *Antigonus*, the Son of *Seleucus* fell so passionately in love, and so distempered, as *Seleucus* his Father, to save his Sons life, gave her (though she were his Wife) unto him; and how his passion was discovered by his pulse, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this alliance between *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; between *Ptolomy* and *Lysimachus*; between *Demetrius* and *Cassander*; between *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*, though for the present it brought him again into the rank of Kings; otherwise tye any of them to each other, than the marriages between Christian Kings have done in latter times, namely between the *Austrians*, the *Arragonians*, the *French*, and other Princes; neither have the Leagues of those elder times been found more faithfull, than those of

of the ſame latter times have been, as in the ſtories of *Charls* the Eighth of *France*, and of *Charls* the Emperour, of *Francis* the Firſt, and of the Kings of *Naples*, Dukes of *Millan*, and others, the Reader may obſerve: between whom from the year of our Lord, *One thouſand four hundred ninety and five*, when *Charls* the Eighth undertook the Conqueſt of *Naples*, to the year *One thouſand five hundred fifty and eight*, when *Henry* the Second died; the Hiſtories of thoſe times tell us, that all the bonds, either by the Bed, or by the Book, either by Weddings or Sacramental Oaths, had neither faithfull purpoſe nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reap this profit by giving his Daughter to his enemy *Seleucus*, that he recovered *Silicia* from *Pliſtarchus*, the Brother of *Caſſander*, who had gotten it as his ſhare in the diviſion of *Antigonus* his poſſeſſions: for the Intruder was not ſtrong enough to hold it by his proper forces, from him that entred upon it as a lawfull heir; neither would *Seleucus* lend him any help, as by the Rule of Confederacy he ſhould have done againſt the common enemy. So *Pliſtarchus* with very angry complaint, as well againſt *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went unto *Caſſander*; whither *Phila*, their Siſter, followed him ſhortly, to pacifie them both, and keep all quiet; being ſent for that purpoſe by *Demetrius* her Huſband, that was not ſtrong enough to deal with *Caſſander*; and therefore glad to make uſe of that bond of alliance betwixt them, whereof in his own proſperity, he never took notice to the others good. About the ſame time he took to Wife a Daughter of *Ptolomy* (plurality of Wives being familiar with theſe *Macedonians*, that had learned it in their Eaſtern Conqueſts) and ſo was he by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, than ſtrengthened with two friends; for neither of them wiſhed him any good, otherwiſe than might ſeem to advance their own ambitious deſires.

Seleucus and *Ptolomy* could both of them have been contented better, that *Demetrius*, with help of their countenance, ſhould ſeek his fortune ſomewhat farther off, than ſettle his eſtate under their noſes. Particularly, *Seleucus* thought that *Cilicia* lay very fitly for himſelf: and *Ptolomy* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed awhile) to the Iſle of *Cyprus*. Now whether it were ſo, that *Seleucus* would fain have ſet his new Father-in-law upon the neck of *Lyſimachus*; or whether he were indeed greedy of the bargain; he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready money, his late purchaſe of *Cilicia*. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not hearken, but meant to keep as much Land as he could, having already found in *Cilicia* twelve thouſand talents of his Fathers Treaſure, that would ſerve him to make ſport a while. This refuſal ſo diſpleaſed *Seleucus*, that in angry terms he demanded the Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, to be ſurrendred unto him; which were the only places in *Syria*, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battel. Inſtead of giving them up, *Demetrius* took preſent order to have them better manned; and ſpake it ſtoutly, That were he overcome a thouſand times, yet would he not hire *Seleucus* to become his Son-in-law. In this quarrel *Seleucus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant diſpoſition, that would break friendſhip with his Father-in-law for two Towns, from whom he had already taken more than well he knew how to govern. But the fire conſumed it ſelf in words, which had it faſtned upon arms, like it is that the weaker ſhould have found friends out of envy to the ſtronger.

§. VI.

How Demetrius *wan the City of* Athens, *and prevailed in* Greece, *but loſt in* Aſia. *Of troubles in* Macedon *following the death of* Caſſander.

IN the mean while, the *Athenians* not knowing how to uſe the liberty which *Demetrius* had beſtowed on them, were fallen by ſedition, under the Tyranny of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their diſtempered City was ſo weakned, that it ſeemed ill able to keep off the puniſhment due to their late ingratitude. This advantage haſtened him, whom they had once called their *God and Saviour*, to preſent himſelf unto them, in the habit of a revenging fury. He brought againſt them all the force that he could well ſpare from other employments, which were at that time perhaps the more, becauſe his doubtfull Eaſtern friends, were unwilling to give impediment to any buſineſs, that might entangle him in *Greece*. His firſt enterpriſe in *Athens* had ill ſucceſs; a great part of his Fleet periſhing in a tempeſt. But he ſoon repaired the loſs; and (after ſome Victories in *Peloponneſus*, where he wan divers Towns that had fallen from him) returning to the enterpriſe, waſted the Country of *Attica*, and cut off all relief from the City, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feed the great multitude within it, any long time: for it ſtood in a barren ſoil, and wanted now the command of thoſe Iſlands, and places abroad, from

from whence it was wont to be ſtored with victuals; being alſo deſtitute of means to keep ſuch a Navy as might bring in ſupply, or dare to do any thing at Sea, againſt that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there ſome hope of ſuccour from *Ptolomy*, who (truſting thereby to win the love of *Greece*) had loaden an hundred and fifty ſhips with Corn, and ſent them to relieve the hungry City. But theſe hundred and fifty were unable to deal with three hundred good fighting-ſhips, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore haſted them away betimes, as having done enough, in adventuring to come ſo near that they might be deſcryed. This brake the heart of the people, among whom the famine was ſo extreme, that a Father and his Son did fight for a dead Mouſe, which dropped down between them from the houſe top. Wherefore they ſent Embaſſadours to yield up the Town, and crave pardon, having ſo far offended, that out of deſperation, they made it a capital offence to propoſe any motion of peace. Yet were they fain to aboliſh this Decree, rather becauſe they knew not what elſe to do, than becauſe they hoped to be forgiven.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the Victory, did not only forbear to take away the lives of theſe unthankfull men, which they had ſubmitted unto his mercy; but out of his liberality gave them food, and placed in Office amongſt them ſuch as were moſt acceptable to the people. Nevertheleſs he was grown wiſer than to truſt them ſo far as he had done in times paſt. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Havens, and diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure; he was ready to lay hold upon the word, and leave a ſure Garriſon within their Walls, to keep them honeſt perforce. After this he went into *Peloponneſus*, vanquiſhed the *Lacedæmonians* in two Battels, and was in very fair poſſibility to take their City: when the dangerous news of *Lyſimachus* and *Ptolomy*, that prevailed faſter upon him elſewhere, than himſelf did upon his enemies in *Greece*, called him in all haſte. *Lyſimachus* had won many Towns in *Aſia*; *Ptolomy* had gotten all the Iſle of *Cyprus*, except the City of *Salamis*, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children and Mother, that were ſtraitly beſieged. Whileſt he was bethinking himſelf which way to turn his face, a notable piece of buſineſs offered it ſelf, which thruſt all other cares out of his head.

Caſſander was lately dead in *Macedon*, and ſoon after him, *Philip* his eldeſt Son, whoſe two younger Brethren, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, ſought for the Kingdom. In this quarrel *Theſſalonica* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Caſſander* had married, ſeemed better affected to *Alexander*, than to her elder Son: who thereupon grew ſo enraged, that moſt barbarouſly he ſlew his own Mother. The odiouſneſs of this fact gave a fair luſtre to *Alexanders* cauſe: drawing the generality of the *Macedons* to take his part, as in revenge of the Queens death, upon that wicked parricide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was ſo ſtrongly backed by *Lyſimachus*, whoſe Daughter he had married; that *Alexander* could not hope to make his party good without ſome foreign aid. For which cauſe he called in both *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius*; who how they dealt with him, it will ſoon appear in the following Tragedy, of him and his Brother. Their Father *Caſſander* had been one that ſhifted well for himſelf, at ſuch time as every man ſought how to get ſomewhat, in the ill-ordered diviſion of the Empire. He was cunning in practice, and a good Souldier: one of more open dealing than were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely killing thoſe, whom others would more wiſely have made away. He deeply hated the memory of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head againſt a wall, upon ſome opinion of contempt. With *Olympias* he had an hereditary quarrel, derived from his Father, whom ſhe could not abide. Her feminine malice did ſo exaſperate him, by cruelty that ſhe uſed againſt his friends, both alive and dead; as it made him adventure upon ſhedding the Royall blood: wherewith, when once he had ſtained his hands, he did not care how far he proceeded in that courſe of murder. His carefulneſs to deſtroy thoſe women and children, whoſe lives hindred his purpoſe, argues him to have been rather ſkilfull in matters of Arms, than a valiant man: ſuch cruelty being a true mark of cowardize, which fears a-far off the dangers, that may quietly paſs away: and ſeeks to avoid them by baſe and wicked means, as never thinking it ſelf ſafe enough, until there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* and *Roxane* it may be ſaid, that they had well deſerved the bloody end which over-took them; yet ill-beſeemed it *Caſſander* to do the Office of a Hang-man. But *Alexanders* children had by no Law of men, deſerved to dye for the tyranny of their Father. Wherefore, though *Caſſander* died in his bed, yet the divine Juſtice brought ſwords upon his wife and children, that well revenged the cruelty of this bloody man, by deſtroying his whole houſe as he had done his Maſters.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of Pyrrhus *and his doings in* Macedon. *The death of* Caſſanders *Children.* Demetrius *gets the Kingdom of* Macedon; *prevails in War againſt the Greeks*; *loſeth reputation in his War againſt* Pyrrhus, *and in his Civil Government, and prepares to win* Aſia. *How all conſpire againſt* Demetrius. Pyrrhus *and* Lyſimachus *invade him, his Army yields to* Pyrrhus, *who ſhares the Kingdom of* Macedon *with* Lyſimachus.

Pyrrhus, the Son of that unfortunate Prince *Æacides*, which periſhed in War againſt *Caſſander*, was hardly preſerved, being a ſuckling Infant, from the fury of his Fathers enemies. When his Foſterers had conveyed him to *Glaucias* King of *Illyria*; the deadly hatred of *Caſſander* would have bought his life with the price of two hundred Talents. But no man can kill him that ſhall be his heir. *Glaucias* was ſo far from betraying *Pyrrhus*, that he reſtored him by force to his Fathers Kingdom, when he was but twelve years of age. Within the compaſs of ſix years, either the indiſcretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, drave him out of his Kingdom, and left him to try the world anew. Then went he to *Demetrius* (who married his Siſter) became his Page, followed him a while in his Wars, was with him in the great Battel of *Ipſus*, whence he fled with him to *Epheſus*; and was content to be hoſtage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolomy*. In *Egypt* he ſo behaved himſelf, that he got the favour of *Berenice*, *Ptolomies* principal Wife; ſo that he married her Daughter, and was thereupon ſent home, with money and men, into *Epirus*; more beholding now to *Ptolomy*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the Kingdom of *Epirus*, and was ſettled in it, then fell out that buſineſs between the Children of *Caſſander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

Antipater, the elder of *Caſſanders* Sons, was ſo far too weak for *Pyrrhus*, that he had no deſire to attend the coming of *Demetrius*, but made an haſty agreement, and divided the Kingdom with his younger Brother *Alexander*; who likewiſe felt the aid of *Pyrrhus* ſo troubleſome, that he was more willing to ſend him away, than to call in ſuch another helper. For *Pyrrhus* had the audacity to requeſt, or take as granted, by ſtrong hand, *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and much more of the Country, as the reward of his pains: leaving the two Brethren to agree as well as they could about the reſt. Neceſſity enforced the Brethren to compoſition: but their compoſition would not ſatisfie *Demetrius*, who took the matter hainouſly, that he was ſent for, and made a fool to come ſo far with an Army, and finde no work for it. This was a frivolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpoſe to do as *Pyrrhus* had done; and ſo much more, by how much he was ſtronger. Hereupon it ſeemed to *Alexander* a wiſe courſe, to remove this over-diligent friend, by murdering him upon ſome advantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the ſtory, and it might be true; though the greateſt part, and perhaps the wiſeſt, believed it not. But the iſſue was, that *Alexander* himſelf was feaſted and ſlain by *Demetrius*; who took his part of the Kingdom, as a reward of the murder; excuſing the fact ſo well, by telling his own danger, and what a naughty man *Caſſander* had been, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the ſame time *Lyſimachus* was buſied in War with a King of the wild *Thracians*: for thereby he was compelled to ſeek peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtain, he cauſed the remainder of *Macedon* to be given up; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater*, his Son-in-law. At this ill bargain *Antipater* grievouſly ſtormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet ſtill he ſtormed; untill his Father-in-law, to ſave the labour of making many excuſes, took away his troubleſome life. Thus in haſte, with a kind of neglect, and as it were to avoid moleſtation, were ſlain the Children of *Caſſander*: of *Caſſander* that had ſlain his own Maſters Children, in a wiſe courſe of policy, with carefull meditation (ſo much the more wicked as the more long) ſtudying how to erect his own houſe, that fell down upon his grave, ere the earth on it was throughly ſettled.

It might be thought, that ſuch an acceſs of Dominion, added much to the greatneſs of *Demetrius*. But indeed it ſhewed his infirmity; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of Civil Government: but thought (or ſhewed by his actions that he thought) the uſe and fruit of a Kingdom, to be none other, than to do what a King liſted. He gave himſelf over to Women and Wine, laughing openly at thoſe which offered to trouble him with ſupplications, and the tedious diſcourſe of doing Juſtice. He had more ſkill in getting a Kingdom, than in ruling it: War being his recreation, and Luxury his nature. By long reſt (as ſix years reign is long to him, that knows not how to

reign one year) he discovered so much of his worst conditions, as made the people both weary of his idleness; and the Souldiers of his vanity. He was freed from care of matters in *Asia*, by hearing that all was lost: though more especially, by hearing that *Ptolomy* had with great honour, entertained and dismissed his Mother and Children. This afforded him the better leisure of making War in *Greece:* where he vanquished the *Thebans*, and won their City twice in short space, but used his Victory with mercy. Against *Lysimachus* he would fain have done somewhat (the peace between them notwithstanding) at such time as he was taken by the *Thracians*; but *Lysimachus* was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere *Demetrius* came; so as this Journey purchased nothing but enmity. Another expedition he took in hand against *Pyrrhus*, with no better, or rather with worse event. *Pyrrhus* held somewhat belonging to *Macedon*, which he had indeed as honestly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdom; he had also made excursions into *Thessaly*. But there needed not any handsome pretence of quarrel, seeing *Demetrius* thought himself strong enough to over-run his enemies Country, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the vertue of those, whom they have known raw Novices in that faculty, wherein themselves are noted as extraordinary. *Pyrrhus* was a Captain, whom latter Ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the rank of Generals, than either *Demetrius* or any of *Alexanders* followers. At this time, he missed that part of the Army, which *Demetrius* led, and fell upon the other half: which he overthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his private valour, shewed in single combate against *Pantauchus*, *Demetrius* his Lieutenant; who being a strong man of body, challenged this young Prince to fight hand to hand, and was utterly beaten. The loss of this Battel did not so much offend the *Macedonians*, as the gallant behaviour of *Pyrrhus* delighted them. For in him they seemed to behold the lively figure of *Alexander* in his best quality. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, some of *Alexanders* graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely vestures: but (said they) none, save *Pyrrhus*, is like him in deed, in performing the office of a Captain.

These Rumours were not more nourished by the verrue of the *Epirot*, than by dislike of their own King; whom they began to disesteem, not so much in regard of his unprofitable Journey into *Epirus* (for he had wasted much of the Countrey, and brought home his Army in good case) as of his Insolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparel seemed, in the eyes of the *Macedons*, not only too sumptuous and new-fangled, but very unmanly; and serving chiefly to be a daily witness, how much he contemned them and their good opinions. Of his Souldiers lives he was retchless: and suffered unwisely this unprincely sentence to escape out of his mouth; That *the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay.* He made a mockery of Justice; and (as it were, to publish unto all his Subjects, how little he esteemed it or them) having by a shew of popularity invited Petitioners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, he led the poor Suters after him in great hope, till coming to a Bridge, he threw all their Writings into a River; pleasing himself, in that he could so easily and so boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courses he grew so odious, that *Pyrrhus* gathered audacity, and invading *Macedon*, had almost won it all with little resistance. *Demetrius* lay then sick in his bed: who recovering health, and taking the field, had such great odds of strength, as made *Pyrrhus* glad to forsake his winnings and be gone.

At length he began to have some feeling of the general hate; which to redress, he did not (for he could not) alter his own conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by setting them on work in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appear; that is, in a great War. His intent was to invade *Asia* with a Royal Army: wherein the fortune of one Battel might give him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, he first made peace with *Pyrrhus*; that so he might leave all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mighty Army, of almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand Horses, with a Navy of five hundred sail, wherein were many ships, far exceeding the greatness of any that had been seen before; yet so swift and useful withall, that the greatness was least part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of these preparations, made *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy* suspect their own forces, and labour hard with *Lysimachus* and *Pyrrhus*, to joyn against this ambitious Son of *Antigonus*, that was like to prove more dangerous to them all, than ever was his Father. It was easily discerned, that if *Demetrius* once prevailed in *Asia*, there could be

no

no ſecurity for his friends in *Europe*, what league ſoever were of old concluded. Therefore they reſolved to begin with him betimes, and each to invade that quarter of *Macedon*, that lay next his own Kingdom. *Lyſimachus* came firſt, and againſt him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Army: but whileſt he was yet on the way, news were brought into his Camp, that *Pyrrhus* had won *Berrhæa*. The matter was not overgreat: were it not that minds prepared with long diſcontent, are ready to lay hold upon ſmall occaſions of diſlike. All the Camp was in uproar: ſome wept, others raged, few or none did forbear to utter ſeditious words, and many deſired leave of *Demetrius*, to go to their own houſes, meaning indeed to have gone to *Lyſimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceived the bad affection of his Army, he thought it the wiſeſt way, to lead the *Macedonians* further off from *Lyſimachus* their own Country-man, againſt *Pyrrhus* that was a ſtranger: hoping by victory againſt the *Epirot*, to recover the love of his followers, in ſuch ſort that he might afterwards at leiſure deal with the other. But herein his wiſdom beguiled him. For the ſouldiers were as haſty as he, to meet with *Pyrrhus*; not intending to hurt him, but longing to ſee that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some ſpake of his valour; ſome enquired, others anſwered, of his perſon, his armour, and other tokens whereby he might be known; as particularly, by a pair of Goats-horns, that he wore on his creſt. It was not likely, that theſe men ſhould hurt him. Divers of them ſtole away, and ran over into *Pyrrhus* his Camp: where the news that they brought, were better welcome than their perſons. For they ſaid, and it was true, that if the *Macedonians* might once get ſight of *Pyrrhus*, they would all ſalute him King. To try this, *Pyrrhus* rode forth, and preſented himſelf bare-headed in view of the Camp, whither ſome were ſent before to prepare his welcome. The news of his arrival found a general applauſe, and every one began to look out, with deſire to ſet eye on him. His face was not ſo well known as his Helmet; therefore he was admoniſhed to put it on: which done, all came about him, and proffered their ſervice; neither were there any, that ſpake for *Demetrius*; only ſome (and they the moſt moderate of tongue) bade him be gone betimes, and ſhift for himſelf. So *Demetrius* threw aſide his Maſkers habit, and attyring himſelf poorly, did fearfully ſteal away out of his own Camp, deſerving well this calamity: whether it were ſo, that he would not hearken to the good counſel of his friends; or whether his behaviour deprived him of ſuch friends, as would dare to let him hear the unpleaſant ſound of neceſſary truth.

Whileſt *Pyrrhus* was making this triumphant entry into the Kingdom of *Macedon*; *Lyſimachus* came upon him very unſeaſonably, and would needs have half: ſaying, that he had done as much as *Pyrrhus* in the War; and therefore had reaſon to challenge his part of the gain. The bargain was quickly made, and the diviſion agreed upon: each of them being rather deſirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to work his fellow quite out of all, upon better opportunity.

§. VIII.

How Demetrius *gathering Forces, enterpriſed many things with ill ſucceſs, in* Greece *and* Aſia. *How he was driven upon* Seleucus, *and compelled to yield himſelf. His impriſonment and death.*

THE *Athenians* were as unthankfull to *Demetrius* in this his adverſity, as they had been in former times. For they preſently forſook his friendſhip, and called *Pyrrhus* out of *Macedon* to be their Patron. *Demetrius*, when he went againſt *Lyſimachus*, had left a great part of his forces in *Greece*, under his Son *Antigonus*. Therefore it is like, that he had ſoon gotten an Army, though *Phila* his Wife (who is highly commended for a wiſe and vertuous Lady) did poyſon her ſelf, upon deſperate grief for his misfortune. The firſt, upon whom he attempted to ſhew his anger, were the *Athenians* that had well deſerved it. He began to lay ſiege to their Town: but was pacified by *Crates* the Philoſopher, whom they had made their ſpokes-man; and taking fair words inſtead of ſatisfaction, paſſed over into *Aſia*, with eleven thouſand Souldiers, meaning to try his fortune againſt *Lyſimachus*, for the Provinces of *Lydia* and *Caria*.

At his firſt coming into thoſe parts, fortune ſeemed to ſmile upon him. For many good Towns, willingly, or by compulſion, yielded to his obedience. There were alſo ſome Captains that fell from *Lyſimachus* to him, with their companies and treaſures. But it was not long ere *Agathocles* the Son of *Lyſimachus*, came upon him with an Army ſo ſtrong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazard his laſt ſtock againſt it.

Wherefore he resolved to pass through *Phrygia* and *Armenia*, into *Media*, and the Provinces of the higher *Asia*; trusting to find a Kingdom somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsel was grievously impeached by *Agathocles*: who pursued him close, and cut off all his provisions, driving him to take which wayes he could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes *Demetrius* vanquished this troublesome enemy: nevertheless, he could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poor titulary King, with extream famine. At length, in passing the river *Lycus*, so many of *Demetrius* his men were lost, that the rest could no longer make resistance: but were driven to travel with such speed as might well be called a plain flight. So that with famine, pestilent diseases following famine, and other accidents of war, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest with their Captain, escaped into *Cilicia*. *Seleucus* had gotten possession of *Cilicia*, whilest *Demetrius* was occupied in *Greece*: yet was it no part of *Demetrius* his errand, to lay claim to the Country; but with vehement and humble Letters he besought his Son-in-law to call to mind their alliance, and to pity him in his great misery. These Letters at the first wrought well with *Seleucus*, and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how *Demetrius* had carried himself, when he recovered strength after the battel at *Ipsus*, he changed his purpose, and went against him with an Army.

Many treaties were held between them; of which none took effect, through the jealousie of *Seleucus*. Therefore meer desperation enforced *Demetrius* to fight like a mad man, and his furies got him some victories, though of small importance. At length sickness took and held him forty days, in which time, a great number of his few men ran to the enemy. This notwithstanding he still held out, and once had like to have taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his coming been discovered by Fugitives, that gave alarm. Finally, when all his Army had forsaken him, and left him with a few of his friends to shift for himself, he was compelled by the last of those adherents (for even some of those few forsook him) to yield unto *Seleucus*.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad, and sent him very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his own humanity by his followers, was such, as renewed his jealous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting *Demetrius* to his presence, though otherwise he used him with as much favour, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept under sure guard in a demy-Island, wherein were goodly Walks, Orchards, and Parks for hunting. He had all that he asked royally, and friends allowed to visit him, at his, and their pleasure. Only his liberty was reserved unto the coming of young *Antiochus* and *Stratonica*, out of the high Countreys. In this sort he spent three years, now merrily all the while (as one that living enjoyed the happiness, which with so much travel and blood-shed, he had sought in vain) and then dyed, leaving to his Son *Antigonus*, the same which his Father had left unto himself; that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in *Corinth*; his qualities have appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his House will shew it self hereafter, in times and places convenient.

§. IX.

The death of Ptolomy, *of* Lysimachus, *and of* Seleucus, *that was the last of* Alexanders *Captains: with other occurrences.*

ABout the same time that *Demetrius* died, died also *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, a vertuous Prince, war-like, gentle, bountifull, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. He had, by many Wives and Concubines, many Children, out of whom he selected *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and caused him to reign together with himself, two or three years before he died, that so he might confirm him in the Inheritance of the Kingdom. At this, *Ptolomy Ceraunus* (for all of that house assumed the name of *Ptolomy*) was grievously incensed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gave him loving entertainment. There were now only two of *Alexanders* Captains left, *Seleucus* and *Lysimachus*. These two needs would fight for it, who should be the longest liver of that brave Company. The true ground of their quarrel, was their neer equality or strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which *Lysimachus* had committed upon many of his Nobles, together with his poysoning *Agathocles* his eldest Son: whose wife and children fled unto *Seleucus* for aid.

The *Macedons*, after seven moneths pause, having spent their first heat of admiration, began to hearken so well to *Lysimachus*, their natural Countrey-man, that they forsook *Pyrrhus*, upon none other ground than

because

becauſe he was an Alien. This they had known well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, that they lightly gave him. *Lyſimachus* had reigned about five years alone, when the City of *Lyſimachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earthquake, appeared by events, to have foreſhewed the fall of his houſe. His own jealouſie, and the inſtigation of a mother-in-law, cauſed him to poyſon his ſon *Agathocles*; which drew upon him that War, wherein (after the loſs of all his fifteen Children that were taken away by divers accidents) he periſhed himſelf.

Seleucus was encountred by *Lyſimachus* on *Aſia* ſide, where one battell concluded the war, with *Lyſimachus* his death. It pleaſed *Seleucus* more than the victory, that he was the laſt of all the great Heroes that followed *Alexander*. For now he ſeemed to himſelf as Lord and Heir of all the conquered World. So he paſſed over into *Macedon*, to take poſſeſſion of *Europe*, where there was none to withſtand him. But here he ended his days, and within ſeven moneths followed *Lyſimachus*, and others of his fellows, by a bloody death, being treacherouſly ſlain by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, whoſe friend and Patron he had been. Seventy and ſeven year old he was, when he fought with *Lyſimachus*, and *Lyſimachus* was ſeventy and four. With them ended the generation of old Captains, that had ſeen the dayes as it were of another World under the *Perſian*: yet was there left one equal to any of them in the Art of War: even *Pyrrhus* the Epirot, of whom we ſpake before; that is now ready to enter into war with the *Romans*, a more warlike people than *Alexander* himſelf did ever encounter. Of which war, and of which people, it is needfull that we here make mention, as of a ſtory more important, than any likely to enſue in *Greece*, or in the great Kingdoms that were held by *Alexanders* Succeſſors, with leſs (and ſtill decreaſing) vertue, than was that, by which they were firſt purchaſed.

CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome, *and ſettling of the Eaſtern Kingdoms.*

§. I.

How the Romans *enlarged their Dominions in* Italy, *from the death of* Tullus Hoſtilius, *unto ſuch time as they were aſſailed by* Pyrrhus.

HOw *Rome* was founded by *Romulus*; ſettled in good order by *Numa Pompilius*; and by many (though ſmall) Victories, gathered ſtrength, unto ſuch time as it became the Head of *Latium*, by the conqueſt of *Alba*, in the Reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius*: it hath been already noted in due order of time. But whereas now the *Roman* greatneſs beginneth to encounter the power of *Greece*; and extending it ſelf out of *Italy*, to overwhelm the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it convenient (as in like caſes I have done) briefly to ſet down the growth of this mighty City, in a compendious relation of thoſe many actions, which could not have been delivered in the ages, wherein they were ſeverally performed, without much interruption of the Hiſtory, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullus Hoſtilius* (who when he had reigned two and thirty years, was burnt together with his houſe by lightning) *Ancus Martius*, Grand-childe to *Numa Pompilius* by his Daughter, and not much unlike him in diſpoſition, ſucceeded in the Kingdom of *Rome*. He walled the City about; enlarged it with the Hill *Aventine*, which he encloſed; built a bridge over *Tybris*, and the City of *Oſtia* upon the Sea, ſixteen miles diſtant from *Rome*. Finally, having reigned 24 years, he dyed, and by his laſt Will he left his Children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the ſon of *Damaratus*, a *Corinthian*, who avoiding *Cypſelus* King of *Corinth* his tyranny, had fled into *Hetruria*, and dwelt in *Tarquinii*, by the name of which Town he was afterward called *Tarquinius*. From that City in *Hetruria* coming to *Rome*, and encouraged by ſome ominous occurrents, together with his wife *Tanaquils* propheſie,

pheſie, he grew a favourite of *Ancus Martius*; by his *Grecian* wit humouring the factions of the *Roman* Court, inſomuch, that after his deceaſe he became not only Protector to the children, but Governour to the City. He doubled the number of Senators, and enlarged the Centurions of Horſemen: neither was he leſs eminent in war, than in peace: for he prevailed often againſt the *Tuſcans*, and from his victories, the chiefeſt ornaments of triumph took their original. When this *Lucius Tarquinius* had reigned 38. years, he was ſlain by the Sons of *Ancus Martius*, to whom he had been left Guardian. But *Tanaquil* his wife, perceiving what was done, informed the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and ſick, but not dangerouſly. And withall ſignified unto them, that in the *interim* of his ſickneſs, one *Servius Tullius*, whom from his birth ſhe alwayes propheſied to be born to great hopes (the ſon of *P. Corniculanus*, and *Ocriſia* a well deſcended, but captive woman) brought up in her houſe, and husband unto her daughter, ſhould ſupply her husbands place, in governing the State, untill his recovery: which government, being thus at firſt obtained by cunning, he afterwards uſurped as his right. He firſt ordained Ratements, Subſidies and Valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, fourſcore-thouſand were muſtered, of which number conſiſted their whole Corporation; and by diſtinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the Kingdom in as good ſort, as if it had been a private houſhold. At length, haveing two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outragious: and finding alſo that the two ſons of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had been committed unto his tuition, were of different diſpoſitions, proportionably anſwering to his daughters; he (willing to add water, not oyl, to fire) gave the mild daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed ſon, and the violent, to *Aruns* the gentle in marriage. But whether by intended courſes, or by accident, it hapned; the two mild ones being made away, the furious natures were readily joyned in marriage: who ſoon concurring, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claim to the Kingdom. Upon this tumult, *Servius Tullius* haſtening to the Senate, (where he thought by Authority to have bridled Inſolency) was thrown down the ſtairs, and going home ſore bruiſed, was ſlain by the way, when he had reigned 44 years. Then *Tullia* his daughter, firſt proclaiming her Husband *Tarquinius Superbus* King; returning home enforced her Coachman to drive his Chariot over her fathers corps: whereupon the ſtreet had the denomination of Wicked-ſtreet. This *Tarquine*, exerciſing cruelty without juſtice, and tyranny without mercy, upon the people and Senators; having tired himſelf and them at home, uſed the ſame rage of treachery upon his borders. He took *Oriculum*, *Sueſſa*, *Pometia*, and the *Gabii*. The iſſue of beſieging *Ardea*, a Town eighteen mile diſtant from *Rome*, was of bad ſucceſs. In the heat of which War, his Son *Sextus Tarquinius* violently raviſhed that chaſte Lady *Lucretia*, his kinſman *Collatines* wife: who in way of expiation for ſo unchaſte a deed, thought good to waſh out thoſe ſpots of infamy with her own blood; ſo (having firſt bequeathed the revenge unto her father *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, her husband *Collatine* and *Junius Brutus*) ſhe kill'd her ſelf: whereupon (chiefly by *Junius Brutus* his reſolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his wife and children, was depoſed and baniſhed; and fled to *Porſenna* King of *Hetruria* for ſuccour, in the five and twentieth year of his reign, and the two hundred forty and fourth from the building of their City: in which ſpace *Rome* had ſcarce gotten poſſeſſion of fifteen miles round about her.

Junius Brutus by the help of *Collatine*, having expelled *Tarquine*, and freed his Country from that heavy yoke of bondage, inforced the people by ſolemn oath, never to admit any government by Kings amongſt them: whereupon they ranſacked their Kings goods, conſecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the government of the State upon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But becauſe the name of King was odious in their ears, they changed the manner of their government, from perpetual to annual, and from a ſingle Government to a double; leſt perpetual or ſole dominion might be ſome motive to uſurpation; and inſtead of Kings they called them Conſuls, ſignifying, as it may be interpreted, Providers: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to be alwayes mindfull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it ſo hard ſetling of troubled waters, that the people, after this innovation of State, ſcarce daring to aſſure themſelves of their own ſecurity, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to reſign up his authority, fearing that tyranny would be hereditary, and ſuppoſing that the very name and affinity with the houſe of *Tarquine*, ſavoured already of their condition. In his room was ſubſtitute *Valerius Publicola*, who that he might (as his name importeth) be gracious

in

in the peoples eyes, gave liberty, in matters of controverſie to appeal from the Conſuls to the people, and that he might as well in goods as in perſon, avoid occaſion of ſuſpition, cauſed his own houſe to be pulled down, becauſe it was built in a place defenſible, as if it had been a Cittadel. Neither was *Brutus* any wayes deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples ſafety, as their favour: for having got intelligence, that ſome greener wits, and in the firſt rank his own ſons, were itching after innovations, hoping to reſtore the baniſhed Kings; he cauſed them, publickly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all unpartially to the block.

Hitherto the *Romans*, having by the unblemiſhed integrity of *Brutus*, well appeaſed all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter imployed their military deſignments againſt Forraigners: firſt, for their liberty; ſecondly, for inlarging of their poſſeſſions; and laſtly, for defending their confederate Provinces, and extending their Empire. For *Rome*, ſituated as it were in the mid-way between *Latium* and the *Tuſcans*, having as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minority, could not but give occaſion of offence to her neighbours; untill by main oppoſition, having prevailed againſt her borderers, ſhe uſed them as inſtruments, whereby to obtain the reſt.

Their firſt war, in the firſt year of Conſuls, was againſt *Porſenna* King of *Hetruria*: who being over-perſwaded by *Tarquins* lamentation, came to *Rome*, together with the baniſhed King, and with great forces, to ſeat him again in his Kingdom.

In the firſt conflict, *Horatius Cocles*, having long time born the main brunt of his enemies on the Bridge over *Tibris*, at length, feeling himſelf too faint to ſtand againſt ſo many, cauſed the bridge behinde him to be broken down, and with his armour leaping into the River, like a hunted Stagg, refreſhed his hot ſpirits, and returned ſafe to his fellows, with the like reſolution to ſuſtain a new charge. *Porſenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Janiculus*, which is the very entrance into the City, and found the Victory, in a manner, aſſuredly his own: yet admiring their valour, and terrified by the conſtant reſolution of *Mutius Scævola* (who having by errour ſlain *Porſenna* his Secretary, in ſtead of the King himſelf, did in ſcorn of torments threatned, burn off his own hand) he thought it not any whit prejudicial either to his ſafety, or credit, to enter league with them at the worſt hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his ſpleen was not quite abated, though *Arruns* his Son, and *Brutus*, his enemy, in ſingle combat, had ſlain each other. And here the *Romans*, although they loſt, *Brutus* got the field; and their Ladies, whoſe Champion he was, for their chaſtity, not for beauty, mourned the loſs of him one whole year. Into this place, for the reſidue of his year, was ſubrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucretia*: and in his room (deceaſing naturally before the year expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*.

Tarquin, upon his overthrow, feeling the fates diſaſtrous, thought it no boot to ſtrive againſt the ſtream, but ſpent the reſidue of his time, which was about fourteen years, privately at *Tuſculum*. Yet his Son-in-law *Mamilius Tuſculanus*, ſtomaching a-freſh at thoſe old repulſes, becauſe *Porſenna* had made peace with the *Romans*, and denyed further ſuccour unto the *Tarquines*, muſtered up his *Latins*, and gave battel to the *Romans*, at the Lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, and the iſſue uncertain, untill *Aulus Poſthumus*, the *Roman* Dictator, (for they had created this Magiſtracy greater than Conſuls, purpoſely for this war, when firſt it was expected) to exaſperate his Souldiers courage, threw their own Enſigns amidſt the Enemies; and *Coſſus*, or *Spurius Caſſius*, (Maſter of the Horſe-men, an aſſiſtant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might run with free violence, to recover again their Enſigns. This fight was ſo well performed, that a report went of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, two gods, who came on milk-white Steeds, to be eye-witneſſes of their valour, and fellow-helpers of their Victory; for the General conſecrated a Temple to them, as a ſtipend for their pains. After this the *Romans* fierce ſpirits, having no object of valour abroad, reflected upon themſelves at home; and the ſixteenth year after the Kings expulſion, upon inſtigation of ſome deſperate banckrouts, thinking themſelves wrongfully oppreſſed by the Senate and Conſuls, they made an uproar in the holy Mount; untill by *Menenius Agrippa*, his diſcreet alluſion, of the inconvenience in the Head and Belly's diſcord, to that preſent occaſion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might have ſome new Magiſtrates created, to whom they might appeal in caſes of variance, and make them Solicitors in all their controverſies, the Conſuls authority notwithſtanding. This was enacted, and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attonement among themſelves,

themſelves, they had continual War with the *Latines*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Among theſe, the *Volſci* and *Æqui* held them longeſt; who made War of themſelves upon the *Romans*: whereby they loſt the beſt City in their whole juriſdiction, *Corioli*.

In this conqueſt, *T. Martius* got the ſurname of *Coriolanus*: a name honourable then, as drawn from a great Victory; although, by reaſon of the poverty of the Town, a *Roman* General, in after times, would have been aſhamed of that title. But yet theſe graces had been no occaſion of diſparagement, had he not afterwards in a great time of dearth, adviſed to ſell corn, which they procured from *Sicil*, at too high a rate, to the people, whereupon *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalf, accuſed him, and after judgement baniſhed him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volſci*, whom lately before he had vanquiſhed, incenſed them to renew their forces again; which being committed unto him, and to *Attius Tullus*, he prevailed in field, ſo far forth, that he was come within four or five miles of the City. Incamping there, he made ſo ſharp war, and was at ſuch defiance with his Country, that he would not relent by any ſupplication of Embaſſadours, untill his mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his wife, with a pitifull tune of deprecation, ſhewing themſelves better Subjects to their Country than friends to their Son and Husband, were more available to *Rome* than was any force of Arms. Hereupon *Coriolanus* diſmiſſing his Army, was after put to death among the *Volſci*, as a Traitor, for neglecting ſuch opportunity: or (as others ſurmiſe) living with them untill old age, he died naturally.

Not long after this the *Veii* in *Hetruria*, provoked the *Romans*; againſt whom the *Fabii*, three hundred and ſix in number, all of one Family, intreated and obtained, that they only might be employed, as it had been in a private quarrel. Theſe *Fabii*, after ſome good ſervices, lying incamped at *Cremera*, were circumvented, and all ſlain: one only of that whole houſe had been left, by reaſon of infancy, at home; from whom afterward ſprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquiſhed *Hannibal*.

In proceſs of time, the *Romans* were alſo troubled with the *Volſci*, at the hill of *Algidum*, two miles from *Rome*; where *Lucius Minutius* their Conſul, with his whole Army, had been diſcomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinatus* choſen Dictator, and taken from the plough to the higheſt honour in *Rome*, with ſucceſs anſwerable to his expedition, diſperſed his enemies, and freed his Country in the ſpace of ſixteen dayes. In the continuance of this *Volſcian* war, it was that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two years before choſen Governours of the State, and Inactors of *Solons* Laws amongſt them, procured from *Athens* (abrogating in the mean while the Conſuls, and all other Magiſtrates) would have raviſhed *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginius*, Captain of a company, and lying then in a Camp at *Algidum*. Hereupon the people in an uproar took the Hill *Aventine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men to reſign up their authority again to new Conſuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or deſire to revenge old loſſes, drew the *Romans* into a new war againſt the *Veientes* and their adherents, upon whom, having tried their forces with diverſity of Captains, and variety of event, they vanquiſhed the *Faliſci*, and the *Fidenates*, and utterly ſubdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Faliſci*, *Furius Camillus* ſhewed no leſs integrity than fortitude. For when a Schoolmaſter, by training forth into the *Roman* camp, many children of the principal Citizens, thought to betray the Town, yielding them all up as hoſtages: *Camillus* delivered this Traitor bound unto his Souldiers, willing them to whip him back into the City; which forthwith yielded unto him in reverence of his juſtice. The ſiege of *Veii* was ten years, and ſo troubleſome, that the *Romans* were there firſt inforced to winter abroad under beaſts ſkins (to which they were the more eaſily induced, becauſe then firſt they received pay) and to make vows never to return without Victory.

At length winning the City by a Mine, they got ſo large ſpoils, that they conſecrated their tenths to *Apollo Pythius*: and the whole people in general were called to the ranſacking of the City. But yet they were no leſs unthankfull to *Camillus* for his ſervice, than before they had been to *Coriolanus*; for they baniſhed him the City, upon ſome occaſion of inequality in dividing the ſpoils: yet he requited their unkindneſs with a new piece of ſervice againſt the fury of the *Gauls*; who being a populous Countrey, and very healthfull, the fathers (as ſometimes now) lived ſo long, that the ſons deſtitute of means, were enforced to roave abroad, ſeeking ſome place where to ſet up their reſt: and withall being a Nation vaſte in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandred as Rovers over many Countries. Some of them lighting on *Italy*,

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ſet upon *Cluſium* a Town in *Hetruria*: whereof *Rome* having information (and being careful of her Confederate Towns) ſent Embaſſadours, warning them to deſiſt from ſuch injurious enterpriſes. But the barbarous people, not regarding the meſſage, upon ſome injury offered by the *Roman* Embaſſadours, converted their forces from *Cluſium* towards *Rome*; and giving a great overthrow unto the *Romans*, by the River *Allia*, upon the ſixteenth day before the Calends of *Auguſt* (which day was after branded for unlucky, and called *Allienſis* in the *Roman* Kalendar) they haſtned towards the City. Then was *Rome* the true map of miſery and deſolation. For ſome leaving the City; ſome creeping into holes; Prieſts hiding their reliques; and, every one ſhifting for himſelf ere the enemy came, *Rome* was abandoned as indefenſible. The Veſtal Virgins, in this tumult, were ſafely conveyed away; the Ancients of the City, gathering boldneſs out of deſperate fear, did put on their Robes, and taking their leave of the world, did ſet themſelves in Thrones, in their ſeveral houſes, hourly expecting the meſſengers of death, and meaning to dye, as they had lived, in State. The younger ſort, with *M. Manlius* their Captain, took upon them to make good the Capitol.

By this the *Gauls* were entred the City, who ſeeing all quiet, at firſt ſuſpected ſome ambuſh; afterward finding all ſecure, they fell to the ſpoil, committing all to the fire and ſword. As for the old Senators, they ſate in their Majeſty with a grave reſolution; having firſt reverenced them as gods, anon they tryed whether they would dye like men. When the City was throughly rifled, they attempted the Capitol: which held them work for the ſpace of ſeven months. Once they were like to have ſurpriſed it by night, but being deſcried by the gaggling of Geeſe, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a compoſition was agreed upon: the *Gauls* being weary, and the *Romans* hungry. The bargain was, that the *Gauls* ſhould take a thouſand pound weight in gold, to deſiſt from their ſiege. Whileſt the gold was in weighing, the *Gauls*, with open inſolency, made their weights too heavy: *Brennus* their Captain, caſting his ſword into the ballance, and with a proud exprobration, ſaying, that the vanquiſhed muſt be patient perforce. But in the midſt of this cavilling came *Furius Camillus* with an Army from *Ardæa*, (where he had lived in his baniſhment) and fell upon the *Gauls* with ſuch violence, that he diſperſed their troops, quenched the fire of the City with their blood, forcing them to reſtore the ſpoils with advantage, and forbear the gold, in accepting which they had lately been ſo nice. Further, having rid the City of them, he ſo hotly purſued them thorow a great part of *Italy*, that the remainder of their Army which eſcaped from him, was very ſmall. Other Armies of the *Gauls*, which followed this firſt, had the like ill ſucceſs. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; eſpecially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Corvinus* (each of which in ſingle fight ſlew a ſeveral Champion of the *Gauls*) abated their preſumption, and reſtored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable ſervice, was afterwards accounted a ſecond *Romulus*.

The people, after this deſtruction of their City, were earneſtly bent to go to the *Veii* to inhabit; but *Camillus* diſſwaded them.

About the ſame time, ſomewhat before the ſiege of *Veii* they changed their government from Conſuls to military Tribunes. The government of theſe alſo, after ſome years, was by civil diſſention interrupted: ſo that one while Conſuls ruled, another while there was an Anarchy. Then the Tribunes were reſtored and ruled again, till, after many years expired, the Conſular authority was eſtabliſhed, it being enacted, that one of the Conſuls ſhould alwayes be a Plebeian. This was after the building of the City 365 years. And now *Rome*, by ſuppreſſion of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her Minority, dares ſet forth againſt the warlike *Samnites*, who dwelt almoſt one hundred and thirty miles off: ſituated between *Campania* and *Apulia*. Theſe did ſo ſtrongly invade the *Campanians* their neighbours, that they forced them to yield themſelves ſubjects to *Rome*, and undergo any conditions of Tribute, or whatſoever elſe to obtain protection: which the *Romans*, although both Countries had been their confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fiſh, ſhould devour the leſs, eaſily allowed of; aiming themſelves at the good ſituation of *Campania*, the abundance of Corn and Wine, pleaſant Cities and Towns, but eſpecially *Capua* it ſelf, the faireſt City then in all *Italy*.

The families of the *Papyrii* and *Fabii* were moſt imployed in the managing of this War, which endured the ſpace of fifty years. And in this ſeaſon were the *Romans* often times dangerouſly encountred by the *Samnites*, as when *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Poſthumius* were Conſuls, and diſcomfited by *Pontius* at *Caudium*, with no ſmall ignominy: and when *Q. Fabius Gurges* loſt the field with

three thousand men. But for those losses, many great Victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by *L. Papyrius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Samnites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their quarrel. But the force of the *Samnites* was well broken, ere the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but less warlike Nation) began to stir. So the one and the other of these two Countries, became at length tributary to *Rome*. In the continuance of this long war it was, (though in time of truce between the *Romans* and *Samnites*) that the *Latins* began to challenge equal freedom in the Corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing office, so that they required to have one of the Consuls yearly chosen out of them.

This demand of the *Latins* was not unreasonable. For the *Romans* themselves were a Latin Colony; besides all which, they made offer to change their name, and to be all called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud to admit any such capitulation. So a great battel was fought between them: wherein the fortune of *Rome* prevailed, by the vertue of the Consuls.

Manlius Torquatus and the elder *Decius* were then Consuls, whom the Soothsayers advertised, that the side should be victorious which lost the General in fight. Hereupon *Decius* the Consul exposed his life to the enemy, and purchased victory (as was believed) by his death. In which kind of devoting himself for his Army, the son of this *Decius* being after Consul, did imitate his father in the *Hetrurian* war. But (as *Tully* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Decii*, that purchased victory, by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a Religion, as required the lives of so worthy Citizens, to be sacrificed for their Country. The discipline of *Manlius* was no less resolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbade any one to forsake his place, and fight single with an enemy. For breach of which order he caused his own son to be put to death, who had slain a Captain of the *Latins*, being challenged in single fight.

When the *Latins*, the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Samnites*, and *Hetrurians*, with some other people, were brought under obedience; it was a vain labour for any people of *Italy* to contend against the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabines* adventured to try their fortune, and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the *Roman* Consul, wasting all their Country with fire and sword, from the River *Nar* and *Velia*, to the *Adriatique* Sea, brought them into quiet subjection.

The last of the *Italians* that made trial of the *Roman* arms, were the *Tarentines* and their adherents. These had interposed themselves as mediatours between the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptory denunciation of War, unto that party which should dare to refuse peace by them tendred. These threats which discovered their bad affection unto *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Samnites* were utterly subdued, matter enough of quarrel was found to examine their ability of performance.

The *Romans* complained that certain ships of theirs were robbed, and sent Embassadours unto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Upon some wrong done to these Embassadours, was laid the foundation of that War, wherein the *Lucans*, *Messapians*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, joyning with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Samnites*, and other Subjects of *Rome* to rebell and take their part. But some experience of the *Roman* strength, taught all these people to know their own weakness. Wherefore they agreed to send for *Pyrrhus*, by whose aid (being a *Grecian*, as the *Tarentines* also were) great hope was conceived, that the Dominion of *Rome* should be confined unto more narrow bounds than all *Italy*, which already in a manner it did over-spread.

§. II.

How Pyrrhus *warred upon the* Romans, *and vanquished them in two battels.*

Pyrrhus, forsaken by the *Macedonians*, and unable to deal with *Lysimachus*, was compelled a while to live in rest: which he abhorred no less than a wiser Prince would have desired. He had a strong Army, and a good Fleet, which in that unsettled estate of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdom: but the fall of *Demetrius* had so increased the power of *Lysimachus*, that it was no point of wisdom to make an offensive war upon him, without far greater forces: *Antigonus*, the son of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth* at the same time, and some other Towns, with the remainder of his Fathers Army and treasures, left in his hand. Upon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might have won; but it was better to let him alone, that he might serve to give some hindrance to *Lysimachus*.

In this want of imployment, and covetous desire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Embassadours came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with brave offers, as needing no other aid

aid than his good conduct, which to obtain, they would caſt themſelves under his protection. They had in their company ſome of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Meſſapians*, and others; which promiſed, in behalf of their ſeveral Nations, as much as could be deſired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conqueſts; that he might enlarge his Empire to the Weſt, as far as *Alexander* had gotten Eaſtward; and ſtill by one victory open the gate unto another. To which effect it is ſaid, that once he anſwered *Cyneas* his chief Counſellour, aſking what he meant to do after every of the victories which he hoped to get: that having won *Rome*, he would ſoon be Maſter of all *Italy*; that, after *Italy* he would quickly get the Iſle of *Sicil*; that, out of *Sicil*, he would paſs over into *Affrick*, and win *Carthage*, with all the reſt of the Countrey; and being ſtrengthened with the force of all theſe Provinces, he would be too hard for any of thoſe that were now ſo proud and troubleſome. But *Cyneas* enquired yet further, what they ſhould do, when they were Lords of all. Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) anſwered pleaſantly, that they would live merrily; a thing (as *Cyneas* then told him) that they preſently might do, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his own.

Nevertheleſs, this *Italian* Expedition ſeemed unto *Pyrrhus* a matter of ſuch conſequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any ſcholaſtical diſputation. Wherefore he prepared his Army, of almoſt thirty thouſand men, well ſorted, and well trained ſouldiers: part of which he ſent over before him under *Cyneas*, with the reſt he followed in perſon. At his coming, he found the *Tarentines*, very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution, utterly careleſs to provide for the war. Wherefore he was fain to ſhut up their Theatre, and other places of pleaſure and reſort, enforcing them to take arms, and making ſuch a ſtrict muſter, as was to them very unpleaſing, though greatly behooving to their eſtate.

Whilſt he was occupied with theſe cares, *Lævinus* the *Roman* Conſul drew near, and began to waſte *Lucania*, a Province confederate with the *Tarentines* in this War.

The *Lucanians* were not ready to defend their own Countrey; the *Samnites* were careleſs of the harm, that fell not (as yet) upon themſelves; the *Tarentines* were better prepared than they would have been, but their valour was little: all of theſe had been accuſtomed to ſhrink for fear of the *Roman* fortitude: and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more upon his own forces: than the iſſue of their vaunting promiſes. He was now driven either to ſet forward with thoſe that himſelf had brought into *Italy*, and the aſſiſtance of the *Tarentines*, wherein little was to be repoſed; or elſe to weaken the reputation of his own ſufficiency, which by all means he was careful to uphold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had been ſcattered by foul weather at Sea, were ſafely come to him: with which he reſolved to aſſay the valour of the *Romans*, againſt whom he proudly marched.

Lævinus the Conſul was not affrighted with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and give him battel ere all his adherents ſhould be ready to joyn with him. This boldneſs of the *Roman*, and the ſlackneſs of the *Meſſapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, and others, whom the danger moſt concerned, cauſed *Pyrrhus*, to offer a treaty of peace: requiring to have the quarrel between the *Romans* and his *Italian* friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to win time, that the *Samnites* and their fellows might arrive at his Camp; or whether, conſidering better at near diſtance, the weight of the buſineſs which he had taken in hand, he were deſirous to quit it with his honour; the ſhort anſwer that was returned to his propoſition, gave him no means of either the one or the other: for the *Romans* ſent him this word, that *they had neither choſen him their Judge, nor feared him their enemy.*

Hereupon both Armies haſtned their march unto the River of *Siris*: *Lævinus* intending to fight before the arrival of the *Samnites*; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from paſſing that River, until his own Army were full. Upon the firſt view of the *Roman* Camp, it was readily conceived by *Pyrrhus*, that he had not now to do with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a brave diſcipline of War: which cauſed him to ſet a ſtrong *Corps de garde* upon the paſſage of the river, that he might not be compelled to fight, until he ſaw his beſt advantage. But he quickly found, that this new enemy was not only skilful in the Art of War, but couragious in execution. For the *Roman* Army entred the Foord, in face of his *Corpſe de garde*; and their horſe, at the ſame time began to paſs the River in ſundry places: which cauſed the *Greeks* to forſake the defence of their bank, and ſpeedily retire unto their Camp.

This audacity forced *Pyrrhus* to battel; wherewith he thought it beſt to preſent

them, ere the whole Army had recovered firm footing, and were in order. So directing his Captains how to marshal his battels; himself with the horse charged upon the *Romans*: who stoutly received him as men well exercised in sustaining furious impressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the duty of a careful General; nor his providence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personal valour. It behooved him indeed to do his best; for he never met with better opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slain under him: afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the use of his Kings armour, which was torn from his back. This accident had almost lost him the battel; but he perceiving it, discovered his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and took from the *Romans* their vain joy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater loss (at least of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his side, as long as only spear and sword were used. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whose unusual form and terrible aspect, the horses of the *Romans* (unaccustomed to the like) were not able to sustain; then was the victory quickly gotten. For the *Roman* battels, perceiving their horse put to the rout, and driven out of the field; finding also themselves both charged in flank, and over-born, by the force and huge bulk of those strange beasts; gave way to necessity, and saved themselves, as well as they could, by hasty flight: in which consternation, they were so forgetfull of their discipline, that they tarried not to defend their Camp, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The fame of this victory was soon spread over *Italy*; and the reputation was no less than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a *Roman* Consul, with a select Army, should lose in plain battel, not only the Field, but the Camp it self, being so notably fortified as they alwayes were. And this honour was the more bravely won by *Pyrrhus*, for that he had with him none of his *Italian* friends, save the unwarlike *Tarentines*. Neither could he well dissemble his content that he took, in having the glory of this action peculiarly his own, at such time as he blamed the *Lucans* and *Samnites*, for coming (as we say) a day after the Fair. Nevertheless he wisely considered the strength of the *Romans*, which was such, as would better endure many such losses, than he could many such victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them whilest with his honour he might; and to that purpose he sent unto them *Cyneas* his Embassadour, demanding only to have the *Tarentines* permitted to live at rest, and himself accepted as their especial friend. This did *Cyneas*, with all his cunning, and with liberal gifts labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could be found in *Rome*, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their desire of recovering their captives, or their danger, by the rising of many States in *Italy* against them, so incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blind Senator, did stir them up to make good their honour by war. So they returned answer, that whilest *Pyrrhus* abode in *Italy*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report that *Cyneas* made at his return, of the *Roman* puissance and vertue, as kindled in *Pyrrhus* a great desire of confederacy with that gallant City. Hereupon many kind Offices passed between them: but still when he urged his motion of peace, the answer was; *He must first depart out of* Italy, *and then treat of peace.*

In the mean season, each part made provision for war; the *Romans* levying a more mighty Army than the former; and *Pyrrhus* being strengthened with access unto his forces of all the East parts of *Italy*. So they came to the trial of a second battel, wherein (though after long and cruel fight) the boisterous violence of the Elephants gave to *Pyrrhus* a second victory. But this was not altogether so joyfull as the former had been: rather it gave him cause to say, that such another victory would be his utter undoing. For he had lost the flower of his Army in this battel: and though he drave the *Romans* into their Camp, yet he could not force them out of it, nor saw any likelihood of prevailing against them, that were like to be relieved with daily supplies, whilest he should be driven to spend upon his old stock. Neither could he expect that his Elephants should alwayes stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight would soon teach the *Romans*, that were apt Scholars in such learning, how to make them unserviceable. Wherefore he desired nothing more, than how to carry his honour safe out of *Italy*: which to do (seeing the *Romans* would not help him, by offering or accepting any fair conditions of peace, or of truce) he took a slight occasi-

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on, preſented by fortune, that followeth to be related.

§. III.

The great troubles in Macedon *and* Sicil. *How* Pyrrhus, *being invited into* Sicil, *forſook* Italy; *won the moſt of the Iſle; and loſt it in ſhort ſpace.* Pyrrhus *returns into* Italy, *where he is beaten by the* Romans, *and ſo goes back to his own Kingdom.*

WHen *Ptolomy Ceraunus* had traiterouſly murdered his Benefactor and Patron *Seleucus*, he preſently ſeized upon all the Dominions of *Lyſimachus* in *Europe*, as if they had been the due reward unto him, that had ſlain the Conquerour. The houſes of *Caſſander* and *Lyſimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in *Macedon* any man of ſtrength and reputation enough to advance himſelf againſt *Ceraunus*. The friends of *Lyſimachus* were rather pleaſed to have him their King, that had (as he profeſſed) revenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiouſneſs of his fact, by which they were freed from ſubjection, to one, againſt whom they had ſtood in oppoſition. Many there were, that upon remembrance of his fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceraunus:* perſwading themſelves that his reign might prove good, though his entrance had been wicked. Theſe affections of the *Macedonians* did ſerve to defeat *Antigonus* the ſon of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt upon the Kingdom. As for *Antigonus* the ſon of *Seleucus*, he was far off, and might be queſtioned about ſome part of *Aſia*, ere he ſhould be able to bring an Army neer unto *Europe*. Yet he made great ſhew of meaning to revenge his Fathers death: but being ſtronger in money than in arms, he was content, after a while, to take fair words, and make peace with the murtherer. While theſe three ſtrove about the Kingdom, *Pyrrhus*, who thought his claim as good as any of theirs, made uſe of their diſſention: threatning war, or promiſing his aſſiſtance to every one of them. By theſe means he ſtrengthened himſelf, and greatly advantaged his *Italian* voyage, which he had then in hand: requeſting money of *Antiochus*, ſhips of *Antigonus*, and ſouldiers of *Ptolomy*, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a ſtrong power of *Macedonian* Souldiers, and of Elephants (covenanting to have them reſtored at two years end) more for fear than for love: that ſo he might free himſelf from trouble, and quietly enjoy his Kingdom.

Thus *Ptolomy* grew mighty on the ſudden; and the power that by wicked means he had gotten, by means as wicked he encreaſed.

All *Macedon* and *Thrace* being his, the ſtrong City of *Caſſandria* was held by *Arſinoe* his ſiſter, the widow of *Lyſimachus*, who lay therein with her young children. Her he circumvented by making love to her, and (according to the faſhion of thoſe times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of conſanguinity) taking her to wife, with promiſe to adopt her children: a promiſe that he meant not to perform; for it was not long, ere he ſlew them, and drave her into exile.

In the pride of this good ſucceſs, which his villany found, vengeance came upon him from a far, by the fury of a Nation that he never heard of. *Belgius* a Captain of the *Gauls*, having forced his paſſage through many Countreys, unto the confines of *Macedon*, ſent a proud meſſage to *Ceraunus*, commanding him to buy peace with money, or otherwiſe, to look for all the miſeries of war. Theſe *Gauls* were the race of thoſe, that iſſued out of their Countrey, to ſeek new ſeats in that great expedition, wherein *Brennus* took and burnt the City of *Rome*. They had divided themſelves, at their ſetting forth, into two companies; of which the one fell upon *Italy*; the other, paſſing through the Countreys that lye on the Northern ſide of the *Adriatick* Sea, made long abode in *Pannonia*, and the Regions adjoyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redeem peace with tribute, as now they would have compelled *Ceraunus* to do: unto whoſe borders they came about an hundred and eight years after ſuch time as their fellows had taken *Rome*.

When their Embaſſadours came to *Ptolomy*, aſking what he would give: his anſwer was, that he would be contented to give them peace, but it muſt be with condition, that they ſhould put into his hands their Princes as hoſtages, and yield up their arms; otherwiſe he would neither pardon their boldneſs, nor give any credit to their words. At this anſwer, when it was returned, the *Gauls* did laugh; ſaying, That they would ſoon confute with deeds, the vanity of ſuch proud words. It may ſeem ſtrange, that he, who had given away part of his Army unto *Pyrrhus*, for very fear; ſhould be ſo confident in undertaking more mighty enemies. The King of the *Dardanians* offered to lend him twenty thouſand men againſt the *Gauls:* but he ſcorned the offer; ſaying, That he had the children of thoſe, which under

der the conduct of *Alexander* had subdued all the East. Thus he issued forth against all the barbarous people with his famous *Macedonians*, as if the Victory must needs have followed the reputation of a great Name. But he soon found his great errour when it was too late. For the Enemies were not only equal in strength of body, and fierceness of courage, but so far superiour to the *Macedonians* in number, that few or none escaped their fury. *Ptolomy* himself grievously wounded, fell into their hands, whilest the battel continued; and they presently strook off his head, which they shewed to his men on the top of a Lance, to their utter astonishment.

The report of this great overthrow filled all *Macedon* with such desperation, that the people fled into walled Towns, and abandoned the whole Country as lost. Only *Sosthenes*, a valiant Captain, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Army, with which he many times got the upper-hand, and hindred *Belgius* from using the Victory at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would have made him King; which title he refused, and was contented with the name of a General. But (as mischiefs do seldom come alone) the good success of *Belgius* drew into *Macedon*, *Brennus*, another Captain of the *Gauls*, with an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; against which mighty Army, when *Sosthenes* with his weak troops made opposition, he was easily beaten, and the *Macedonians* again compelled to hide themselves within their walls, leaving all their Countrey to the spoil of the *Barbarians*.

Thus were the *Macedonians* destitute of a King, and trodden down by a Nation that they had not heard of, in less than fifty years after the death of *Alexander*, who sought to discover and subdue unknown Countries, as if all *Greece*, and the Empire of *Persia* had been too little for a King of *Macedon*.

Very seasonably had these news been carried to *Pyrrhus* in *Italy*, who sought a fair pretext of relinquishing his War with the *Romans*; had not other tydings out of *Sicil* distracted him, and carried him away in pursuit of nearer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who reigned over the whole Island, the *Carthaginians* sent an Army to conquer *Sicil*, out of which, by him, they had been expelled. This Army did so fast prevail, that the *Silicians* had no other hope to avoid slavery, than in submitting themselves to the rule of *Pyrrhus*; whom, being a *Grecian*, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to live under the well-known heavy yoak of *Carthage*. To him therefore the *Syracusans*, *Leontines*, and *Agragentines*, principal Estates of the Isle, sent Embassadours, earnestly desiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieved *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two such notable occasions of enlarging his Dominions, should fall out so unluckily, both at one time. Yet whether he thought the business of *Sicil* more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps he believed (as came after to pass) that his advantage upon *Macedon* would not so hastily pass away, but that he might finde some occasion to lay hold on it at better leisure; over into *Sicil* he transported his Army, leaving the *Tarentines* to shift for themselves; yet not leaving them free as he found them, but with a Garrison in their Town to hold them in subjection.

As his departure out of *Italy* was rather grounded on head-long passion, than mature advice; so were his actions following, untill his return into *Epirus*, rather many and tumultuous, than well-ordered, or noteworthy. The Army which he carried into that Isle, consisted of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse: with which, soon after his descent into *Sicil*, he forc't the *Carthaginians* out of all, in effect, that they had therein. He also won the strong City of *Eryx*; and having beaten the *Mamertines* in battel, he began to change condition, and turn Tyrant. For he drave *Sostratus* (to whom this cruelty was suspected) out of the Island, and put *Thenon* of *Siracuse* to death, being jealous of his greatness; which two persons had faithfully served him, and delivered the great and rich City of *Syracuse* into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined so fast, as he served himself, and salved the disreputation of his leaving *Sicil*, by an Embassage sent him from the *Tarentines*, and *Samnites*, imploring his present help against the *Romans*, who since his leaving *Italy*, had well-neer dispossest them of all that they had.

Taking this fair occasion, he imbarked for *Italy*; but was first beaten by the *Carthaginian* Gallies in his passage, and secondly assailed in *Italy* it self, by eighteen hundred *Mamertines*, that attended him in the straits of the Country. Lastly, after he had recovered *Tarentum*, he fought a third battel with the *Romans*, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious over him, and forc't him out of *Italy* into his own *Epirus*.

A Prince he was far more valiant than constant; and had he been but a General of an Army for some other great King or State, and had

had been directed to have conquered any one Country or Kingdom, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no less honour, than any man of War, either preceding or succeding him; for a greater Captain, or a valianter man, hath be n no where found. But he never stayed upon any enterprise; which was, indeed, the disease he had, whereof not long after he died in *Argos*.

§. IV.

How Antigonus, *the Son of* Demetrius, *delivered* Macedon *from the* Gaules. *How* Pyrrhus *won the Kingdom of* Macedon *from* Antigonus.

THE vertue of *Sosthenes* being too weak to defend the Kingdom of *Macedon*; and the fortune which had accompanied him against *Belgius*, failing him in his attempts against *Brennus*: the *Macedonians* were no less glad to submit themselves unto the government of *Antigonus*, than they had been formerly desirous to free themselves from the impotent rule of his Father *Demetrius*. His coming into the Country with an Army, Navy, and Treasure beseeming a King, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for he was driven to use against the *Barbarians*, only those forces which he brought with him, having none other than good wishes of the *Macedons* to take his part. *Brennus* with the main strength of his Army, was gone to spoil the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, having left no more behinde him, than he thought necessary to guard the borders of *Macedon* and *Pannonia*; which were about fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse. These could not be idle, but thought to get somewhat for themselves, in the absence of their fellows: and therefore sent unto *Antigonus*, offering to sell him peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of *Ceraunus*, he had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. *Antigonus* was unwilling to weaken his reputation by condescending to their proud demands: yet he judged it unfit to exasperate their furious choler, by uncourteous words or usage, as *Ceraunus* had over-fondly done. Wherefore he entertained their Embassadours in very loving and sumptuous manner, with a royal feast: wherein he exposed to their view such abundance of massie gold and silver, that they were not so much delighted with the meat, as with sight of the vessels, wherein it was served. He thought hereby to make them understand how great a Prince he was, and how able if need required, to wage a mighty Army.

To which end, he likewise did shew unto them his Camp and Navy, but especially his Elephants. But all this bravery served only to kindle their greedy appetites; who seeing his ships heavy loaden, his Camp full of wealth, and ill fortified, himself (as it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage, inferiour unto the *Gauls*, thought all time lost wherein they suffered the present possessors to spend the riches which they accounted assuredly their own. They returned therefore to their companions with none other news in their mouths, than of spoil and purchase: which tale carried the *Gauls* head-long to *Antigonus* his Camp, where they expected a greater booty, than the victory over *Ceraunus* had given to *Belgius*. Their coming was terrible and sudden; yet not so sudden, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it, who distrusting the courage of his own men, dislodged somewhat before their arrival, and conveyed himself, with his whole Army and Carriage, into certain woods adjoyning, where he lay close.

The *Gauls*, finding his Camp forsaken, were not hasty to pursue him, but fell to ransacking the empty Cabbins of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched every place in vain, angry at their lost labour, they marched with all speed towards the Sea-side; that they might fall upon him, whilst he was busie in getting his Men and Carriages a ship-board. But the success was no way answerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terrour which they had brought upon *Antigonus*, they were so careless of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the spoil of what they found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground.

Part of the Army had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in covert; and had saved it self by getting aboard the Fleet: in which number were some well-experienced men of War: who discovering the much advantage offered unto them, by the desperate presumption of their enemies, took courage, and encouraged others to lay manly hold upon the opportunity. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great resoluti[illegible] gave so brave a charge upon the disordered *Gauls*, that their contemptuous boldness was thereby changed into sudden fear, and they, after a great slaughter, driven to cast themselves into the service of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this Victory caused all the barbarous

barbarous Nations in those quarters to re-entertain their ancient belief of the *Macedonian* valour: by which the terrible and resistless oppressors of so many Countries were overthrown.

To speak more of the *Gauls* in this place, and to shew how, about these times, three Tribes of them passed over into *Asia* the less, with their wars and conquests there; I hold it needless: the victorious Armies of the *Romans* taming them hereafter in the Countries which now they wan, shall give better occasion to rehearse these matters briefly.

Howsoever the good success of *Antigonus* got him reputation among the barbarous people; yet his own Souldiers, that without his leading had won this Victory, could not thereupon be perswaded to think him a good man of war: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the service, wherein his conduct was no better than creeping into a wood.

This (as presently will appear) was greatly helpfull unto *Pyrrhus*: though as yet he knew not so much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his affairs in *Italy* stood upon hard terms, had sent unto *Antigonus* for help: not without threats, in case it were denyed. So was he sure to get either a supply, wherewith to continue his War against the *Romans*; or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake *Italy*, under colour of making his word good, in seeking revenge. The threats which he had used in bravery, meer necessity forced him at his return into *Epirus*, to put in practice.

He brought home with him eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse: an Army too little to be employed, by his restless nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had means to keep in pay. Therefore he fell upon *Macedon*; intending to take what spoil he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this business, two thousand of *Antigonus* his souldiers revolted unto *Pyrrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, received him. Such fair beginnings easily perswaded the courage of this daring Prince to set upon *Antigonus* himself, and to hazard his fortune, in trial of a Battel, for the whole Kingdom of *Macedon*.

It appears, that *Antigonus* had no desire to fight with this hot warriour; but thought it the wisest way, by protracting of time, to weary him out of the Country. For *Pyrrhus* overtook him in a streight passage, and charged him in the rear; wherein were the *Gauls* and the Elephants, which were thought the best of his strength; a manifest proof that he was in retrait. The *Gauls* very bravely sustained *Pyrrhus* his impression; yet were broken at length (when most of them were slain) after a sharp fight: wherein it seems that *Antigonus* keeping his *Macedonian Phalanx* within the streight, and not advancing to their succour, took away their courage, by deceiving their expectation. The Captains of the Elephants were taken soon after; who finding themselves exposed to the same violence that had consumed so many of the *Gauls*, yielded themselves and the beasts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus* and his *Macedonians*, to their great discomfort; which emboldened *Pyrrhus* to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the *Phalanx* could be charged only in a front, it was matter of extreme difficulty (if not impossible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had seen so much, that they had no desire to fight against *Pyrrhus*; who discovered so well their affections, that he adventured to draw near in person, and exhort them to yield. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader refused to become his follower. All forsook *Antigonus*, a few horse-men excepted, that fled along with him to *Thessalonica*; where he had some small forces left, and mony enough to entertain a greater power, had he known where to levy it. But whilst he was thinking how to allure a sufficient number of the *Gauls* into his service; whereby he might repair his loss: *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Pyrrhus*, came upon him, and easily defeating his weak forces, drave him to flie from the parts about *Macedon*, to those Towns afar off in *Peloponnesus*, in which he had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himself a King.

This good success revived the spirits of the *Epirot*, and caused him to forget all sorrow of his late mis-fortunes in the *Roman* War: so that he sent for his Son *Helenus* (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of *Tarentum*) willing him to come over into *Greece*, where was more matter of conquest, and let the *Italians* shift for themselves.

§. V.

How Pyrrhus *assailed* Sparta *without success. His enterprise upon* Argos, *and his death.*

Pyrrhus had now conceived a great hope that nothing should be able to withstand him; seeing that in open fight he had vanquished the *Gauls*, and beaten *Antigonus*, and

and won the Kingdom of *Macedon*. There was not in all *Greece*, nor, indeed, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had won, any Leader of such name and worth, as deserved to be set up against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might do what he pleased. He raised therefore an Army, consisting of five and twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and four and twenty Elephants; pretending War against *Antigonus*, and the giving liberty to those Towns in *Peloponnesus*, which the same *Antigonus* held in subjection; though it was easily discovered, that such great preparations were made, for accomplishment of some design more important than War against a Prince already vanquished, and almost utterly dejected. Especially the *Lacedæmonians* feared this expedition, as made against their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Country, had betaken himself to *Pyrrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his Kingdom. This promise was made in secret; neither would *Pyrrhus* make shew of any displeasure that he bare unto *Sparta*; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to have two of his own younger Sons trained up in that City, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours he deluded men, even till he entred upon *Laconia*; where presently he demeaned himself as an open enemy; excusing himself and his former dissembling words with a jest; *That he followed her in the Lacedæmonian custom, of concealing what was truly purposed.* It had been, indeed, the manner of the *Lacedæmonians*, to deal in like sort with others, whom, in the time of their greatness, they sought to oppress: but now they complained of that, as falshood, in *Pyrrhus*, which they alwayes practised in wisdom, till it made them distrusted, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Nevertheless, they were not wanting to themselves in this dangerous extremity. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Town; causing such as could bear arms to reserve themselves fresh against the assault: which *Pyrrhus* had unwisely deferred, upon assurance of prevailing.

Sparta was never fortified, before this time, otherwise than with armed Citizens: soon after this (it being built upon uneven ground, and, for the most part, hard to approach) the lower and more accessible places, were fenced with walls, at the present only trenches were cast, and barricadoes made with Carts, where the entrance seemed most easie. Three days together it was assailed by *Pyrrhus* exceeding fiercely; and no less stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preserved the Town the first day; whereinto the violence of *Pyrrhus* had forced entrance the second day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindful of saving the person of their King, than of breaking into the City, though already they had torn in sunder the Barricadoes. Presently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captains got into *Sparta*, with a good strength of men; and *Areus* the King returned out of *Crete* (where he had been helping his friends in War) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his own Country stood, until he was almost at home. These succours did not more animate the *Spartans*, than kindle in *Pyrrhus* a desire to prevail against all impediments. But the third dayes work shewed how great his errour had been, in forbearing to assault the Town at his first coming. For he was so manfully repelled, that he saw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious course he had no desire to spend his time.

Antigonus had now raised an Army, though not strong enough to meet the Enemy in plain field, yet able to hinder all his purposes. This made *Pyrrhus* doubtful what way to take; being diversly affected, by the difficulty of his enterprise in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. Whilst he was thus perplexed, letters came from *Argos*, inviting him thither; with promise to deliver that City into his hands.

Civil Dissention raging then hotly in *Argos*, caused the heads of several factions to call in *Pyrrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the comeing of these two Princes taught the Citizens wit, and made them desirous to rid their hands of such powerful assistants, as each of the two Kings pretended himself to be. *Antigonus* told the *Argives*, that he came to save them from the tyranny of *Pyrrhus*: and that he would be gone, if they need not his help. On the other side, *Pyrrhus* would needs perswade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them safe from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner, to depart, if they so desired.

The *Argives* took small pleasure in hearing the Fox and Kite at strife, which of them should keep the Chickens from his enemy: and therefore prayed them both to divert their powers some other way. Hereunto *Antigonus* readily condescended, and gave hostages to assure his word: for

he was the weaker, and ſtood in need of good will. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promiſe: Hoſtages he would give none to his inferiours, eſpecially meaning deceit. This made them ſuſpect his purpoſe to be ſuch, as indeed it was. Yet he leſs regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of aſſurance, by giving ſuch a bond, as he intended to break ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the City ſhould be opened by night unto *Pyrrhus*, by his Complices within *Argos*: which was accordingly performed. So his Army without any tumult entred the City: till the Elephants, with Towers on their back, cloyed the way, being too high to paſs the Gate. The taking off, and ſetting on again of thoſe Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both give alarm to the City, and ſome leiſure to take order for defence, before ſo many were entred, as could fully maſter it. *Argos* was full of ditches, which greatly hindred the *Gaules* (that had the Vantguard) being ignorant of the wayes in the dark night. The Citizens, on the other ſide, had much advantage, by their knowledge of every by-paſſage: and ſetting upon the enemies on all ſides, did put them to great loſs and more trouble.

Pyrrhus therefore underſtanding by the confuſed noiſe, and unequal ſhoutings of his own men, that they were in diſtreſs, entred the City in perſon, to take order for their relief, and aſſurance of the place. But the darkneſs, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, until break of day. Then began he to make his paſſage by force, and ſo far prevailed, that he got into the Market-place. It is ſaid, that ſeeing in that place the Image of a Wolf and a Bull, in ſuch poſiture as if they had been combatant, he called to mind an Oracle, which threatned him with death, when he ſhould behold a Bull fighting with a Wolf: and that hereupon he made retrait.

Indeed, the coming of *Antigonus* to the reſcue, the diſorder and confuſion of his own men, with divers ill accidents, gave him reaſonable cauſe to have retired out of the City, though the Wolf and Bull had been away. The tumult was ſuch, that no directions could be heard; but as ſome gave back, ſo did others thruſt forward, and the *Argives* preſſing hard upon him, forced *Pyrrhus* to make good his retrait with his own ſword. The tops of the houſes were covered with Women, that ſtood looking on the fight. Among theſe was one, that ſaw her own Son in dangerous caſe, fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore ſhe took a tile-ſtone, or ſlate, and threw it ſo violently down on the head of *Pyrrhus*, that he fell to the ground aſtoniſhed with the blow; and lying in that caſe, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the reſtleſs ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdom of *Macedon* to *Antigonus*; who forthwith poſſeſſed the Army, the body, and the children of his Enemy. The body of *Pyrrhus* had honourable burial, and was given by *Antigonus* unto *Helenus* his Son; which young Prince he graciouſly ſent home into his Fathers Kingdom of *Epirus*. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus* held the Kingdom of *Macedon*; the poſterity of *Seleucus* reigned over *Aſia* and *Syria*; and the houſe of *Ptolomy* had quiet poſſeſſion of *Egypt*: untill ſuch time as the City of *Rome*, ſwallowing all up, digeſted theſe, among other Countreys, into the body of her own Empire.

Finis Libri quarti.

THE

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the ſettled Rule of *Alexanders* Succeſſors in the Eaſt, untill the *Romans*, prevailing over all, made Conqueſt of *Aſia* and *Macedon*.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the firſt Punick War.

§. I.

A Diſcuſſion of that Probleme of Livie; Whether the Romans could have reſiſted the Great Alexander. *That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equal valour to the Engliſh.*

THAT Queſtion handled by *Livie*, *Whether the Great* Alexander *could have prevailed againſt the Romans, if after his Eaſtern Conqueſt, he had bent all his Forces againſt them*, hath been, and is the ſubject of much diſpute; which (as it ſeems to me) the arguments on both ſides do not ſo well explain, as doth the experience that *Pyrrhus* hath given of the *Roman* power in his dayes. For if he, a Commander (in *Hannibals* judgement) inferiour to *Alexander*, though to none elſe, could with a ſmall ſtrength of men, and little ſtore of mony, or of other needful helps in War, vanquiſh them in two Battels, and endanger their Eſtate, when it was well ſettled and held the beſt part of *Italy*, under a confirmed obedience: what would *Alexander* have done, that was abundantly provided of all which is needful to a Conquerour, wanting only matter of employment, coming upon them before their Dominion was half ſo well ſetled? It is eaſie to ſay, that *Alexander* had no more than thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe (as indeed, at his firſt paſſage into *Aſia*, he carried over not many more) and that the reſt of his followers were no better than baſe effe-

nate *Asiatiques*. But he that considers the Armies of *Perdiccas*, *Antipater*, *Craterus*, *Eumenes*, *Ptolomy*, *Antigonus* and *Lysimachus*, with the actions by them performed, every one of which (to omit others) commanded only some fragment of this dead Emperours power, shall easily find, that such a reckoning is far short of the truth.

It were needless to speak of Treasure, Horses, Elephants, Engines of Battery, and the like: of all which the *Macedonian* had abundance; the *Roman* having nought, save men and arms. As for Sea-forces; he that shall consider after what sort the *Romans*, in their first *Punick* War, were trained in the rudiments of Navigation; sitting upon the shoar, and beating the sand with poles, to practise the stroke of the Oar, as not daring to lanch their ill-built vessels into the Sea; will easily conceive how far too weak they would have proved in such services.

Now for helpers in War; I do not see why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being absolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not well deserve to be laid in ballance against those parts of *Italy*, which the *Romans* held in ill-assured subjection. To omit therefore all benefit that the Eastern World, more wealthy, indeed, than valiant, could have afforded unto the *Macedonian*: let us only conjecture, how the States of *Sicil* and *Carthage*, neareſt neighbours to such a quarrel (had it happened) would have stood affected. The *Sicilians* were for the most part *Grecians*; neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily have submitted themselves unto him, that ruled all *Greece* besides them. In what terms they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appear anon. Sure it is, that *Alexanders* coming into those parts, would have brought excessive joy to them that were fain to get the help of *Pyrrhus*, by offering to become his subjects. As for the *Carthaginians*, if *Agathocles* the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his own besieged City, could by adventuring to sail into *Africk*, put their Dominion, yea, and *Carthage* it self, in extream hazard; shall we think that they would have been able to withstand *Alexander*? But why do I question their ability, seeing that they sent Embassadours, with their submission, as far as *Babylon*, ere the War drew near them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the *Romans* must, without other succour, than perhaps of some other few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none that forsook them not, at some time, both before and after this) have opposed their valour and good military discipline, against the power of all Countreys to them known, if they would have made resistance. How they could have sped well, in undertaking such a match; it is uneasie to find in discourse of humane reason. It is true, that vertue and fortune work wonders; but it is against cowardly fools, and the unfortunate: for whosoever contends with one too mighty for him, either must excell in these, as much as his enemy goes beyond him in power; or else must look both to be overcome, and to be cast down so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the *Roman* or the *Macedonian* were in those dayes the better Souldier, I will not take upon me to determine: though I might without partiality, deliver mine own opinion, and preferr that Army, which followed not only *Philip* and *Alexander*, but also *Alexanders* Princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of War, before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning fortune, who can give a rule that shall alwayes hold? *Alexander* was victorious in every Battel that he fought: and the *Romans* in the issue of every War. But forasmuch as *Livie* hath judged this a matter worthy of consideration; I think it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italy*: where in three years after his death, the two *Roman* Consuls, together with all the powers of that State, were surprized by the *Samnites*, and enforced to yield up their arms. We may therefore permit *Livie* to admire his own *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* those Captains of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equal to his followers: that the same conceit should blind our judgement, we cannot permit without much vanity.

Now in deciding such a Controversie, me-thinks it were not amiss, for an *Englishman*, to give such a sentence between the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being chosen Arbitrators) between the *Ardeates* and *Aricini*, that strove about a piece of Land; saying, that it belonged unto neither of them, but unto the *Romans* themselves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman* were the best Warriour? I will answer, The *Englishman*.

man. For it will ſoon appear to any that ſhall examine the noble acts of our Nation in war, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon; againſt no ſavage or unmanly people; the enemy being far ſuperiour unto us in number, and all needful proviſions, yea, as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exerciſe of War.

In what ſort *Philip* wan his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Perſians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquiſhed; as likewiſe of what force the *Macedonian Phalanx* was, and how well appointed, againſt ſuch arms as it commonly encountred: any man, that hath taken pains to read the foregoing ſtory of them, doth ſufficiently underſtand. Yet was this *Phalanx* never, or very ſeldom, able to ſtand againſt the *Roman* Armies; which were embattelled in ſo excellent a form, as I know not whether any Nation beſides them have uſed, either before or ſince. The *Roman* weapons likewiſe, both offenſive and defenſive, were of greater uſe than thoſe with which any other Nation hath ſerved, before the fiery inſtruments of Gun-powder were known. As for the enemies with which *Rome* had to do, we find, that they which did over-match him in numbers, were as far over-matched by her in weapons; and that they, of whom ſhe had little advantage in arms, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This alſo (as *Plutarch* well obſerveth) was a part of her happineſs; that ſhe was never over-laid with two great Wars at once.

Hereby it came to paſs, that having at firſt increaſed her ſtrength by acceſſion of the *Sabines*; having won the State of *Alba*, againſt which ſhe adventured her own ſelf, as it were in wager, upon the heads of three Champions: and having thereby made her ſelf Princeſs of *Latium*, ſhe did afterwards by long war, in many ages, extend her Dominion over all *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* had well-near oppreſſed her: but her Souldiers were Mercenary; ſo that for want of proper ſtrength, they were eaſily beaten at their own doors. The *Ætolians*, and, with them, all, or the moſt of *Greece*, aſſiſted her againſt *Philip* the *Macedonian*: he being beaten, did lend her his help to beat the ſame *Ætolians*. The wars againſt *Antiochus*, and other *Aſiatiques*, were ſuch as gave to *Rome* ſmall cauſe of boaſt, though much of joy: for thoſe oppoſites were as baſe of courage, as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicil*, *Spain*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands, by uſing her aid to protect them againſt the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I ſhall not need to ſpeak of her other conqueſts: it was eaſie to get more when ſhe had gotten all this. It is not my purpoſe to diſgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemiſh the reputation of ſo many famous victories: I am not ſo idle. This I ſay; That among all their wars, I find not any, wherein their valour hath appeared comparable to the *Engliſh*. If my judgement ſeem over-partial, our wars in *France* may help to make it good.

Firſt therefore it is well known, that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world beſides) had never any ſo brave a Commander in war as *Julius Cæſar*: and that no *Roman* Army was comparable unto that which ſerved under the ſame *Cæſar*. Likewiſe, it is apparent, that this gallant Army, which had given fair proof of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* war, when it firſt entred into *Gaule*; was nevertheleſs utterly diſheartned, when *Cæſar* led it againſt the *Germans*. So that we may juſtly impute all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Cæſars* men, to their long exerciſe, under ſo good a Leader, in ſo great a War. Now let us in general compare with the deeds done by theſe beſt of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principal ſervice; the things performed in the ſame Country, by our common *Engliſh* Souldiers, levied in haſte, from following the Cart, or ſitting on the ſhop-ſtall: ſo ſhall we ſee the difference. Herein will we deal fairly, and believe *Cæſar* in relating the acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Hiſtorians to witneſs, what actions were performed by the *Engliſh*. In *Cæſars* time *France* was inhabited by the *Gaules*, a ſtout people, but inferiour to the *French*, by whom they were ſubdued; even when the *Romans* gave them aſſiſtance. The Country of *Gaule* was rent in ſunder (as *Cæſar* witneſſeth) into many Lordſhips: ſome of which were governed by petty Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in ſuch ſort as might make it appliable to the neareſt Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not only in general through the whole Country, but between the petty States, yea in every City, and almoſt in every houſe. What greater advantage could a Conquerour deſire? Yet there was a greater. *Arioviſtus*, with his *Germans*, had over-run the Country, and held much part of it in ſubjection, little different from meer ſlavery: yea, ſo often had the *Germans* prevailed in war upon the *Gaules*, that the *Gaules*, (who had ſometimes been the better Souldiers) did hold themſelves no way

equal

equal to those daily Invaders. Had *France* been so prepared unto our *English* Kings, *Rome* it self by this time, and long ere this time, would have been ours. But when King *Edward* the third began his war upon *France*, he found the whole Country setled in obedience to one mighty King; a King whose reputation abroad, was no less than his puissance at home; under whose ensign, the King of *Bohemia* did serve in person; at whose call the *Genowayes*, and other Neighbour States, were ready to take arms; finally, a King unto whom one (*a*) Prince gave away his Dominion, for love; (*b*) another sold away a goodly City and Territory for mony. The Country lying so open to the *Romans* and being so well fenced against the *English*; it is note-worthy, not who prevailed most therein (for it were meer vanity to match the *English* purchases with the *Roman* conquest) but whether of the two gave the greater proof of military vertue. *Cæsar* himself doth witness, that the *Gaules* complained of their own ignorance in the Art of war, and that their own hardiness was overmastered by the skill of their enemies. Poor men, they admired the *Roman* Towers, and Engines of battery, raised and planted against their walls, as more than humane works. What greater wonder is it, that such a people was beaten by the *Romans*; than that the *Caribes*, a naked people, but valiant, as any under the sky, are commonly put to the worse by small numbers of *Spaniards*? Besides all this, we are to have regard of the great difficulty that was found, in drawing all the *Gaules*, or any great part of them, to one head, that with joynt forces they might oppose their assailants: as also the much more difficulty of holding them long together. For hereby it came to pass, that they were never able to make use of opportunity: but sometimes compelled to stay for their fellows; and sometimes driven to give or take battel upon extream disadvantages, for fear lest their companies should fall asunder: as indeed, upon any little disaster, they were ready to break, and return every one to the defence of his own. All this, and (which was little less than all this) great odds in weapon gave to the *Romans* the honour of many gallant Victories. What such help? or what other worldly help, than the golden mettle of their Souldiers, had our *English* Kings against the *French*? Were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of War? Yea, did they not think themselves therein our superiours? Were they not in arms, in horse, and in all provisions, exceedingly beyond us?

(*a*) The Dolphin of Viennois. (*b*) The King of Majorca.

Let us hear what a *French* writer saith of the inequality that was between the *French* and *English*, when their King *John* was ready to give the on-set upon the *Black Prince*, at the battel of *Poitiers*. John *had all advantages over* Edward, *both of number, force, shew, Country, and conceit (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affairs;) and withall, the choice of all his horsemen (esteemed then the best in* Europe) *with the greatest and wisest Captains of his whole Realm.* And what could he more?

John de Serres. JEAN *avoit tout l'avantage par dessus* EDOWARD, *le number, la force, le lustre, le pays, le prejugé (qui n'est pas communement une consideration de peu d'importance aux affaires du monde) & avec soy l'élite de sa Cavalerie, lors estimeela meilleure de tout son Royaume.*

I think it would trouble a *Roman* Antiquary to find the like example in their Histories; the example I say, of a King, brought prisoner to *Rome*, by an army of eight thousand, which he had surrounded with forty thousand, better appointed, and no less expert Warriours. This I am sure of, that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed by a rabble of half Scullions, as *Livie* rightly terms them, nor their cowardly Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius*, are worthy patterns. All that have read of *Cressi* and *Agincourt*, will bear me witness, that I do not alledge the battel of *Poitiers*, for lack of other, as good examples of the *English* Vertue: the proof whereof hath left many a hundred better marks in all quarters of *France*, than ever did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute these Victories of ours to the long bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge than the *French* Cross-bow: my answer is ready; That in all these respects, it is also (being drawn with a strong arm) superiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more use. The Gun and the Cross-bow are of like force, when discharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a strong Man: weakness or sickness, or a sore finger makes the long Bow unserviceable. More particularly, I say, that it was the costom of our Ancestors, to shoot, for the most part, *point blank*: and so shall he perceive, that will note the circumstances of almost any one battel. This takes away all objection: for when two Armies are within the distance of a Butts length, one flight of arrows, or two at the most, can be delivered before they close. Neither is it in general true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more strongly than the Cross-bow: but this is the rare effect of an extraordinary arm; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall ask, How then came it to pass, that the *English* wan so many great battels, having no advantage to help him? I may, with best commendation of modesty,

referr

refer him to the *French* Hiſtorian; who relating the victory of our men at *Crevant*; where they paſſed a Bridge in face of the enemy, uſeth theſe words: *The Engliſh comes with a conquering bravery, as he that was accuſtomed to gain every-where without any ſtay: he forceth our guard placed upon the Bridge to keep the paſſage.* Or I may cite another place of the ſame Author, where he tells, how the *Britons*, being invaded by *Charls* the eighth, King of *France*, thought it good policy to apparel a thouſand and five hundred of their own men in *Engliſh* Caſſocks; hoping that the very ſight of the *Engliſh* Red Croſs, would be enough to terrifie the *French*. But I will not ſtand to borrow of the *French* Hiſtorians (all which, excepting *De Serres*, and *Paulus Æmilius*, report wonders of our Nation:) the propoſition which firſt I undertook to maintain; *That the military vertue of the Engliſh, prevailing againſt all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of the Romans, which was aſſiſted with all advantages that could be deſired.* If it be demanded, Why then did not our Kings finiſh the Conqueſt, as *Cæſar* had done? my anſwer may be (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the Race of *Æacidæ*, of whom the old Poet *Ennius* gave this note; *Bellipotentes ſunt magis quàm ſapientipotentes: They were more war-like than politick.* Whoſo notes their proceedings, may find, that none of them went to work like a Conquetour, ſave only King *Henry* the fifth; the courſe of whoſe victories it pleaſed God to interrupt by his death. But this queſtion is the more eaſily anſwered, if another be firſt made. Why did not the *Romans* attempt the Conqueſt of *Gaul* before the time of *Cæſar*? Why not after the *Macedonian* War? Why not after the third *Punick*, or after the *Numantian*? At all theſe times they had good leiſure: and then eſpecially had they both leiſure and fit opportunity, when under the conduct of *Marius*, they had newly vanquiſhed the *Cimbri*, and *Teutones*, by whom the Country of *Gaul* had been pitiouſly waſted. Surely, the words of *Tully* were true; That with other Nations the *Romans* fought for Dominion, with the *Gauls* for preſervation of their own ſafety.

Therefore they attempted not the Conqueſt of *Gaule*, until they were Lords of all other Countreys, to them known. We on the other ſide, held only the one half of our own Iſland; the other half being inhabited by a Nation (unleſs perhaps in wealth and numbers of men ſomewhat inferiour) every way equal to our ſelves; a Nation anciently and ſtrongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard enemy to us. So that our danger lay both before and behind us: and the greater danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, alwayes we feared, a ſtronger Invaſion by Land, than we could make upon *France*, tranſporting our Forces over Sea.

It is uſual with men, that have pleaſed themſelves in admiring the matters which they find in ancient Hiſtories: to hold it a great injury done to their judgement, if any take upon him, by way of compariſon, to extoll the things of latter ages. But I am well perſwaded, that as the divided vertue of this our Iſland, hath given more noble proof of it ſelf, than under ſo worthy a Leader, that *Roman* Army could do, which afterwards could win *Rome*, and all her Empire, making *Cæſar* a *Monarch*; ſo hereafter, by Gods bleſſing, who hath converted our greateſt hinderance, into our greateſt help, the enemy that ſhall dare to try our forces, will find cauſe to wiſh, that avoiding us, he had rather encountred as great a puiſſance as was that of the *Roman* Empire. But it is now high time, that laying aſide compariſons, we return to the rehearſal of deeds done; wherein we ſhall find, how *Rome* began, after *Pyrrhus* had left *Italy*, to ſtrive with *Carthage* for Dominion, in the firſt *Punick* War.

§. II.

The eſtate of Carthage *before it entred into War with* Rome.

THE City of *Carthage* had ſtood above ſix hundred years, when firſt it began to contend with *Rome* for the maſtery of *Sicil*. It fore-went *Rome* one hundred, and fifty years in antiquity of foundation: but in the honour of great atchievements, it excelled far beyond this advantage of time. For *Carthage* had extended her Dominion in *Africa* it ſelf, from the Weſt of *Cyrene*, to the ſtreights of *Hercules*, about one thouſand and five hundred miles in length, wherein ſtood three hundred Cities. It had ſubjected all *Spain*, even to the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, together with all the Iſlands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, to the Weſt of *Sicil*; and of *Sicil* the better part. It flouriſhed about ſeven hundred and thirty years, before the deſtruction thereof by *Scipio*: who, beſides other ſpoils, and all that the Souldiers reſerved, carried thence four hundred and ſeventy thouſand weight of ſilver, which make of our mony (if our pounds differ not) fourteen hundred and

ten

ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glorious City ran the same fortune, which many other great ones have done, both before and since. The ruine of the goodliest pieces of the world fore-shews the dissolution of the whole.

About one hundred years after such time as it was cast down, the Senate of *Rome* caused it to be re-built: and by *Gracchus* it was called *Junonia*: it was again and again abandoned and re-peopled, taken and re-taken; by *Genserícus* the *Vandal*, by *Bellisarius* under *Justinian*, by the *Persians*, by the *Egyptians*, and by the *Mahometans*. It is now nothing. The seat thereof was exceeding strong: and while the *Carthaginians* commanded the Sea, invincible. For the Sea compassed it about, saving that it was tyed to the Main by a neck of Land; which passage had two miles and more of breadth (*Appian* saith, three miles and one furlong) by which we may be induced to believe the common report, that the City it self was above twenty miles in compass; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the circuit to have been twice as great.

It had three Walls without the Wall of the City; and between each of those, three or four Streets, with Vaults under ground, of thirty foot deep, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food: over these they had stables for four thousand horse, and Granaries for their provender. They had also lodgings in the Streets, between these out-walls, for four thousand horse-men, and twenty thousand foot-men, which (according to the discipline used now by those of *China*) never pestered the City. It had towards the South part, the Castle of *Byrsa*; to which *Servius* gives two and twenty furlongs in compass, that make two miles and a half. This was the same piece of ground which *Dido* obtained of the *Lybians*, when she got leave to buy only so much Land of them, as she could compass with an Ox hide. On the West-side it had also the Salt-Sea, but in the nature of a standing pool; for a certain arm of Land, fastened to the ground, on which the City stood, stretched it self towards the West-continent, and left but seventy foot open for the Sea to enter. Over this standing-Sea was built a most sumptuous *Arsenall*, having their Ships and Gallies riding under it.

The form of their Common-weal resembled that of *Sparta*; for they had titulary Kings, and the *Aristocratical* Power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well observeth) the people in latter times usurped too great authority in their Councils. This confusion in Government, together with the trust that they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more forcible causes of their ruine, were their avarice and their cruelty. (*a*) Their avarice was shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinary tributes) the one (*b*) half of the fruits of the earth; and in conferring of great offices, not upon gentle and merciful persons, but upon those who would best tyrannize over the people, to augment their treasures. Their cruelty appeared, in putting them to death without mercy, that had offended through ignorance: the one of these rendred them odious to their Vassals, whom it made ready upon all occasions, to revolt from them: the other did break the spirits of their Generals, by presenting in the heat of their actions abroad, the fear of a cruel death at home. Hereby it came to pass, that many good Commanders of the *Carthaginian* Forces, after some great loss received, have desperately cast themselves, with all that remained under their charge, into the throat of destruction; holding it necessary, either to repair their losses quickly, or to ruine all together: and few of them have dared to manage their own best projects, after that good form, wherein they first conceived them, for fear lest the manner of their proceeding should be mis-interpreted: It being the *Carthaginian* Rule, to crucifie, not only the unhappy Captain, but even him, whose bad counsel had prosperous event. The faults, wherewith, in general, they of *Carthage* are taxed, by *Roman* Historians, I find to be these; lust, cruelty, avarice, craft, unfaithfulness, and perjury. Whether the *Romans* themselves were free from the same crimes, let the tryal be referred unto their actions. The first league between *Carthage* and *Rome*, was very ancient: having been made the year following the expulsion of *Tarquin*. In that league the *Carthaginians* had the superiority, as imposing upon the *Romans* the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* should not so much as have

(a) *In Pol. Arist. l. 2. c. 9.*

(b) The *Turks* at this day, do also take the one half of the poor mans corn, that labours the earth: yea, they take tribute both of the bodies, and of the souls of the *Christians* their Vassals, by bereaving them of their ablest children, and bringing them up in the *Mahometan* Religion. The *Irish* take the fourth sheaf: and were wont to eat up with their horse-men, foot-men, and dogs, what they pleased, of the other three parts remaining. The Husbandman and the Yeoman of *England*, are the freest of all the World: And reason good: for of them have the bodies of our victorious Armies been compounded. And it is the free-man, and not the slave, that hath courage and the sense of shame deserved by cowardise. How free the *English* Yeomen have been in times, not long since past, *Fortescue* hath shewed in his praise of our Countreyes Laws. But I may say, that they are more free now than ever: and our Nobility and Gentry more servile. For since the excessive bravery and vain expence of our *Grandees* hath taught them to raise their Rents, since by Inclosures, and dismembring of Mannors, the Court Baron, and the Court Leet, the Principalities of the Gentry of *England*, have been dissolved, the Tenants having payed unto their Lords their rack Rent, owe them now no service at all, and (perchance) as little love.

trade

trade in some part of *Africk*, nor suffer and ship of theirs to pass beyond the headland, or cape, then called the *fair Promontory*, unless it were by force of tempest: whereas on the other side, no Haven in *Italy* was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A second league was made long after, which (howsoever it hath pleased *Livy* to say, that the *Romans* granted it, at the *Carthaginians* intreaty) was more strict than the former: prohibiting the *Romans* to have trade in any part of *Africa*, or in the Island of *Sardinia*.

Liv. Dec. 1. l. 7.

By these two treaties it may appear, that the *Carthaginians* had an intent not only to keep the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledge of the state of *Africk*; but to countenance and uphold them, in their troubling all *Italy*, whereby they themselves might have the better means to occupy all *Sicil*, whilest that Island should be destitute of *Italian* succours. Hereupon we find good cause of the joy that was in *Carthage*, and of the Crown of gold, weighing twenty and five pound, sent from thence to *Rome*, when the *Samnites* were overthrown. But the little state of *Rome* pervailed faster in *Italy*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicil*. For that mighty army of three hundred thousand men, which *Hannibal* conducted out of *Africk* into *Sicil*, wan only two Cities therein: many great fleets were devoured by tempests; and howsoever the *Carthaginians* prevailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their own valour, or by the assistance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at some other time repair their own losses, and take revenge upon those Invaders. But never were the people of *Carthage* in better hope of getting all *Sicil*, than when the death of *Agathocles* the Tyrant, had left the whole Island in combustion; the estate of *Greece* being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilest the *Carthaginians* were busie in making their advantage of this good opportunity; *Pyrrhus*, invited by the *Tarentines* and their fellows, came into *Italy*, where he made sharp war upon the *Romans*. These news were unpleasing to the *Carthaginians*, who, being a subtile Nation, easily fore-saw, that the same busie disposition which had brought this Prince out of *Greece* into *Italy*, would as easily transport him over into *Sicil*, as soon as he could finish his *Roman* war. To prevent this danger, they sent *Mago* Embassadour to *Rome*; who declared in their name, that they were sorry to hear what misadventure had befallen the *Romans* their good friends in this war with *Pyrrhus*; and that the people of *Carthage* were very willing to assist the state of *Rome*, by sending an Army into *Italy*; if their help were thought needful, against the *Epirots*.

Xen. Græc. hist. l. 1.

It was indeed the main desire of the *Carthaginans*, to hold *Pyrrhus* so hardly to his work in *Italy*, that they might at good leisure, pursue their business in *Sicil*: which caused them to make so goodly an offer. But the *Romans* were two high-minded: and refused to accept any such aid of their friend, lest it should blemish their reputation, and make them seem unable to stand by their own strength. Yet the message was taken lovingly, as it ought; and the former league between *Rome* and *Carthage* renewed; with covenants added, concerning the present business; That if either of the two Cities made peace with *Pyrrhus*, it should be with reservation of liberty, to assist the other, in case that *Pyrrhus* should invade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrrhus*, using all means to sound his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one upon every new occasion, changeth his own purposes) yet *Pyrrhus* found leisure to make a step into *Sicil*: whether though in fine he was neither getter nor saver, yet he clean defeated the purposes of *Carthage*, leaving them, at his departure from thence, as far from any end, as when they first began.

So many disasters in an enterprise, that from the first undertaking had been so strongly pursued, through the length of many generations, might well have induced the *Carthaginians* to believe, that an higher providence resisted their intendment. But their desire of winning that fruitful Island, was so inveterate, that with unwearied patience, they still continued in hope of so much the greater an harvest, by how much their cost and pain therein buried had been the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courses; and by force of practice, recovered in few years all their old possessions: making peace with *Syracuse*, the chief City of the Island, that so they might the better enable themselves to deal with the rest.

Somewhat before this time, a troop of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had served under *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Messana* as friends, and finding themselves too strong for the Citizens, took advantage of the power that they had to do wrong; and with perfidious cruelty, slew those that had trusted them; which done, they occupied

the City, Lands, Goods, and Wives of those whom they had murdered. These Mercenaries called themselves *Mamertines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that meer desperation of finding any that would approve their barbarous treachery, added rage unto their stoutness. Haveing therefore not any other colour of their proceedings, than *the law of the stronger*, they over-ran all the Country round about them.

In this course, at first, they sped so well, that they did not only defend *Messana* against the Cities of *Sicil* Confederate, to wit, against the *Syracusians*, and others, but they rather wan upon them; yea, and upon the *Carthaginians*, exacting tribute from many Neighbour places. But it was not long, ere fortune turned her back to these *Mamertines*, the *Syracusians* wan fast upon them; and finally, confining them within the walls of *Messana*, they also with a powerful army besieged the City. It hapned ill, that about the same time a contention began between the *Syracusian* Souldiers, then lying at *Magara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuse*, and Governours of the Common wealth; which proceeded so far, that the Army elected two Governours among themselves, to wit, *Artemidorus* and *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, being for his years excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrary to the policy of that State, to approve any election made by the Souldiers; yet for the great clemency used at his first entrance, he was by general consent established and made Governour. This office he rather used as a Scale, thereby to climb to some higher degree, than rested content with his present preferment.

In brief, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himself within the City; and somewhat without it, that gave impediment to his obtaining, and safe keeping of the place he sought, to wit, a powerful party within the Town, and certain mutinous troops of Souldiers without, often and easily moved to sedition and tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himself, he took to Wife the daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greatest estimation and authority among the *Syracusians*. For the second, leading out the Army to besiege *Messana*, he quartered all those companies, which he held suspected, on the one side of the City, and leading the rest of his Horse and Foot unto the other side, as if he would have assaulted it in two several parts, he marched away under the covert of the Town walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in pieces by the assieged: So returning home, and levying an Army of his own Citizens, well trained and obedient, he hasted again towards *Messana*, and was by the *Mamertines* (grown proud by their former victory over the Mutiners) incountred in the plains of *Mylæum*, where he obtained a most signal victory; and leading with him their Commander captive into *Syracuse*, himself by common consent was elected and saluted King. Hereupon the *Mamertines*, finding themselves utterly enfeebled, some of them resolved to give themselves to the *Carthaginians*, others to crave assistance of the *Romans*: to each of whom the several faction dispatched Embassadors for the very same purpose.

The *Carthaginians* were soon ready to lay hold upon the good offer: so that a Captain of theirs got into the Castle of *Messana*, whereof they that had sent for him gave him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to so good agreement, that this Captain, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of doors, and the Town reserved for other Masters.

These news did much offend the people of *Carthage*; who crucified their Captain, as both a Traitor and Coward; and sent a Fleet and Army to besiege *Messana*, as a Town that rebelled, having once been theirs. *Hieron* the new-made King of *Syracuse* (to gratifie his people incensed with the smart of injuries lately received) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom he entred into a league, for exterminating the *Mamertines* out of *Sicil*. So the *Mamertines* on all sides were closed up within *Messana*: the *Carthaginians* lying with a Navy at Sea, and with an Army on the one side of the Town, whilest *Hieron* with his *Syracusians* lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger came *Appius Claudius*, the *Roman* Consul, with an Army to the streights of *Sicil*: which passing by night with notable audacity, he put himself into the Town, and sending Messengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; signifying unto them that the *Mamertines* were now become confederate with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore he was come to give them protection, even by force of War, if reason would not prevail.

This message was utterly neglected; And so began the War between *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein it will then be time to shew on which part was the Justice of the quarrel,

rell, when ſome actions of the *Romans* lately foregoing this, have been firſt conſidered.

§. III.

The beginning of the firſt Punick war. That it was unjuſtly undertaken by the Romans.

WHen *Pyrrhus* began his war in *Italy*, the City of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not only fearing to be taken by the *Epirot*, but much more diſtruſting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to ſeize upon it in that buſie time, ſought aid from the *Romans*, and obtained from them a Legion, conſiſting of four thouſand ſouldiers, under the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect; by whom they were defended and aſſured for the preſent. But after a while, this *Roman* Garriſon, conſidering at good leiſure, the fact of the *Mamertines*, committed in *Meſſana* (a City in *Sicil*, ſituate almoſt oppoſite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwiſe divided than by a narrow Sea, which ſevereth it from *Italy*) and rather weighing the greatneſs of the booty, than the odiouſneſs of the villany, by which it was gotten; reſolved finally, to make the like purchaſe, by taking the like wicked courſe. Confederating therefore themſelves with the *Mamertines*, they entertained their Hoſts of *Rhegium*, after the ſame manner; dividing the ſpoil, and all which that State had, among themſelves.

When complaint was made to the Senate and people of *Rome*, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly ſtained (for no Nation in the world made a more ſevere profeſſion of juſtice, than they did during all the time of their growing greatneſs,) reſolved, after a while, to take revenge upon the offenders. And this they performed ſhortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italy* by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithſtanding that thoſe *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the foulneſs of their fact, hopeleſs of pardon) defended themſelves with an obſtinate reſolution: yet in the end, the aſſailants forced them; and thoſe which eſcaped the preſent fury, were brought bound to *Rome*, where, after the uſual torments by whipping inflicted, according to the cuſtome of the country, they had their heads ſtricken from their ſhoulders, and the people of *Rhegium* were again reſtored to their former liberty and eſtates.

This execution of Juſtice being newly performed, and the fame thereof ſounding honourably through all quarters of *Italy*: meſſengers came to *Rome* from *Meſſana*, deſiring help againſt the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracuſians*, that were in a readineſs to inflict the like puniſhment upon the *Mamertines*, for the like offence. A very impudent requeſt it was, which they made: who having both given example of that villany to the *Roman* Souldiers, and holpen them with joynt forces to make it good, do intreat the Judges to give them that aſſiſtance, which they were wont to receive from their fellow-thieves.

The *Romans* could not ſuddenly reſolve, whether the way of honeſty or of profit were to be followed; they evermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They conſidered, how contrary the courſe of ſuccouring the *Mamertines* was to their former counſels and actions: ſeeing for the ſame offences they had lately put to torment, and to the ſword, their own Souldiers, and reſtored the oppreſſed to their liberty. Yet when they beheld the deſcription of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the beſt part of *Africa*, of the *Mediterran* Iſlands, of a great part of *Spain*, and ſome part of *Sicil* it ſelf; whileſt alſo they feared, that *Syracuſe* therein ſeated (a City in beauty and riches, little at that time inferiour to *Carthage*, and far ſuperiour to *Rome* it ſelf) might become theirs; the ſafety of their own eſtate ſpake for theſe *Mamertines*: who, if they (driven to deſpair by the *Romans*) ſhould deliver up *Meſſana*, with thoſe other holds that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing ſtand between *Carthage*, and the Lordſhip of *Sicil*: for *Syracuſe* it ſelf could not, for want of ſuccor, any long time ſubſiſt, if once the *Carthaginians* that were Maſters of the Sea, did faſten upon that paſſage from the main Land. It was further conſidered; that the opportunity of *Meſſana* was ſuch, as would not only debarr all ſuccours out of the continent, from arrival in *Sicil*; but would ſerve as a bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might have entrance into *Italy*, at their own pleaſure.

Theſe conſiderations of profit at hand, and of preventing danger, that threatned from a-far, did ſo prevail above all regard of honeſty, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into Confederacy with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudus* the Conſul, preſently diſpatcht away for *Meſſana*: into which he entred, and undertook the protection of it, as is ſhewed before. The beſiegers were little troubled with his arrival; and leſs mo-

ved, with his requiring them to desist from their attempt. For they did far exceed him in number of men; the whole Island was ready to relieve them in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Town. All this *Appius* himself well understood: and against all this he thought the stiff mettal of his *Roman* Souldiers a sufficient remedy. Therefore he resolved to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his coming was to send them away from the Town; not to be besieged by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficial to him, that the enemy lay encamped in such sort, as one quarter was not well able to relieve another in distress. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, whereinto he had wilfully cast his own mutinous followers not long before: only he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his own quarter, without help of others. Against him *Ap. Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting, by unexpected sally, to surpise his trenches) arranged his men in order of battel, wherewith he presented him. The *Syracusian* wanted not courage to fight; but surely he wanted good advice: else would he not have hazzarded all his power against an enemy of whom he had made no trial; when it had been easie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his own Camp. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorn the beginning of his reign. But he was well beaten, and driven to save himself within his trenches: by which loss, he learned a point of wisdom, that stood him and his Kingdom in good stead all the days of his life. It was a foolish desire of revenge, that had made the *Syracusians* so busie, in helping those of *Carthage*, against the *Mamertines*.

Had *Messana* been taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* it self must have sought help from *Rome*, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* had (in respect of those two mighty Cities) but a small stock, which it behooveth him to govern well: such another loss would have made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake up his Camp: and retired home: intending to let them stand to their adventures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargain. The next day, *Claudius* perceiving the *Sicilian* Army gone, did with great courage, and with much alacrity of his Souldiers, give charge upon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he sped so well, that the enemy forsook both field and camp, leaving all the Country open to the *Romans*; who having spoiled all round, without resistance, intended to lay siege unto the great City of *Syracuse*.

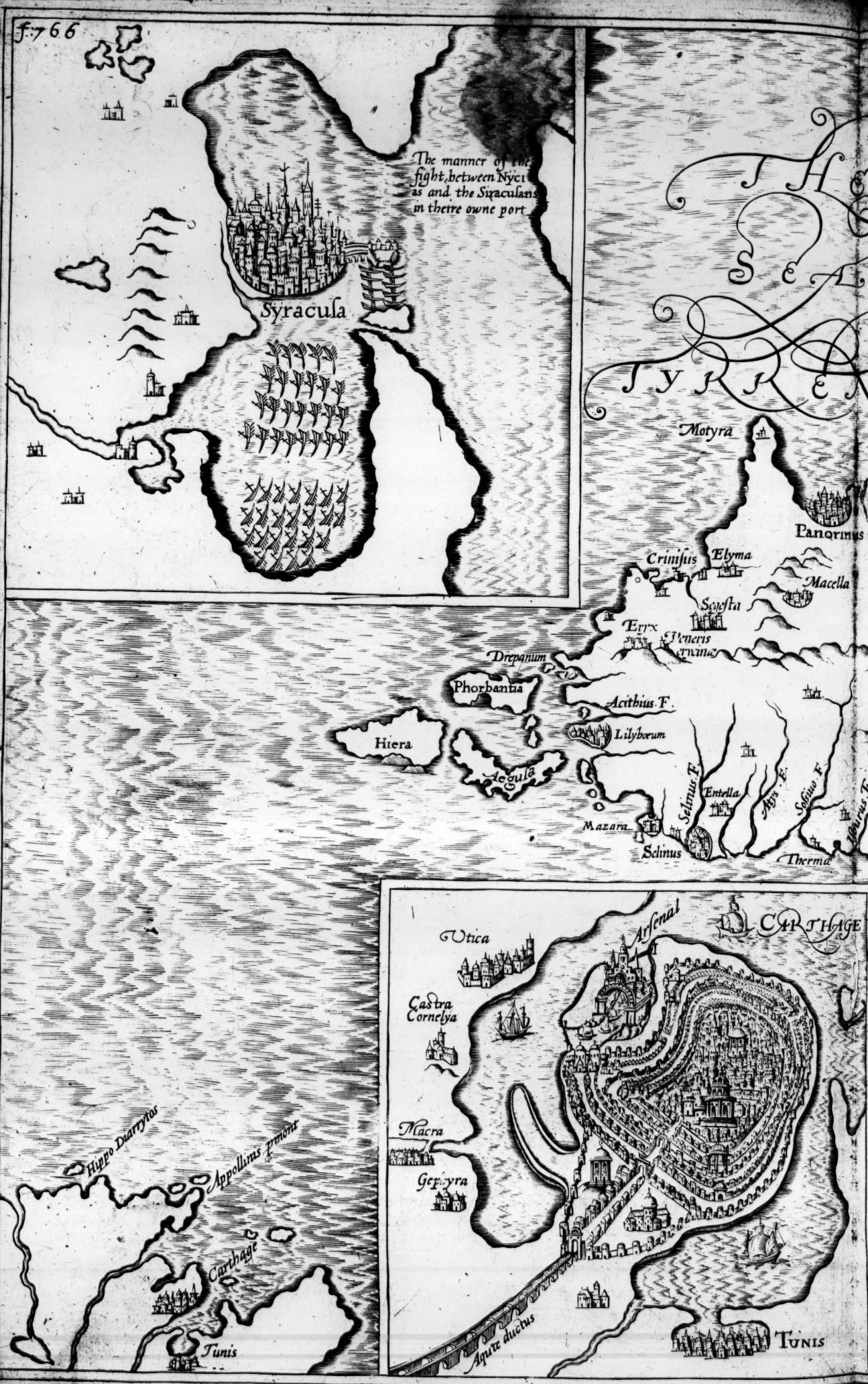
These prosperous beginnings, howsoever they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes of attaining to greater matters, than at the first they had expected: Yet did they not imprint any form of terrour in the City of *Carthage*, that had well enough repaired greater losses than this; in which no more was lost than what had been prepared against the *Mamertines* alone, without any suspicion of War from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to consider of those grounds, whereupon the *Romans* entred into this war; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honesty (for questionless the enterprise was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict terms of lawfulness; whereupon they built all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yield themselves, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, distressed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot find: neither can I find how the messengers of those folk, whereof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any such surrendry in the publick name of all.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawfull surrendry of themselves and their possessions, were become subject unto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* assist the *Mamertines*, against their most ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might have aided the *Campanes* against the *Samnites*, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves confessed) by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point serving to clear this doubt, is lost in all Histories. Doubtless it is, that no company of Pyrates, Thieves, Out-laws, Murderers, or such other Malefactors, can by any good success of their villany, obtain the priviledge of civil societies, to make league or truce; yea, or to require fair war: but are by all means, as most pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take upon me to maintain that opinion of some *Civilians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of these; it were a Position of ill consequence: This I hold; that no one Prince or State can give protection to such as these, as long as any other is using the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming necessary to their crimes. Wherefore we may esteem this action of the

Romans

f. 766


The manner of the fight, between Nycias and the Siraculans in theire owne port
Syracusa
SICILIA
Motyra
Panormus
Crimisus
Elyma
Macella
Segesta
Eryx
Veneris
Drepanum
Phorbantia
Acithius F.
Lilybœum
Hiera
Aegula
Selinus F.
Entella
Agys F.
Sofgius F.
Mazara
Selinus
Therma
CARTHAGE
Utica
Arsenal
Castra Cornelya
Macra
Gephyra
Aquæ ductus
TUNIS
Hippo Diarrytos
Appollinis promont.
Carthage
Tunis

Lipara
Vulcans Temple
Rhegium
Messana or Zancle
Tauromenia or Naxos
Aetna M.
Asines F.
Simethus F.
Cyclopum Scopuli
Catana
Panormus
Himera
Himera F.
Macella
Erbessus
Enna
Terias F.
Chrysas F.
CYCLOPES
Trotilum
Morgentium
Leontium
Herbessus
Mactorium
Megara or Hybla
Megaris Sinus
Thapsus
Trinacie
SICANIA REGIO
SYRACVSII
Anapus F.
Syracusæ
Heraclia or Minoa
Agrigentum
Agragas F.
Himera, or Cala. F.
Sicanus F.
Hyblæi F.
Gela
Lepas
Cyparis F.
Erineus
Diana F.
The owerthrow of Nicias
Elorus
Camerina
Callipolis
Motya
Pachynus P.
AFRICA
SEA

Romans ſo far from being juſtifiable, by any pretence of confederacy made with them; as that contrariwiſe, by admitting this neſt of Murderers and Thieves into their protection, they juſtly deſerved to be warred upon themſelves, by the people of *Sicil*; yea, although *Meſſana* had been taken, and the *Mamertines* all ſlain, e're any news of the Confederacy had been brought unto the beſiegers. The great *Alexander* was ſo far perſwaded herein; that he did put to ſword all the *Branchiadæ* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their City, notwithſtanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; becauſe they were deſcended from a company of *Mileſians*, who to gratifie King *Xerxes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Town and Country, which theſe of their poſterity enjoyed. Nevertheleſs in courſe of humane juſtice, long and peaceable poſſeſſion gives *jus acquiſitum*, a kind of right by preſcription unto that which was firſt obtained by wicked means: and doth free the deſcendants from the crime of their Anceſtors, whoſe villanies they do not exerciſe. But that the ſame generation of Thieves, which by a deteſtable fact hath purchaſed a rich Town, ſhould be acknowledged a lawfull company of Citizens, there is no ſhew of right. For even the Conquerer that by open War obtaineth a Kingdom, doth not confirm his title, by thoſe victories which gave him firſt poſſeſſion: but length of time is requiſite to eſtabliſh him, unleſs by ſome alliance with the ancient inheritors, he can better the violence of his claim, as did our King *Henry* the firſt, by his marriage with *Maude*, that was daughter of *Malcolme*, King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Neece of *Edmund Ironſide*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had ſo good) of juſtice, in this quarrel, than had the *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, *Vandols*, and other Nations, of the Wars that they made upon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her ſelf, in the time of her viſitation, was burnt to the ground.

§. IV.

Of the Iſland of Sicil.

†. I.

The qualitie of the Iſland: and the firſt inhabitants thereof.

THe defence of the *Mamertines*, or the poſſeſſion of *Meſſana*, being now no longer ſince the firſt victories of *Appius Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicil* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage* are about to contend: it will be agreeable unto the order, which in the like caſes we have obſerved, to make a brief collection of things concerning that noble Iſland, which have been the ſtage of many great acts, performed as well before and after, as in this preſent War.

That *Sicil* was ſometimes a *Peninſula*, or *Demie-Iſle*, adjoyning to *Italy*, as a part of *Brutium* in *Calabria*, near unto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempeſt ſevered from the ſame: it is a general opinion of all antiquity. But at what certain time this diviſion happened, there is no memorial remaining in any ancient writer. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Dioniſius* affirm, that it was cauſed by an earth-quake; *Silius* and *Caſſiodorus* do think it to have been done by the rage and violence of the tide, and ſurges of the Sea. Either of theſe opinions may be true; for ſo was *Eubœa* ſevered from *Bœotia*; *Atalante* and *Marcis* from *Eubœa*; *Sillie* here in *England*, from the cape of *Cornwall*; and *Britain* it ſelf (as may ſeem by *Verſtigans* arguments) from the oppoſite continent of *Gaule*. But for *Sicil*, they which lend their ears to fables, do attribute the cauſe of it to *Neptune* (as *Euſtathius* witneſſeth) who with his three-forked Mace, in favour of *Jocaſtus*, the ſon of *Æolus*, divided it from the main land, and ſo made it an Iſland, which before was but a *Demie-Iſle*; that by that means he might the more ſafely inhabit, and poſſeſs the ſame. *Diodorus Siculus*, moved by the authority of *Heſiodus*, aſcribeth the labour of ſundring it from *Italy*, to *Orion*: who that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting through the rocks and mountains) firſt opened the *Sicilian* ſtreights, as *Hercules* did thoſe of *Gibralter*.

Plin. l. 2. c. 91. Sil. l. 5.

Orion. l. 4. c. 14. Diod. l. 6. Ovid de Faſt. 4.

They which value the Iſlands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantity and content, do make this the greateſt, as *Euſtathius* and *Strabo*, who affirm this, not only to excell the reſt for bigneſs, but alſo for goodneſs of ſoil. As concerning the form of this Iſland, *Pomponius Mela* ſaith, it is like that Capital letter of the *Greek*, which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally known to be true. That the whole Iſland was conſecrated to *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, all old writers with one conſent affirm. To *Ceres* it was dedicated, becauſe it firſt taught the rules of ſetting and ſowing of Corn: to *Proſerpina*, not ſo much for that ſhe was from hence violently.

violently taken by *Pluto*, as because (which *Plutarch* and *Diodorus* do report for truth) that *Pluto*, as soon as she, uncovering her self, first shewed her self to be seen of him, gave her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertility and riches of this Country, there is a famous testimony witten by *Cicero*, in the second Oration against *Verres*, where he saith, that *Marcus Cato* did call it the *Granary* and *Store-house of the Commonwealth*, and *the Nurse of the vulgar sort*. The same *Cicero* doth add in that place; that it was not only the Store-house of the people of *Rome:* but also that it was a well-furnished treasure. For without any cost or charge of ours (saith he) it hath usually clothed, maintained, and furnished our greatest Armies with leather, apparrel and
Strabo. l.6. corn. *Strabo* reporteth almost the same thing of it. Whatsoever *Sicilie* doth yield (saith *Solinus*) whether by the sun, and temperature of the air, or by the industry and labour of man, it is accounted next unto those things that are of best estimation: were it not that such things as the earth first putteth forth, are extreamly over-grown with saffron. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that in the fields near unto *Leontium*, and in divers other places of this Island, wheat doth grow of it self without any labour or looking to of the husbandman. *Martianus* sheweth, that there were in it six Colonies, and sixty Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the names are found scatteringly in many good Authors.

Now besides many famous acts, done by the people of this Island, as well in peace as War, there be many other things which have made it very renowned, as the birth of *Ceres*; the ravishing of *Proserpina*; the Giant *Enceladus*; the mount *Ætna*; *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, with other antiquities and rarities; besides those learned men, the noble *Mathematician*, *Archimedes*; the famous *Geomatrician*, *Euclides*; the painful Historian *Diodorus*; and *Empedocles*, the deep Philosopher.

That *Sicil* was at first possessed and inhabited by Giants, *Læstrigones*, and *Cyclopes*, barbarous people, and uncivil; all histories and fables do jointly with one consent averr. Yet *Thucydides* saith, that these savage people dwelt only in one part of the Island. Afterward the *Sicani*, a people of *Spain*, possessed it. That these *Sicani* were not bred in the Isle (although some so think) *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* do very constantly avouch.

Of these it was named *Sicania*. These *Sicani* were invaded by the *Siculi*; who, inhabiting that part of *Latium*, whereon *Rome* was afterward built, were driven by the *Pelasgi* from their own seats, and finding no place upon the Continent, which they were able to master and inhabit, passed over into this Island, three hundred years before the *Greeks* sent any Colonies thither: and (saith *Philistus*) eighty years before the fall of *Troy*. These *Siculi* gave the name of *Sicilia*, to the Island; and making war upon the *Sicani*, drave them from the East and Northern part thereof, into the West and South. At their landing; they first built the City *Zancle*, afterward called *Messana*; and after that, *Catana*, *Leontine*, and *Syracuse* it self, beating from thence the *Ætolians*, who long before had set up a Town in that place. As for the name of *Syracuse* it was not known, till such time as *Archias* of *Corinth* (long after) won that part of the Island from the *Siculi*; Neither did the *Siculi* at their first arrival dispossess the *Ætolians* thereof, but some hundred years after their descent, and after such time as they had founded the Cities before named with *Neæ*, *Hybla*, *Trinacria*, and divers others.

After these *Siculi* came another Nation out of *Italy*, called *Morgetes*; who were thence driven by the *Oenotrians*. These sat down in that part of *Sicil*, where they afterward raised the Cities of *Morgantum*, and *Leontium*. For at this time the *Siculi* were divided, and by a civil war greatly infeebled. Among these ancient stories, we find the last voyage, and the death of *Minos*, King of *Crete*. *Thucydides*, an historian of unquestionable sincerity, reports of *Minos*, that he made conquest of many Islands: and some such business, perhaps, drew him into *Sicil*. But the common report is, that he came thither in pursuit of *Dædalus*. The tale goes thus: *Dædalus* fleeing the revenge of *Minos*, came into *Sicil*, to *Cocalus*, King of the *Sicani*, and, during his abode there, he built a place of great strength, near unto *Megara*, for *Cocalus* to lay up his treasure in; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the rest, he cast a Ram in gold, that was set up in the Temple of *Venus Erycina*; which he did with so great Art, as those that beheld it thought it rather to be living, than counterfeit.

Now *Minos*, hearing that *Cocalus* had entertained *Dædalus*, prepares to invade the Territory of *Cocalus*; but when he was arrived, *Cocalus* doubting his own sterngth, promiseth to deliver *Dædalus*. This he performs not, but in the mean while, kills *Minos* by treason, and perswades the *Cretans*,

Minos

Minos his followers, to inhabit a part of *Sicil*; the better (as it seems) to strengthen himself against the *Siculi*. Hereupon the *Cretans* (their King being dead) gave their consent, and builded for themselves the City of *Minoa* after the name of the King *Minos*. After, they likewise built the Town of *Engium*, now called *Gange*: and these were the first Cities, built by the *Greeks* in *Sicil*, about two ages before the war of *Troy*; for the grand-children of *Minos* served with the *Greeks* at the siege thereof.

But after such time as the *Cretans* understood, that their King had by treason been made away; they gathered together a great Army, to invade *Cocalus*: and landing near unto *Camicus*, they besieged the same five years, but in vain. In the end (being forced to return, without any revenge taken) they were rackt on the coast of *Italy*, and having no means to repair their ships, nor the honour they had lost, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built *Hyria*, or *Hyrium*, between the two famous Ports of *Brundusium* and *Tarentum*. Of these *Cretans* came those Nations, afterward called *Iapyges* and *Messapii*.

After the taking of *Troy*, *Egestus* and *Elymus*, brought with them certain troops into *Sicil*, and seated themselves among the *Sicani*; where they built the Cities of *Egesta* and *Elyma*.

It is said, that *Æneas* visited these places in his passage into *Italy*: and that some of the *Trojans*, his followers, were left behind him in these Towns of *Sicil*: whereof there want not good Authors, that make *Æneas* himself the founder.

About the same time, the *Phœnicians* seized upon the Promontories of *Pachinus*, and *Lilybeum*, and upon certain small Isles adjoyning to the main Island: which they fortified, to secure the trades that they had with the *Silicians*; like as the *Portugals* have done in the *East-India*, at *Goa*, *Ormus*, *Mosambique*, and other places. But the *Phœnicians* stayed not there; for after they had once assured their descents, they built the goodly City of *Panormus*, now called *Palerma*.

These we find, were the Nations that inhabited the Isle of *Sicil*, before the war of *Troy*, and ere the *Greeks* in any numbers began to straggle in those parts.

It may perchance seem strange to the Reader, that in all ancient stories, he finds one and the same beginning of Nations, after the flood; and that the first planters in all parts of the World were said to be mighty and Giant-like men; and that, as *Phœnicia*, *Ægypt*, *Lybia* and *Greece*, had *Hercules*, *Oreſtes*, *Antæus*, *Typhon*, and the like; as *Denmark* had *Starchaterus*, remembred by *Sazo Grammaticus*; as *Scythia*, *Britanie*, and other Regions had Giants for their first inhabitants: so this Isle of *Sicil* had her *Lestrigones* and *Cyclopes*. This discourse I could also reject for fained and fabulous, did not *Moses* make us know, that the *Zamzummims*, *Emims*, *Anakims*, and *Og* of *Basan*, with others, which sometime inhabited the Mountains and Desarts of *Moab*, *Ammon*, and Mount *Seir*, were men of exceeding strength and stature, and of the races of Giants: and were it not, that *Tertullian*, St. *Augustine*, *Nicephorus*, *Procopius*, *Isidore*, *Pliny*, *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Solinus*, *Plutarch*, and many other Authors, have confirmed the opinion: Yea, *Vesputius*, in his second Navigation into *America*, had reported that himself had seen the like men in those parts. Again, whereas the self-same is written of all Nations, that is written of any one; as touching their simplicity of life, their mean fare, their feeding on Acorns and roots, their poor cottages, the covering of their bodies with the skins of beasts, their hunting, their arms, and weapons, and their warfare, their first passages over great Rivers and Arms of the Sea, upon rafts of trees tied together; and afterwards their making boats first of twigs and leather, then of wood; first with Oars, and then with Sails; that they esteemed as gods, the first finders out of Arts; as of Husbandry, of Laws, and of Policy: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all lived in the same newness of time, which we call *Old time*, and had all the same want of his instruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankind. For other teaching had they none, that were removed far off from the *Hebrews*, (who inherited the knowledge of the first Patriarchs) than that from variable effects they began, by time and degrees, to find out the causes: from whence came Philosophy Natural; as the Moral did from disorder and confusion; and the Law from cruelty and oppression.

Cavo G. in præfat. hist.

Tertul. de Resurr. August. de civit. Dei lib. 15. Et quæst. in Gen. Nicep. lib. 2. c. 37. Procop. l. 2. de Bello Goth. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 2.

But it is certain, that the Age of *Time* hath brought forth stranger and more incredible things, than the Infancy. For we have now greater Giants for vice and injustice, than the World had in those dayes, for bodily strength; for cottages, and houses of clay and timber, we have raised Palaces of stones; we carve them, we paint them, and adorn them with gold, insomuch as men are rather known by their houses, than their houses by them; we are fallen from two dishes to two hundred; from water, to wine and drunkenness:

kenneſs from the covering of our bodies with the ſkins of beaſts, not only to ſilk and gold, but to the very ſkins of men. But to conclude this digreſſion, *Time* will alſo take revenge of the exceſs, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longiorque auxit, longiſſima ſubruet: Long time brought forth, longer time increaſed it, and a time, longer than the reſt, ſhall overthrow it.*

†. II.

The Plantation of the Greeks *in* Sicil.

WHen the firſt Inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all *Sicil*: it happened, that one *Theocles*, a *Greek*, being driven upon that Coaſt by an Eaſterly wind, and finding true the commendations thereof, which had been thought fabulous, being delivered only by Poets, gave information to the *Athenians* of this his diſcovery, and propoſed unto them the benefit of this eaſie Conqueſt offering to become their guide. But *Theocles* was as little regarded by the *Athenians*, as *Columbus*, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the *Engliſh*. Wherefore he took the ſame courſe that *Columbus* afterwards did. He over-laboured not himſelf in perſwading the Noble *Athenians* (who thought themſelves to be well enough already) to their own profit; but went to the *Chalcidians*, that were needy and induſtrious, by whom his project was gladly entertained. By theſe was built the City of *Naxus*, and a Colony planted of *Eubœans*.

But the reſt of the *Greeks* were wiſer than our Weſtern Princes of *Europe*: For they had no Pope, that ſhould forbid them to occupy the void places of the World. *Archias* of *Corinth* followed the *Eubœans*, and landed in *Sicil*, near unto that City, called afterward * *Syracuſe*: of which, that part only was then compaſſed with a wall, which the *Ætolians* called *Homothermon*; the *Greeks*, *Naſos*; the *Latines*, *Inſula*. He with his *Corinthians* having overcome the *Siculi*, drave them up into the Country; and after a few years, their multitude increaſing, they added unto the City of the Iſland, that of *Acradina*, *Tyca*, and *Neapolis*. So as well by the commodity of the double Port, capable of as many ſhips, as any Haven of that part of *Europe*, as by the fertility of the ſoil, *Syracuſe* grew up in great haſt, to be one of the goodlieſt Towns of the world. In ſhort time the *Greeks* did poſſeſs the better part of all the Sea-coaſt; forcing the *Sicilians* to withdraw themſelves into the faſts and mountanous parts of the Iſland, makeing their Royal reſidence in *Trinacria*.

Some ſeven years after the arrival of *Archias*, the *Chalcidians*, encouraged by the ſucceſs of the *Corinthians*, did aſſail, and obtain the City of *Leontium*, built and poſſeſt by the *Siculi*. In brief, the *Greeks* win from the *Siculi*, and their Aſſociates, the Cities of *Catana* and *Hybla*, which in honour of the *Megarians* that forc't it, they called *Megara*.

About five and forty years after *Archias* had taken *Syracuſe*; *Antiphemus*, and *Entimus*, the one from *Rhodes*, the other from *Crete*, brought an Army into *Sicil*, and built *Gela*, whoſe Citizens, one hundred and eight years after, did erect that magnificent and renowned City of *Agrigentum*, governed according to the Laws of the *Dorians*.

The *Syracuſians* alſo, in the ſeventieth year after their Plantation, did ſet up the City of *Acra*, in the Mountains; and in the ninetieth year *Caſmena*, in the Plains adjoyning; and again in the hundred and thirtieth year of their dwelling in *Syracuſe*, they built *Camerina*: and ſoon after that, *Enna*, in the very Centre of the Iſland. So did the *Cumani* about the ſame time, recover from the *Siculi* the City of *Zancle*, which they had founded in the ſtraight between *Sicil* and *Italy*. They of *Zancle*, had been the founders of *Himera*.

Not long after this, *Dorieus* the *Lacedæmonian* built *Hereclia*; which the *Phœnicians*, and *Carthaginians*, fearing the neighbourhood of the *Spartans*, ſoon after invaded and ruined, though the ſame were again ere long re-edified.

Selinus alſo was built by a Colony of *Megara*: and *Zancle* was taken by the *Meſſenians*; who having loſt their own Country, gave the name thereof unto this their new purchaſe. Such were the beginnings of the greateſt Cities in this Iſland.

* *Syracuſe*, as *Cicero* relates, was the greateſt, and moſt goodly City of all that the *Greeks* poſſeſt; For the ſituation is both ſtrong, and of an excellent proſpect from every entrance, by Land, or Sea. The Port (was for the moſt part) environed with beautiful buildings: and that part which was without the City, was on both ſides baukt up, and ſuſtained with beautiful walls of Marble. The City of it ſelf was one of the greateſt of the World: for it had in compaſs (as *Strabo* reporteth) without the treble wall thereof, a hundred and eighty furlongs, which make of our miles about eighteen. It was compounded of four Cities (*Strabo* ſaith of five) to wit, *Inſula*, *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*: of which greatneſs the ruines and foundations of the walls do yet witneſs. After ſuch times as the *Dores* of *Peloponneſus* had driven out the *Sicilians*, this goodly City for a long time became the ſeat of Tyrants. The firſt whereof was *Gelo*: The ſecond, *Hiero* the elder: The third, *Toraſybulus*: The fourth and fifth, *Dionyſius* the elder, and younger: The ſixth, *Dion*: The ſeventh, *Agathocles*: The eighth, *Pyrrhus*: The ninth, *Hiero* the younger: The tenth and laſt, *Hieronymus*; who being ſlain at *Leontium*, at length the *Romans* conquered it under the conduct of *Marcellus*.

t. III.

of the Government and Affairs of Sicil *before* Dionysius *his Tyranny.*

THE most part of the Cities in *Sicil*, were governed by the rule of the people, till such time as *Phalaris* began to usurp the state of *Agrigentum*, and to exercise all manner of Tyranny therein.

This was that *Phalaris*, to whom *Perillus*, the cunning Artificer of a detestable Engine, gave an hollow Bull of Brass, wherein to inclose men, and scorch them to death: praising the device with this commendation; That the noise of one tormented therein, should be like unto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gave a due reward to the Inventer; by causing the first tryal to be made upon himself. He reigned one and thirty years, saith *Eusebius*; others give him but sixteen: Howsoever it were, one *Telemachus* in the end, fell upon him with the whole multitude of *Agrigentum*, and stoned him to death; being thereto animated by *Zeno*, even whilst the Tyrant was tormenting the same *Zeno*, to make him confess some matter of conspiracy.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens recovered their liberty, and enjoyed it long, till *Thero* usurped the Government of the Common-weal: at which time also *Panætius* made himself Lord of *Leontium*; and *Cleander* of *Gela*: but *Cleander* having ruled seven years, was slain by one of the Citizens. *Cleander* being dead, his Brother *Hippocrates* succeeded in his room, and greatly afflicted the people of *Naxos*, of *Zancle*, of *Messena*, and of *Leontium*; whom with divers others of the ancient Inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He also made war with the *Syracusians*, and, in the end, got from them by composition, the City of *Camerina*. But when he had reigned seven years, he was slain in a Battel against the *Siculi*, before *Hybla*.

At this time did the *Syracusians* change their form of Government, from Popular to *Aristocratical*; a preparation towards a Principality, whereinto it was soon after changed. After the death of *Hyppocrates*, *Gelon* (descended from the *Rhodians*, which together with the *Cretans*, had long before, among other of the *Greeks*, seated themselves in *Sicil*) that had commanded the forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former War, with notable success, became Lord of *Gela*. He, after his Masters death, breaking the trust committed unto him by *Hippocrates* over his children, and being in possession of *Gela*, took the occasion and advantage of a contention in *Syracuse*, between the Magistrates and the People. For coming with a strong Army to the succour of the Governours, driven out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, (and indeed) the most famous, that ever governed the *Syracusians*. This change happened in the second year of the threescore and twelfth Olympiad; wherein the better to establish himself, he took to wife the Daughter of *Thero*, who had also usurped the state of *Agrigentum*. *Paus. l. 6.*

Now this *Gelon*, the Son of *Dinomenes*, had three Brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasybulus*: to the first of which he gave up the City of *Gela*, when he had obtained the Principality of *Syracuse*. For, after that time, all his thoughts travelled in the strengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of *Syracuse*. He defaced *Camerina*, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the *Syracusians* who built it, and brought the Citizens to *Syracuse*. The *Megarians* that had moved a War against him, he overcame; the richer sort he brought unto *Syracuse*; and the people he sold for slaves. In like manner dealt he with other places upon the like occasion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the *Agrigentines*, having dispossest *Terillus* of his City *Himera*; the *Carthaginians* were drawn into the quarrel by *Anaxilus*, Lord of *Messena*, Father-in-law to *Terillus*: and *Gelon* was also solicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after divers conflicts, the *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*, led by *Amilcar*, were overthrown by *Gelon*: and an hundred and fifty thousand of them left their bodies in *Sicil*. *Herod. & Diod.*

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* sent for succour, when *Xerxes* with his huge Army past the *Hellespont*. He, for their relief having armed thirty thousand Souldiers, and two hundred ships, refused nevertheless to send them into *Greece*, because they refused him the command of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or Land. So he used to their Embassadours only this Saying, *That their Spring was withered*; accounting the Army, by him prepared, to be the very flower of the *Greek* Nation.

The *Carthaginians*, after this great loss received, fearing the invasion of their own Country, sent to *Gelon* by their Embassadours, to desire peace, who grants it them on these conditions: That from thenceforth they should not sacrifice their children to *Saturn*; That they should pay him two

thousand talents of silver, and present him with two armed ships, in sign of amity. These conditions the *Carthaginians*, not only willingly accepted, but with the two thousand talents, and the ships for war, they sent unto *Demarata*, *Gelons* Wife, a Crown, valued at an hundred talents of gold, with other presents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, and some Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The wars ended, and *Sicil* in peace, *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloved and honoured of his Subjects, he left the world, and left for his successor his Brother *Hiero*. *Philistus* and *Pliny* report, That when his body was burnt, according to the custom of that Age, a Dog of his, which alwayes waited on him, ran into the fire, and suffered himself to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his Brother succeeded; a man rude, cruel, covetous, and so suspicious of his Brethren *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasybulus*, as he sought by all means to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this, by the conversation which he had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the study of good Arts. Divers quarrels he had, as well with *Theron* of *Agrigentum*, as with other Cities: all which he shortly after compounded, and gave a notable overthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to invade *Sicil*, fearing the succours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aid the *Grecians* against him. He also overthrew in battel *Thrasydæus*, the Son of *Theron*, and thereby restored the *Agrigentines* to their former liberty. But in the end, he lost the love of the *Syracusians*; and after he had reigned eleven years, he left the Kingdom to his Brother *Thrasybulus*, who became a most unjust and bloody Tyrant. *Thrasybulus* injoyed his Principality no longer than ten months. For, notwithstanding the force of mercenary Souldiers; which he entertained for his guards, he was beaten out of *Syracuse* by the Citizens; to whom, being besieged in *Acradina*, he restored the Government, and was banished the Island. From whence he sailed into *Greece*, where he died a private man, among the *Locrians*.

And now had the *Syracusians* recovered again their former liberty, as all the rest of the Cities did; after which they had never sought, had the Successors of *Gelon* inherited his vertue, as they did the Principality of *Syracuse*. For in all changes of Estates, the preservation ought to answer the acquisition. When a liberal, valiant, and advised Prince, hath obtained any new Signiory, and added it to that of his own, or exalted himself from being a private man to the dignity of a Prince, it behooveth the Successour to maintain it by the same way and art, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuse* (though not without blows, ere that she could cleanse her self of the creatures and lovers of *Gelon*) was now again become Mistress of her self, and held her self free, well-near threescore years, to the time of *Dionysius*, though she were in the mean while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her own, called *Tindario*.

Now, to prevent the greatness of any one among them, for the future, they devised a kind of banishment of such among them, as were suspected; taking pattern from the *Athenian Ostracisme*. They called this their new devised judgement of exile, *Petalismus*, wherein every one wrote upon an Olive-leaf (as at *Athens* they wrote upon shells) the name of him, whom he would have expelled the City. He that had most suffrages against him, was banished for five years. Hereby in a short time, it came to pass that those of judgement, and best able to govern the Common-weal, were, by the worst able, either suppresst, or thrust out of the City. Yea, such as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as secretly as they could, seeking some place of more security, wherein to maintain themselves. And good reason they had so to do; seeing that there is nothing so terrible in any State, as a powerful and authorized ignorance. But this Law lasted not very long. For their necessity taught them to abolish it, and restore again the wiser sort unto the Government; from which, the Nobility having practised to banish one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being invaded by *Ducetius*, King of the *Sicilians*, that inhabited the inner part of the Island (who had already taken *Enna*, and some other of the *Grecian* Cities, and overthrown the Army of the *Agragentines*) the *Syracusians* sent forces against him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Bolcon*. This their Captain made nothing so much haste to find out *Ducetius*, against whom he was imployed, as he did to flee from the Army he led, as soon as *Ducetius* presented him battel. So for want of conduct, the greatest number of the *Syracusians* perished.

But making better choice among those whom they had banished, they levy other troops: by whom, in conclusion, *Ducetius* being

being beaten, ſubmitteth himſelf, and is conſtrained to leave the Iſland for a time. Yet it was not long ere he returned again, and built the City *Collatina* on the Sea-ſide.

Ducetius being dead; all the *Greek* Cities did in a ſort acknowledge *Syracuſe*, *Trinacria* excepted; which alſo by force of Arms, in the fourſcore and fifth Olympiad, they brought to reaſon.

But they do not long enjoy this their Superintendency. For the Citizens of *Leontium*, being oppreſt by them, ſeek aid from the *Athenians*, about the ſixth year of the *Peloponneſian* War. In this ſuit they prevailed by the eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator; and got an hundred *Athenian* Gallies to ſuccour them, under the leading of *Laches*, and *Charœodes*. To this Fleet, the *Leontines*, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with ſome ſupplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurymedon*, and other *Athenian* Captains, they invaded the Territories of the *Syracuſians*, and their Partiſans; wan and loſt divers places; took *Meſſana*; and, in the ſeventh year of the *Peloponneſian* War, loſt it again. They alſo at the ſame time attempted *Hymera*, but in vain. The fire of this quarrel took hold upon many Cities, which did invade each others Territory with great violence. But when they had wearied themſelves on all hands, and yet could ſee none iſſue of the War, the *Leontines*, without the advice of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracuſians*, and were admitted into their ſociety, with equal freedom. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to have greatned themſelves in *Sicil*, by the diviſion and civil War, were diſappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and fain to be gone with the broken remainder of their Fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the cuſtom of popular Eſtates) by taking revenge upon their own Commanders. So they baniſhed *Pythodorus*, and *Sophocles*, and laid an heavy fine upon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the moſt memorable War, that ever was made by the *Greeks* in *Sicil*: which was that of the *Athenians*, againſt the *Selinuntines* and *Syracuſians*, in favour of the Cities of *Egeſta*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selinus* had oppreſt the *Egeſtans*; and they of *Syracuſe* the *Leontines*, and the *Catanians*: which was the ground of the War. For the *Athenians* undertook the protection of their old friends: and, in hatred of the *Athenians*, aid from *Lacedæmon* was ſent to the *Syracuſians*. The *Lacedæmonians* dealt plainly, having none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to help a people of their own Tribe, that craved their ſuccour, being in diſtreſs. The *Athenians* ſcarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were ſo great, as diſcovered their intent to be none other, than the Conqueſt of the whole Iſland. Yet they which had called them in, were ſo blinded with their own paſſions, that they would not believe their own eyes; which preſented unto them a Fleet and Army, far greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition, the City of *Athens* had engaged all her power; as regarding not only the greatneſs of the enterpriſe, but the neceſſity of finiſhing it in a ſhort ſpace of time. For the *Lacedæmonians* (as hath already been ſhewed in due place) ſtood at that time in ſuch broken terms of peace with *Athens*, as differed not much from open War. Wherefore it was thought neceſſary, either to ſpare coſt in this great Expedition, or altogether to forbear it: which was likely to be hindred by Wars at home, if their proceedings were ſlack abroad. And ſurely, had not the deſire of the *Athenians* been over-paſſionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had cauſed them to abſtain from ſo chargeable a buſineſs, and to reſerve their forces for a more needful uſe. But young counſels prevailed againſt the authority of ancient men, that were more regardful of ſafety than of honour.

Of this buſineſs, mention hath been already made, in that which we have written of the *Peloponneſian* War. But what was there delivered in general terms, as not concerning the affairs of *Greece*, otherwiſe than by conſequence, doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of *Sicil* was like to have felt a great converſion.

Though *Alcibiades* had prevailed againſt *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voyage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chief Commanders therein.

Theſe had commiſſion and direction, as well to ſuccour the *Segeſtans*, and to reeſtabliſh the *Leontines*, caſt out of their places by the *Syracuſians*; as alſo by force of Arms, to ſubject the *Syracuſians*, and all their adherents in *Sicil*, and compel them by tribute, to acknowledge the *Athenians* for their ſupream Lords. To effect which, the forenamed Captains were ſent off, with an hundred and thirty Gallies, and five thouſand one hundred Souldiers, beſides the thirty ſhips of burden, which tranſported their

victuals, engines, and other munitions for the War: and these were *Athenians*, *Mantinæans*, *Rhodians*, and *Candians*: there were, besides these, six thousand *Megarians* light-armed, with thirty horsemen.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 9. With these troops and fleets they arrive at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegians* refuse to give them entry; but sell them victuals for their mony. From thence they sent to the *Egestans*, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the war, seeing for their sakes they had entred thereinto. But they found by their answers, that these *Egestans* were poor, and that they had abused the *Athenian* Embassadours with false shews of gold, having in all but 30. talents. The *Athenians* further were discouraged, when they found that the *Rhegians*, their ancient friends, and allied unto the *Leontines*, refused to trust them within their Walls. Hereupon *Nicias* adviseth to depart towards the *Selinuntines*, and to force them, or perswade them to an agreement with the *Egestans*; as likewise to see what disbursements the *Egestans* could make; and so return again into *Greece*, and not to waste *Athens* in a needless war. *Alcibiades*, on the other side, would solicite the Cities of *Sicil* to confederacy against the *Syracusians* and *Selinuntines*, whereby to force them unto restitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus* he perswades them to assail *Syracuse* it self, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of divers Cities) they surprise *Catana*: and there they take new counsel how to proceed. Thence they imployed *Nicias* to those of *Egesta*, who received from them thirty talents towards his charges; and one hundred and twenty talents more there were of the spoils they had gotten in the Island. Thus the Summer being spent in idle consultations, and vain attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to assail *Syracuse*. But *Alcibiades* having been accused at home, in his absence, was sent for back by the *Athenians* to make his answer: and the Army was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These Commanders obtain a landing place very near unto *Syracuse*, by this device.

They imploy to *Syracuse* an inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they trust; and instruct him, to promise unto the *Syracusians*, that he would deliver into their hands all the *Athenians* within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracusians* draw thitherward with their best forces. But in the mean while, the *Athenians*, setting sail from *Catana*, arrive at *Syracuse*, where they land at fair ease, and fortifie themselves against the Town. Shortly after this, they fight, and the *Syracusians* had the loss: but the *Athenians*, wanting horse, could not pursue their victory to any great effect. They then retire themselves, with a resolution to refresh their Army at *Catana*, for the winter-season. From thence they made an attempt upon *Messana*, hoping to have taken it by an intelligence, but in vain. For *Alcibiades* had discovered such as were Traitors within the City to the *Messenians*. This he now did, in despight of his own Citizens, the *Athenians*; because they had recalled him from his command, with a purpose either to have put him to death, or to have banished him: whereof being assured by his friends, he took his way towards the *Lacedæmonians*, and to them he gave mischievous counsel against his Country. While this winter yet lasted, the *Syracusians* send Embassadors to *Lacedæmon*, and *Corinth*, for aid: as likewise the *Athenian* Captains in *Sicil*, send to *Athens* for supplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth year of the *Peloponnesian* war) the *Athenians* in *Sicil* sail from the Port of *Catana* to *Megara*, forsaken of the Inhabitants; from whence, forraging the Country, they obtain some small victories over the straggling *Syracusians*: and at their return to *Catana*, they receive a supply of two hundred men at arms, but without horse, which they hoped to furnish in the Island from the *Segestans*, and other their adherents: they were also strengthned with a company of Archers, and with three hundred talents in mony.

Hereupon they take courage, and incamp near *Syracuse*, upon the banks of the great Port, repelling the *Syracusians*, that sallyed to impeach their intrenchments. They also received from their Confederates four hundred horse-men, with two hundred other horse, to mount their men at arms. *Syracuse* was now in effect blockt up, so as hardly any succours could enter, but such as were able to force their passage: yet the *Athenians* receive divers losses; among which it was not the least, that *Lamachus*, one of their best Commanders, was slain.

In the mean while, *Gylippus* and *Python*, with the *Lacedæmonian* and *Corinthian* forces, arrive, and take land at *Hymera*. The Citizens of *Hymera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selinuntines*, joyn with them; so that with these and his own troops, *Gylippus* adventured to march over-land toward *Syracuse*. The *Syracusians* send a part of their forces to meet him and conduct him. The *Athenians* prepare to encounter them, expecting his arrival

arrival near unto the City upon a place of advantage. At the firſt encounter they had the better of their enemies, by reaſon that the *Syracuſian* horſe-men could not come to fight in thoſe ſtraights: but ſoon after, *Gylippus* charging them again, brake them, and conſtrained *Nicias* to fortifie himſelf within his Camp. Whereupon *Nicias* made the ſtate of his affairs known, by his letters to the *Athenians*; ſhewing, that without great ſupplies by Sea and Land, the enterpriſe would be loſt, together with the ſmall Army remaining. Theſe letters received, the *Athenians* appoint two other Generals, *Eurymedon* and *Demoſthenes*, to joyn with *Nicias*: the one they diſpatch preſently with ſome ſupplies; the other they ſend after him in the Spring following.

In the mean while, *Gylippus* at *Syracuſe*, fights with the *Athenians* both by Sea and Land, ſometimes with ill, and at other times with good ſucceſs: but in concluſion, he took from their Fort, near unto *Syracuſe*, the Promontory called *Plymmyrium*; wherein the *Athenians* loſt their treaſure, and a great part of all their proviſions. Notwithſtanding which loſs, and that the *Athenians* themſelves, in *Greece*, were (in effect) beſieged within *Athens*, by the *Lacedæmonians*; yet were they moſt obſtinate in proſecuting the War in *Sicil*, and diſpatched away *Demoſthenes* with new ſuccours. *Demoſthenes*, in his way towards *Sicil*, encountred with *Polyanthes* the *Corinthian*, with his fleet: both the Captains being bound for *Sicil*, the one to ſuccour *Nicias*, the other *Gylippus*. The loſs between them was in effect equal; and neither ſo broken, but that each of them proſecuted the enterpriſe they had in hand. But before the ſuccours arrived to either, *Gylippus* and *Ariſton* had aſſailed the *Athenians* in the great Port of *Syracuſe*, and in a Sea fight put them to the worſt, to the great diſcouragement of the *Athenians*. On the neck of this, *Demoſthenes* arrived with threeſcore and thirteen Gallies, charged with footmen; and (blaming the ſloath of *Nicias*) he invaded the *Syracuſians* the ſame day that he arrived. But he made more haſte than he had good ſpeed, being ſhamefully beaten, and repulſed with great loſs. Hereupon *Demoſthenes* and *Eurymedon* determine to riſe up from before *Syracuſe*, and return to the ſuccour of *Athens*: but *Nicias* diſputed to the contrary, pretending that he had good intelligence within *Syracuſe*, whereby he learned, that the Town could not long hold out.

Whatſoever *Nicias* his intelligence was; upon the arrival of a new ſupply into the Town, the *Athenians* had all conſented to depart, and to lodge at *Catana*: had not an Eclipſe of the Moon, boding (as was thought) ill ſucceſs cauſed them to deferr their departure. But this ſuperſtition coſt them dear. For the *Syracuſians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Corinthians*, with threeſcore and ſeventeen ſail of Gallies, entred the great Port of *Syracuſe*, wherein the *Athenians* kept their fleet, and whereon they had fortified themſelves. The *Athenians* in the ſame Port encountred them with fourſcore and ſix Gallies, commanded by *Eurymedon*: in which the *Athenian* fleet was beaten, by the leſſer number, and *Eurymedon* ſlain. Now, though it were ſo, that the *Syracuſians* received the more loſs by land (for the fight was general) yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by ſea, in which kind they thought themſelves invincible, they were wonderfully caſt down. For it was well ſaid of *Gylippus*; to the *Syracuſians*; *When any people do find themſelves vanquiſhed in that manner of fight, and with thoſe weapons, in which they perſwade themſelves that they exceed all others, they not only loſe their reputation, but their courage.* The *Athenians*, beſides the Gallies ſunk and wrackt, had ſeventeen taken, and poſſeſt by the enemy: and with great labour and loſs they defended the reſt from being fired, having drawn them within a *Paliſado*, in one corner of the port, unadviſedly: for it is as contrary to a Sea-war, to thruſt ſhips into a ſtraight room and corner, as it is to ſcatter foot in a plain field againſt horſe; the one ſubſiſting by being at large, the other by cloſe imbattailing.

The *Syracuſians*, having now weakned the *Athenian* fleet, reſolve to impriſon them within the Port. And to that purpoſe they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Haven, being about a mile over, and there they came to *Anchor*; filling the out-let with all manner of Veſſels; which they man moſt ſtrongly, becauſe the *Athenians*, being now made deſperate, ſhould not with double ranks of Gallies break through the *Syracuſian* fleet; which lay but ſingle, becauſe they were forc't to range themſelves over all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore not only mored themſelves ſtrongly by their *Anchors*, but chained the ſides of their Gallies together, and lay behind them again certain ſhips, which ſerved in the former war for victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were ſunk; or the chain, which joyned them to their fellows, broken; the *Athenians* might yet find themſelves a ſecond time, intangled and arreſted. To diſorder alſo thoſe *Athenian* Gallies, which came

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on in form of a wedge, to break through, and force a paſſage, the *Syracuſians* had left within theſe Gallies and Ships, inchained together, a certain number of looſe ones, to ſtop their courſe and fury. For where the way of any veſſel, uſing oar or ſails, is broken, and their ſpeed foreſtowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the reſiſtance oppoſing.

On the other ſide, the *Athenians* knew that they were utterly loſt, except with an invincible reſolution they could make their way, and break down this great bridge of boats; or (at leaſt) force a paſſage through them in ſome part or other: which they reſolve to hazard, with all their ſhipping (to the number of one hundred and ten of all ſorts) and with all the ſtrength of their Land-army, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did ſo diſorder the *Athenian* fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as albeit ſome few of them had broken through the chains, yet being ſtopt with the ſhips without, and aſſailed by other looſe Gallies of the *Syracuſians*, which were purpoſely left at large in the ſea, they were either taken or ſunk. Three great diſadvantages the *Athenians* had: the firſt, that fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in a ſtraight, they had no room to turn themſelves, nor to free themſelves one from another, being intangled; the ſecond, that having overpeſtered their Gallies with Souldiers, who uſed offenſive arms of darts and ſlings, they had not place upon the decks to ſtretch their arms; the third was, the diſcomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a paſſage, by which they might ſave themſelvs by running away. To be ſhort, the fight was no leſs terrible than the confuſion: the ſlaughter great on all ſides; and the noiſe, and the cryes, ſo lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the *Athenians*, as many as ſurvived, were beaten back to the Land, with loſs of three-ſcore of their Gallies, broken, ſunk, or abandoned. The *Syracuſians* did alſo loſe twenty of theirs, with *Python*, Commander of the *Corinthians*. The reſt of the *Athenian* Gallies, running themſelves into the bottom of the Port, ſaved themſelves by the help and countenance of the Land-army there fortified. In this deſperate eſtate, the *Athenian* Commanders go to counſel. *Demoſthenes* perſwades them to furniſh with freſh Souldiers thoſe few Gallies which remained; and while the *Syracuſians* were triumphing, and made ſecure by their preſent victory, to ſet upon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to return to *Athens*. This was no ill counſel. For, as we have heard of many great Captains (yea, the greateſt number of all that have been victorious) that have neglected the ſpeedy proſecution of a beaten enemy; ſo might we produce many examples of thoſe, who having ſlept ſecurely in the boſome of good ſucceſs, have been ſuddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of a broken Army, and have thereby loſt again all the honour and advantage formerly gotten. But *Nicias* oppoſeth the advice of *Demoſthenes*: Others ſay, that the Seamen were againſt it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all reſolve to march over land to the Cities of their Confederates, till ſome more favourable fortune ſhould call them thence. On the other ſide, *Gylippus*, and other the *Lacedæmonian* and *Corinthian* Captains, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the *Syracuſians* to put themſelves preſently into the field, and to ſtop all the paſſages, leading to thoſe Cities of their enemies, to which the *Athenians* might make retrait. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the preſent. Which humour in ſome of our Commanders at *Cadez*, loſt us both the *Indian* fleet, and the ſpoils of many other neighbour places. *Hermocrates*, the *Syracuſian*, finding it a loſt labour, to perſwade his Countrymen to any haſty proſecution, deviſed this good ſtratagem, whereby to gain time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, he ſhould draw them willingly out. He ſent two or three horſe-men out of *Syracuſe* by night, willing them to find *Nicias*, and (after they had aſſured him, that they were of the *Athenians* faction) to give him advice not to march away over-haſtily from the place, wherein he was fortified; alledging that the *Syracuſians* had lodged their Army, which could not long ſtay there, upon the paſſages and places of advantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. Theſe tidings *Nicias* eaſily believed, and put off his journey to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the moſt part) more fearful than wiſe; and to them, every thiſtle in the field appears, by night, a man at arms.

The third day (leaving all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remove; being pierced and purſued with the lamentable out-cryes of thoſe that were ſick and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies ſwords. The reſt march away, to the number of forty thouſand; and make their firſt paſſage by force, over the River of *Anapus*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of their enemies,

mies. But being every day charged in their marches, and by the *Syracuſian* horſe-men, beaten in from forraging and proviſion of food, they grow weak and heartleſs. The *Syracuſians* alſo poſſeſs the Mountain *Lepas*, by which they were to paſs towards *Camerina*, and thereby force them to fall back again towards the Sea-coaſt, and to take what way they could: being unable to proceed in their journey intended. Many hard ſhifts they made, in difficult paſſages, and blind marches by night; which they were fain to endure, as having none other means to eſcape from the enemy that purſued them, and held them waking with continual skirmiſhing. To keep all in order, *Nicias* undertook the leading of the Vaunt-guard; and *Demoſthenes* conducted the Rear. At the River *Erineus*, *Nicias* takes the ſtart of a whole nights march; leaving *Demoſthenes* to make the retreat: who being incompaſſed, and overpreſt with numbers, in the end renders himſelf. The conditions he obtained, were far better than he could have hoped for; and the faith of his enemies far worſe than he ſuſpected. For he was afterward, with *Nicias* murdered in priſon. The Army of *Demoſthenes* being diſſolved, they purſued *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being utterly broken upon the paſſage of the River *Aſſinarus*, rendred himſelf to *Gylippus*, upon honeſt conditions. *Gylippus* ſought to preſerve him, and to have had the honour to have brought theſe two to *Sparta*; *Nicias*, as a noble Enemy to the *Lacedæmonians*, and who, at the overthrow which they received at *Pylus* by the *Athenians*, had ſaved the lives of the vanquiſhed; *Demoſthenes*, as one that had done to *Lacedæmon* the greateſt hurt. *Hermocrates* alſo, the Commander of the *Syracuſian* Army diſſwaded the reſt, by all the art he had, from uſing any barbarous violence, after ſo noble a victory. But the cruel and cowardly ſort, (cowardiſe and cruelty being inſeparable paſſions) prevailed, and cauſed theſe brave Captains to be miſerably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to be ſtarved in loathſome priſons; and the reſt, ſold for ſlaves. This was the ſucceſs of the *Sicilian* war: which took end at the River *Aſſinarus*, the four and twentieth day of *May*, in the fourſcore and eleventh Olympiad.

The *Athenians* being beaten out of *Sicil*; the *Egeſtans* (for whoſe defence againſt the *Selinuntines*, this late war had been taken in hand) fearing the victorious *Syracuſians*, ſought help from the *Carthaginians*; to whom they offered themſelves, and their City, as their vaſſals. The *Carthaginians*, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in *Sicil*, yet conſidering the proſperity of the *Syracuſians*, and their late victories over the *Athenians*, they ſtayed a while to diſpute of the matter, whether they ſhould refuſe or accept the offer made unto them: for the *Selinuntines* were ſtraightly allied to the *Syracuſians*, as may appear by what is paſt. In the end the *Senators* of *Carthage* reſolve upon the enterpriſe; and (by a trick of their *Punick* wit) to ſeparate the *Syracuſians* from the *Selinuntines*, they ſend Embaſſadors to *Syracuſe*: praying that City, as in the behalf of the *Egeſtans*, to compell the *Selinuntines* to take reaſon, and to reſt content with ſo much of the lands in queſtion, as they of *Syracuſe* ſhould think meet to allow them. The *Syracuſians* approved the motion; for it tended to their own honor. But the *Selinuntines* would make no ſuch appointment: rather they took it ill, that the *Syracuſians*, with whom they had run one courſe of fortune, in the *Athenian* war, ſhould offer to trouble them, by interpoſing as Arbitrators, in a buſineſs that themſelves could end by force. This was right as the *Carthaginians* would have it. For now could they of *Selinus* with an ill grace crave aid of *Syracuſe*; and the *Syracuſians* as ill grant it unto thoſe, that had refuſed to ſtand to the Arbitrament, which the *Carthaginians* would have put into their hands. Hereupon, an Army of three hundred thouſand men is ſet out from *Carthage*, under the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you have heard before) was overthrown with the great *Carthaginian* Army at *Himera* by *Gelon*. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this imployment, that he might take revenge as well of his Uncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of them having been ſlain by the *Himerans*, the other by thoſe of *Selinus*. Both the Cities, *Hannibal*, in this war, won by force of arms, ſackt them, and burnt them; and having taken three thouſand of the *Himerans* priſoners, he cauſed them to be led unto the place, where *Amilcar* was ſlain, and buried them there.

After this followed ſome trouble at *Syracuſe*, occaſioned by the baniſhment of *Hermocrates*, who had lately been General of the *Syracuſian* forces, againſt the *Athenians*. The malice of his enemies had ſo far prevailed with the ingrateful multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meer vertue, at ſuch a time as he was aiding the *Lacedæmonians*, in their war againſt *Athens*: wherein he did great ſervice. All the honeſter ſort within *Syracuſe* were ſorry for their injury

injury done unto him, and ſought to have him repealed. *Hermocrates* himſelf, returning into *Sicil*, gathered an Army of ſix thouſand; with which he began to repair *Selinus*; and by many noble actions laboured to win the love of his Citizens. But the faction that oppoſed him was the ſtronger. Wherefore he was adviſed to ſeize upon a Gate of *Syracuſe*, with ſome ſtrength of men; whereby his friends within the Town, might have the better means to riſe againſt the adverſe party. This he did: but preſently the multitude fell to arms, and ſet upon him; in which conflict he was ſlain. But his Son-in-law, *Dionyſius*, ſhall make them wiſh *Hermocrates* alive again.

†. IV.

Of Dionyſius *the Tyrant: and others, following him, in* Syracuſe.

THe *Syracuſians* had enjoyed their liberty about threeſcore years, from the death of *Thraſybulus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*; at which time *Dionyſius* was raiſed up by God, to take revenge, as well of their cruelty toward ſtrangers, as of their ingratitude towards their own beſt Citizens. For before the time of *Dionyſius*, they had made it their paſtime, to reward the vertue of their worthieſt Commanders with death, or diſgrace: which cuſtom they muſt now be taught to amend.

Dionyſius obtained the principality of *Syracuſe*, by the ſame degrees, that many others, before him, had made themſelves maſters of other Cities, and of *Syracuſe* it ſelf. For, being made *Prætor*, and commanding their Armies againſt the *Carthaginians*, and other their enemies, he behaved himſelf ſo well, that he got a general love among the people, and men of war. Then began he to follow the example of *Piſiſtratus*, that made himſelf Lord of *Athens*; obtaining a band of ſix hundred men, to defend his perſon: under pretence, that his private enemies, being traiterouſly affected to the State of *Syracuſe*, had laid plots how to murder him, becauſe of his good ſervices. He doubled the pay of his Souldiers; alledging, that it would incourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to aſſure them to himſelf. He perſwaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, thoſe that had been baniſhed, which were the beſt men of *Syracuſe*; and theſe were afterwards at his devotion, as obliged unto him by ſo great a benefit. His firſt favour, among the *Syracuſians*, grew from his accuſation of the principal men. It is the delight of baſe people to reign over their betters: wherefore, gladly did he help them to break down, as fetters impriſoning their liberty, the bars that held it under ſafe cuſtody. Long it was not, ere the chief Citizens had found whereat he aimed. But what they ſaw, the people would not ſee: and ſome that were needy, and knew not how to get Offices without his help, were willing to help him, though they knew his purpoſes to be ſuch, as would make all the City to ſmart. He began early to hunt after the tyranny; being but five and twenty years of age when he obtained it: belike it was his deſire to reign long. His firſt work, of making himſelf abſolute Lord in *Syracuſe*, was, the poſſeſſion of the Citadel, wherein was much good proviſion, and under it the Gallies were mored. This he obtained by allowance of the people, and having obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himſelf without all ſhame or fear. The Army the chief Citizens reſtored by him from baniſhment; all the needy ſort within *Syracuſe*, that could not thrive by honeſt courſes; and ſome neighbour-towns, bound unto him, either for his help in war, or for eſtabliſhing the faction, reigning at that preſent; were wholly affected to his aſſiſtance. Having therefore gotten the Citadel into his hands, he needed no more, ſave to aſſure what he had already. He ſtrengthened himſelf by divers marriages; taking firſt to wife the daughter of *Hermocrates*; and after her, two at once; the one a *Locrian*, *Doris*, by whom he had *Dionyſius*, his Succeſſor; the other, *Ariſtomache*, the daughter of *Hipparinus*, and ſiſter to *Dion*, honourable men in *Syracuſe*; which bare unto him many children, that ſerved to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, ere ſome of the *Syracuſians* (envying his proſperity) incited the multitude, and took arms againſt him, even in the novelty of his Rule. But their enterpriſe was more paſſionately, than wiſely governed. He had ſhamefully been beaten by the *Carthaginians* at *Gela*: which, as it vexed the *Sicilian* men at arms; making them ſuſpect that it was his purpoſe to let the *Carthaginians* waſte all that he might afterwards take poſſeſſion of the deſolate places; ſo it inflamed them with a deſire to free themſelves from his tyranny. They departed therefore from him, and marched haſtily to *Syracuſe*, where they found friends to help them: there they forced his Palace, ranſacked his treaſures, and ſo ſhamefully abuſed his wife, that for the grief thereof ſhe

poiſoned

poiſoned her ſelf. But he followed their heels apace; and firing a Gate of the City by night, entred ſoon enough to take revenge, by making a ſpeedy riddance of them. For he ſpared none of his known, no nor of his ſuſpected enemies. After that, he grew ſo doubtful of his life, as he never durſt truſt Barber to trim him, nor any perſon, no not ſo much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, unſtript and ſearched. He was the greateſt Robber of the people that ever reigned in any State, and withall the moſt unreſpectively cruell.

After this, he ſeparated with fortification that part of the City, called the Iſland, from the reſt; like as the Spaniard did the Citadel of *Antwerp*: therein he lodged his Treaſures, and his Guards.

He then began to make war upon the free Cities of *Sicil*: but while he lay before *Herbeſſe*, an in-land Town, the *Syracuſians* rebelled againſt him; ſo, as with great difficulty he recovered his Citadel: from whence, having allured the old Souldiers of the Companions, who forced their paſſage through the City, with one thouſand and two hundred horſe, he again recovered the maſtery over the *Syracuſians*. And when a multitude of them were buſied in gathering in their harveſt, he diſarmed all the Townsmen remaining, and new ſtrengthened the Fort of the Iſland, with a double wall. He incloſed that part alſo, called *Epipoles*; which, with threeſcore thouſand labourers, he finiſhed within three weeks, being two leagues in compaſs. He then built two hundred new Gallies; and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and forty thouſand Targets, with as many ſwords, and head-pieces, with fourteen thouſand corſlets, and all other ſutable arms. Which done, he ſent word to the *Cathaginians* (greatly infeebled by the plague) That except they would abandon the *Greek* Towns, which they held in *Sicil*, he would make war upon them: and, not ſtaying for anſwer, he took the ſpoil of all the *Phœnician* ſhips, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King *Philip* the ſecond did of our *Engliſh*, before the war in our late Queens time. He then goes to the field with fourſcore thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and ſends his brother *Leptines* to ſea, with two hundred Gallies, and five hundred ſhips of burden. Moſt of the Towns which held for *Carthage* yielded unto him; ſaving *Panormus*, *Segeſta* or *Egeſta*, *Ancyræ*, *Motya*, and *Eutella*. Of theſe, he firſt wan *Motya* by aſſault, and put all therein to the ſword; but before *Egeſta* he loſt a great part of his Army, by a ſally of the Citizens. In the mean while *Himilco* arrives; but, ere he took land, he loſt in a fight at Sea, with *Leptines*, fifty ſhips of war, and five thouſand Souldiers, beſides many ſhips of burden. This notwithſtanding, he recovered again *Motya* upon his firſt deſcent. From thence marching towards *Meſſana*, he took *Lypara*, and (ſoon after) *Meſſana*, and razed it to the ground. Now began *Dionyſius* greatly to doubt his eſtate. He therefore fortified all the places he could, in the Territory of the *Leontines*, by which he ſuppoſed that *Himilco* would paſs toward *Syracuſe*; and he himſelf took the field again, with four and thirty thouſand foot; and one thouſand horſe. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had divided his Army into two parts, marching with the one half over-land, and ſending *Mago* with the other by Sea: he ſent *Leptines*, his brother to encounter *Mago*. But *Leptines* was utterly beaten by the *Carthaginians*; twenty thouſand of his men were ſlain, and an hundred of his Gallies loſt. It is very ſtrange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authors tell us; That one City ſhould be able to furniſh five hundred ſail of ſhips, and two hundred Gallies: (for, ſo many did *Syracuſe* arm in this war) and more ſtrange it is, that in a battail at Sea, without any great Artillery, or Muſket-ſhot, twenty thouſand ſhould be ſlain in one fight. In all our fights againſt the *Turks*, of which that at *Lepanto* was the moſt notable, we hear of no ſuch number loſt; nor in any other fight by Sea, that ever happened in our age, nor before us. When *Charls* the fifth went to beſiege *Algier*, he had in all his fleet, tranſporters and others, but two hundred and fifty ſail of ſhips, and threeſcore and five Gallies: for the furniſhing of which fleet, he ſought help from all the Cities and ports of *Spain*, *Naples*, and the reſt of *Italy*. But in old times it was the manner to carry into the field, upon extremity, as many as were needfull, of all that could bear arms, giving them little wages, or other allowance: in our dayes it is not ſo; neither indeed, is it often requiſite. Upon this overthrow, *Dionyſius* poſts away to *Syracuſe*, to ſtrengthen it: *Hamilco* follows him, and beſiegeth the Town by Land and Sea. But the Tyrant, having received aid from the *Lacedæmonians*, under the conduct of *Pharacidas*, puts himſelf to Sea, to make proviſion for his Citizens, who, in his abſence, take twenty of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, and ſink four. Hereupon, finding their own ſucceſs proſperous,

ſperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill, having alſo at the preſent weapons in their hands, they conſult how to recover their liberty. And this they had done, had not *Pharicidas* the *Lacedæmonian* reſiſted them. It alſo fell out to his exceeding advantage, that the plague was ſo increaſed, and ſo violent among the *Carthaginians*, as it is ſaid, that above an hundred thouſand of them died thereof. He therefore, with the power that he could gather together, ſets upon them both by Sea and Land; and having ſlain great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to deſire peace. This peace *Dionyſius* ſold him for ſo great ſumm of money; on condition, that he ſhould ſteal away with his *Carthaginians* only: which he baſely accepted, betraying the reſt of the *Africans* and *Spaniards*. Yet no faith was kept with him: for he was purſued, and left many of his *Carthaginians* behind him. The reſt of the *Africans* fell under the ſwords of their enemies; only the *Spaniards*, after they had a while bravely defended themſelves, were (after their ſubmiſſion) entertained, and ſerved the Conquerour.

May ſuch examples of perfidious dealing I have noted in other places, and can hardly forbear to deliver unto memory the like practices, when they meet with their matches: That which hapned unto *Monſieur de Piles*, was very ſutable to this treachery, wherewith *Dionyſius* purſued *Himilco*, I was preſent when *De Piles* related the injury done unto him. He had rendred S. *John d' Angelie* to the *French* King *Charles* IX. who beſieged him therein. He rendred it, upon promiſe made by the faith of a King, that he ſhould be ſuffered to depart in ſafety, with all his followers. Yet in preſence of the King himſelf, of the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother, General of his Army, of the Queen Mother, and of divers Dukes and Marſhals of *France*, he was ſet upon and broken in his March; ſpoiled of all that he had, and forced to ſave his life by flight; leaving the moſt of his Souldiers dead upon the place; the Kings hand and faith warranting him to march away with enſigns diſplaid and withall his goods and proviſions, no whit availing him. It needs not therefore ſeem ſtrange, that an Heathen Tyrant ſhould thus break his faith, ſince Kings, profeſſing Chriſtianity, are bold to do the like, or command their Captains to do it for them.

Dionyſius after this great victory, took care to re-edifie *Meſſena*. *Mago* who ſtayed in *Sicil*, to hold up the *Carthaginians* therein, is again beaten by *Dionyſius*; who is alſo beaten by the *Tauromenians*. A new ſupply of fourſcore thouſand Souldiers is ſent from *Carthage* to *Mago*, but theſe take eggs for their money, and make peace with *Dionyſius*, leaving the *Sicilians* in *Tauromenium*, to ſhift for themſelves: whom *Dionyſius*, after a long ſiege, overcame, and gave their City to the mercenary Souldiers.

He then paſt into *Italy*, obtained divers victories there, brought the *Rhegians* on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred and fourſcore thouſand crowns, to furniſh him with threeſcore Gallies, and put in an hundred pledges, for aſſurance of their future obſervance of covenants. This he did, not with any purpoſe to perform unto them the peace that they had ſo dearly bought; but that having taken from them their Galleys, he might beſiege them, and ruine them utterly, with the more eaſe. Now to the end he might not, without ſome colour, falſifie the faith that he had given to them; he pretended to want victual for his Army, at ſuch time as he ſeemed ready to depart out of *Italy*, and ſent to them to furniſh him therewith, promiſing to return them the like quantity at his coming home to *Syracuſe*.

His reſolution was, that if they refuſed to furniſh him, he would then make their refuſal the cauſe of his quarrel: if they yielded to aid him with the proportion which he deſired, that then they ſhould not be able, for want of food, to endure a ſiege any long time againſt him. For, to ruine them he had fully determined, at what price ſoever. And great reaſon he had to take revenge of them, if he had done it fairly, and without breach of faith. For when in the beginning of his reign, he deſired them to beſtow a daughter of ſome of their Nobility upon him for a wife; they anſwered, that they had not any one fit for him, ſave the Hangmans daughter. Princes do rather pardon ill deeds, than villanous words. *Alexander* the great forgave many ſharp ſwords, but never any ſharp tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errors. And certainly, it belongs to thoſe that have warrant from God, to reprehend Princes; and to none elſe, eſpecially in publick.

It is ſaid, that *Henry* the fourth of *France*, had his heart more inflamed againſt the Duke of *Biron*, for his over-bold and biting taunts, that he uſed againſt him before *Amiens*, than for his conſpiracy with the *Spaniard* or *Savoyan*: for he had pardoned 10000. of ſuch as had gone farther, & drawn their ſwords againſt him. The contemptuous

tuous words that Sir *John Parret* used of our late Queen *Elizabeth*, were his ruine; and not the counterfeit letter of the *Romish* Priest produced against him. So fared it with some other greater than he, that thereby ran the same, and a worse fortune, soon after.

To be short, he made them know new bread from old. He assaulted their Town on all sides, which he continued to do eleven moneths, till he won it by force. He used his victory without mercy, specially against *Phytalus*, who had commanded within it.

Some other wars he made with the *Carthaginians*, after the taking and razing of this City; and those with variable success. For, as in one encounter he slue *Mago*, with ten thousand *Africans*: so the son of *Mago* beat him, and slew his brother *Leptines*, with fourteen thousand of his Souldiers. After which he bought his peace of the *Carthaginians*, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the advice of Prosperity and Adversity, as all Kings and States do.

When he had reigned eight and thirty years, he died: some say in his bed, peaceably, which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruel man he was, and a faithless; a great Poet, but a foolish one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for speaking against his tyranny, he gave order to have him slain, or sold for a slave. For he could endure no man that flattered him not beyond measure. His Parasites therefore stiled his cruelty, *The hate of evil men*; and his lawless slaughters, *The ornaments and effects of his justice*. True it is, that flatterers are a kind of vermine, which poison all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better than the worthiest and valianteſt men do: and I wonder not at it, for it is a world: and as our *Saviour Christ* hath told us, *The World will love her own.*

To this *Dionysius* his son of the same name succeeded, and inherited both his Kingdom and his Vices. To win the love of the People, he pardoned, and released out of prison, a great number of persons, by his Father lockt up and condemned. Withall, he remitted unto his Citizens divers payments, by his Father imposed upon them. Which done, and thereby hoping that he had fastned unto himself the peoples affections; he cast off the sheeps skin, and put on that of the wolf. For being jealous of his own Brethren, as men of more vertue than himself, he caused them all to be slain; and all the kindred that they had by their Mothers side. For *Dionysius* his Father (as hath been said) had two Wives; *Doris* of *Locris*, and *Aristomache* a *Syracusian*, the sister of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* he had this *Dionysius*, who succeeded unto him; and by *Aristomache* he had two sons and two Daughters of which the elder, called *Sophrosyne*, he gave in marriage to his eldest son, and her half-brother *Dionysius*; the younger, called *Areta*, he bestowed on his Brother *Theorides*: after whose death *Dion* took her to wife, being his Neece.

This *Dion* a just and valiant man, finding that *Dionysius* had abandoned all exercise of vertue, and that he was wholly given over to sensuality, prevailed so much with *Plato*, whose Disciple he had been, as he drew him into *Sicil*, to instruct the young King. And having perswaded the King to entertain him, he wrought so well with him, as *Dionysius* began to change condition; to change Tyranny into Monarchy: and to hold the Principality that he had, rather by the love of his people, and his National Laws, than by the violence of his Guards and Garisons. But this goodnes of his lasted not long. For *Philistus* the Historian, and other his Parasites, that hated *Dions* severity, wrought him out of the Tyrants favour, and caused him soon after to be banished out of *Sicil*, to the great grief of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels between him and the *Carthaginians*, of whom *Dionysius* stood in great fear; or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish him with fifty Gallies at his own charge, during the war against them: his enemies found means, by sinister interpretation, to convert his good will into matter of Treason. They told *Dionysius*, that all the great commendations, given of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, than to soften his mind, and to make him neglect his own affairs, by the study of Philosophy; whilest *Dion* in the mean time having furnished fifty Gallies under colour of the Kings service, had it in his own power either to deliver to the *Syracusians* their former liberty, or to make himself Lord and Soveraign of their State.

It is likely, that the honest and liberal offer which he made, to serve the King with so great a preparation, at his own charge, begot him many enemies. For they that had served the King for none other end than to raise and enrich themselves, and had already been raised & enriched, thought themselves bound to make the same offer that *Dion* had made, if the King had had the grace

to conceive it aright. But the covetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring that *Dion* had, were bold to ſtile his Love and Liberality, Pride and Preſumption; and heartned the young King in his oppreſſing, and eating up his own people, of whoſe ſpoils they themſelves ſhared no ſmall portion. I have heard it, That when *Charls* the fifth had the repulſe at *Algier*, in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Corteſe*, one of the braveſt men that ever *Spain* brought forth, offered unto the Emperour, to continue the ſiege at his own charge. But he had never good day after it. For they that envied his victories, and his conqueſt of *Mexico* in the *Weſt-Indies*, perſwaded the Emperour, that *Corteſe* ſought to value himſelf above him; and to have it ſaid, that what the Emperour could not, *Corteſe* had effected, and was therefore more worthy of the Empire, than he that had it.

When *Dion* was newly baniſhed, the Tyrant was contented at firſt to ſend him the revenues of his Lands, and permit him to diſpoſe of his moveables at his own pleaſure: not without giving hope to recall him in ſhort time. Had he continued in this good mood, like enough it is, that *Dion* would have been well pleaſed to live well, as he did, at *Athens*. But after ſome time, *Dionyſius* made Port-ſale of this Noble-mans goods, and thereby urged him to take another courſe, even to ſeek the reſtitution of his Country to liberty. The vertues of *Dion*, eſpecially his great Liberality, had purchaſed much Love in *Greece*. This Love made him ſuſpected and hated of the Tyrant: but it ſtood him in good ſtead, when he ſought to raiſe men, with whoſe help he might return into *Sicil*. Yet he got not above eight hundred (for he carried the matter cloſely) to follow him in his adventure. But many of them were men of quality, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in *Syracuſe*, as many as ſhould be needfull, that would readily aſſiſt him. Therefore he landed boldly in *Sicil*, marched to *Syracuſe*, entred the City without reſiſtance, armed the multitude, and won all, ſave the Citadel.

Dionyſius was then abſent in *Italy* but he quickly had advertiſement of his dangerous accident. Wherefore he returned haſtily to *Syracuſe*: whence, after many vain treaties of Peace, and ſome forcible attempts to recover the Town, he was fain to depart; leaving yet a Caſtle to the Cuſtody of *Apollocrates* his eldeſt Son. Yet ere he went, his Minion *Philiſtus*, coming with a ſtrength of men to aſſiſt him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recovery of his Countries liberty, had the ſame reward that all worthy men have had from popular Eſtates. He was diſgraced, aſſaulted, and forced to abandon the City. He retired himſelf to the *Leontines*, who received him with great joy. Soon after his departure from *Syracuſe*, new troops enter the Caſtle: they ſally out, aſſail, ſpoil, and burn a great part of the City. *Dion* is ſent for, with humble requeſt: yet, ere he could arrive, *Dionyſius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Towns-men thinking themſelves ſecure, ſhut the gates againſt *Dion*. But the next night they of the Caſtle ſally out again, with greater fury than ever; they kill Man, Woman, and Child, and ſet fire in all parts of the Town. In this their extremity *Dion* comes the ſecond time to their ſuccour; the love of his Country ſurmounting all the injuries that he had received. He ſets upon the Garriſon of the Caſtle, with the one part of his Army; and quencheth the fire every where kindled, with the other part. In concluſion, after he had conquered both the fire and the ſword, that had well near burnt to aſhes, and depopulated *Syracuſe*, he recovered the Caſtle, with the munition and furniture thereof, and ſent *Apollocrates* after *Dionyſius* his Father into *Italy*. But their malice, of whom he had beſt deſerved, and whom he had loved moſt, gave an untimely end to his dayes. For he was ſoon after his victory, murdered by *Gylippus*; who after he had with ill ſucceſs, awhile governed *Syracuſe*, was ſlain with the ſame Dagger, with which he had murdered *Dion*.

Ten years after the death of *Dion*, *Dionyſius*, with the aſſiſtance of his friends in *Italy*, recovers his eſtate; and returns to *Syracuſe*, driving *Nyſeus* thence, whom he found Governour therein. The better ſort of the Citizens, fearing more than ever, his cruelty, flee to *Icetes*, a *Syracuſian* born, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Icetes* enters into confederacy with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their aſſiſtance, not only to prevail againſt *Dionyſius*; but by the hatred of the *Syracuſians* towards *Dionyſius*, to make him alſo Lord of their City. The *Syracuſians*, being deſervedly afflicted on all ſides, ſend to the *Corinthians* for ſuccour. *Icetes* alſo ſends thither, and diſſwades the *Corinthians*, as well as he can, from intermedling in the buſineſs. He tells them, by his Meſſengers, That he had entred into league with the *Carthaginians*, who were ſo ſtrong by Sea, that it was not in the power of *Corinth*, to land an Army in *Sicil*. But the *Corinthians*, being by this treaſon of *Icetes*, more inraged than

than dissuaded, sent *Timoleon* with nineteen Gallies, to deliver *Syracuse* from tyranny. In the mean while, *Icetes* had entred *Syracuse*, and with the help of the *Carthaginians*, driven *Dionysius* into the Castle, where he besieged him.

Icetes, being himself a Tyrant in *Leontium*, rather sought how to enlarge his power, than how to deliver his Country. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arrived at *Rhegium*, he sent to perswade him, to return his Fleet; for that all things were (in effect) established in *Sicil*. The *Carthaginian* Gallies were also in the same Port of *Rhegium*, whose Captains advised *Timoleon* to get him gone in peace. They had far more Gallies there than he had, and were like to compel him, if he would not be perswaded. *Timoleon*, finding himself over-mastered, makes request to the *Carthaginian* Captains, that they would be pleased to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open assembly of the people, to deliver unto him those arguments for his return, which they had used to him in private; that he might, by publick testimony, discharge himself to the Senate of *Corinth*.

The *Carthaginians*, perswading themselves, that a victory obtained by a few fair words, was without loss, and far more easie, than that of many blows, and wounds, yielded to *Timoleons* desire. But while the Orations were delivering, *Timoleon*, favoured by the *Rhegians*, stole out of the preasse; and having set sail, before the Gates were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recovered the Port of *Tauromenium*, where he was joyfully received by *Andromachus* the Governour. From thence he marched toward *Adranum*, where surprising *Icetes* his Army, he slew a part thereof, and put the rest to run. It is the nature of victory to beget friends. The *Adranitans* joyned with him, and so did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionysius* also sent to *Timoleon*, offering to surrender the Castle of *Syracuse* into his hands, as thinking it better to yield up himself, and the places which he could not defend, unto the *Corinthians*, than either to *Icetes*, whom he disdained, or to the *Carthaginians*, whom he hated. Now *Timoleon*, who, within fifty dayes after his arrival, had recovered the Castle of *Syracuse*, and sent *Dionysius* to *Corinth*, to live there a private man, was still invaded by the Armies, and molested by the practices of *Icetes*. For he besieged the *Corinthians* within the Castle of *Syracuse*, and attempted (but in vain) the murder of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* send unto *Timoleon* a supply of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which are stayed in *Italy* by foul weather. *Icetes* is strengthened with threescore thousand *Africans*, brought unto him by *Mago* (all which he lodgeth within *Syracuse*) and with an hundred and fifty Gallies, to keep the Port. This was the first time that ever the *Carthaginians* had dominion within the walls of that City. With this great Army *Icetes* assaileth the Castle *Timoleon* sends them victuals, and succour, in small boats, by night, from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Icetes* do therefore resolve to besiege *Catana*; but they were no sooner on their way towards it, with part of their forces, than *Leon*, Captain of the *Corinthians*, sallied out of the Castle, and took that part of *Syracuse*, called *Acradina*, which he fortified.

In the mean while, the two thousand *Corinthians* arrive: with whom, and two thousand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marched toward *Syracuse*. *Mago* abandoneth *Icetes* being frighted out of *Sicil* (which he might easily have conquered) with an idle rumour of treason. This made him return to *Carthage*; where the general exclamation against his cowardize, did so much affright him, that for fear of further punishment he hanged himself. *Timoleon* enters the City, and beats down the Castle (which he called *The Nest of Tyrants*) to the ground. But he found the City, when the strangers were fled, in effect desolate; so as their horses did feed on the grass growing in the Market-place. Therefore he writes to *Corinth* for people to reinhabit it. Ten thousand are sent out of *Greece*, many come from *Italy*; others from other parts of the Island.

But a new storm ariseth. *Asdrubal* and *Amilcar*, *Carthaginians*, arrive about *Lilibæum*, with threescore and ten thousand Souldiers, transported (with all their provisions) in a thousand ships of burden, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither; and chargeth this great Army upon the passage of a River.

A tempest of rain, hail, and lightning, with boysterous winds, beating upon the faces of the *Carthaginians*, they are utterly broken, ten thousand slain, five thousand taken, with all their carriages and provisions: among which there were found a thousand Corslets guilt and graven. After this, *Timoleon* gave an overthrow to *Icetes*, and following his victory, took him, with his Son *Eupolemus*, and the General of his horse, prisoners; whom he caused all to be slain: and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great cruelty) he suffered *Icetes* his wives and daughters to be put to death. But this

was

was the revenge of God upon *Icetes*; who (after the murder of *Dion*) had caused *Arete*, *Dions* wife, and a young child of his, with *Aristomache* his Sister, to be cast into the Sea.

Holagain prevailed against *Mamercus* Tyrant of *Catana*, and won *Catana* it self. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippon* Tyrant of *Messena*: but *Timoleon*, pursued him, won the Town; delivering *Hippon* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had *Mamercus*, and all other the Tyrants in *Sicil*.

Finally, he made peace with the *Carthaginians*, on condition that they should not pass the River of *Lycus*. After this, he lived in great honour among the *Syracusians*, till his death; and was solemnly buried by them in the Market-place of their City: the day of his Funerals being for ever ordained to be kept holy among them.

After such time as *Timoleon* had delivered *Syracuse* from the tyranny of *Dionysius*, and brought peace to the whole Island; the Inhabitants injoyed their liberty in peace, about twenty years. The Cities and temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant sailed in safty; and the Labouring man injoyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But it was impossible that a Nation which neither knew how to govern, nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthy to be Kings, to govern them; should any long time subsist.

Twenty years after the death of *Timoleon*, there started up one *Agathocles* among them, a man of base birth, and of baser condition: who from a Begger, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Captain; and so from degree to degree, rising to be a Prætor: finally, became Lord and Soveraign of the *Syracusians*. Many fortunes he ran, and under-went as many dangers, ere he obtained the principality. For he had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banisht. A passing valiant man he was, and did notable service, as well for those by whom he was imployed, as also for the *Syracusians*, and against them. For in their Wars against those of *Enna*, and the *Campanes*, he did them memorable service: and on the contrary, as memorable service for the *Murgantines* against the *Syracusians*. For being entertained by the people of *Murgantia*, and made General of their forces, he sackt *Leontium*; and besieged *Syracuse* so straightly, that the Citizens were driven to crave aid, even from their antient and natural enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilcar* was sent by the *Carthaginians* to relieve *Syracuse*. With him *Agathocles* wrought so well, that he got him to make peace between himself and the *Syracusians*; binding himself by promise and oath to remain a friend and servant to the State of *Carthage*; for ever after. *Amilcar* entertained the business, and compounded the quarrels between *Agathocles* and the *Syracusians*. *Agathocles* is chosen Prætor; he entertains five thousand *Africans*, and divers old Souldiers of the *Murgantines*, under colour of a purpose to besiege *Herbita*. With these, and with the assistance of the poor and discontented *Syracusians* (the City also being divided into many factions) he assails the Senators, kills all his enemies and opposites; divides the spoil of the rich among the poor; and gives liberty to his Souldiers, to rob, to ravish, and to murder, for two whole daies and nights, without controlement: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and strewed the streets with ten thousand dead carkasses, besides those that had broken their necks over the walls; their fury had no further subject to work on.

Agathocles, in an assembly of the people (being an eloquent knave) perswaded them, that, for the violent sickness, by which the Common-wealth was utterly consumed, he found no better than the violent remedies which he had administred: and that he affected no other thing than the reducing of the state from an Oligarchy, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient and indifferent Democraty, by which it had been governed, from the first institution, with so great glory and posterity. This he did, to have the Crown clapt on his head (as it were) perforce. For, as he knew that he had left none living, within the City, fit or able to exercise the office of a Magistrate: so knew he right well, that all they which had assisted in the murder and spoil of their fellow-Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the support of a lawless Lord, who had been partaker with them in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this rable, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: again and again saluting and adoring him, by that name, as if he had been given to him by some lawfull election. Hence had our King *Richard* the third a piece of his pattern; but the one was of base, the other of Kingly Parents; the one took liberty from a Common-weal, the other sought only to succeed in a Monarchy; the one continued his cruelty to the end, the other, after he had obtained he Crown, sought, by making good Laws tto recover the love of his people.

The life of this Tyrant is briefly written by

by *Juſtine*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the ſumm whereof is this. The ſame *Amilcar* that had brought him into *Syracuſe*, and that had lent him five thouſand men to help in the Maſſacre of the Citizens, was alſo content to wink at many wrongs that he did unto the confederates of the *Carthaginians*. It was the purpoſe of *Amilcar*, to ſettle *Agathocles* in his tyranny, and to let him vex and waſte the whole Iſland; becauſe it was thereby like to come to paſs, that he ſhould reduce all *Sicil* into ſuch terms as would make it become an eaſie prey to *Carthage*. But when the Cities, confederate with the *Carthaginians*, ſent their Embaſſadours, with complaint of this ill dealing, to *Carthage*; the *Punick* faith (ſo much taunted by the *Romans*, as no better than meer falſhood) ſhewed it ſelf very honourable in taking order for the redreſs. Embaſſadours were ſent to comfort the *Sicilians*, and to put *Agathocles* in mind of his Covenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into *Africk*, and a new Captain appointed to ſucceed in his charge, with ſuch forces, as might compel *Agathocles* to reaſon, if otherwiſe he would not hearken to it. All this tended to ſave their Confederates, from ſuffering ſuch injuries in the future. For that which was paſt (ſince it could not be recalled) they took order to have it ſeverely puniſhed. *Amilcar* was accuſed ſecretly, and by way of ſcrutiny: the ſuffrages being given, but not calculated; and ſo reſerved until he ſhould return. This was not ſo cloſely handled, but that *Amilcar* had ſoon notice of it. In managing his buſineſs with *Agathocles*, it is likely that he had an eye to his own profit, as well as to the publick benefit of his Country. For he had made ſuch a compoſition with the *Syracuſian*, as gave him not only means to weaken others, but to ſtrengthen himſelf, both in power and authority, even againſt the *Carthaginians*. Such is commonly the cuſtom of thoſe, that hope to work their own ends by cunning practices, thinking to deal ſubtlely and finely, they ſpin their threads ſo ſmall, that they are broken with the very wind. *Amilcar* ſaw, that his *Carthaginians* had a purpoſe to deal ſubſtantially; and that therefore it would be hard for him, to make them follow his crooked devices: which if he could not do, it was to be expected, that their anger would break out into ſo much the greater extremity, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example, which ſome of his fore-goers had taught him; and, for fear of ſuch a death as the Judges might award him, he ended his own life in what ſort he thought beſt. This deſperation of *Amilcar* ſerved to inform *Agathocles* of the *Carthaginians* intent. He ſaw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore reſolved to get the ſtart of them in action. He diſſembled no longer; but, inſtead of ſpoil and robbery, made open War upon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of *Sicil* his own, ere the *Carthaginian* Forces arrived: which thinking to have incountred an ill-eſtabliſhed Tyrant, found him ready, as a King, to defend his own, and give them ſharp entertainment. They were beaten by him; and their Navy was ſo Tempeſt-beaten, that they could neither do good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leave their buſineſs undone, and return into *Africk*.

The *Carthaginians* prepare a new Fleet: which being very gallantly manned and furniſhed was broken, by foul weather, and the beſt part of it caſt away, even whilſt it was yet within kenning of their City. But *Amilcar*, the Son of *Giſco*, gathering together the remainders of his ſhipwrack, was bold to paſs over into *Sicil*, and landed not far from *Gela*, where *Agathocles* was ſoon ready to examine the cauſe of their coming. Many ſkirmiſhes paſſed between them, in which (commonly) the *Syracuſian* had the better. But his good ſucceſs begat preſumption; whereby he loſt a battel more important than all the other fights. One adverſe chance is enough to overthrow the ſtate of a Tyrant, if it be not upheld by great circumſpection. The War was ſoon transferred to the walls of *Syracuſe*; within which *Agathocles* was cloſed up, and driven to make his laſt defence by their help, who may be judged to have loved him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of *Syracuſe*, after that great Maſſacre of the principal men, made in the beginning of this new Tyranny, were (for the moſt part) ſuch, as had been either mercenary Souldiers, infranchiſed ſlaves, or baſe and needy people; helpers in eſtabliſhing the preſent Government, and Executioners of the murders, and ſpoil committed in that change. If there were any other (as ſome there were) they were ſo well obſerved, and (withall) ſo fearful, that they durſt not ſtir. But it was enough that they all agreed in the common defence of themſelves and their City; Famine was likely to grow upon them, and inforce them to change their reſolution. In this neceſſity *Agathocles* adventured upon a ſtrange courſe, which the event commended as wiſe. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in thoſe veſſels that rode in the Haven; and committing the

the Government of the City to his Brother *Antander*, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) he had bethought himself of a mean, both to raise the siege, and to repair all other losses. A *Carthaginian* Fleet lay in the mouth of the Haven, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keep the besieged from issuing forth.

Now, at such time as *Agathocles* was ready to depart, advertisment came, that many ships of burden, laden with Corn, and other provisions, were drawing near unto *Syracuse*. To intercept these the *Carthaginians* hoise sail, and lanch forth into the deep. They were not far gone, when they might behold *Agathocles* issuing forth of the Port, with purpose (as they thought) to give convoy unto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheel about, and make amain toward him, as thinking him the better booty. He neither abode their coming, nor fled back into the City, but made all speed towards *Africk*; and was pursued by the *Carthaginians*, as long as the day would give them light. In the mean season the victuallers were gotten to *Syracuse*; which was the more plentifully relieved by their coming, for that *Agathocles* had unburdened the place of no small number. When the *Carthaginian* Admiral perceived, first, that by pursuing two Fleets at once, he had missed of them both: and secondly, that *Agathocles* returned not again, but was gone to seek his fortune elsewhere, he thought it good to pursue those that were fled, and to attend so well upon them, that they should not have leisure to do mischief in some other part.

The *Carthaginian* Navy followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of such as had met with him at Sea) directly towards *Africk*, and overtook him after six dayes. He had (at the first) a great start of them; so that (belike) they rowed hard, and wearied themselves in seeking their own misfortune: for he fought with them, and beat them; and, having sunk or taken many, drave the rest to flye which way they could, laden with such strange tydings of his voyage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in *Africk*, then did he discover unto them his project, letting them understand, that there was no better way to divert the *Carthaginians*, not only from *Syracuse*, but from all the Isle of *Sicil*, than by bringing the war to their own doors. For here (said he) they have many that hate them, and that will readily take Arms against them, as soon as they perceive that there is an Army on foot, which dares to look upon their walls. Their Towns are ill fortified, their people untrained; and experienced in dangers; the mercenary forces that they levy in these parts, will rather follow us than them, if we offer greater wages than they can give: which we may better promise and make good, by letting them have some share with us in all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our enemies can do, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus he talked, as one already Master of all the riches in *Africk*; and with many brave words encouraged his men so well, that they were contented to set fire on all their ships (reserving one or two to use as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remain, save only in victory. In this heat of resolution, they win by force two Cities; which after they had throughly sacked, they burnt to the ground: as a mark of terrour to all that should make resistance. The *Carthaginians* hearing this, are amazed; thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Army destroyed in *Sicil*. This impression so dismayes them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had scaped in the late Sea-fight, yet still they fear, and know not what. They suspect *Amilcars* faith, who had suffered *Agathocles* to land in *Africk*: they suspected their principal Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray *Carthage* unto the enemy; they raise a great Army, and know not to whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captains in the City, *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, great enemies. And therefore the more unlikely to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generals of the Army levied, which far exceeded the forces of *Agathocles*. But it seldom happens, that dissention between Commanders produceth any fortunate event. Necessity drave *Agathocles* to fight: and the courage of his men, resolved to deal with the whole multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made easie the victory against the one half of them. For *Bomilcar* would not stir, but suffered *Hanno* to be cut in pieces.

The reputation of this great victory, brought over a King of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* society, to take part with *Agathocles*: who pursuing his victory, winneth many Towns, and sends word to *Syracuse* of his good success. The *Carthaginians* also send unto *Sicil*, willing *Amilcar*, their General, to succour the State of *Africk*, which was in danger to be lost, whilst he was travelling in the Conquest of *Sicil*. *Amilcar* sends them five thousand men: all

all his forces he thought it not needful to tranſport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* back into *Sicil*, than to be drawn home by one, that could ſcarce retain his own Kingdom. But theſe good hopes had a bad iſſue. He ſpent ſome time in winning a few Towns that adhered unto the *Syracuſians*: and having brought his matters to ſome good order, he conceived a ſudden hope of taking *Syracuſe* by ſurpriſe. It was a pretty (though tragical) Accident, if it were true, as *Tully* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dream which told him that he ſhould ſup the next day within *Syracuſe*. His fancy begot this dream, and he verily believed it. He made more haſt than good ſpeed toward the City: and coming upon it on the ſudden, had good hope to carry it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laid an ambuſh to entrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was carried priſoner into the City; in which it was likely that he had no great chear to his ſupper: for they ſtruck of his head, and ſent it into *Africk* (a welcome preſent) to *Agathocles*.

This good ſucceſs of things at home, did put ſuch courage into the *Sicilian* Army, that *Agathocles* was bold to wear a Crown, and ſtile himſelf *King of Africk*. He had allured *Ophellas*, King of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promiſes to deliver the Country into his hands: for that (as is ſaid) it was ſufficient unto himſelf to have diverted the *Carthaginians* from *Sicil*, wherein (after this war ended) he might reign quietly. *Ophellas* came with a great Army, and was friendly entertained. But the traiterous *Silician*, taking an advantage, did murther this his aſſiſtant; and afterwards by good words, and great promiſes, drew all the *Cyrenean* Army to follow him in his Wars. Thus his villany found good ſucceſs; and he ſo prevailed in *Africk*, that he got leiſure to make a ſtep into *Sicil*. Many Towns in *Sicil* had embraced a deſire of recovering their liberty; thinking it high time to fight at length for their own freedom, after that they had ſo long been expoſed, (as a reward of victory) either unto Aliens, or to Tyrants of their own Country. Theſe had prevailed far, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cauſe: when the coming of *Agathocles* abated their high ſpirits, and his good ſucceſs in many fights, compelled them to Obedience. Out of *Sicil* he returned into *Africk*, where his affairs ſtood in very bad terms. *Archagathus*, his ſon had loſt a battel; and (which was worſe) had ill means to help himſelf: his Army being in mutiny for lack of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the tumult, by the accuſtomed promiſes of great booty and ſpoil. It had now been time for him to offer peace to the *Carthaginians*: which to obtain, they would (queſtionleſs) have given to him both mony enough to pay his Army, and all that they then held in *Sicil*. For their City had been diſtreſſed, not only by this his war, but by the treaſon of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himſelf Tyrant over them. But ambition is blind. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed upon the conqueſt of *Carthage* it ſelf: out of which dream he was awakened, by the loſs of a battel, not ſo memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the ſtrange events following it. The *Carthaginians*, after their great misfortunes in this war, had renewed their old ſacrifices of children to *Saturn*: from which they had abſtained ever ſince they made peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of ſome, the goodlieſt of their priſoners taken in the battel, to offer unto the ſaid Idol, in way of thankfulneſs to their victory. The fire, with which theſe unhappy men were conſumed, caught hold upon the lodgings neareſt unto the Altar, and ſpreading it ſelf farther through the Camp, with the deſtruction of many men, cauſed ſuch a tumult as is uſual in the like caſes. At the ſame time, the like accident of fire burnt up the Pavilion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fled away, each of them believing, that the noiſe in the adverſe Camp, was a ſign of the enemies coming to invade it. But the *Carthaginians* had a ſafe retrait: *Agathocles*, by a ſecond error, fell into a new calamity. In the beginning of this his flight in the dark, he met with his own *African* Souldiers; and thinking them to be enemies, (as indeed the one halt of them had revolted from him, to the *Carthaginians*, in the laſt battel) he began to aſſail them, and was ſo ſtoutly reſiſted, that he loſt in this blind fight above four thouſand of his men. This did ſo diſcourage his proud heart, that, being fallen from the near hope of taking the City of *Carthage*, unto ſome diſtruſt of his own ſafety, he knew no more how to moderate his preſent weak fears, than lately he had known how to govern his ambition. Therefore he took the way that came next into his head; which was to ſteal cloſely aboard his ſhips, with his younger ſon (the elder he ſuſpected of Inceſt, and of Ambition) and ſo to flye into *Sicil*; thinking it the beſt courſe to ſhift for himſelf, as wanting veſſels wherein to tranſport his Army. His elder ſon *Archagathus*, perceiving his drift, arreſted him and put him under cuſtody:

but by means of a ſudden tumult, he was let looſe, eſcaped,, and fled alone, leaving both his ſons behind him. His flight being noyſed through the Army, all was in an uproar; and extremity of rage cauſed not only the common Souldier, but even ſuch as had been friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold upon his two ſons, and kill them. That this flight of *Agathocles* was extreemly baſe, I need not uſe words to prove: That his fear was truly, as all fear is ſaid to be, a paſſion, depriving him of the ſuccours which reaſon offered, the ſequel doth manifeſt. His forſaken Souldiers, being now a headleſs company, and no longer an Army to be feared, obtained nevertheleſs a reaſonable compoſition from the *Carthaginians*: to whom they ſold thoſe places, whereof they had poſſeſſion, for nineteen talents. Likewiſe, *Agathocles* himſelf, having loſt his Army, did nevertheleſs, by the reputation of this late war, make peace with *Carthage* upon equal terms.

After this, the Tyrant being delivered from forain enemies, diſcovered his bloody nature, in moſt abominable cruelties, among the *Sicilians*. His wants and his fears, urged him ſo violently, that he was not ſatisfied with the ſpols of the rich, or the death of thoſe whom he held ſuſpected: but in a beaſtly rage depopulated whole Cities. He deviſed new engines of torment; wherein ſtriving to exceed the Bull of *Phalaris*, he made a frame of braſs, that ſhould ſerve to ſcorch mens bodies, and withall give him leave to behold them in their miſery. So deviliſh is the nature of man, when reaſon, that ſhould be his guide, is become a ſlave to his bruitiſh affections. In theſe miſchiefs he was ſo outragious, that he neither ſpared Sex, nor Age; eſpecially, when he was informed of the ſlaughter of his children in *Africk*. But this was not the way to preſerve his eſtate: it threw him into new dangers. They whom he had chaſed out of their Country took arms againſt him, and drave him into ſuch fears, that he was fain to ſeek that love at *Carthage*, which by ruling well he might have had in *Sicil*. He freely delivered into the *Carthaginians* hands, all thoſe Towns of the *Phœnicians* in *Sicil*, belonging unto them, which were in his poſſeſſion. They requited him honourably, with great ſtore of corn, and with four hundred talents of gold and ſilver. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he prevailed againſt the Rebels, and ſetled his eſtate. Having no further buſineſs left in *Sicil*, he made a voyage into *Italy*. There he ſubdued the *Brutians*, rather by terrour of his name than by any force, for they yeilded at his firſt coming. This done, he went to the Iſle of *Lipara*, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when he had gotten this great ſumm, he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to ſpoil the Temples of their gods. Herein (methinks) he did well enough. For how could he believe thoſe to be gods, that had continually given deaf ears to his horrible perjuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleven ſhips loaden with gold: all which, and all the reſt of the fleet, were caſt away by foul weather at Sea; one Gally excepted, in which he himſelf eſcaped, to ſuffer a more miſerable end. A grievous ſickneſs fell upon him, that rotted his whole body, ſpreading it ſelf through all his veins and ſinews. Whilſt he lay in this caſe, all deſiring his end, ſave only *Theogenia* (a wife that he had taken out of *Egypt*) and her ſmall children: his Nephew, the ſon of *Archagathus*, before mentioned, and a younger ſon of his own, began to contend about the Kingdom. Neither did they ſeek to end the controverſie by the old Tyrants deciſion; they regarded him not ſo much. But each of them laid wait for the others life: wherein the Nephew ſped ſo well, that he ſlew his Uncle, and got his Grandfathers Kingdom, without aſking any leave. Theſe tydings wounded the heart of *Agathocles* with fear and ſorrow. He ſaw himſelf without help, like to become a prey to his ungracious Nephew, from whom he knew that no favour was to be expected, either by himſelf, or by thoſe, whom only he now held dear, which were *Theogenia* and her children. Therefore he adviſed her and them to fly before they were ſurpiſed: for that otherwiſe they could by no means avoid, either death, or ſomewhat that would be worſe. He gave them all his treaſures and goods, wherewith he even compelled them (weeping to leave him deſolate in ſo wretched a caſe) to imbark themſelves haſtily, and make ſpeed into *Egypt*. After their departure, whether he threw himſelf into the fire, or whether his diſeaſe conſumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him, but he ended his life as baſely, as obſcury, and in as much want as he firſt began it.

After the death of *Agathocles* it was, that the *Mamertines*, his Souldiers, traiterouſly occupied *Meſſana*, and infeſted a great part of the Iſland. Then alſo did the *Carthaginians* begin to renew their attempts of conquering all *Sicil*. What the Nephew of *Agathocles*

thocles did, I cannot find. Likely it is that he quickly perished. For the *Sicilians* were driven to send for *Pyrrhus* to help them, who had marryed with a daughter of *Agathocles*. But *Pyrrhus* was soon weary of the Country (as hath been shewed before) and therefore left it; prophecying that it would become a goodly champion field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* should fight for superiority. In which business, how these two great Cities did speed, the order of our story will declare.

§. V.

A recontinuation of the Roman War in Sicil. *How* Hieron, *King of* Syracuse, *forsook the* Carthaginians, *and made his peace with* Rome.

WHen *Appius Claudius*, following the advantage of his victory gotten at *Messana*, brought the War unto the Gates of *Syracuse*, and besieged that great City; *Hieron* found it high time for him to seek peace: knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reason to be offended with him, for helping himself by what means he could, when they were not in case to give him assistance; and foreseeing withall, that when once he had purchased his quiet from the *Romans*, it would be free for him to sit still, without fear of molestation, whilst *Rome* and *Carthage* were fighting for the mastery. In this good mood the new *Roman* Consuls, *M. Valerius*, and *C. Octacilius* found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made use of their present advantage, and sold him peace for an hundred (some say two hundred) Talents.

These Consuls had brought a great Army into *Sicil*; yet did they nothing else in effect, than bring over *Hiero* to their side. If the *Syracusian* held them busied (which I find not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by the sum of mony imposed upon him, and by their performing none other piece of service) all the whole time of their abode in the Island; then was his departure from the friendship of *Carthage*, no less to his honour than it was to his commodity. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his own Kingdom to run into manifest peril of subversion, for their sakes that should have received all the profit of the victory: seeing they did expose him to the whole danger without straining themselves to give him relief. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proof of the strength of *Syracuse*, in the dayes of *Agathocles*: and therefore knew, that it was able to bear a very strong siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more slack, in sending help: if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuse* should weaken one the other, whereby their own work might be the easier against them both. Yet indeed, the case of the besieged City was not the same, when the *Romans* lay before it, as it had been when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reason to try the uttermost hazard of war against the *Carthaginians*, who sought no other thing than to bring it into slavery: not so against the *Romans*, who thought it sufficient if they could withdraw it from the party of their enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be governed by *Agathocles*, or by *Hiero*. The former of these cared not what the Citizens endured, so long as he might preserve his own tyranny: the latter, as a just and good Prince, had no greater desire than to win the love of his people by seeking their commodity; but including his own felicity within the publick, laboured to uphold both, by honest and faithfull dealing. Hereby it came to pass that he enjoyed a long and happy reign, living dear to his own Subjects, beloved of the *Romans*, and not greatly molested by the *Carthaginians*; whom, either the consideration, *That they had left him to himself, ere he left their society*, made unwilling to seek his ruine; or their more earnest business with the *Romans*, made unable to compass it.

§. VI.

How the Romans *besiege and win* Agrigentum. *Their beginning to maintain a fleet. Their first loss, and first victory by sea. Of sea-fight in general.*

HIeron, having sided himself with the *Romans*, aideth them with victuals and other necessaries: so that they, presuming upon his assistance, recall some part of their forces. The *Carthaginians* find it high time to bestir them; they send to the *Ligurians*, and to the troups they had in *Spain*, to come to their aid; who being arrived, they made the City of *Agrigentum* the seat of the War, against the *Romans*, filling it with all manner of munition.

The *Roman* Consuls, having made peace with *Hieron*, return into *Italy*; and, in their places, *Lucius Posthumus* and *Quintus Mamilius* arrive. They go on towards

* *Agrigentum* was a goodly City, built by the *Geloi*, under the conduct of *Ariston* and *Pyllistus*. The compass was ten miles about the walls; and it had sometimes in it eight hundred thousand Inhabitants. This City, by reason of the fertility of the soil, and the neighbour-hood of *Carthage*, grew in a short space from small beginnings, to great glory and riches. The plenty and luxury thereof was so great, as it caused *Empedocles* to say, that the *Agrigentines* built Palaces of such sumptuosity, as if they meant to live for ever; and made such feasts, as if they ment to dye the next day. But their greatest pomp and magnificence, was in their goodly Temples, and Theatres, Water-conduits, and Fish-ponds: the ruines whereof at this day are sufficient arguments, that *Rome* it self could never boast of the like. In the Porch of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, (by which we may judge of the Temple it self) there was set out on one side the full proportion of the Giants, fighting with the gods, all cut out in polished marble of divers colours; a work the most magnificent and rare that ever hath been seen: on the other side, the war of *Troy*, and the encounters which hapned at that siege; with the personages of the Heroes that were doers in that war; all of the like beautiful stone, and of equal stature to the bodies of those men in ancient times: In comparison of which, the latter works of that kind, are but petty things, and meer trifles. It would require a volume to express the magnificence of the Temples of *Hercules*, *Aesculapius*, *Concord*, *Juno Lucina*, *Chastitie*, *Proserpina*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, wherein the Master-pieces of those exquisite Painters and Carvers *Phidias*, *Zeuxis*, *Myron*, and *Polycletus*, were to be seen. But in process of time it ran the same fortune that all other great Cities have done, and was ruined by divers calamities of war: whereof this war present brought unto it not the least.

Agrigentum: and finding no enemy in the field, they besiege it, though it wete stuffed with fifty thousand Souldiers. After a while, the time of harvest being come, a part of the *Roman* Army range the Country to gather corn, and those at the siege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* sally furiously, and indanger the *Roman* Army, but are in the end repelled into the Town with great loss; but by the smart felt on both sides, the Assailants redoubled their guards, and the besieged kept within their covert. Yet the *Romans*, the better to assure themselves, cut a deep trench between the walls of the City and their Camp: and another on the outside thereof; that neither the *Carthaginians* might force them suddenly, by a sally; nor those of the Country without, break upon them unawares: which double Defence kept the besieged also from the receiving any relief of victuals, and munitions, whilst the *Syracusian* supplies the assailants with what they want. The besieged send for succour to *Carthage*, after they had been in this sort pent up five months. The *Carthaginians* imbark an Army, with certain Elephants, under the command of *Hanno*; who arrives with it at *Heraclea*, to the West of *Agrigentum*. *Hanno* put himself into the field, and surpriseth *Erbesus*, a City wherein the *Romans* had bestowed all their provision. By means hereof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within *Agrigentum*; and the *Roman* Camp no less straightly assieged by *Hanno*, than the City was by the *Romans*: insomuch, as if *Hieron* had not supplied them, they had been forced to abandon the siege. But seeing that this distress was not enough to make them rise, *Hanno* determined to give them battel. To which end departing from *Heraclea*, he makes approach unto the *Roman* Camp. The *Romans* resolve to sustain him, and put themselves in order. *Hanno* directs the *Numidian* horsemen to change the Vantguard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to return as broken, till they came to the body of the Army, that lay shadowed behind some rising ground. The *Numidians* perform it accordingly; and while the *Romans* pursued the *Numidians*, *Hanno* gives upon them, and having slaughtered many, beats the rest into their Trenches.

After this encounter, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two months, but lay strongly encamped, waiting untill some opportunity should invite them. But *Annibal* that was besieged in *Agrigentum*, as well by signs as messengers, made *Hanno* know how ill the extremity which he endured, was able to brook such dilatory courses. *Hanno* thereupon, a second time, provoked the Consuls to fight: But his Elephants being disordered by his own Vantguard, which was broken by the *Romans*, he lost the day: and with such as escaped, he recovered *Heraclea*. *Annibal* perceiving this, and remaining hopeless of succour, resolved to make his own way. Finding therefore that the *Romans*, after this dayes victory, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; he rusht out of the Town, with all the remainder of his Army, and past by the *Roman* camp without resistance. The Consuls pursue him in the morning, but in vain: sure they were, that he could not carry the City with him, which with little a-do the *Romans* entred, and pitifully spoiled. The *Romans*, proud of this victory, pursued rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolved in the beginning of this War, only to succour the *Mamertines*, and to keep the *Carthaginians* from their own coasts: but now they determine to make themselves Lords of all *Sicil*; and from thence, being favoured with the wind of good success, to sail over into *Africk*. It is the disease of Kings, of States, and also of private men, to covet the greatest things, but not to enjoy the least; the desire of that which we neither have nor need, taking from us the true use and fruition of what we have already. This curse upon mortal men, was never taken from them since the beginning of the World unto this day.

To prosecute this War, *Lucius Valerius* and *Titus Otacilius*, two new Consuls, are sent into *Sicil*. Whereupon, the *Romans* being Masters of the field, many in-land Towns gave themselves unto them. On the contrary, the *Carthaginians* keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, many maritimate places became theirs. The *Romans* therefore, as well to secure their own coasts, often invaded by the *African* fleets,

fleets, as to equal themſelves in every kind of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune favoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant inſhip-wrights craft, a ſtorm of wind thruſt one of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, of five banks, to the ſhore.

Now had the *Romans* a pattern, and by it they began to ſet up an hundred *Quinqueremes* which were Gallies, rowed by five on every bank; and twenty, of three on a bank: and while theſe were in preparing, they exerciſed their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a ſtrange faſhion. They placed upon the Sea-ſands many ſeats, in order of the banks in Gallies, whereon they placed their water-men, and taught them to beat the ſand with long poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Maſter, that ſo they might learn the ſtroke of the Gally, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finiſhed, ſome rigging and other implements excepted, *C. Cornelius*, one of the new conſuls (for they changed every year) was made Admiral: who being more in love with this new kind of warfare, than well adviſed, paſt over to *Meſſana* with ſeventeen Gallies, leaving the reſt to follow him. There he ſtayed not, but would needs row along the coaſt to *Lipara*, hoping to do ſome piece of ſervice. *Hannibal* a *Carthaginian* was at the ſame time Governour in *Panormus*; who being advertiſed of this new Sea-mans arrival, ſent forth one *Boodes*, a Senator of *Carthage*, with twenty Gallies, to entertain him. *Boodes*, falling upon the Conſul unawares, took both him and the fleet he commanded. When *Hannibal* received this good news, together with the *Roman* Gallies, and their Conſul; he grew no leſs fooliſh hardy than *Cornelius* had been. For he, fancying to himſelf to ſurprize the reſt of the *Roman* fleet, on their own coaſt, ere they were yet in all points provided; ſought them out with a fleet of fifty ſail: wherewith falling among them, he was well beaten, and leaving the greater number of his own behind him, made an hard eſcape with the reſt: for of one hundred and twenty Gallies, the *Romans* under *Cornelius* had loſt but ſeventeen, ſo as one hundred and three remained, which were not eaſily beaten by fifty.

The *Romans*, being advertiſed of *Cornelius* his overthrow, make haſt to redeem him, but give the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, *Duilius*. *Duilius*, conſidering that the *Roman* veſſels were heavy and ſlow, the *African* Gallies having the ſpeed of them, deviſed a certain Engine in the prow of his Gallies, whereby they might faſten or grapple themſelves with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies ſides together. This done the weightier ſhips had gotten the advantage, and the *Africans* loſt it. For neither did their ſwiftneſs ſerve them, nor their Mariners craft; the veſſels wherein both Nations fought, being open: ſo that all was to be carryed by the advantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Beſides this, as the heavier Gallies were accidentally likely to cruſh, and crack the ſides of the lighter and weaker, ſo were they by the reaſon of their breadth, more ſteady; and thoſe that beſt kept their feet, could alſo beſt uſe their hands. The example may be given between one of the long boats of his Majeſties great ſhips, and a *London-Barge*.

Certainly, he that will happily perform a fight at Sea, muſt be ſkilful in making choice of Veſſels to fight in: he muſt believe that there is more belonging to a good man of War, upon the waters, than great daring; and muſt know, that there is a great deal of difference, between fighting looſe or at large, and grappling. The Guns of a ſlow ſhip pierce as well, and make as great holes, as thoſe in a ſwift. To clap ſhips together, without conſideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of War: for by ſuch an ignorant bravery was *Peter Stroſſie* loſt at the *Azores*, when he fought againſt the *Marqueſs* of *Santa Cruz*. In like ſort, had the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admiral of *England*, been loſt in the year 1588. if he had not been better adviſed, than a great many malignant fools were, that found fault with his demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an Army aboord them; and he had none: they had more ſhips than he had, and of higher building and charging; ſo that, had he intangled himſelf with thoſe great and powerful Veſſels, he had greatly endangered this Kingdom of *England*. For twenty men upon the defences, are equal to an hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrariwiſe, the *Spaniards* had an hundred, for twenty of ours to defend themſelves withall. But our Admiral knew his advantage, and held it: which had he not done, he had not been worthy to have held his head. Here to ſpeak in general of Sea-fights (for particulars are fitter for private hands than for the Preſs,) I ſay, that a fleet of twenty ſhips, all good ſailers, and good ſhips, have the advantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ſhips and of ſlower ſailing. For if the fleet of an hundred ſail keep themſelves near together, in a groſs ſquadron; the twenty ſhips, charging

ing them upon any angle, shall force them to give ground, and to fall back upon their own next fellows: of which so many as intangle, are made unserviceable or lost. Force them they may easily, because the twenty ships, which give themselves scope, after they have given one broad side of Artillery, by clapping into the wind, and staying, they may give them the other: and so the twenty ships batter them in pieces with a perpetual volly; whereas those that fight in a troop, have no room to turn, and can alwayes ute but one and the same beaten side. If the fleet of an hundred sail give themselves any distance, then shal the lesser fleet prevail, either against those that are arear and hindmost, or against those, that by advantage of over-sailing their fellows keep the wind, and if upon a Lee-shore, the ships next the wind: be constrained to fal back into their own squadron, then it is all to nothing, the whole fleet must suffer shipwrack, or render it self. That such advantage may be taken upon a fleet of uncqual speed, it hath been well enough conceived in old time; as by the Oration of *Hermocrates*, in *Thucydides*, which he made to the *Syracusians*, when the *Athenians* invaded them, it may easily be observed.

Of the Art of War by Sea, I had written a Treatise, for the Lord *Henry*, *Prince of Wales*; a subject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man, ancient or modern: but God hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by his loss; by the loss of that brave Prince; of which, like an Eclipse of the Sun, we shall find the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equal words and sorrows; I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him. *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*

But it is now time to return to the beaten *Carthaginians*; who by losing their advantage of swift boats, and boarding the *Romans*, have lost fifty sail of their Gallies: as on the other side, their enemies by commanding the Seas, have gotten liberty to sail about the West part of *Sicil*; where they raised the siege laid unto *Segesta* by the *Carthaginians*, and won the Town of *Macella*, with some other places.

§. VII.

Divers Enterfeats of War, between the Romans *and* Carthaginians, *with variable Success. The* Romans *prepare to invade* Africk: *and obtain a great Victory at Sea.*

THE Victory of *Duilius*, as it was honoured at *Rome*, with the first Naval Triumph, that was ever seen in that City; so gave it unto the *Romans* great incouragement, to proceed in their Wars by Sea; whereby they hoped, not only to get *Sicil*, but all the other Isles between *Italy* and *Africk*, beginning with *Sardinia*, whither soon after they sent a fleet for that purpose. On the contrary side, *Amilcar*, the *Carthaginian*, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occasions, that might help to recompence the late misfortune: and being advertised, that some quarrel was grown between the *Roman* Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being such as caused them to incamp apart, he sent forth *Hanno* to set upon them; who taking them unawares, buried four thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-war in *Sicil*, *Hannibal*, who had lately been beaten by Sea, but escaped unto *Carthage*, meaning to make amends for his former errour, obtained the trust of a new fleet, wherewith he arrived at *Sardinia*: the conquest of which Island, the *Romans* had entertained for their next enterprise. Now it so fell out, that the *Romans*, crossing the Sea from *Sicil*, arrived in the Port where *Hannibal* with his new fleet anchored. They set upon him unawares, and took the better part of the fleet which he conducted; himself hardly escaping the danger. But it little availed him to have escaped from the *Romans*. His good friends the *Carthaginians*, were so ill pleased with this his second unfortunate voyage, that they hanged him up for his diligence: for (as it hath been said of old) *Non est bis in bello peccare*; *In War it is too much to offend twice.*

After this, it was long ere any thing of importance was done by the Consuls, till *Panormus*, now called *Palermo*, is one of the first Cities that hath been built in all *Europe*. For, whereas *Thucydides* seems to make it a Colony of the *Phœnicians*; *Ranzanus*, *in libello de Panormo*, *lib* 6. affirms that it was first and long before the time which *Thucydides* set down founded by the *Chaldæans*, and *Damascenes*. To prove which, he tells us of two inscriptions upon Marble in the *Hebrew* Character found at *Panormus*, in the time of *William* the second, King of *Sicil*, that were then beheld of all the Citizens and other strangers, which being translated into Latine, say as followeth; *Vivente Isaac filio Abrahæ, & regnante in Idumea, atque in valle Damascenæ, Esau filio Isaac, ingens Hebræorum manus, quibus adjuncti sunt multi Damasceni, atque Phœnices, profecti in hanc triangularem insulam, sedes perpetuas locaverunt in hoc amœnissimo loco, quem Panormum nominaverunt.* In the other Marble are found these words; *Non est alius Deus præter unum Deum; non est alius potens præter eundem Deum, &c. Hujus Turris Præfect[illegible]phu filius Eliphaz, filii Esau fratris Jacob filii Isaac, filii Abraham [illegible]urri quidem ipsi nomen est Baych; sed Turri huic proximæ nomen est Pha[illegible]* And this inscription (saith *Fazellus*) was found intire in the Castle [illegible], in the year 1534. Now whether these inscriptions were truly as ancient, as these men believe they were, I leave every man to his own faith. But that the City was of aged times, it appears by *Thucydides*, who affirmeth; when the *Greeks* past first into *Sicil*, that then the *Phœnicians* inhabited *Panormus*: which certain it is they did in the first *Punick* war; to wit, the *Carthaginians* who were *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Romans* (*A. Aquilius*, and *C. Cornelius*, commanding this Army) took it; And when *Marcellus* besieged *Syracuse*, it sent him in aid 3000 Souldiers. But it was rather confederate, than subject to the *Romans*. For *Cicero* against *Verres*, names it among the free Cities of *Sicil*. After *Syracuse* destroyed, it became the first City, and Regal Seat, as well of the *Goths* and *Sarazens* in that Island, as of the Emperours of *Constantinople*; of the *Normans*, *French*, and *Aragonians*, which honour it holds this day, and is much frequented, for the excellent wine which grows about it.

* If we may give credit to Antiquities, which *Fazellus* a diligent Writer, hath left us in his History of *Sicil. Panormus*, now called *Palermo*,

normus

normus was beſieged; where, when the *Romans* had ſought in vain to draw the *Carthaginians* into the field; being unable to force that great City, becauſe of the ſtrong Garriſon therein beſtowed: they then departed from thence, and took certain Inland Towns, as *Myciſtratum*, *Enna*, *Camerina*, *Hippana*, and others, between *Panormus* and *Meſſana*.

The year following, *C. Atilius* the Conſul who commanded the *Roman* fleet, diſcovered a company of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, ranging the coaſt: and, not ſtaying for his whole number purſued them with ten of his. But he was well beaten for the haſte he made, and loſt all, ſave the Gally which tranſported him: wherein himſelf eſcaped with great labour. But ere all was done, the reſt of *Atilius* his fleet was gotten up: who renewing the fight, recovered from the *Carthaginians* a double number of theirs; by which the Victory remaining doubtful, both challenge it. Now to try at once, which of theſe two Nations ſhould command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The *Romans* make a fleet of three hundred and thirty *Gallies*; the *Carthaginians*, of three hundred and fifty, * *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, and *Quinqueremes*.

* The *Quinqueremes* are Gallies, wherein every Oar have five men to draw it: the *Quadriremes* had four to an Oar: and the *Triremes* three. Some have thought, that the *Quinqueremes* had five ranks of Oars, one over another; and the other Gallies (rateably) fewer. But had this been ſo, they muſt then have had five decks each over other: which hath ſeldome been ſeen in ſhips of a thouſand tuns; neither could the third, fourth, and fifth ranks, have reached unto the water with the Oars.

The *Romans* reſolve to tranſport the War into *Africk*; the *Carthaginians*, to arreſt them on the coaſt of *Sicil*. The numbers, with which each of them filled their fleet, was (perhaps) the greateſt that ever fought on the waters. By *Polybius* his eſtimation, there were in the *Roman* Gallies an hundred and forty thouſand men; and in thoſe of *Carthage*, an hundred and fifty thouſand: Reckoning one hundred and twenty Souldiers, and three hundred Rowors to every Gally, one with the other. The *Roman* fl[illegible]as divided into four parts, of which [illegible]ee firſt made the form of a Wedge or [illegible]; the two firſt ſquadrons making the Flanks, and the third ſquadron, the Baſe: the point thereof (wherein were the two Conſuls as Admirals) looking toward the enemy, and the middle ſpace lying empty. Their Veſſels of carriage were towed by the third ſquadron. After all came up the fourth, in form of a *Creſcent*; very well manned, but exceeding thin: ſo that the horns of it incloſed all the third ſquadron, together with the corner of the firſt and ſecond. The order of the *Carthaginian* Fleet I cannot receive by relation; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I conjecture, that the front of their Fleet was thin, and ſtretched in a great length, much like to that which the *French* call *Combat en haye*, a long front of horſe, and thin: which form, ſince the Piſtol prevailed over the Lance, they have changed. Behind this firſt out-ſtretched front, their Battalions were more ſolid: for *Amilcar*, Admiral of the *Carthaginians* had thus ordered them, of purpoſe, his Gallies having the ſpeed of the *Romans*) that, when the firſt Fleet of the *Romans* haſted to break through the firſt Gallies, they ſhould all turn tail, and the *Romans* purſuing them (as after a victory) diſorder themſelves, and, for eagerneſs of taking the Run-awayes, leave their own three ſquadrons far behind them. For ſo it muſt needs fall out; ſeeing that the third ſquadron towed their horſe-boats and victuallers; and the fourth had the Rearward of all. According to *Amilcars* direction it ſucceeded. For when the *Romans* had charged, and broken the thin front of the *Carthaginian* firſt Fleet, which ran away, they forthwith gave after them with all ſpeed poſſible, not ſo much as looking behind them for the ſecond ſquadron. Hereby the *Romans* were drawn near unto the body of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, led by *Amilcar*, and by him (at the firſt) received a great loſs, until their ſecond ſquadron came up, which forced *Amilcar* to betake him to his Oars. *Hanno* alſo who commanded the right wing of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, invaded the *Roman* Rearward, and prevailed againſt them. But *Amilcar* being beaten off, *Marcus Atilius* fell back to their ſuccour, and put the *Carthaginians* to their heels; as not able to ſuſtain both ſquadrons. The Rear being relieved, the Conſuls came to the aid of their third Battalion, which towed their victuallers, which were alſo in great danger of being beaten by the *Africans*: but the Conſuls, joyning their ſquadrons to it, put the *Carthaginians* on that part alſo to running.

This victory fell unto the *Romans*, partly by the hardineſs of their Souldiers; but principally, for that *Amilcar*, being firſt beaten, could never after joyn himſelf unto any of his other ſquadons, that remained, as yet in a fair likelihood of prevailing, ſo long as they fought upon equal terms, and but ſquadron to quadron. But *Amilcar* forſaking the fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the *Roman* Fleet uningaged, and ready to give ſuccour to any of the other parts that were oppreſt. So as in concluſion,

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the *Romans* got the honour of the day: for they loſt but four and twenty of theirs; whereas the *Africans* loſt thirty that were ſunk, and threeſcore and three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar* who had more Gallies than the *Romans*, had alſo divided his Fleet into four ſquadrons, (beſides thoſe that he ranged in the front to draw on the enemies, and to ingage them) and that, whilſt he himſelf fought with one ſquadron that charged him, all the reſt of the enemies Fleet had been at the ſame time entertained, he had prevailed: but the ſecond ſquadron, being free, came to the reſcue of the firſt, by which *Amilcar* was oppreſt: and *Amilcar*, being oppreſt and ſcattered, the Conſuls had good leiſure to relieve both the third and the fourth ſquadron, and got the victory.

Charls the fifth, among other the Precepts to *Philip* the ſecond his Son, where he adviſed him concerning War againſt the *Turks*, tells him, that in all battels between them and the *Chriſtians*, he ſhould never fail to charge the *Janiſars* in the beginning of the fight, and to ingage them at once with the reſt. For (ſaith he) the *Janiſars*, who are alwayes reſerved intire in the Rear of the battel, and in whom the *Turk* repoſeth his greateſt confidence; come up in a goſs body, when all the troops on both ſides are diſbanded and in confuſion; whereby they carry the Victory before them without reſiſtance. By the ſame order of fight, and reſervation, did the *Romans* alſo prevail againſt other Nations. For they kept their *Triarii* in ſtore (who were the choice of their Army) for the up-ſhot and laſt blow. A great and victorious advantage it hath even been found, to keep ſome one or two good troops to look on, when all elſe are diſbanded and ingaged.

§. VIII.

The Romans *prevail in* Africk. Atilius *the Conſul, propounded intolerable conditions of Peace to the* Carthaginians. *He is utterly beaten and made priſoner.*

NOW the *Romans*, according to their former reſolution, after they had repaired and re-victualled their Fleet, ſet ſail for *Africa*, and arrived at the *Promontory* of *Hercules*, a great Head-land, ſomewhat to the Eaſt of the Port of *Carthage*, and ſome forty leagues from *Heraclia* in *Sicil*, where *Amilcar* himſelf as yet ſtaid. From this Head-land (leaving the entrance into *Carthage*) they coaſted the Eaſt-ſide of the *Promontory*, till they came to *Clypea*, a Town about fifty *Engliſh* mile from it. There they diſ-embarked and prepared to beſiege *Clypea*; which to eaſe them of labour, was yielded unto them. Now had they a Port of their own on *Africa* ſide; without which all invaſions are fooliſh. By this time were the *Africans* alſo arrived at their own *Carthage*, fearing that the *Roman* Fleet and Army had directed themſelves thither: but being advertiſed that they had taken *Clypea*, they made proviſions of all ſorts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* ſend to *Rome* for directions, and in the mean while waſt all round about them. The order given for the Senate, was, That one of the Conſuls ſhould remain with the Army, and that the other ſhould return with the Fleet into *Italy*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Conſul is ſent home to *Rome*; whither he carried with him twenty thouſand *African* Captains, with all the *Roman* Fleet and Army; except forty ſhips, fifteen thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, that were left with *Atilius*.

With theſe forces, *Regulus* eaſily wan ſome Towns and places that were unwalled, and laid ſiege to others. But he performed no great matter before he came to *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that near unto the River of *Bragada*, he encountred with a Serpent of one hundred and twenty foot long, which he ſlew, not without loſs of many Souldiers, being driven to uſe againſt it ſuch engines of War, as ſerved properly for the aſſaulting of Towns. At *Adis* he met with the *Carthaginian* Army, whereof the Captains were *Hanno* and *Boſtar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought over out of *Sicil* five thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe to ſuccour his Country. Theſe (belike) had an intent, rather to weary him out of *Africk*, by wary protraction of time, than to undergo the hazard of a main fight. They were careful to hold themſelves free from neceſſity of coming to blows: yet had they a great deſire to ſave the Town of *Adis* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their general purpoſe, and yet to diſturb him in the ſiege of *Adis*, they incamp near unto him, and ſtrongly (as they think) on the top of an hill: but thereby they loſe the ſervices both of their *Elephants*, and of their horſe-men. This diſadvantage of theirs, *Regulus* diſcovers, and makes uſe of it. He aſſails them in their ſtrength, which they defend a while, but in fine the *Romans* prevail, and force them from the place, taking the ſpoil of their Camp. Following this their good fortune at the heels, they

they proceed to * *Tunis* a City within sixteen miles of *Carthage*, which they assault and take.

* This City was taken from the *Turks* by *Charls* the fifth in the year 1536. and was one of the three Keyes, which he gave in charge to *Philip* the second his son to keep safe; to wit; this *Tunis*, the Key of *Africa*: *Flushing*, the Key of the *Netherlands*: and *Kedex*, the Key of *Spain*. But two of these *Philip* so lost, that he never found them again; the third our *English* were bold, in the time of the renowned Queen *Elizabeth*, to wring out of his hand: where we stayed not to pick any lock, but brake open the doors, and having rifled all, threw it into the fire.

By the loss of this battail at *Adis*, and more especially by the loss of *Tunis*, the *Carthaginians* were greatly dismayed. The *Numidians*, their next Neighbours towards the West, insult upon their misfortunes; invade, and spoil their Territory, and force those that inhabite abroad, to forsake their villages and fields, and to hide themselves within the walls of *Carthage*. By reason hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens. *Atilius* finds his own advantage, and assures himself that the City could not long hold out: yet he feared lest he might defend it self, untill his time of Office, that was near expired, should be quite run out, whereby the new Consuls were like to reap the honour of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no respect but to it self, perswades him to treat of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But he propounded unto them so unworthy and base conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with fear, became now so couragious and disdainful, that they resolved, either to defend their liberty, or die to the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arrived at the same time a great troop of *Greeks*, whom they had formerly sent to entertain. Among these was a very expert Souldier, named *Xantippus*, a *Spartan*: who being informed of what had passed, and of the overthrow which the *Carthaginians* received neer unto *Adis*, gave it out publickly; that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit, ran till it came to the Senate; *Xantippus* is sent for; gives the reason of his opinion; and in conclusion, being made General of the *African* forces, he puts himself into the field. The Army which he led, consisted of no more than twelve thousand foot, and four thousand horse, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the forces wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had, Libertyes, Lives, Goods, Wives, and Children: which might well make it suspected, that the Armies by Sea, before spoken of, were mis-numbered; the one consisting of an hundred and forty thousand, and the other of an hundred and fifty thousand, were it not commonly found that they which use the service of mercenary Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their own doors.

Xantippus, taking the field with his Army, matched directly towards the *Romans*; and ranging his troops upon fair and level ground, fittest both for his Elephants and Horse, presented them battel. The *Romans* wondred much, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they were, that it should soon be abated. Their chief care was, how to resist the violence of the Elephants. Against them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as a *forlorn hope*; that these might either with darts and other casting-weapons, drive back the beasts upon the enemies, or at least break their violence, and hinder them from rushing freely upon the Legions. To the same end, they made their battails deeper in file, than they had been accustomed to do. By which means, as they were the less subject unto the impression of the Elephants; so were they so much the more exposed unto the violence of the horse, wherein the enemy did far exceed them. The Elephants were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one rank, before his Army; which followed them at a reasonable distance: his horsemen, and some light-armed foot, of the *Carthaginians Auxiliaries*, were in the wings. The first onset was given by the Elephants, against which the *Velites* were so unable to make resistance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the *Roman* battail was helpfull. For when the beasts had spent their force, in piercing through a few of the first ranks; the squadrons nevertheless persisted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* horse, haveing at the first encounter, by reason of their advantage in number, driven those of *Atilius* out of the field, began to charge the *Roman* battalions in flank, and put them in great distress; who being forced to turn face every way, could neither pass forward nor yet retire; but had very much ado to make good the ground whereon they stood. In the mean while, such of the *Romans*, as had escaped the fury of the Elephants, and left them at their backs, fell upon the *Carthaginian* Army, that met them in very good array. It was no even match. The one were a disordered Company, wearied with labour and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared, to have dealt with the enemy upon equal terms. Here was

therefore a great ſlaughter with little fight; the *Romans* haſtily recoiled to the body of their Army, which being ſurrounded with the enemy, and ſpent with travail, fell all to rout, upon the defeat of theſe troops, that open the way to a general overthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtained a full victory; deſtroying the whole *Roman* Army, ſave two thouſand, and taking five hundred priſoners, together with *Atilius* the Conſul. Of their own they loſt no more than eight hundred Mercenaries, which were ſlain when the fight began, by two thouſand of the *Romans*: that wheeling about to avoid the Elephants, bare down all before them: and made way even to the *Carthaginian* trenches. Theſe were the two thouſand that eſcaped, when the whole Army behind them was routed. All the reſt were either taken or ſlain. Hereby fortune made the *Romans* know, that they were no leſs her vaſſals, than were the *Carthaginians*: how inſolent ſoever they had been in their propoſition of peace, as if they had purchaſed from her the inheritance of their proſperity, which ſhe never gave nor ſold to any mortal man. With what joy theſe newes were welcomed, when they came to *Carthage*, we may eaſily conjecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to paſs in the world, there are many examples to prove, no leſs than this of *Xantippus*: all of them confirming that ſentence of *Eurypedes*, *Mens una ſapiens, plurium vincit manus*; *Many mens hands equal not one wiſe mind.*

After this great ſervice done to the *Carthaginians*, *Xantippus*, returned into *Greece*; whether for that he was more envyed than honoured, or for what other cauſe, it is unknown.

The death of *Atilius Regulus* the Conſul, was very memorable. He was ſent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, about the exchange and ranſom of priſoners on both ſides: giving his faith to return if the buſineſs were not effected. When he came to *Rome*, and plainly ſaw that his Country ſhould loſe by the bargain: ſo far was he from urging the Senate unto compaſſion of his own miſery, that he earneſtly perſwaded to have the priſoners in *Africk* left to their ill deſtinies. This done, he returned to *Carthage*: where for his pains taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his conſtancy and faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the *Carthaginians* ſeem to have judged him an obſtinate and malicious enemy, that neither in his proſperity would hearken to reaſon, nor yet in his calamity would have the natural care, to preſerve himſelf and others, by yielding to ſuch an office of humanity, as is common in all wars (not grounded upon deadly hatred) only in regard of ſome ſmall advantage. Whatſoever the *Carthaginians* thought of him; ſure it is that his faithful obſervance of his word given, cannot be too much commended. But that grave ſpeech, which he made in the Senate, againſt the exchange of priſoners, appears, in all reaſon, to have proceeded from a vain-glorious forwardneſs, rather than from any neceſſity of State. For the Exchange was made ſoon after his death; wherein the *Romans* had the worſe bargain, by ſo much as *Regulus* himſelf was worth. As for the authority of all Hiſtorians, that magnifie him in this point; we are to conſider, that they lived under the *Roman* Empire: *Philinus*, the *Carthaginian*, perhaps did cenſure it otherwiſe. Yet the death which he ſuffered with extream torments, could not be more grievous to him, than it was diſhonourable to *Carthage*. Neither do I think that the *Carthaginians* could excuſe themſelves herein; otherwiſe than by recrimination: ſaying, that the *Romans* deſerved to be no better intreated, for as much as it is their ordinary practice to uſe others in the like ſort. Cruelty doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being cuſtomary. It was the *Roman* faſhion, to whip almoſt to death, and then to behead, the Captains of their enemies whom they took, yea, although they were ſuch as had alwayes made fair wars with them. Wherefore it ſeems not meet, in reaſon, that they ſhould cry out againſt the like tyrannical inſolency in others, as if it were lawful only in themſelves.

The conſideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of *Atilius* his intolerable demands; and of the ſudden valour, whereinto the *Carthaginians* fear was changed by meer deſperation; calls to remembrance, the like inſolency of others in proſperity, that hath bred the like reſolution in thoſe, to whom all reaſonable grace hath been denyed. In ſuch caſes I never hold it impertinent, to add unto one, more teſtimonies; approving the true rules, from which our paſſions carry us away.

In the year 1378. the *Genowaies* won ſo faſt upon the *Venetians*, as they not only drave their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their own fleet within two miles of *Venice* it ſelf. This bred ſuch an amazement in the City of *Venice*, that they offered unto the *Genowaies* (their ſtate reſerved) whatſoever they would demand. But *Peter Doria*, blown

blown up with many former victories, would hearken to no compoſition; ſave the yielding of their City and State to his diſcretion. Hereupon the *Venetians*, being filled with diſdain, thruſt out to Sea with all their remaining power, and aſſail *Doria* with ſuch deſperate fury, that they break his fleet, kill *Doria* himſelf, take nineteen of his *Gallies*, fourſcore boats of *Padoa*, and four thouſand priſoners, recover *Chiozza*, and all the places taken from them; and following their victory, enter the Port of *Genoa*, enforcing the *Genowaies* baſely to beg peace, to their extream diſhonour and diſadvantage, being beaten; which, being victorious, they might have commanded, to their greateſt honour and advantage. The like hapned to the Earl of *Flanders*, in the year 1380. when having taken a notable, and withal an over-cruel revenge upon the *Gantois*, he refuſed mercy to the reſt, who in all humility, ſubmitting themſelves to his obedience, offered their City, goods, and eſtates, to be diſpoſed at his pleaſure. This when he had unadviſedly refuſed, and was reſolved to extinguiſh them utterly; they iſſue out of their City with five thouſand choſen men, and armed with a deſperate reſolution, they charge the Earl, break his Army, enter *Bruges* (*pell-mell*) with his vanquiſhed followers; and enforce him to hide himſelf under an heap of ſtraw, in a poor cottage; out of which with great difficulty he eſcaped, and ſaved himſelf. Such are the fruits of Inſolency.

§. IX.

How the affairs of Carthage *proſpered after the victory againſt* Atilius: *How the* Romans, *having loſt their fleet by tempeſt, reſolve to forſake the Seas: The great advantages of a good fleet in war, between Nations divided by the Sea.*

BY the reputation of this late victory, all places that had been loſt in *Africk*, return to the obedience of *Carthage*. Only *Clypea* ſtands out; before which the *Carthaginians* ſit down, and aſſail it, but in vain: For the *Romans*, hearing of the loſs of *Atilius*, with their forces in *Africk*, and withal, that *Clypea* was beſieged, make ready a groſs Army, and tranſport it in a fleet of three hundred and fifty Gallies, commanded by *M. Emilius*, and *Ser. Fulvius*, their Conſuls. At the *Promontory* of *Mercury*, two hundred *Carthaginian* Gallies, ſet out of purpoſe, upon the bruit of their coming, encounter them: but greatly to their coſt. For the *Romans* took by force an hundred and fourteen of their fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*; where they ſtaid no longer, than to take in their own men that had been beſieged: and this done, they made amain toward *Sicil*, in hope to recover all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this haſty voyage they deſpiſe the advice of the Pilots, who pray them to find harbour in time, for that the ſeaſon threatned ſome violent ſtorms, which ever hapned between the riſing of *Orion*, and of the * *Dog-ſtarr*. Now although the Pilots of the *Roman* fleet had thus fore-warned them of the weather at hand, and certified them withal, that the South coaſt of *Sicil* had no good Ports, wherein to ſave themſelves upon ſuch an accident: yet this victorious Nation was perſwaded, that the wind and ſeas feared them no leſs, than did the *Africans*; and that they were able to conquer Elements themſelves. So refuſing to ſtay within ſome Port, as they were adviſed, they would needs put out to Sea; thinking it a matter much helping their reputation, after this victory againſt the *Carthaginian* fleet, to take a few worthleſs Towns upon the coaſt. The mercileſs winds in the mean while overtake them, and near unto *Camerina*, overturn and thruſt headlong on the rocks, all but fourſcore of three hundred and forty ſhips, ſo as their former great victory was devoured by the Seas, before the fame thereof recovered *Rome*.

* There is no part of the World, which hath not ſome times of outragious weather beſide their accidental ſtorms. We have upon our Coaſt a *Michaelmas* flaw that ſeldom or never fails: In the Weſt *Indies* in the moneths of *Auguſt* and *September*, thoſe moſt forcible winds, which the *Spaniards* call the *Nortes*, or North winds, are very fearful: and therefore they that navigate in thoſe parts, take harbour till thoſe moneths take end. *Charles* the fifth being as ill adviſed, in paſſing the Seas towards *Algire*, in the Winter quarter contrary to the counſel of *A. Doria*; as he was in like unſeaſonable times to continue his ſiege before *Metz* in *Lorraine*, loſt an hundred and forty ſhips by tempeſts, and fifteen Gallies, with all in effect in them, of men, victuallers, horſes, and munition: a loſs no leſs great, than his retreat, both from before the one and the other, was extream diſhonourable.

The *Carthaginians*, hearing what had hapned, repair all their warlike veſſels hoping once again to command the Seas: they are alſo as confident of their land-forces ſince the overthrow of *Atilius*. They ſend *Aſdrubal* into *Sicil* with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and forty Elephants imbarked in two hundred Gallies. With this Army and fleet he arrives at *Lilybæum*; where he begins to vex the *Partiſans* of *Rome*. But adverſity doth not diſcourage the *Romans*: They build in 3. moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred and twenty ſhips; with which, and the remainder of their late ſhipwrack, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palerma*, the chief City of the *Africans* in *Sicil*, and ſurround it by Land and Water: after a while

while they take it, and leaving a Garrison therein, return to *Rome*.

Very desirous the *Romans* were to be doing in *Africk*: to which purpose they imployed *C. Servilius*, and *C. Sempronius*, their Consuls. But these wrought no wonders. Some spoil they made upon the coasts of *Africk*: but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their return, they were first set upon the sands, and like to have perished, near unto the lesser *Syrtes*, where they were fain to heave all over-boord, that so they might get off: then, having with much ado doubled the Cape of *Lilybæum*, in their passage from *Panormus* towards *Italy*, they lost an hundred and fifty of their ships by foul weather. A greater discouragement never Nation had; the god of the wars favoured them no more, than the god of the waters afflicted them. Of all that *Mars* enricht them with upon the *Land*, *Neptune* robbed them upon the Seas. For they had now lost, besides what they lost in fight, four hundred and six Ships and Gallies, with all the munition and Souldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby received, perswaded them to give over their Navigation, and their fight by Sea, and to send only a Land-army into *Sicil*, under *L. Cæcilius*, and *F. Furius*, their Consuls. These they transport in some threescore ordinary passage boats, by the straights of *Messana*, that are not above a mile and a half broad from land to land. In like sort, the overthrow which *Atilius* received in *Africa*, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them less cholerick against the *Carthaginians*, than before; so that for two years after, they kept the high and woody grounds, not daring to fight in the fair and champion Countreys. But this late resolution of forsaking the Seas lasted not long. For it was impossible for them to succour those places which they held in *Sicil*, without a Navy, much less to maintain the War in *Africa*. For, whereas the *Romans* were to send forces from *Messana* to *Egesta*, to *Lilybæum*, and to other places in the extream West parts of *Sicil*, making sometime a march of above an hundred and forty *English* mile by land, which could not be performed without an Army, and the provisions that follow it, in less than 14. dayes; the *Carthaginians* would pass it with their Gallies, in eight and forty hours.

An old example we have, of that great advantage of transporting Armies by water, between *Canutus*, and *Edmund Ironside*. For *Canutus*, when he had entred the *Thames* with his Navy and Army, and could not prevail against *London*, suddenly imbarqued; and sailing to the West, landed in *Dorset-shire*, so drawing *Edmund* and his Army thither. There finding ill entertainment, he again shipt his men, and entred the *Severn*, making *Edmond* to march after him, to the succour of *Worcester-shire*, by him greatly spoiled. But when he had *Edmond* there, he sailed back again to *London*: by means whereof, he both wearied the King, and spoiled where he pleased, ere succour could arrive. And this was not the least help, which the *Netherlands* have had against the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their liberty, that being Masters of the Sea, they could pass their Army from place to place, unwearied, and entire, with all the Munition and Artillery belonging unto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies have been able to do it. Of this an instance or two. The Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, now living, one of the greatest Captains, and of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceding Ages have brought forth, in the year 1590. carryed his Army by Sea, with forty Canons to *Breda*: making countenance either to besiege *Boisleduc*, or *Gertreviden Berg*; which the enemy (in prevention) filled with Souldiers, and victuals. But as soon as the wind served, he suddenly set sail, arriving in the mouth of the *Meuze*, turned up the *Rhine*, and thence to *Yssel*, and sate down before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could march over land round about *Holland*, above fourscore mile, and over many great Rivers, with their Cannon and carriage, *Zutphen* was taken. Again, when the *Spanish* Army had overcome this wearisome march, and were now far from home, Prince *Maurice*, making countenance to sail up the *Rhine*, changed his course in the night, and sailing down the stream, he was set down before *Hulst* in *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge what was become of him. So this Town he also took, before the *Spanish* Army could return. Lastly, the *Spanish* Army was no sooner arrived in *Brabant*, than the Prince *Maurice*, well attended by his good fleet, having fortified *Hulst*, set sail again, and presented himself before *Nymegen* in *Gelders*, a City of notable importance, and mastered it.

And to say the truth; it is impossible for any maritime Countrey, not having the coasts admirably fortified, to defend it self against a powerful enemy, that is master of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that *Spain* than *England* should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King *Philip* the second had fully resolved to hinder Sir *John Norris*

Norris in the year 1589. from preſenting *Don Antonio*, King of *Portugal*, before the gates of *Lysborn*; and that he would have kept off the *Engliſh*, by power of his land-forces; as being too weak at Sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty *Armado*, by the fleet of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the year foregoing. Surely, it had not been hard for him, to prepare an Army, that ſhould be able to reſiſt our eleven thouſand. But where ſhould this his Army have been beſtowed? If about *Lisborn*; then would it have been eaſie unto the *Engliſh*, to take, ranſack, and burn the Town of *Croin*, and to waſte the Country round about it. For the great and threatning preparations of the Earl of *Altemira*, the Marqueſs of *Seralba*, and others did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the haſty levy of eight thouſand under the Earl of *Andrada*, ſerve to more effect, than the increaſe of honour to Sir *John Norris*, and his Aſſociates: conſidering that the *Engliſh* charged theſe, at *Puente de Burgos*, and paſſing the great Bridge, behind which they lay, that was flanked with ſhot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them, took their camp; took their General ſtandard with the Kings Arms, and purſued them over all the Country, which they fired. If a Royal Army, and not (as this was) a Company of private adventurers, had thus begun the war in *Galicia*; I think it would have made the *Spaniards* to quit the guard of *Portugal*, and make haſte to the defence of their St. *Jago*, whoſe Temple was not far from the danger. But, had they held their firſt reſolution, as knowing, that Sir *John Norris* his main intent was, to bring *Don Antonio*, with an Army into his Kingdom, whither coming ſtrong, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed: could they have hindred his landing in *Portugal*? Did not he land at *Penicha*, and march over the Country to *Lisborn*, ſix dayes journey? Did not he (when all *Don Antonio* his promiſes failed) paſs along by the River of *Lysborn* to *Caſcaliz*, and there, having won the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart? But theſe, though no more than an handful, yet were they *Engliſhmen*. Let us conſider of the matter it ſelf; what another Nation might do, even againſt *England*, in landing an Army, by advantage of a fleet, if we had none. This queſtion, *Whether an invading Army may be reſiſted at their landing upon the coaſt of* England, *were there no fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it*; is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his obſervations upon *Cæſars* Commentaries, that maintains the affirmative. This he holds only upon ſuppoſition; *in abſence of our ſhipping*: and compatatively, as that it is a more ſafe and eaſie courſe, to defend all the coaſt of *England*, than to ſuffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the beſt way, to keep our enemies from treading upon our ground; wherein, if we fail, then muſt we ſeek to make him wiſh, that he had ſtayed at his own home. In ſuch a caſe, if it ſhould happen, our judgements are to weigh many particular circumſtances, that belongs not unto this diſcourſe. But making the queſtion general, and poſitive. *Whether* England, *without the help of her fleet, be able to debarr an enemy from landing*; I hold that it is unable ſo to do: and therefore I think it moſt dangerous to make the adventure. For the incouragement of a firſt victory to an enemy, and the diſcouragement of being beaten to the invaded, may draw after it a moſt perilous conſequence.

It is true, that the Marſhal *Monluc*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complain, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to have kept the frontier of *Guyenne*, they of the *Proteſtant* Religion, after the battel of *Moncontour*, entred that Country, and gathered great ſtrength and relief thence; for if the King (ſaith he) would have given me but reaſonable means, *j'euſſe bien gardê à Monſieur l'Admiral de fair boire ſes Chevaux en la Garonne*; *I would have kept the Admiral from watering his horſes in the River of* Garonne. *Monſieur de Langey*, on the contrary ſide, prefers the not fighting upon a frontier with an invading enemy, and commends the delay; which courſe the Conſtable of *France* held againſt the Emperour *Charles*, when he invaded *Provence*. Great difference I know there is, and a diverſe conſideration to be had, between ſuch a country as *France* is, ſtrengthened with many fortified places: and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of invaſions upon firm land, that theſe great Captains ſpake: whoſe entrances cannot be uncertain. But our queſtion is of an Army to be tranſported over Sea, and to be landed again in an enemies countrey, and the place left to the choice of the invader. Hereunto I ſay, That ſuch an Army cannot be reſiſted on the coaſt of *England*, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coaſt of *France*, or any other Countrey: except every Creek, Port, or ſandy Bay, had a powerful Army, in each of them, to make oppoſition. For let his whole ſuppoſition be granted;

granted; That *Kent* is able to furnish twelve thousand foot, and that those twelve thousand be layed in the three best landing places within that Country, to wit, three thousand at *Margat*, three thousand at the *Nesse*, and 6000. at *Foulkston*, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these troops (unless some other order be thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third, when they shall see the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I say, that notwithstanding this provision, if the enemy, setting sail from the Isle of *Wight*, in the first watch of the night, and towing their long boats at their sterns, shall arrive by dawn of day at the *Nesse*, and thrust their Army on shore there; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at *Margat*, (twenty and four long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellows at the *Nesse*. Nay, how shall they at *Foulkstone* be able to do it, who are nearer by more than half the way? seeing that the enemy, at his first arrival, will either make his entrance by force, with three or four hundred shot of great Artillery, and quickly put the first three thousand, that were intrenched at the *Nesse*, to run; or else give them so much to do, that they shall be glad to send for help to *Foulkston*, and perhaps to *Margat*: whereby those places will be left bare. Now let us suppose, that all the twelve thousand *Kentish* Souldiers arrive at the *Nesse*, ere the enemy can be ready to dis-embarque his Army, so that he will find it unsafe, to land in the face of so many, prepared to withstand him; yet must we believe, that he will play the best of his own game; (having liberty to go which way he list) under covert of the night, set sail towards the East, where what shall hinder him to take ground, either at *Margat*, the *Downes*, or elsewhere, before they at the *Nesse* can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more easie than to do it. Yea, the like may be said of *Waymouth*, *Purbeck*, *Poole*, and of all landing places on the South Coast. For there is no man ignorant, that ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily out-run the Souldiers that coast them. *Les armees ne volent point en poste*; *Armies neither flye, nor run post*, saith a Marshal of *France*. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of ships may be seen at Sun-set, and after it, at the *Lizard*; yet by the next morning they may recover *Portland*, whereas an Army of foot shall not be able to march it in six dayes. Again, when those troops lodged on the Sea-shores, shall be forced to run from place to place in vain, after a fleet of ships; they will at length sit down in the mid-way; and leave all at adventure. But say it were otherwise; that the invading enemy will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an Army of ours ready to receive him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our Trained Bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Captains, shall be drawn together (as they were at *Tilbury* in the year 1588.) to attend the person of the Prince, and for the defence of the City of *London*: they that remain to guard the coast can be of no such force, as to encounter an Army like unto that wherewith it was intended that the Prince of *Parma* should have landed in *England*.

The Isle of *Tercera* hath taught us by experience, what to think in such a case. There are not many Islands in the world, better fenced by nature, and strengthned by art: it being every where hard of access; having no good harbour wherein to shelter a Navy of friends, and upon every cove or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemies boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylva*, and *Monsieur de Chattes*, that held it to the use of *Don Antonio*, with five or six thousand men, thought to have kept the *Marquess* of *Santa Cruz*, from setting foot on ground therein; the Marquess having shewed himself in the Road of *Angra*, did set sail, ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the *Port des Moles*, far distant from thence; where he wan a Fort, and landed ere *Monsieur de Chattes*, running thither in vain, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Strossie*, slain the year before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred *French* prisoners murdered in cold blood; had instructed *de Chattes*, and his followers, what they might expect at that Marquess his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were slow in carrying in relief to *Port des Moles*. Whether our *English* would be perswaded to make such diligent haste, from *Margat* to the *Nesse*, and back again, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera*; whereof the *French-men* had not measured the one half when they found themselvs prevented by the more nimble Ships of *Spain*.

This may suffice to prove, that a strong Army, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horse is able to follow, cannot be denyed to land where it list, in *England*, *France*, or elsewhere, unless it be hindred, encountred, and shuffled together, by a fleet of equal or answerable strength.

The

The difficult landing of our *Engliſh*, at *Fayal*, in the year 1597. is alledged againſt this: which example moves me no way to think, that a large Coaſt may be defended againſt a ſtrong Fleet. I landed thoſe *Engliſh* in *Fayal* my ſelf, and therefore ought to take notice of this inſtance. For whereas I find an Action of mine cited, with omiſſion of my name; I may, by a civil interpretation, think, that there was no purpoſe to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprize was ſuch, or ſo ill managed, as that no honour could be due unto it. There were indeed ſome which were in that voyage, who adviſed me not to undertake it: and I hearkned unto them ſomewhat longer than was requiſite, eſpecially, whilſt they deſired me to reſerve the title of ſuch an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater perſon. But when they began to tell me of difficulty; I gave them to underſtand, the ſame which I now maintain, that it was more difficult to defend a coaſt, than to invade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more eaſe than I did; yea without finding any reſiſtance, if I would have rowed to another place; yea even there where I landed, if I would have taken more company to help me. But, without fearing any imputation of raſhneſs, I may ſay, that I had more regard of reputation in that buſineſs, than of ſafety. For I thought it to belong unto the honour of our Prince and Nation, that a few Iſlanders ſhould not think any advantage great enough, againſt a Fleet ſet forth by *Q. Elizabeth:* and further, I was unwilling, that ſome *Low-Country* Captains, and others, not of mine own ſquadron, whoſe aſſiſtance I had refuſed, ſhould pleaſe themſelves with a ſweet conceit (though it would have been ſhort, when I had landed in ſome other place) *That for want of their help I was driven to turn tail.* Therefore I took with me none, but men aſſured, Commanders of mine own ſquadron, with ſome of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom I could not refuſe; as, Sir *William Brook*, Sir *William Harvey*, Sir *Arthur Gorges*, Sir *John Skot*, Sir *Thomas Ridgeway*, Sir *Henry Tinnes*, Sir *Charles Morgan*, Sir *Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Throckmorton*, Captain *Laurence Kemis*, Captain *William Morgan*, and others ſuch as well underſtood themſelves and the enemy: by whoſe help, with Gods favour, I made good the enterprize I undertook. As for the *working of the Sea*, *the ſteepneſs of the Cliffs*, and other troubles that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough. And theſe (notwithſtanding) made five or ſix companies of the enemies, that ſought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whereon their Muſketiers lay on the Reſt for us, and won the place of them without any great loſs. This I could have done with leſs danger, ſo that it ſhould not have ſerved for example of a Rule, that failed even in this example: but the reaſons before alledged, (together with other reaſons well known to ſome of the Gentlemen abovenamed, though more private than to be here laid down) made me rather follow the way of bravery, and take the ſhorter courſe; having it ſtill in mine own power to fall off when I ſhould think it meet. It is eaſily ſaid, that *the Enemy was more than a Coward*; (which yet was more than we knew) neither will I magnifie ſuch a ſmall piece of ſervice, by ſeeking to prove him better: whom had I thought equal to mine own followers, I would otherwiſe have dealt with. But for ſo much as concerns the propoſition in hand; he that beheld this, may well remember that the ſame enemy troubled us more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the ſhore; that he ſought how to ſtop us in place of his advantage, that many of our men were ſlain or hurt by him, among whom Sir *Arthur Gorges* was ſhot in that march; and that ſuch, as (thinking all danger to be paſt, when he had won good footing) would needs follow us to the Town, were driven by him, to forſake the pace of a man of war, and betake themſelves to an haſty trot.

For end of this Digreſſion, I hope that this queſtion ſhall never come to tryal; his Majeſties many movable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the *Engliſh* will no leſs diſdain, than any Nation under Heaven can do, to be beaten upon their own ground, or elſewhere by a forain enemy; yet to entertain thoſe that ſhall aſſail us, with their own Bief in their bellies, and before they eat of our *Kentiſh* Capons, I take it to be the wiſeſt way. To do which, his Majeſty after God, will imploy his good ſhips on the Sea, and not truſt to any intrenchment upon the ſhore.

§. X.

§. X.

How the Romans *attempt again to get the Maſtery of the Seas. The Victory of* Cæcilius *the* Roman *Conſul at* Panormus: *The ſiege of* Lilybæum. *How a* Rhodian *Gally entred* Lilybæum *at pleaſure, in deſpight of the* Roman *Fleet. That it is a matter of great difficulty to ſtop the paſſage of good ſhips. The* Romans, *by reaſon of grievous loſſes received under* Claudius and Junius *their Conſuls, abandon the Seas again.*

WHen, without a ſtrong Navy, the *Romans* found it altogether impoſſible, either to keep what they had already gotten in *Sicil*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa*, or elſewhere; they reſolved once again, notwithſtanding their late misadventures, to ſtrengthen their Fleet and Ships of war. So cauſing fifty new Gallies to be built, and the old to be repaired, they gave them in charge (together with certain Legions of Souldiers) to the new Conſuls, *C. Atilius*, and *L. Manlius*. On the other ſide, *Aſdrubal* perceiving that the *Romans*, partly by reaſon of the ſhipwrack which they had lately ſuffered, partly by reaſon of the overthrow which they received by *Xantippus* in *Africa*, were leſs daring than they had been in the beginning of the war: and withall, that one of the Conſuls was returned into *Italy*, with the one half of the Army, and that *Cæcilius*, with only the other half, remained at *Panormus*; he removed with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybæum* towards it, hoping to provoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Conſul was better adviſed. For when *Aſdrubal* had made his approaches ſomewhat near the Town, *Cæcilius* cauſed a deep trench to be cut, a good diſtance without the ditch of the City: between which and his trench he left ground ſufficient, to embattel a Legion of his Souldiers. To theſe he gave order that they ſhould advance themſelves, and paſs over the new trench, till ſuch time as the *African* Elephants were thruſt upon them. From thoſe beaſts he commanded them to retire by ſlow degrees till they had drawn on the Elephants to the brink of the new trench, which they could by no means paſs. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a ſtand, they were ſo gawled and beaten, both by thoſe Souldiers that were on the inſide of the trench, and by thoſe that lay in the trench it ſelf, that being inraged by their many wounds, they brake back furiouſly upon their own foot-men, and utterly diſordered them. *Cæcilius* eſpying his advantage; ſallied with all the force he had; and charging the other troops, that ſtood embattailed, he utterly brake them, and put them to their heels; making a great ſlaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this Victory being brought to *Rome*; the whole State filled with courage, prepared a new Fleet of two hundred ſail, which they ſent into *Sicil*, to give end to that war, that had now laſted fourteen years. With this Fleet and Army the *Romans* reſolved to attempt *Lilybæum*, the only place of importance which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*; and all (indeed) ſave *Drepanum*, that was near adjoyning. They ſet down before it, and poſſeſs themſelves of all the places of advantage near unto it, eſpecially of ſuch as command the Haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They alſo beat to the ground ſix Towers of defence; and by forcible engines weaken ſo many other parts of the City, as the defendants begin to deſpair. Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of War. All that is broken he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious ſallies, and giveth to the *Romans* all the affronts that poſſibly could be made. He hath in Garriſon (beſides the Citizens) ten thouſand Souldiers; among which there are certain Lieutenants, and other petty officers, that conſpire to render and betray the Town. But the matter is revealed by an *Achæan*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly in danger of the like treaſon, ſaved *Agrigentum*. *Himilco* uſeth the help of *Alexon*, to aſſure the hired Souldiers, and imploys *Hannibal* to appeaſe the troops of the *Gaules*, which did waver, and had ſent their agents to the enemy. All, promiſe conſtancy and truth; ſo that the Traitors, being unable to perform what they had undertaken, are fain to live in the *Roman* Camp as fugitives, that had wrought no good whereby to deſerve their bread. In the mean while, a ſupply of ten thouſand Souldiers is ſent from *Carthage* to their relief, having *Hannibal* the Son of *Amilcar* for their Conductor: who, in deſpight of all reſiſtance, entred the Port and City, to the incredible joy of the beſieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perſwaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) reſolved to ſet upon the *Romans* in their trenches, and either force them to abandon the ſiege, or (at leaſt) to take from them, or ſet on fire their engines of battery. The attempt is preſently made, and purſued to the uttermoſt, with great ſlaughter on both ſides. But the *Romans*, being more in number, and having the

the advantage of the ground, hold ſtill their places, and with extreme difficulty defend their engines.

They of *Carthage* deſire greatly to underſtand the ſtate of things at *Lilybæum*; but know not how to ſend into the Town. A certain *Rhodian* undertakes the ſervice; and having received his diſpatch, ſails with one Gally to *Æguſa*, a little Iſland near *Lilybæum*. Thence, taking his time he ſteered directly with the Port; and having a paſſing ſwift Gally, he paſt through the beſt of the Channel, and recovered the water-gate ere any of thoſe which the *Romans* had to guard the Port, could thruſt from the ſhores on either ſide.

The next day, neither attending the covert of the dark night, nor dreading to be boorded by the *Roman* Gallies, who waited his return, he ſet ſail, and ſhipped his Oars (his Gally being exceeding quick of ſteerage, and himſelf expert in all parts of the Channel) recovered the Havens mouth, and the Sea, in deſpight of all the purſuit made after him. Then, finding himſelf out of danger of being encompaſſed by many, he turned again towards the mouth of the Haven, challenging any one, if any one durſt come forth to undertake him. This enterpriſe, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondred at in thoſe dayes: and yet, where there was no great Artillery, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill afarr off, the adventure which this *Rhodian* made was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and judicious man of war will not fear to paſs by the beſt appointed Fort of *Europe*, with the help of a good Tide, and a leading gale of wind: no, though forty pieces of great Artillery open their mouths againſt him, and threaten to tear him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late Queens time, when *Denmark* and *Sueden* were at war, our *Eaſt-land* Fleet, bound for *Leiſ-land*, was forbidden by the King of *Denmark* to trade with the ſubjects of his enemies, and he threatned to ſink their ſhips if they came through the ſtraights of *Elſenour*. Notwithſtanding this, our Merchants (having a ſhip of her Majeſties, called the *Minion* to defend them) made the adventure, and ſuſtaining ſome Vollies of ſhot, kept on their courſe. The King made all the proviſion he could to ſtop them, or ſink them at their return. But the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by *William Burrough*, leading the way, did not only paſs out with little loſs, but did beat down, with Artillery, a great part of the Fort of *Elſenour*; which at that time was not ſo well rampard, as now perhaps it is: and the Fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any wound received. Neither was it long, ſince that the Duke of *Parma*, beſieging *Antwerp*, and finding no poſſibility to maſter it, otherwiſe than by famine, laid his Cannon on the bank of the River, ſo well to purpoſe, and ſo even with the face of the Water, that he thought it impoſſible for the leaſt boat to paſs by. Yet the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, not blown up by any wind of glory, but coming to find a good market for their Butter and Cheeſe, even the poor men, attending their profit when all things were extreme dear in *Antwerp*, paſſed in boats of ten or twelve Tun, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in deſpight of it; when a ſtrong Weſterly wind, and a Tide of flood favoured them; as alſo with a contrary wind, and an ebbing water, they turned back again: ſo as he was forced, in the end, to build his Stockado overthwart the River, to his marvellous trouble and charge.

The Fort Saint *Philip* terrified not us in the year 1596. when we entred the Port of *Caliz*, neither did the Fort at *Puntal*, when we were entred, beat us from our anchoring by it; though it plaid upon us with four demi-cannons within point-blank, from ſix in the morning till twelve at noon. The ſiege of *Oſtend*, and of many other places, may be given for proof, how hard a matter it is to ſtop the paſſage of a good ſhip, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is ſo ſet, as that of *Angra* in *Tercera*, that there is no paſſage along beſide it, or that the ſhips are driven to turn upon a bow-line towards it, wanting all help of wind and tide; there, and in ſuch places, it is of great uſe, and fearful: otherwiſe not.

But to return to our adventrous *Rhodian*: He arrives in ſafety at *Carthage*, and makes them know the eſtate of *Lilybæum*. Others alſo, after this, take upon them to do the like, and perform it with the ſame ſucceſs. The *Romans* therefore labour to choak the Channel; and, for that purpoſe, fill many Merchants ſhips with great ſtones, and ſink them therein. The force of the *Tides* clears it again in part: but they grounded ſo many of thoſe great bellied-boats in the beſt of the entrance, as at laſt it made a manifeſt riſing and heap, like a ragged Iſland in the paſſage. Hereby it came to paſs, that a *Carthaginian* Gally, taking her courſe by night, and not ſuſpecting any ſuch impediment, ran her ſelf aground thereon, and

was taken. Now comes that brave *Rhodian*, thinking to enter, as he had done before: but this *Carthaginian* Gally, a little before taken, gave him chase, and gathered upon him, he finds what she is, both by her form, and by her swiftness: and being not able to run from her, resolved to fight with her. But she is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

Lilybæum, after this, is greatly distressed, the Souldiers being worn with labour and watching. But in this despair there rose so violent a tempest, as some of the *Romans* Wooden-Towers, by which they over-topt the walls of *Lilybæum*, were over-turned. A *Greek* Souldier undertakes to fire those that were fallen, and performs it: for the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blown unto by the bellows of a tempest, it increased so fast, as it became resistless, and in the end burned all to ashes, and melted the brazen heads of the battering Ramms. Hereupon, despair and weariness hinder the *Romans* from repairing their Engines: so that they resolve, by a long siege, to starve the defendants.

Upon relation of what had past, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from *Rome*, under *M. Claudius*, the Consul. He arrives at *Messana*, and marcheth over Land to *Lilybæum*: where having re-inforced the Army, and supplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the surprise of *Drepanum*, a City on the other side of the Bay of *Lilybæum*. This service the Captains and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Consul embarques his troops, and arrives on the sudden in the mouth of the Port. *Adherbal* is Governour of the Town, a valiant and prudent man of war, who being ignorant of the new supply arrived at *Lilybæum*, was at first amazed at their sudden approach; but having recovered his spirits, he perswades the Souldiers rather to fight abroad, than to be enclosed. Herewithall he promiseth great rewards to such, as by their valour shall deserve them; offering to lead them himself, and to fight in the head of his Fleet. Having sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrust into the Sea towards the *Romans*. The Consul, deceived of his expectation, calls back the foremost Gallies, that he might now marshall them for defence. Hereupon some row backward, some forward, in great confusion. *Adherbal* finds and follows his advantage, and forceth the Consul into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himself, having the Land on his back: hoping thereby to keep himself from being incompassed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-room, so straightned, as he could not turn himself any way from his enemies, nor range himself in any order. Therefore when he found no hope of resistance, keeping the shore on his left hand, he thrust out of the Bay with thirty Gallies, besides his own, and so fled away: all the rest of his Fleet, to the number of ninety and four ships, were taken or sunk by the *Carthaginians*. *Adherbal* for this service is greatly honoured at *Carthage*; and *Claudius*, for his indiscretion and flight, as much disgraced at *Rome*.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this great loss, arm threescore Gallies, with which they send away *L. Junius*, their Consul, to take charge of their business in *Sicil*. *Junius* arrives at *Messana*, where he meets with the whole remainder of the *Roman* Fleet, those excepted which rode in the Port of *Lilybæum*. One hundred and twenty Gallies he had; and besides these, he had gotten together almost eight hundred ships of burthen, which were laden with all necessary provisions for the Army. With this great Fleet he arrives at *Syracuse*, where he stayes a while; partly to take in Corn, partly to wait for some that were too slow of sail to keep company with him along from *Messana*. In the mean time he dispatcheth away towards *Lilybæum* his Questors or Treasurers; to whom he commits the one half of his victuallers, with some Gallies for their Convoy.

Adherbal was not careless after his late victory: but studied how to use it to the best advantage. The ships and prisoners that he had taken, he sent to *Carthage*. Of his own Gallies he delivered thirty to *Carthalo*, who had threescore and ten more under his own charge; and sent him to try what good might be done against the *Roman* Fleet in the Haven of *Lilybæum*. According to his direction, *Carthalo* suddenly enters the mouth of that Haven, where he finds the *Romans* more attentive to the keeping in of the besieged *Carthaginians*, than to the defence of their own against another Fleet. So he chargeth them, boords, and takes some, and fires the rest. The *Roman* Camp takes alarm, and hastens to the rescue. But *Himilco*, Governour of the Town, is not behind hand; who sallies out at the same time, and putting the *Romans* to great distress, gives *Carthalo* good leisure to go through with his enterprise.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ran all along the South coast of *Sicil*, devising how to work mischief to the enemy; wherein Fortune presented him with a fair occasion, which he wisely managed. He was advertised

tiſed by his Scouts, that they had diſcryed, near at hand, a great fleet, conſiſting of all manner of Veſſels. Theſe were the victuallers, which the Conſul *Junius*, more haſtily than providently, had ſent before him towards *Lilybæum*. *Carthalo* was glad to hear of their coming: for he and his men were full of courage, by reaſon of their late victories. Accounting therefore the great multitude of *Roman* Hulks, approaching, to be rather a prey than a fleet likely to make ſtrong oppoſition, he haſtens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The *Romans* had no mind to fight: but were glad to ſeek ſhelter in an open Road, full of Rocks under the covert of a poor Town, belonging to their party; that could help to ſave them only from the preſent danger, by lending them engines and other aid, wherewith to beat off the *Carthaginians* that aſſailed them. *Carthalo* therefore, having taken a few of them, lay waiting for the reſt, that could not long ride under thoſe Rocks, but would be forced by any great change of wind, either to put out into the deep, or to ſave their men how they could, by taking land, with the loſs of all their ſhipping. Whilſt he was buſie in this care, the Conſul *Junius* drew near, and was diſcovered. Againſt him *Carthalo* makes out, and finds him altogether unprepared to fight as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Conſul had neither means to fly, nor ability to fight. Therefore he likewiſe ran into a very dangerous Creek; thinking no danger ſo great as that of the enemy. The *Carthaginian* ſeeing this, betakes himſelf to a ſtation between the two *Roman* fleets; where he watcheth, to ſee which of them would firſt ſtir, with a reſolution to aſſault that, which ſhould firſt dare to put it ſelf into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coaſt of *Sicil*, between the Promontory of *Pachinus* and *Lilybæum*; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the wind ſtormed at South. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of tempeſt, and their ſignes, finding (belike) ſome ſwelling billow (for ſo we do in the Weſt of *England*, before a Southernly ſtorm) haſted to double the Cape of *Pachinus*, thereby to cover themſelves from the rage at hand. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight than how to Navigate, and never found any foul weather in the entrails of their beaſts, their South-ſayers being all land-Prophets, were ſuddenly overtaken with a boiſterous South-wind, and all the Gallies forced againſt the rocks, and utterly wrackt.

This calamity ſo diſcouraged the *Romans*, that they reſolved again to forſake the Seas, and truſt only to the ſervice of their Legions upon firm ground. But ſuch a reſolution cannot long hold. Either they muſt be ſtrong at Sea, or elſe they muſt not make war in an Iſland, againſt thoſe that have a mightier fleet. Yet are they to be excuſed, in regard of the many great calamities which they had ſuffered through their want of ſkill. Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient vertue of the *Spaniards*. We ſeldom or never find, that any Nation hath endured ſo many miſadventures and miſeries, as the *Spaniards* have done, in their *Indian Diſcoveries*. Yet perſiſting in their enterpriſes with an invincible conſtancy, they have annexed to their Kingdom ſo many goodly Provinces, as bury the remembrance of all dangers paſt. Tempeſts and ſhipwracks, famine, overthows, mutinies, heat and cold, peſtilence, and all manner of diſeaſes both old and new, together with extream poverty, and want of all things needful, have been the enemies wherewith every one of their moſt noble diſcoverers, at one time or other, hath incountred. Many years have paſſed over ſome of their heads in the ſearch of not ſo many leagues: yea more than one or two have ſpent their labour, their wealth, and their lives, in ſearch of a golden Kingdom, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their firſt ſetting forth. All which notwithſtanding, the third, fourth, and fifth undertakers, have not been diſheartned. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with thoſe Treaſuries and Paradiſes which they enjoy; and well they deſerve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertues in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

§. XI.

The City of Eryx *is ſurpriſed by the* Romans, *and recovered by* Amilcar, *who ſtoutly holds war with them five years. The* Romans, *having emptied their common treaſury, build a new fleet at the charges of private men. The great victory at Sea of* Lutatius *the Conſul; whereby the* Carthaginians *are forced to crave peace. The conditions of the peace between* Rome *and* Carthage.

THE *Romans* were careful to ſupply with all induſtry, by land, the want of ſtrength at Sea. Therefore they continue the ſiege of *Lilybæum*, and ſeek to make ſure to themſelves all places, whither the enemies ſhips could not bring relief. The Conſul *Junius*, to cure the wound of

diſhonour, which he had received, bethought him what enterpriſes to undertake. In the end he reſolved to attempt the Mountain and City of *Eryx*, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*: which was the faireſt and richeſt of all the Iſland; and of theſe, by cunning or treaſon, he got poſſeſſion. *Eryx* was commodiouſly ſeated between *Drepanum* and *Panormus*; ſo that it ſeemed a fit place for a Garriſon, that ſhould reſtrain the *Carthaginians* from making roads into the Country. Wherefore *Junius* fortified both the top of the Mountain, and the firſt entrance of the paſſage from the bottom, (both of which places were very defenſible) with a good ſtrength of men. But ſhortly after, in the eighteenth year of this war, the *Carthaginians* ſet forth *Amilcar*, ſurnamed *Barcas*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a Fleet and Army, who ſailing to the coaſts of *Italy*, did throughly repay the ſpoils which the *Romans* made in *Africa*. For he firſt of all waſted and deſtroyed the Territories of the *Locrians*, and of the *Brutians*, that were dependants of *Rome*. Then entred he into *Sicil*, and finding there no walled City in the *Carthaginians* power, that ſerved fitly to infeſt the *Romans*, he occupied a piece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his Army thereon; to confront as well the *Romans*, that were in *Panormus*, as thoſe that kept about *Eryx*, putting himſelf between both Armies with admirable reſolution.

The place that *Amilcar* had ſeized upon, was not only very ſtrong by ſituation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gave him opportunity to ſcour all the coaſt of *Italy* with his Fleet, waſting all along as far as to *Cuma*. In the Iſle of *Sicil* he held the *Romans* to hard work, lying near unto *Panormus*: where in three years abode, he did many notable acts, though not of much conſequence, for that the enemy could never be drawn to hazard the main chance. Having wearied himſelf and the *Romans* long enough about *Panormus*, he undertook a ſtrange piece of work at *Eryx*. The *Roman* Garriſons, placed there by *Junius*, on the top, and at the bottom of the Mountain, were very ſtrongly lodged. Nevertheleſs *Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the Sea-ſide, by which he conveighed his men into the City of *Eryx*, that was about the midſt of the aſcent, ere the enemy knew of it. By this it came to paſs, that the *Romans* which kept the top of the mountain, were ſtraightly held (as it were) beſieged. And no leſs was *Amilcar* himſelf reſtrained, by both of theſe Garriſons, and ſuch as came to relieve them. There he found them paſtime about two years more, hoping ſtill to weary out thoſe that lay over his head, as they on the contrary did their beſt, to thruſt him out of thoſe quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the *Romans* and of the *Carthaginians*, was bent unto the proſecuting of this buſineſs at *Eryx*. Wherein it ſeems true (as *Hanibal* in *Livie*, ſpake unto *Scipio*) that the affairs of *Carthage* never ſtood in better terms, ſince the beginning of the war, than now they did. For whereas the *Romans* had utterly forſaken the Seas, partly by reaſon of their great loſſes; partly upon confidence of their land-forces, which they held reſiſtleſs; *Amilcar*, with a ſmall Army, had ſo well acquitted himſelf, to the honour of his Country, that by the tryal of five years war, the *Carthaginian* Souldier was judged equal, if not ſuperior to the *Roman*. Finally, when all, that might be, had been deviſed and done, for the diſlodging of this obſtinate Warriour: no way ſeemed better to the Senate of *Rome*, than once again to build a fleet; whereby, if the maſtery of the Sea could once be gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lack of ſupply, ſhould not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extream difficulty was found. The common treaſury was exhauſted: and the coſt was not little, that was requiſite unto ſuch an enterpriſe. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden upon private purſes. Divers of the principal Citizens undertook to build (each at his own charges) one *Quinquereme*, which example wrought ſo well, that they, whoſe ability would not ſerve to do the like, joyned with ſome others, and laying their mony together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another; with condition to be repayed, when the war was finiſhed. By this voluntary contribution, they made and finiſhed two hundred new *Quinqueremes*: taking for their pattern, that excellent ſhift rowing Gally which they had gotten from the *Rhodian*, in the Port of *Lilybæum*, as was ſhewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to *C. Lutatius Catulus*; who paſt with the ſame into *Sicil* the Spring following, and entred the Port of *Drepanum*; indeavouring by all means to have forced the City. But being advertiſed that the *Carthaginian* fleet was at hand, and being mindful of the late loſſes which his Predeceſſors had received; he was carefull to put himſelf in order, againſt their arrival.

Hanno was Admiral of the *Carthaginian* fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wiſe

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in picture, exceedingly formal, and ſkilful in the art of ſeeming reverend. How his reputation was firſt bred, I do not find; but it was upheld by a factious contradiction, of things undertaken by men more worthy than himſelf. This quality procured unto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the antient ſort, whoſe cold temper is averſe from new enterpriſes; and therewithall an opinion of great foreſight, confirmed by every loſs received. More particularly, he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the moſt grievous oppreſſors of their ſubject Provinces; whereby he procured unto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithall ſuch hatred, as turned it all to their great loſs. He had ere this been imployed againſt the *Numidians* and wild *Africans*, that were more like to Rovers than to Souldiers, in making War. Of thoſe fugitive Nations he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his own great diſhonour, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which loſt not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counſel, when, having ſhewed himſelf an unworthy Captain, he betook himſelf to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in *Roman* Hiſtories, as a temperate man, and one that ſtudied how to preſerve the League between *Carthage* and *Rome*. In which regard, how well he deſerved of his own Country, it will appear hereafter: how beneficial he was to the *Romans*, it will appear, both hereafter, and in his preſent voyage; wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miſerable neceſſity of accepting, upon hard conditions, that peace which he thenceforth commended.

Hanno had very well furniſhed his Navy, with all needful proviſions for the Souldiers at *Eryx* (for dexterity in making preparation was the beſt of his qualities): but he had neither been careful in training his Marriners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with ſtout fellows. He thought, that the fame of a *Carthaginian* fleet was enough, to make the unexpert *Romans* give way: forgetting, that rather the reſiſtleſs force of tempeſts, than any other ſtrength of oppoſition, had made them to forſake the Seas. Yet in one thing he had either conceived aright, or elſe was ſent forth well inſtructed. It was his purpoſe, firſt of all to ſail to *Eryx*, and there to diſcharge his ſhips of their lading: and having thus lightned himſelf, he meant to take aboard ſome part of the Land-army, together with *Amilcar* himſelf, by whoſe help he doubted not, but that he ſhould be able to make his enemy repent of his new adventure to Sea. This was a good courſe, if it could have been performed. But *Catulus* uſed all poſſible diligence, to prevent the execution of this deſign: not becauſe he was informed of the enemies purpoſe, but that he knew it to be the beſt for them, and for that he feared no danger ſo greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the Seas went high, when the *Carthaginian* fleet was deſcried; yet he rather choſe to fight with the enemy, that had the wind of him, than to ſuffer his convoy to paſs along to *Eryx*, upon unlikely hope of better opportunity in the future. All that *Hanno* ſhould have done, *Catulus* had performed. He had carefully exerciſed his men in Rowing; he had lightned his Gallies of all unneceſſary burthens; and he had taken aboard the choiſe men of the *Roman* Land-Souldiers. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the firſt encounter were utterly broken and defeated, having fifty of their Gallies ſtemmed and ſunk, and ſeventy taken, wherein were few leſs than ten thouſand men, that were all made priſoners: the reſt, by a ſudden change of wind, eſcaping to the Iſle of *Hieroneſus*.

The ſtate of *Carthage*, utterly diſcouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to reſolve. Means to repair their fleet in any time, there were none left; their beſt men of war by Sea were conſumed; and *Amilcar*, upon whoſe valour and judgement the honour and ſafety of the Common-weal reſted, was now ſurrounded by his enemies in *Sicil*, where he could not be relieved. In this extremity, they make diſpatch unto *Amilcar* himſelf, and authorized him to take what courſe ſhould ſeem beſt unto his excellent wiſdom, leaving all concluſions to his election and ſole counſel.

Amilcar, whom no adverſity, accompanied with the leaſt hope or poſſibility of recovery, had ever vanquiſhed, looking over every promiſe, true or falſe, that the preſent time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future he was not able) reſolved to make trial, whether his neceſſity might be compounded upon any reaſonable terms. He therefore ſent to *Lutatius* the Conſul an overture of peace: who conſidering it well, gathered ſo many arguments from the preſent poverty of the *Roman* State, waſted beyond expectation in the former war, that he formerly harkened unto it. So, in concluſion, an accord was made, but with proviſion, That it ſhould hold none otherwiſe, than if the Senate and People of *Rome* would ratifie it with their allowance.

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The conditions were: First, that the *Carthaginians* should clearly abandon the Isle of *Sicil*. Secondly, that they should never undertake upon *Hieron* King of *Syracuse*, nor invade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they should set at liberty, and send back into *Italy*, all the *Romans*, whom they held prisoners, without ransome. Lastly, that they should pay unto the *Romans* two thousand and two hundred talents; which make, as the *French* reckon the talent, thirteen hundred and twenty thousand crowns: the same to be delivered within twenty years next following.

These Articles were sent to *Rome*, where they were not throughly approved: but ten Commissioners were sent into *Sicil*, to make perfect the agreement. These Commissioners added a thousand talents to the former sum; and required a shorter time of payment. Further also they took order, that the *Carthaginians* should not only depart out of *Sicil* it self, but should also withdraw their Companies out of all other Islands between it and *Italy*, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such was the end of the first *Punick War*, that had lasted about twenty four years without intermission; in which time the *Romans* had lost, by fight or shipwrack, about seven hundred *Quinqueremes*; and the *Carthaginians* about five hundred: the greatness of which losses, doth serve to prove the greatness both of these two Cities, and of the War it self; wherein I hold good the judgement of *Polybius*, That the *Romans*, in general, did shew themselves the braver Nation; and *Amilcar*, the most worthy Captain.

CHAP. II.

Of divers actions passing between the first and second Punick Warrs.

§. I.

Of the cruel War begun between the Carthaginians *and their own Mercenaries.*

THE *Romans* having partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicil*, and all the little Islands thereunto adjacent, gave them rather means and leisure to help themselves in a following war, than cause to hold themselves contented with the present peace. It is an ancient and true rule, *Quòd leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur à victis*; *That laws are given by the Conquerors, and received of the conquered.* But the *Romans* had either forgotten the answer that was made unto them, by one of the *Privernates*; or else had forgotten to follow it in this weighty business. For when one of *Privernum*, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the cause of his City, was demanded by a Senator, *What peace the Romans might hope for, or assure themselves of, if they quitted their present advantage over them*; he answered in those words, *Si bonam dederitis, & fidam & perpetuam; si malam, haud diuturnam; If the peace be good and faithful that you give us, it will be perpetual, if it be ill, then of little continuance.* To this answer the Senate, at that time gave such approbation, that it was said, *Viri & liberi vocem auditam; An credi posset, ullum populum, aut hominem deniq; in ea conditione, cujus eum pœniteat, diutius quam necesse sit mansurum? That it was the speech of a manly, and free man; for who could believe, that any people, or indeed any one man, would continue longer in an over-burdened estate, than meer necessity did enforce?* Now, if the *Romans* themselves could make this judgement of those Nations, who had little else besides their manly resolution, to defend their liberty; surely, they grossly flattered themselves, in presuming that the *Carthaginians*, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferiour unto themselves, would sit down any longer by the loss and dishonour received, than untill they could recover their legs, and the strength which had a while failed them to take revenge. But occasion, by which (while well entertained) not only private men, but Kings and publick States, have more prevailed, than by any proper prowess or vertue, with-held the tempest from the *Romans* for a time, and turned it most fearfully upon *Affrica*, and the *Carthaginians* themselves.

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For after the first *Punick* war was ended, *Amilcar*, leaving *Eryx*, went to *Lilybæum*, from whence most conveniently the Army might be transported into *Africk*: the care of which business he committed unto *Gesco*, to whom, as to a man of approved sufficiency, he delivered over his charge. *Gesco* had an especial consideration of the great summs, wherein *Carthage* was indepted unto these Mercenaries; and withall, of the great disability to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to send them over (as it were) by handfuls a few at a time; that so the first might have their dispatch, and be gone, ere the second or third Companies arrived. Herein he dealt providently. For it had not been hard to perswade any small number, lodged within so great a City as *Carthage*, unto some such reasonable composition, as the present emptiness of the common Treasury did require: so that the first might have been friendly discharged, and a good president left unto the second and third, whilst their dis-junction had made them unable to recover their whole due by force. But the *Carthaginians* were of a contrary opinion. They thought to find, in the whole Army, some that would be contented to gratifie the Publick State, by remitting a great part of their own due: and hoped, by such an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detained the first and second commers; telling them, that they would make an even reckoning with all together. Thus every day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much disquieted the City, not accustomed unto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remove them all to some other place, where they might be less troublesome. This must be done by some colourable words of perswasion: for their number was already so great, that it was not safe to offend them too far. Wherefore it is devised, that they should all attend the coming of their fellows, at *Sicca*: receiving every one a piece of gold, to bear his charges in the mean while.

This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers began to dis-lodge; leaving behind them their wives, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away all, when they came back for their pay. But the *Carthaginians* have no fancy to their returning into the Town; and therefore compel them to truss up their fardels, that they might have none occasion left to make any errands thither. So to *Sicca* they removed, with all their goods: and there lay waiting for news of their fellows arrival, and their own pay. Business they had none to do, and therefore might easily be drawn to mutiny: the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talk was, how rich they should be, when all their mony came in; how much would fall to every single share, and for how long time the City was behind hand with them in reckoning. They were all grown Arithmeticians; and he was thought a man of worth, that could find most reason to increase their demands, to the very highest, even beyond their due. No part of their long service was forgotten; but the comfortable words and promises of their Captains, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to mind, and so many obligations, not to be cancelled without satisfying their expectation by some unordinary largess.

Thus the time passeth away, untill the whole Army being arrived, and lodged in *Sicca*, *Hanno* comes thither to clear the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they shall all be made rich; especially if they can hold together, in maintaining stoutly the common cause. So think they all; and assemble themselves to hear what good news this messenger had brought: with a full resolution to help his memory, in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made to them; all which were to be considered in their Donative. *Hanno* begins a very formal Oration; wherein he bewails the poverty of *Carthage*, tells them how great a summ of mony is to be paid unto the *Romans*; reckons up the excessive charges whereat the Common-wealth had been in the late War; and finally desires them to hold themselves contented with part of their pay, and out of the love which they bare unto the City, to remit the rest. Few of them understood his discourse: for the *Carthaginian* Army was composed of sundry Nations, as *Greeks*, *Africans*, *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, *Spaniards*, and others; all of different languages. Yet they stared upon him, and were (as I think) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such as conceived the whole tenour of his speech, had informed the rest what cold comfort he brought; they were all inraged, and fared like mad-men, so that nothing would serve to appease them.

Hanno would fain have asswaged their fury, but he knew not how: for he less understood their dissonant loud noises, than they did his Oration. An Army collected out of so many Countries, that have no one language common to all, or to the greater part

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of them, is neither easily stirred up to mutiny, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into out-rage. The best that *Hanno* can do, is to use the help of Interpreters and Messengers. But these Interpreters mistake his meaning; some for want of skill; others of set purpose; and such as deliver his errands in the worst sense, are best believed. Finally, they think themselves much abused by the *Carthaginians*, and resolve to demand their own in peremptory terms, at a nearer distance. In this mood they leave *Sicca*, and march as far as *Tunis*, that is within a very little of *Carthage*, and there they encamp.

Now begin the *Carthaginians* to find their own errour. It is a good Rule,

Curandum inprimis, ne magna injuria fiat
Fortibus & miseris.

Have special care, that valiant poverty
Be not oppresst with too great injury.

But this proud City, having neglected the Rule, hath also been careless in providing to secure her self against the inconvenience that might follow. She had suffered the whole multitude, whereupon she was like to give cause of discontent, to joyn it self into one body, when the several troops might easily have been dispersed: she hath turned out of her gates the wives, children, and goods of these poor men, which, had she retained in shew of kindness, she might have used them as Hostages for her own safety; and by imploying a miserable penny-father, in her negotiation with men of War, she hath weakned the reputation of her bravest Captains, that might best have served to free her from the threatning danger. Yet likely it is, that *Amilcar* had no desire to be used as an instrument in defrauding his own Souldiers of their wages: especially considering, that as he best could bear witness of their merits, so was he not ignorant, that means to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had been willing thereunto. Hereupon may be added a probable conjecture that *Hanno*, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemy to *Amilcar*, had the boldness to impose the blame of his own wretched counsel upon the liberal promises made by the Captains. *Amilcar* therefore did wisely, in suffering those that maligned him, to have the managing of their own plot, and to deal the cards which themselves had shuffled. This they continue to do as foolishly as they had at first begun. They furnish a market at *Tunis*, for the Souldiers; whom they suffer to buy what they list, and at what price they list. They send ever and anon some of their Senatours into the Camp; who promise to satisfie all demands, as far forth as it should be possible. And thus by shifting from one extreme to another, they make the Souldiers understand into what fear the City was driven; which cannot chuse but add much insolency to the passions already stirred up.

This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the Army, which thereupon grows wise, and finding the season fit, labours to make a great harvest. Mony must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many have lost their horses in publick service of the State. The State shall pay for them. They had lived some years by making hard shift, without receiving their allowance of victuals from *Carthage*. If they had lived, they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the *Carthaginians*? Was it not all one, whether the ships did bring in provision, or their Captains direct them where to fetch it? But this would not serve. They said that they had been sometimes driven to buy; and that (since they could not remember how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their provision during the whole time, and according to the deerest price that Wheat had born, whilst the War lasted. Such are now the demands of these Mutiners; who might easily have been satisfied with far less charges, and far more honour, by receiving their due at the first. But now they make no end of craving. For whilst the *Carthaginians* are perplexed about this Corn-mony; the Souldiers have devised many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater summ of mony, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could be found of these controversies which daily did multiply, it was thought convenient, that one of the *Carthaginians*, which had commanded in *Sicil*, should be chosen by the Souldiers to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Army condescended, and made choice of *Gesco*: partly out of good liking to him, who had shewed himself at all times, a friendly man to them, and carefull of their good, especially when they were to be transported into *Africk*: partly out of a dislike which they had conceived of *Amilcar*; for that he had not visited them in all this busie time. So *Gesco* comes among them; and to please them the better, comes not without mony: which might give better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of *Hanno*. He calls unto him first of all the

the Captains, and then the ſeveral Nations apart, rebuking them gently for that which had paſſed; adviſing them temperately concerning the preſent; and exhorting them to continue their love unto the State, which had long entertained them, and would needs alwaies be mindful of their good ſervices. After this he began to put hand to his purſe, offering to give them their whole pay in hand; and then after to conſider of other reckonings at a more convenient time. This had been well accepted, and might have ſerved to bring all to a quiet paſs, if two ſeditious Ring-leaders of the multitude had not ſtood againſt it.

There was in the Camp one *Spendius*, a ſturdy fellow, and audacious, but a ſlave; that in the late war had fled from a *Roman*, whom he ſerved, and therefore ſtood in fear, leſt he ſhould be delivered back to his Maſter; at whoſe hands he could expect no leſs, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could find no better way to prolong his own life, than by raiſing ſuch troubles as might ſerve to withdraw men from care of private matters, and make his own reſtitution impoſſible, were his Maſter never ſo importunate. With *Spendius* there aſſociated himſelf one *Matho*, an hot-headed man, that had been ſo forward in ſtirring up the tumult, as he could not chooſe but fear, leſt his own death ſhould be made an example, to deterr others from the like ſeditious behaviour. This *Matho* deals with his Countrymen the *Africans*; telling them, that they were in far worſe condition, than either the *Gaules*, the *Greeks*, the *Spaniards*, or any foraign Mercenaries. For (ſaith he) *Theſe our companions have no more to do, than to receive their wages, and ſo get them gone: but we that are to ſtay behind in* Africa, *ſhall be called to another manner of accompt, when we are left alone; ſo that we ſhall have cauſe to wiſh that we had returned home beggars, rather than loaden with the money, which (little though it be) ſhall break our backs. Ye are not ignorant, how tyrannically thoſe our haughty Maſters of* Carthage *do reign over us. They think it reaſonable, that our lives and goods ſhould be at their diſpoſition; which they have at other times been accuſtomed to take from us even without apparent cauſe, as it were to declare their ſoveraignty: What will they now do, ſeeing that we have demeaned our ſelves as free-men, and been bold to ſet a good face on the matter, demanding our own, as others have done? Ye all do know, that it were a very ſhame for us, if having been as forward in every danger of war, as any other men, we ſhould now ſtand quaking like ſlaves, and not dare to open our mouths, when others take liberty to require their due. This notwithſtanding ye may aſſure your ſelves, that we are like to be taught better manners, as ſoon as our fellows are gone: in regard of whom they are content to ſhadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. Let us therefore be wiſe, and conſider that they hate and fear us: their hatred will ſhew it ſelf when their fear is once paſt: unleſs we now take our time, and whileſt we are the ſtronger, enfeeble them ſo greatly, that their hatred ſhall not be able to do us wrong. All their ſtrength conſiſteth in money, wherewithall they have hired others againſt us, and us againſt others. At the preſent they have neither money nor friends. The beſt Army that ever ſerved them, whereof we are no ſmall part, lyes at their gates, ready to help us if we be men. A better opportunity cannot be expected; for were our ſwords once drawn, all* Africk *would riſe on our ſide. As for the* Carthaginians, *Whither can they ſend for help? The caſe it ſelf is plain. But we muſt quickly reſolve. Either we muſt prevent the diligence of* Geſco, *by incenſing theſe* Gaules *and* Spaniards, *and procuring them to draw blood; or elſe it behoveth us to pleaſe our good Maſters, by joyning with them againſt our fellows, yea by offering to forgive unto them all our wages, if ſo (peradventure) they may be won to forgive us, or not over-cruelly to puniſh our faults committed. He is moſt worthily a wretched ſlave, that neither hath care to win his Maſters love, nor the courage to attempt his own liberty.*

By ſuch perſwaſions *Matho* wins the *African* Souldiers to his own purpoſe. They are not now ſo greedy of money, as of quarrel, which he that ſeeketh will not miſs to find. When *Geſco* therefore offered to pay them their whole ſtipend preſently, but referred their other demands, for horſes and victuals, to ſome other more convenient time; they brake into great outrage, and ſay, that they will have all, even all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Army flock together about *Matho* and *Spendius*; whoſe diligence is not wanting to add more fuel to the fire already blazing. *Matho* and *Spendius* are the only men to whom the Souldiers will hearken: if any other ſtand up to make a ſpeech, a ſhowre of ſtones, flying about his ears, puts him to ſilence, that he ſhall never afterwards ſpeak word more. Neither ſtay they to conſider what it is that any man would ſay: enough hath been ſaid already by thoſe good ſpokes-men; ſo that no other word (though perhaps to the ſame purpoſe) can be heard, ſave only *Throw, throw.*

Now the rebellion begins to take form. *Matho* and *Spendius* are choſen Captains; who, followed by a deſperate crue of Ruffians, will ſuffer no man to make his own peace, but purſue their own ends, under fair pretence of the common cauſe. All which notwithſtanding, *Geſco* is not wanting to the good of his Country, but adventures himſelf upon their fury. One while he deals with the Captains, and other principal men; taking them by the hand, and giving gentle words: another while, he works with the ſeveral Nations; putting them all in hope of their own hearts deſire, if any reaſon would content them. None of them are ſo ſullen as the *Africans*: indeed none of them had ſo good cauſe. They require him peremptorily to give them their own, and not to feed them with words. The truth is, that they are not ſo covetous as they ſeem: but will be more glad of an ill anſwer, than of a good payment. This is more than *Geſco* knows: he ſees not that *Matho* hath any more than bare words to beſtow upon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconſiderate heat, he tells them, That they may do well, if they ſtand in want of money, to ſeek it of their Captain *Matho*. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? They ſtay no longer, but lay violent hands upon the treaſure that he had brought; yea upon him alſo, and all that are with him: as intending to take this in part of payment, and, for the reſt, to take another courſe. *Matho* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleaſed them to ſee their fellows begin to grow calm, by his fair language: wherefore they caſt into bonds both him, and all the *Carthaginians* that they can find; that ſo the Army may be freed from danger of good *admonition*, which they call Treaſon. After this follows open war. *Matho* ſolicites all *Africk*, and his Embaſſadors are every where well entertained. Neither is it needful to uſe perſwaſion: the very fame of this rebellion ſufficeth to draw the whole Country into it. Now muſt the *Carthaginians* be plagued for thoſe oppreſſions, with which they have plagued others. It is true that adverſity hath never been untold of her errours: and as ſhe is ever aſſured to hear her own, ſo commonly with her own ſhe undergoes thoſe of other men. The *Africans* finding the *Carthaginians* hang under the wheel, tell them boldly, that their Impoſitions were mercileſs; that they took from them the one half of their Corn; that they doubled their tributes in all things elſe; and that they inflicted upon their vaſſals the greateſt puniſhment for the leaſt offences. Theſe cruelties the *Carthaginians* themſelves have forgotten: but the people, that have ſuffered ſo much, retain all in perfect memory. Wherefore not only ſuch as can bear arms, are ready to do ſervice in this great commotion; but the very women bring forth their Jewels, and other ornaments, offering all to ſail for the maintenance of ſo juſt a quarrel. By this great forwardneſs, and liberal contribution, *Matho* and *Spendius* are ſupplyed with a ſtrong aid of threeſcore and ten thouſand *Africans*: and are moreover furniſhed with money, not only to ſatisfie the preſent appetite of their men; but ſufficient to continue the war begun, though it ſhould be of long endurance.

§. II.

Divers Obſervations upon this War with the Mercenaries.

†. I.

Of Tyranny, and how Tyrants are fain to uſe the help of Mercenaries.

HEre let us reſt a while, as in a convenient place, whence we may take a proſpect of the ſubject, over which we travel. Behold a tyrannical City, perſecuted by her own Mercenaries with a deadly war. It is a common thing, as being almoſt neceſſary, that a tyranny ſhould be upheld by Mercenary forces: it is common that Mercenaries ſhould be falſe: and it is common that all war made againſt Tyrants, ſhould be exceeding full of hate and cruelty. Yet we ſeldome hear, that ever the ruine of a tyranny is procured or ſought by thoſe that were hired to maintaint the power of it: and ſeldome or never do we read of any war that hath been proſecuted with ſuch inexpiable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call Tyranny, is, *A violent form of Government, not reſpecting the good of the ſubject, but only the pleaſure of the Commander.* I purpoſely forbear to ſay that it is, the unjuſt rule of one over many: for very truly doth *Cleon* in *Thucydides* tell the *Athenians*, that their dominion over their ſubjects, was none other, than a meer tyranny; though it were ſo, that they themſelves were a great City, and a popular eſtate. Neither is it peradventure greatly needful, that I ſhould call this form of commanding, *violent*: ſince it may well and eaſily be conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience to one regardleſs of his life and welfare; unleſs himſelf be either a mad man,

man, or (which is little better) wholly poſſeſſed with ſome extreme paſſion of love. The practice of tyranny is not alwayes of a like extremity: for ſome Lords are more gentle than others, to their very ſlaves; and he that is moſt cruel to ſome, is mild enough towards others, though it be but for his own advantage. Nevertheleſs, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers diſcretion cannot extend it ſelf unto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of ſeveral men, it is commonly ſeen, that the taſte of ſweetneſs drawn out of oppreſſion, hath ſo good a reliſh, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not ſuffer it to be reſtrained with any limits of reſpect. Why ſhould he ſeek out bounds to preſcribe unto his deſires, who cannot endure the face of one ſo honeſt, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten by extorting from ſome few: by ſparing none, he ſhould have riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deal from every one: but every one could have ſpared more. He hath wrung all their Purſes, and now he hath enough: but (as Covetouſneſs is never ſatisfied) he thinks that all this is too little for a ſtock, though it were indeed a good yearly Income. Therefore he deviſeth new tricks of robbery, and is not better pleaſed with the gains, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this, and he knows it well: but he thinks by cruelty to change hatred into fear. So he makes it his exerciſe, to torment and murder all whom he ſuſpecteth: in which courſe, if he ſuſpect none unjuſtly, he may be ſaid to deal craftily; but if Innocency be not ſafe, how can all this make any Conſpirator to ſtand in fear, ſince the Traitor is no worſe rewarded than the quiet man? Wherefore he can think upon none other ſecurity, than to diſarm all his Subjects; to fortifie himſelf within ſome ſtrong place; and, for defence of his Perſon and State, to hire as many luſty Souldiers as ſhall be thought ſufficient. Theſe muſt not be of his own Country: for if not every one, yet ſome one or other may chance to have a feeling of the publick miſery. This conſidered, he allures unto him a deſperate rabble of ſtrangers, the moſt unhoneſt that can be found; ſuch as have neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be carefull to ſupport him, by whoſe only favour they are maintained. Now, leſt any of theſe, either by deteſtation of his wickedneſs, or (which in wicked men is moſt likely) by promiſe of greater reward than he doth give, ſhould be drawn to turn his ſword againſt the Tyrant himſelf: they ſhall all be permitted to do as he doth; to rob, to raviſh, to murder, and to ſatisfie their own appetites, in moſt outragious manner, being thought ſo much the more aſſured to their Maſter, by how much the more he ſees them grow hatefull to all men elſe. Conſidering in what age, and in what language I write; I muſt be fain to ſay, that theſe are not dreams: though ſome *Engliſh-men* perhaps that were unacquainted with Hiſtory, lighting upon this leaf, might ſuppoſe this diſcourſe to be but little better. This is to ſhew, both how tyranny grows to ſtand in need of mercenary Souldiers, and how thoſe mercenaries are, by mutual obligation, firmly aſſured unto the Tyrant.

§. II.

That the Tyranny of a City over her Subjects is worſe than the tyranny of one man: and that a tyrannical City muſt likewiſe uſe mercenary Souldiers.

NOW concerning the tyranny wherewith a City or State oppreſſeth her ſubjects; it may appear ſome wayes to be more moderate, than that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A City is jealous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearful of her life: the leſs need hath ſhe therefore to ſecure her ſelf by cruelty. A City is not luxurious in conſuming her treaſures, and therefore needs the leſs to pluck from her Subjects. If War, or any other great occaſion drive her to neceſſity of taking from her Subjects more than ordinary ſumms of money; the ſame neceſſity makes either the contribution eaſie, or the taking excuſable. Indeed no wrongs are ſo grievous and hatefull, as thoſe that are inſolent. *Remember* (ſaith *Caligula* the Emperour, to his Grand-mother *Antonia*) *that I may do what I liſt, and to whom I liſt:* theſe words were accounted horrible, though he did her no harm. And *Juvenal* reckons it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruel *Roman* Dame upon her ſlaves, that whileſt ſhe was whipping them, ſhe painted her face, talked with her Goſſips, and uſed all ſigns of neglecting what thoſe wretches felt. Now ſeeing that the greateſt grievances wherewith a domineering State offendeth her Subjects, are free from all ſenſe of indignity; likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although deſire of liberty make them weary of her Empire. In theſe reſpects it is not needfull that ſhe ſhould keep a Guard of licentious cut-throats, and maintain them in all villany, as a *Dionyſius* or

Agathocles must do: her own Citizens are able to terrifie and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. These things, considered alone by themselves, may serve to prove, That a City is scarce able to deserve the name of a Tyranness, in the proper signification.

All this notwithstanding, it shall appear, that the miseries wherewith a Tyrant loadeth his people, are not so heavy, as the burdens imposed by a cruel City. Not without some appearance of truth, it may be said, that Lust, and many other private passions, are no way incident to a City or Corporation. But to make this good, we shall have need to use the help of such distinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not *Rome* lascivious, when *Cato* was fain to rise and leave the Theater, to the end, that the reverend regard of his gravity might not hinder the people from calling for a shew of naked Courtisans, that were to be brought upon the open stage? By common practice, and general approved custom, we are to censure the quality of a whole State, not by the private vertue or vice of any one man, nor by metaphysical abstraction of *the universal* from *the singular*; or of *the Corporation*, from *those of whom it is compounded*: I say therefore, (as I have said elsewhere) That it were better to live under one pernicious Tyrant, than under many thousands. The reasons proving this, are too many to set down, but a few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soever, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to search all corners; his humour may be found, and soothed; age or good advice, yea, or some unexpected accident may reform him: all which failing; yet is there hope, that his successour may prove better.

Many Tyrants have been changed into worthy Kings: and many have ill used their ill-gotten Dominion, which, becoming hereditary to their posterity, hath grown into the most excellent form of Government, even a lawful Monarchy. But they that live under a tyrannical City, have no such hope: their Mistress is immortal, and will not slacken the reins, untill they be pulled out of her hands, and her own mouth receive the bridle of a more mightier Chariotter. This is wofull: yet their present sufferings make them less mindfull of the future. New flies, and hungry ones, fall upon the same sore, out of which others had already sucked their fill. A new Governour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poor kindred and friends, who mean not to return home empty to their hives, without a good lading of wax and honey. These fly into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with every mans wealth, or whatsoever else, in all the Province, is worthy to be desired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his fears: becoming themselves, within a little space, the enemies that he feareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these masterfull guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an endless labour, (yet it must be undergone) and such as every one hath not means to go about: but were this effected, what availeth it? The love of our Governour is purchased with gifts; the Successour of this man, he is more loving than could be wished in respect of a fair Wife or Daughter, then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore-goers, who seeks the ruine of all that have been inward with them. So the miseries of this tyranny are not simple, but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of civil War. The *Romans* had a Law *De Repetundis*, or, *Of Recovery*, against extorting-Magistrates: yet we find, that it served not wholly to restrain their Provincial Governours; who presuming on the favour of their own Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Provinces, to work all these enormities rehearsed; though somewhat the more sparingly, for fear of judgement. If the Subjects of *Rome* groaned under such oppressions, what must we think of those that were Vassals unto *Carthage*? The *Romans* imposed no burthensome tributes; they loved not to hear, that their Empire was grievous; they condemned many noble Citizens for having been ill Governours. At *Carthage* all went quite contrary: the rapines newly devised by one Magistrate, served as presidents to instruct another; every man resolved to do the like, when it should fall to his turn; and he was held a notable States-man, whose robberies had been such, as might afford a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this *Carthaginian* practice are not extant: the Government of *Verres* the *Roman* in *Sicil*, that it is lively set out by *Tully*, may serve to inform us, what was the demeanour of these *Punick* Rulers, who stood in fear of no such condemnation, as *Verres* underwent. By prosecuting this discourse, I might inferr a more general proposition; That a City cannot govern her subject Provinces so mildly as a King: but it is enough to have shewed, That the tyranny of a City is far more intolerable, than that of any one most wicked man.

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Sutable to the cruelty of such Lords, is the hatred of their subjects: and again, sutable to the hatred of the subjects, is the jealousie of their Lords. Hence it followed, that, in wars abroad, the *Carthaginians* durst use the service of *African* Souldiers; in *Africk* it self they had rather be beholding to others, that were farther fetcht. For the same purpose did *Hannibal*, in the second *Punick war*, shift his Mercenaries out of their own Countries; *Ut Afri in Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus uterq; miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati stipendia facerent*; *that the Africans might serve in* Spain, *the Spaniards in* Africk, *being each of them like to prove the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutual pledges.* It is disputable, I confess, whether these *African* and *Spanish* hirelings could properly be termed *Mercenaries*: for they were subject unto *Carthage*, and carried into the field, not only by reward, but by duty. Yet seeing their duty was no better than enforced, and that it was not any love to the State, but meer desire of gain, that made them fight; I will not nicely stand upon propriety of a word, but hold them, as *Polybius* also doth, no better than Mercenaries.

Liv. Dec. 3. l. 2.

§. III.

The dangers growing from the use of mercenary Souldiers, and forrain Auxiliaries.

THE extream danger, growing from the imployment of such Souldiers, is well observed by *Machiael*: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serve, than to those against whom they serve. They are seditious, unfaithfull, disobedient, devourers, and destroyers of all places and Countries, whereinto they are drawn; as being held by no other bond, than their own commodity. Yea, that which is most fearful among such hirelings, is, that they have often, and in time of greatest extremity, not only refused to fight, in their defence, who have entertained them, but revolted unto the contrary part; to the utter ruine of those Princes and States that have trusted them. Those mercenaries (saith *Machiavel*) which filled all *Italy* when *Charls* the eighth of *France* did pass the *Alpes*, were the cause that the said *French* King won the Realm of *Naples* with his Buckler without a Sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza* the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by Queen *Joan* of *Naples*, abandoned her service on the sudden, and forced her to put her self into the hands of the King of *Aragon*. Like unto his father was *Francis Sforza*, the first of that race, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by the *Millanois*, forced them to become his slaves, even with the very same army which themselves had levied for their own defence. But *Lodowick Sforza*, the son of this *Francis* by the just judgement of God, was made a memorable example unto posterity, in losing his whole estate by the treachery of such faithless Mercenaries, as his own Father had been. For having waged an army of *Switzers*, and committed his Dutchy, together with his person, into their hands, he was by them delivered up unto his enemy the *French* King, by whom he was incloſed in the Castle of *Loches* unto his dying day.

The like inconvenience is found, in using the help of forrain Auxiliaries. We see, that when the Emperour of *Constantinople* had hired ten thousand *Turks* against his neighbour Princes; he could never, either by perswasion or force, set them again over the Sea upon *Asia* side; which gave beginning to the Christian servitude, that soon after followed. *Alexander* the Son of *Cassander*, sought aid of the great *Demetrius*: but *Demetrius*, being entred into his Kingdom, slew the same *Alexander*, who had invited him, and made himself King of *Macedon*. *Syracon* the *Turk* was called into *Egypt* by *Sanar Soldan*, against his opposite: but this *Turk* did settle himself so surely in *Egypt*, that *Saladine* his successor became Lord thereof; and of all the *holy Land*, soon after. What need we look about for examples of this kind? Every Kingdom, in effect, can furnish us. The *Britains* drew the *Saxons* into this our Countrey; and *Mac Murrough* drew the *English* into *Ireland*; but the one and the other soon became Lords of those two kingdoms.

Against all this, may be alledged the good success of the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, using none other than such kind of Souldiers, in their late war. Indeed these *Low-Countreys* have many goodly and strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthy, industrious, and valiant in their kind. They are stout Sea-men, and therein is their excellency; neither are they bad at the defence of a place well fortified: but in open field they have seldom been able to stand against the *Spaniard*. Necessity therefore compelled them to seek help abroad: and the like necessity made them forbear to arm any great numbers of their own. For, with money raised by their Trade, they maintained the War: and therefore could

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ill ſpare unto the Pike and Musket, thoſe hands, that were of more uſe in helping to fill the common purſe. Yet what of this? they ſped well. Surely they ſped as ill as might be, whileſt they had none other than mercenary Souldiers. Many fruitleſs attempts, made by the Prince of *Orenge*, can witneſs it: and that brave Commander Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſau*, felt, to his grief, in his retrait from *Græningham*; when, in the very inſtant that required their ſervice in fight, his Mercenaries cried out aloud for money, and ſo ran away. This was not the only time, when the hired Souldiers of the States, have either ſought to hide their cowardize under a ſhew of greedineſs; or at leaſt, by meer covetouſneſs, have ruined in one hour, the labour of many moneths. I will not ſtand to prove this by many examples: for they themſelves will not deny it. Neither would I touch the honour of *Monſieur* the Duke of *Anjou*, brother to the *French* King; ſave that it is folly to conceal what all the world knows. He that would lay open the danger of forraign Auxiliaries, needeth no better pattern. It is commonly found, that ſuch Aiders make themſelves Lords over thoſe, to whom they lend their ſuccour: but where ſhall we meet with ſuch another as this *Monſieur*, who, for his protection promiſed, being rewarded with the Lordſhip of the Countrey, made it his firſt work, to thruſt by violence a galling yoak upon the peoples neck? Well, he lived to repent it, with grief enough. Even whileſt he was counterfeiting unto thoſe about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginary ſorrow for the poor Burghers of *Antwerpe*, as verily believing the Town to be ſurpriſed and wone; the death of the Count St. *Aignan*, who fell over the wall, and the Cannon of the City, diſcharged againſt his own troops, informed him better what had hapned; ſhewing, that they were his own *French* who ſtood in need of the pity. Then was his feigned paſſion changed into a very bitter anguiſh of mind, wherein, ſmiting his breaſt, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, *Helas, mon dieu, que veux tu faire de moy? Alas, my God, what wilt thou do with me?* So, the affairs of the *Netherlands* will not ſerve to prove, that there is little danger in uſing Mercenary Souldiers, or the help of forraign Auxiliaries. This notwithſtanding, they were obedient unto neceſſity, and ſought help of the *Engliſh*, *Scots*, and *French*: wherein they did wiſely, and proſpered. For when there was in *France* a King, partaker with them in the ſame danger; when the Queen of *England* refuſed to accept the Soveraignty of their Country, which they offered, yet being provoked by the *Spaniard* their enemy, purſued him with continual war; when the heir of *England* reigned in *Scotland*, a King too juſt and wiſe (though not ingaged in any quarrel) either to make profit of his neighbours miſeries, or to help thoſe that had attempted the conqueſt of his own inheritance: then might the *Netherlanders* very ſafely repoſe confidence in the forces of theſe their Neighbour Countries. The Souldiers that came unto them from hence, were (to omit any other commendations) not only regardfull of the pay that they ſhould receive, but well affected unto the cauſe that they took in hand: or, if any were cold in his devotion, unto the ſide whereon he fought, yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his own home, where the *Engliſh* would have rewarded him with death, if that his faith had been corrupted by the *Spaniard*. They were therefore truſted with the cuſtody of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the neceſſity of the poorer ſort was relieved, before the pay-day came, with *lendings*, and other helps, as well as the ability of the States could permit. When three ſuch Princes, reigning at one time, ſhall agree ſo well, to maintain againſt the power of a fourth, injurious (or at the leaſt ſo ſeeming) to them all, a Neighbour-Country of the ſame Religion, and to which they all are lovingly affected: then may ſuch a Country be ſecure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other buſineſs, in hope of like ſucceſs. But theſe circumſtances meet ſo ſeldom, as it may well hold true in general: That *mercenary and forraign auxiliary forces are no leſs dangerous, than the enemy againſt whom they are entertained.*

†. IIII.

That the moderate government of the Romans, *gave them aſſurance to uſe the ſervice of their own ſubjects in their Wars. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyranny, which hindereth the uſe and beneſit of the like moderation.*

HEre it may be demanded, whether alſo the *Romans* were not compelled to uſe the ſervice of other Souldiers in their many great wars, but performed all by their own Citizens? for if it were their manner to arm their own ſubjects, how hapned it, that they feared no rebellion? if ſtrangers, how then could they avoid the inconveniences above rehearſed? The anſwer is, that their Armies were compounded uſually of their

their own Citizens, and of the *Latines* in equal number: to which they added, as occasion required, some companies of *Campanes*, *Hetrurians*, *Samnites*, or other of their subjects, as were either interested in the quarrel, or might best be trusted. They had, about these times, (though seldom they did imploy so many) ten *Roman* Legions; a good strength, if all other help had been wanting; which served to keep in good order their subjects, that were alwaies fewer in the army than themselves. As for the *Latines*, if consanguinity were not a sufficient obligation; yet many priviledges and immunities, which they injoyed, made them assured unto the State of *Rome*: under which they lived almost at liberty, as being bound to little else, than to serve it in war. It is true, that a yoke how easie soever, seems troublesome to the neck that hath been accustomed to freedom. Therefore many people of *Italy* have taken occasion of several advantages, to deliver themselves from the *Roman* subjection. But still they have been reclaimed by war, the Authors of rebellion have sharply been punished, and the people by degrees have obtained such liberty, as made them esteem none otherwise of *Rome*, than as the common City of all *Italy*. Yea, in process of time it was granted unto many Cities, and those far off removed, even to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, where St. *Paul* was born, that all the Burgesses should be free of *Rome* it self. This favour was conferred absolutely upon some; upon some, with restraint of giving voice in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conquest, to release unto their new subjects half of their tribute which they had been wont to pay to their former Lords, which was a ready way to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition; when the review of harder times past, should rather teach them to fear a relapse, than to hope for better in the future, by seeking innovation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a special note of the *Romans* good Government, That when some, for their well-deserving, have had the offer to
Liv. Dec. 1. lib. 3. be made Citizens of *Rome*, they have refused it, and held themselves better contented with their own present estate. Wherefore
Liv. ibid. it is no marvel, that *Petellia*, a City of the *Brutians* in *Italy*, chose rather to endure all extremity of war, than, upon any condition, to forsake the *Romans*; even when the *Romans* themselves had confessed, that they were unable to help these their subjects, and therefore willed them to look to their own good, as having been faithful to the utmost. Such love purchased these mild Governours, without impairing their Majesty thereby. The sum of all is; they had, of their own, a strong army; they doubled it by adjoyning thereunto the *Latines*; and they further increased it, as need required, with other help of their own subjects: all, or the most of their followers, accounting the prosperity of *Rome* to be the common good.

The moderate use of soveraign power being so effectual, in assuring the people unto their Lords, and consequently in the establishment or inlargement of Dominion: it may seem strange, that the practice of Tyranny, whose effects are contrary, hath been so common in all ages. The like, I know, may be said of all Vice and Irregularity, whatsoever. For it is less difficult, (whosoever think otherwise) and more safe, to keep the way of Justice and Honesty, than to turn aside from it; yet commonly our passions do lead us into by-paths. But where Lust, Anger, Fear, or any the like Affection, seduceth our reason; the same unruly appetite, either bringeth with it an excuse, or, at least-wise, taketh away all cause of wonder. In tyranny it is not so: for as much as we can hardly descry the passion, that is of force to insinuate it self into the whole tenour of a Government. It must be confessed, that lawless desires have bred many Tyrants: yet so that these desires have seldome been hereditary, or long-lasting; but have ended commonly with the Tyrants life, sometimes before his death; by which means the government hath been reduced to a better form. In such cases, the saying of *Aristotle* holds, *That tyrannies are of a short continuance.* But this doth not satisfie the question in hand. Why did the *Carthaginians* exercise tyranny? Why did the *Athenians*? Why have many other Cities done the like? If in respect of their general good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill course for the safety of the Weal publick? If they were led hereunto by any affection; what was that affection wherein so many thousand Citizens, divided and subdivided within themselves by factions, did all concurr, notwithstanding the much diversity of temper, and the vehemency of private hatred among them? Doubtless, we must be fain to say, That Tyranny is, by it self, a vice distinct from others. A Man, we know, is *Animal politicum*, apt even by Nature, to command or to obey; every one in his proper degree. Other desires of Mankind, are common likewise unto brute beasts;
Arist. pol. l. 5. c. 12.

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and ſome of them, to bodies wanting ſenſe: but the deſire of rule belongeth unto the nobler part of reaſon; whereunto is alſo anſwerable an aptneſs to yield obedience. Now as hunger and thirſt are given by nature not only to Man and Beaſt, but unto all ſorts of Vegetables, for the ſuſtentation of their life: as Fear, Anger, Luſt, and other affections are likewiſe natural, in convenient meaſure, both unto Mankind, and to all Creatures that have ſenſe, for the ſhunning or repelling of harm, and ſeeking after that which is requiſite: even ſo is this deſire of ruling or obeying, ingraffed by Nature in the race of Man, and in Man only as a reaſonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a civil form of Juſtice. All theſe in-bred qualities are good and uſeful. Nevertheleſs, Hunger and Thirſt are the Parents of Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, which, in reproach, are called beaſtly, by an unproper term: ſince they grow from appetites, found in leſs worthy creatures than beaſts, and are yet not ſo common in beaſts, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of ſuch other Paſſions as deſcend no lower than unto brute beaſts, are held leſs vile; and perhaps not without good reaſon: yet are the more pernicious. But as no corruption is worſe by ſharper Laws, as being in general more horrible, and puniſhed more grievouſly, than of that which is beſt; there is not any paſſion, that nouriſheth a vice more hurtful unto Mankind, than that which iſſueth from the moſt noble root, even the depraved Affection of Ruling. Hence ariſe thoſe two great miſchiefs, of which hath been an old queſtion in diſpute, whether be the worſe; That all things, or that nothing ſhould be lawful. Of theſe, a dull ſpirit and overloaden by fortune with power, whereof it is not capable, occaſioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary diſtemper, whoſe vehemency the bounds of Reaſon cannot limit. Under the extremity of either, no Country is able to ſubſiſt, yet the defective dulneſs, that permitteth any thing, will alſo permit the execution of Law, to which meer neceſſity doth enforce the ordinary Magiſtrate; whereas Tyranny is more active, and pleaſeth it ſelf in the exceſs, with a falſe colour of Juſtice. Examples of ſtupidity, and unaptneſs to rule, are not very frequent, though ſuch natures are every where to be found: for this quality troubles not it ſelf in ſeeking Empire; or if by ſome errour of fortune, it encounter therewithall, (as when *Claudius*, hiding himſelf in a corner, found the Empire of *Rome*) ſome friend, or elſe a wife, is not wanting to ſupply the defect, which alſo cruelty doth help to ſhadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing unknown, is without a name. Tyranny is more bold, and feareth not to be known, but would be reputed honourable: for it is *proſperum & fœlix ſcelus*, *a fortunate miſchief*, as long as it can ſubſiſt. *There is no reward or honour* (ſaith *Peter Charron*) *aſſigned unto thoſe, that know how to increaſe, or preſerve humane nature: all honours, greatneſs, riches, dignities, Empires, triumphs, trophees, are appointed for thoſe, that know how to afflict, trouble, or deſtroy it.* *Cæſar* and *Alexander*, have un-made and ſlain, each of them, more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behind them. Such is the errour of Mans judgement in valuing things according to the common opinion. But the true name of Tyranny, when it grows to ripeneſs, is none other than *Feritie*: the ſame that *Ariſtotle* ſaith to be worſe than any vice. It exceedeth indeed all other vices, iſſuing from the paſſions incident both to Man and Beaſt; no leſs, than Perjury, Murder, Treaſon, and the like horrible crimes, exceed in villany, the faults of Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof *Sciron*, *Procruſtes*, and *Pityocamptes*, that uſed their bodily force to the deſtruction of Mankind, are not better examples, than *Phalaris*, *Dionyſius*, and *Agathocles*, whoſe miſchievous heads were aſſiſted by the hands of deteſtable Ruffians. The ſame barbarous deſire of Lordſhip, tranſported thoſe old examples of *Feritie*, and theſe latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reaſon: neither of them knew the uſe of Rule, nor the difference between Freemen and ſlaves.

The rule of the husband over the wife, and of Parents over their children, is natural, and appointed by God himſelf; ſo that it is alwayes, and ſimply, allowable and good. The former of theſe, is as the dominion of Reaſon over Appetite; the latter is the whole authority, which one Freeman can have over another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father over his whole Country: which he that knows what the power of a Father is, or ought to be, knows to be enough. But there is a greater and more Maſterly rule, which God gave unto *Adam*, when he ſaid; *Have dominion over the fiſh of the Sea, and over the fowl of the air, and every living thing that moveth upon the earth:* which alſo he continued unto *Noah* and his children, ſaying, *The fear of you, and the dread of you, ſhall be upon every beaſt of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, upon all that moveth upon* Gen. 1. 28. Gen. 9. 2.

upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the Sea: into your hands are they delivered. He who gave this dominion unto Man, did give also an aptitude to use it. The execution of this power hath since extended it self, over a very great part of Mankind. There are indeed no small numbers of men, whose disability to govern themselves, proves them, according to *Aristotles* doctrine, to be naturally slaves. *Arist. pol. 1. c. 3.*

Yet find I not in Scripture any warrant to oppress men with bondage: unless the lawfulness thereof be sufficiently intimated, where it is said, That a man shall not be punished for the death of a servant; whom he hath slain by correction, if the servant live a day or two, because *he is his money:* or else by the captivity of the *Midianitish* girls, which were made bond-slaves, and the Sanctuary had a part of them for the *Lords tribute*. Doubtless the custom hath been very ancient: for *Noah* laid this curse upon *Canaan*, that he should be *a servant of servants*; and *Abraham* had of *Pharaoh*, among other gifts, *men-servants and maid-servants*, which were none other than slaves. Christian Religion is said to have abrogated this old kind of servility: but surely they are deceived that think so. Saint *Paul* desired the liberty of *Onesimus*, whom he had won unto Christ: yet wrote for this unto *Philemon* by way of request, craving it as a benefit, not urging it as a duty. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the same Saint *Paul* giveth unto servants: *Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called: art thou called, being a servant? care not for it, but if thou maist be made free, use it rather.* It is true, that Christan Religion hath procured liberty unto many; not only in regard of piety, but for that the Christian Masters stood in fear of being discovered by their slaves, unto the persecutors of Religion. *Mahomet* likewise, by giving liberty to his followers, drew many unto his impiety: but whether he forbade it, as unlawful, unto his sectators, to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tell; save that by the practice of the *Turks* and *Moors*, it seems he did not. In *England* we had many bond-servants, untill the time of our last civil wars; and I think that the Laws concerning Villenage are still in force, of which the latest are the sharpest. And now, since slaves were made free, which were of great use and service, there are grown up a rabble of Rogues, Cutpurses, and other the like trades; slaves in Nature, though not in Law.

Exod. 21. 21. Num. 30. 40. Gen. 9. 25. Gen. 12. 16. Epist. to Phil v. 14. 1 Cor. 7. 20, 21.

But whether this kind of dominion be lawful, or not; *Aristotle* hath well proved, that it is natural. And certainly, we find not such a latitude of difference in any creature, as in the nature of man; wherein (to omit the infinite distance in estate of the Elect and Reprobate) the wisest excel the most foolish, by far greater degree, than the most foolish of men doth surpass the wisest of beasts. Therefore when Commiseration hath given way to reason, we shall find, that nature is the ground even of Masterly power, and of servile obedience, which is thereto correspondent. But it may be truly said, that some Countries have subsisted long without the use of any servility; as also it is true, that some Countries have not the use of any tame Cattel. Indeed the affections which uphold civil rule, are (though more noble) not so simply needful, unto the sustentation either of our kind, as are Lust, and the like; or of every one, as are Hunger and thirst; which notwithstanding are the lowest in degree. But where most vile and servile dispositions have liberty to shew themselves begging in the streets, there may we more justly wonder, how the dangerous toil of Sea-faring men can find enough to undertake them, than how the swarm of idle vagabonds should increase, by access of those, that are weary of their own more painful condition. This may suffice to prove, that in Mankind there is found, ingrafted even by Nature, a desire of absolute dominion: whereunto the general custom of Nations doth subscribe; together with the pleasure which most men take in flatterers, that are the basest of slaves.

This being so, we find no cause to marvel, how Tyranny hath been so rife in all ages, and practised, not only in the single rule of some vicious Prince, but ever by consent of whole Cities and Estates: since other vices have likewise gotten head, and born a general sway, notwithstanding that the way of vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that have used well the inferiour Passions: how then can we expect, that the most noble affections should not be disordered? in the government of wife and children, some are utterly careless, and corrupt all by their dull connivency: others, by masterly rigour, hold their own blood under condition of slavery. To be a good Governour is a rare commendation: and to prefer the Weal publick above all respects whatsoever, is the Vertue justly termed *Heroical*. Of this Vertue many ages afford not many examples. *Hector* is named by *Aristotle* as one of them; and deservedly, if this praise

be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, uſed in defence of a mans own Country. But if we conſider, that a love of the general good cannot be perfect, without reference unto *the fountain of all goodneſs*: we ſhall find, that no moral vertue, how great ſoever, can by it ſelf, deſerve the commendation of *more than Vertue*, as the *Heroical* doth. Wherefore we muſt ſearch the Scriptures, for patterns hereof; ſuch as *David*, *Joſaphat*, and *Joſias* were. Of Chriſtian Kings, if there were many ſuch, the world would ſoon be happy. It is not my purpoſe to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praiſe where it is due, or by preferring a leſs excellent. But he that can find a King religious, and zealous in Gods cauſe, without enforcement, either of adverſity, or of ſome regard of State; a procurer of general peace and quiet; who not only uſeth his authority, but adds the travel of his eloquence, in admoniſhing his Judges to do juſtice; by the vigorous influence of whoſe Government, civility is infuſed, even into thoſe places, that have been the dens of ſavage Robbers and Cut-throat; one that hath quite aboliſhed a ſlaviſh *Brehon* Law, by which a whole Nation of his ſubjects were held in bondage; and one, whoſe higher vertue and wiſdom doth make the praiſe not only of Nobility and other ornaments, but of abſtinence from the blood, the wives, and the goods of thoſe that are under his power, together with a world of chief commendations belonging unto ſome good Princes, to appear leſs regardable: he, I ſay, that can find ſuch a King, findeth an example, worthy to add unto vertue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Under ſuch a King, it is likely, by Gods bleſſing, that a Land ſhall flouriſh, with increaſe of Trade, in Countries before unknown; that Civility and Religion ſhall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen Countries; and that the happineſs of his ſubjects, ſhall cauſe the Nations far off removed, to wiſh him their Soveraign. I need not add hereunto, that all the actions of ſuch a King, even his bodily exerciſes, do pertake of vertue; ſince all things tending to the perſervation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who fixing his contemplation upon God, ſeeketh how to imitate the unſpeakable goodneſs, rather than the inacceſſible majeſty, with both of which himſelf is indued, as far as humane nature is capable) do alſo belong to the furtherance of that common good, which he procureth. Leſt any man ſhould think me tranſported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bonds of reaſon; I add hereunto, that ſuch a King is nevertheleſs a man, muſt dye, and may err: yet wiſdome and fame ſhall ſet him free, from *error*, and from death, both with and without the help of time. One thing I may not omit, as a ſingular benefit (though there be many other beſides redounding unto this King, as the fruit of his goodneſs,) The people that live under a pleaſant yoke, are not only loving to their Soveraign Lord, but free of courage; and no greater in muſter of men, than of ſtout fighters, if need require: whereas on the contrary, he that ruleth as over ſlaves, ſhall be attended in time of neceſſity, by ſlaviſh minds, neither loving his perſon, nor regarding his or their own honour. Cowards may be furious, and ſlaves outragious, for a time: but among ſpirits that have once yielded unto ſlavery, univerſally it is found true, what *Homer* ſaith, *God bereaveth a man of half his vertue, that day when he caſteth him into bondage.* Hom. Odyſſ. l. 17.

Of theſe things, I might perhaps more ſeaſonably have ſpoken, in the general diſcourſe of Government: but where ſo lively an example of the calamity following a tyrannical rule, and the uſe of Mercenaries, thereupon depending, did offer it ſelf, as is this preſent buſineſs of the *Carthaginians*; I thought that the note would be more effectual, than being barely delivered, as out of a common place.

§. III.

How the war againſt the Mercenaries was diverſly managed by Hanno *and* Amilcar, *with variable ſucceſs. The bloody councels of the Mercenaries; and their final deſtruction.*

BEing now to return unto thoſe Mercenaries, from whom I have thus far digreſſed, I cannot readily find, by what name henceforth I ſhould call them. They are no longer in pay with the *Carthaginians*; neither care they to pretend, that they ſeek their wages already due; ſo that they are neither Mercenaries, nor Mutiners. Had they all been ſubjects unto *Carthage*, then might they juſtly have been termed Rebels: but *Spendius*, and others, that were the principal part of them, ought none allegiance to that State, which they endeavoured to ſubvert. Wherefore I will borrow the name of their late occupation, and ſtill call them Mercenaries, as *Polybius* alſo doth.

Theſe, uſing the advantage of their preſent ſtrength,

ſtrength, beſieged * *Utica* and *Hippagreta*, Cities of great importance, as being ſeated upon the weſtern Haven of *Carthage*, where it is divided by a neck of land; *Hippagreta* ſtanding towards upon the great Lake, *Utica* further out upon the Sea. Neither was the Camp at *Tunis* abandoned, which lay fitly to hinder the *Carthaginians* from paſſing up into the Countrey: for *Matho* and *Spendius* wanted not men to follow the war in all parts at once.

* *Utica* is ſeated in the great bay that enters towards *Carthage*, not far within the promontory of *Apollo*. At this time it is called *Porto Ferma*, or *Biſerta*, and by the *Africans* themſelves, *Geral Melba*. *Niger* ſaith, that the Town it ſelf is ruined, and the place whereon it ſtood, now called *Mazachanes*. It was very ancient, and built before *Carthage*, ſaith *Silius*. As it flouriſhed before *Carthage* was ſet up, ſo did it after *Carthage* was thrown down by the *Romans* in the third *Punick* war. Famous it was by the death of *Cato* the younger, who held it againſt *Cæſar Victor* that worthy Divine, was Biſhop thereof in the time of *Genſerick* the *Arrian*, who lived all the time of that Tyrant, and hath written the ſtory of his cruelties.

How the *Carthaginians* were amazed with this unexpected peril, any man may conceive. But the buſineſs it ſelf awakes them haſtily. They are hardly preſt on all ſides; and therefore travelled their brains the uttermoſt, how to ſhake off theſe furious dogs from their ſhoulders, who ſometimes by night, ſometimes by day, came unto the very wals of their City. In this exigent, *Hanno* was made their General: who failed not in his accuſtomed diligence of making all good preparation: but had gotten together whatſoever was needfull, as well to relieve a Town beſieged, as to batter and aſſail any place defended againſt him. With theſe proviſions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came to *Utica*, ſo ſuddenly, that the enemies as men ſurpriſed, forſook their Trenches, and retired themſelves unto a riſing piece of woody ground, where they might be ſafe againſt the violence of his beaſts. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to do with *Numidians*, whoſe cuſtome was after any loſs, to flie two or three whole daies journey off; preſently entred the Town; to ſhew himſelf after this his victory. But theſe good fellows, againſt whom he was to war, had learned of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight again, many times in one day, as need required. Therefore as ſoon as they perceived, that he knew not how to uſe a victory; they aſſailed their own Camp, and with great ſlaughter, drave the *Carthaginians* out of it, forced them to hide themſelves within *Utica*; and got poſſeſſion of all the ſtore that *Hanno* had brought for the relief of the Town. This bad beginning *Hanno* followed with ſutable indiſcretion; loſing the benefit of many fair opportunities, and ſuffering the enemies to take poſſeſſion of all the entrance from *Carthage* to the firm land.

The *Carthaginians* perceiving this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let all their three-anchor; ſending to the field their great Captain *Amilcar*, whom they furniſhed with ten thouſand foot of ſupply, and ſeventy Elephants. *Amilcar* had work enough to do, before he ſhould be able to meet with the enemy upon equal ground. For, beſides other places of advantage that the Mercenaries had occupied. *Hanno* had ſuffered them to win the only bridge, by which the River *Macra*, or *Bagradas*, was paſſable unto theſe, that were to travel into the Continent. This River had not many foords, nor thoſe eaſie for a ſingle man to get over: but upon them all was kept ſuch guard, as gave to *Amilcar* little hope of prevailing in ſeeking way by force. As for the Bridge it ſelf, *Matho* and his followers were there lodged: and had there built a Town, wherein to lye commodiouſly, intentive only to the cuſtody thereof. But *Amilcar* had obſerved, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* uſed to be ſometimes cloyed with ſand and gravel, that was driven in by certain cuſtomary winds, and could not be driven out again, by force of that ſlow River, till the wind failing, or changing ſuffered the weight of the waters, to diſburden their channel. Hereof he made uſe; and taking his opportunity paſſed the River, contrary to all expectation, either of the enemy, or of his own Citizens.

There was no need to bid *Spendius* look about him, when once it was heard, that *Amilcar* was come over *Bagradas*: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the news; knowing that they were no longer to deal with the improvident gravity of *Hanno*, but with an able ſpirit, even with their own Maſter in the Art of War, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this fear was ſoon changed into preſumption; when more than fifteen thouſand of their own ſociety, were come from *Utica*, and other ten thouſand from the guard of the Bridge. Their Army was far greater, than that of *Amilcar*; and they were in their own judgement, the better men; upon which confidence, they reſolved to charge him on all ſides, and beat him down, in deſpight of his worth and reputation. With this reſolution they attend upon him, watching for ſome advantage; and ſtill exhorting one another to play the men, and give the onſet. Eſpecially they that followed him in the Rear, had a great mind to begin the fight; whereunto their promptneſs was ſuch, as took from them their former circumſpection. *Amilcar* held his way toward the Bridge, keeping himſelf on plain grounds, that were fit-

teſt for the ſervice of his Elephants, which he placed in front of his Army. Neither made he ſhew of any deſire to fight, but ſuffered the raſhneſs of his enemies to encreaſe, till it ſhould break into ſome diſorder. At length perceiving, that with more boldneſs than good heed, they followed him ſo near, as would be little for their good, if he ſhould turn unto them, he haſted his march, even to ſuch a pace, as made a ſhew little differing from plain flight. The Mercenaries preſently fell upon his ſkirts; believing, that for fear of them he was ready to run away. But whilſt they confuſedly, as in ſudden opinion of victory, were driven at the heels of thoſe that had the Rear; *Amilcar* wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotly, but in very good order, ſo that amazed, with the apprehenſion of unexpected danger, they fled without making any reſiſtance. In this overthrow there were ſix thouſand of the Mercenaries ſlain, and about two thouſand taken, the reſt fled, ſome to the Camp at *Vtica*, others to the Town at the Bridge; whither *Amilcar* followed them ſo faſt, that he wan the place eaſily; the enemies being thence alſo fled unto *Tunis*, as not having recollected their ſpirits to make it good.

The fame of this victory, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in purſuing it, cauſed many Towns revolted, partly by fear, partly by force, to return to their former obedience. Yet was not *Matho* wanting to himſelf in this dangerous time. He ſent about *Numidia* and *Africk*, for new ſupplies; admoniſhing the people, now or never, to do their beſt, for the recovery of their freedom: he perſwaded *Spendius*, and *Autarius*, that was a Captain of the *Gaules*, to wait upon *Amilcar*, and always to keep the higher grounds, or at leaſt, the foot of ſome hill, where they might be free from the Elephants; and he himſelf continued to preſs the Town of *Hippagreta* with an hard ſiege. It was neceſſary for *Amilcar*, in paſſing from place to place, as his buſineſs required, to take ſuch wayes as there were: for all the Country lay not level. Therefore *Spendius*, who ſtill coaſted him, had once gotten a notable advantage of ground; the *Carthaginians* lying in a plain, ſurrounded with hills, that were occupied by the Mercenaries, with their *Numidian* and *African* ſuccours. In this difficulty, the fame of *Amilcar* his perſonal worth did greatly benefit his Countrey. For *Naravaſus*, a young Gentleman commanding over the *Numidians*, was glad of this occaſion, ſerving to get the acquaintance and love of ſo brave a man, which he much deſired: and therefore came unto *Amilcar* ſignifying his good affection to him, with offer to do him all ſervice. *Amilcar* joyfully entertained this friend, promiſed unto him his own daughter in marriage; and ſo wan from the enemies 2000. horſe, that following *Naravaſus* turned unto the *Carthaginians* ſide. With this help he gave battel unto *Spendius*: wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approve his own valour to his new friend. So the victory was great: for there were ſlain ten thouſand of *Spendius* his fellows, and four thouſand taken priſoners; but *Spendius* himſelf, with *Autarius* the *Gaul*, eſcaped to do more miſchief. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his priſoners: pardoning all offences paſt, and diſmiſſing as many as were unwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they ſhould never more bear arms againſt the *Carthaginians*; threatning to take ſharp revenge upon all that ſhould break this Covenant.

This humanity was vehemently ſuſpected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Autarius*, as tending to win from them the hearts of their Souldiers. Wherefore they reſolved to take ſuch order, that no man among them ſhould dare to truſt in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any ſafety whilſt *Carthage* was able to do him hurt. They counterfeited letters of advertiſment, wherein was contained, that ſome of their company, reſpective only of their private benefit, and careleſs of the general good, had a purpoſe to betray them all unto the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needfull to look well unto *Geſco*, and his companions, whom theſe traitors had a purpoſe to inlarge. Upon this Theme *Spendius* makes an Oration to the Souldiers, exhorting them to fidelity; and ſhewing with many words, that the ſeeming humanity of *Amilcar*, toward ſome, was none other than a bait, wherewith to intrap them all at once together; as alſo telling them what a dangerous enemy *Geſco* would prove, if he might eſcape their hands. Whileſt he is yet in the midſt of his tale, were letters come to the ſame purpoſe. Then ſteps forth *Autarius*, and ſpeaks his mind plainly: ſaying, that it were the beſt, yea, the only way, for the common ſafety, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if ſome were deviſing to make their own peace, it would go hard with thoſe that had a care of the war; that it were better to make an end of *Geſco* his life, than to trouble themſelves with looking to his cuſtody; that by ſuch a courſe every one ſhould be ingaged in the preſent Action, as having none other hope left, than

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in victory alone; finally, that ſuch as would ſpeak here-againſt, were worthy to be reputed Traitors. This *Autarius* was in great credit with the Souldiers, and could ſpeak ſundry languages, in ſuch ſort, that he was underſtood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Geſco*, and all the other priſoners, ſhould forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Nevertheleſs there were ſome, that for love of *Geſco* ſought to alter his intended cruelty; but they were forthwith ſtoned to death, as a Document unto others; and ſo the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they therewithall contented, but further ordained, that all *Carthaginian* priſoners which they took, ſhould be ſerved in like ſort: and that the ſubjects or friends of *Carthage*, ſhould loſe their hands, and ſo be ſent home, which rule they obſerved ever afterwards.

Of this cruelty I need ſay no more, than that it was moſt execrable ferity. As for the councel of uſing it, it was like unto the councel of *Achitophel*; *All* Iſrael *ſhall hear, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then ſhall the hands of all that are with thee be ſtrong.* Such are the fruits of deſperation. He that is paſt all hope of pardon, is afraid of his own fellows, if they be more innocent; and to avoid the puniſhment of leſs offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the revengeful ſpirits of thoſe that have been wronged, are breeders of this deſperation: to which may be added ſome deficiency of Laws, in diſtinguiſhing the puniſhments of malefactors, according to the degree of their ſeveral crimes. A coward thinks all proviſion too little for his own ſecurity. *If* Phocas *be a coward* (ſaid the Emperour *Mauritius*) *then is he murderous.* To be ſteadfaſt and ſure, in taking revenge, is thought a point of honour, and a defenſative againſt new injuries. But wrongfully: for it is oppoſite to the rule of Chriſtianity; and ſuch a quality diſcovered, makes them deadly enemies, who otherwiſe would have repented, and ſought to make amends, for the wrong done in paſſion. This was it which wrought ſo much woe to the *Carthaginians*; teaching *Matho*, and his *Africans*, to ſuſpect even their gentleneſs, as the introduction to extream rigour. Like unto the errours of Princes and Governours, are the errours of Laws. Where one and the ſame puniſhment is awarded unto the leſs offence, and unto the greater, he that hath adventured to rob a man, is eaſily tempted to kill him, for his own ſecurity.

Againſt theſe inconveniences, Mercy and Severity, uſed with due reſpect are the beſt remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as theſe his old Souldiers were any way likely to be reclaimed by gentle courſes, his humanity was ready to invite them. But when they were tranſported with beaſtly outrage, beyond all regard of honeſty and ſhame, he rewarded their villany with anſwerable vengeance, caſting them unto wild beaſts to be devoured.

Untill this time *Hanno*, with the Army under his command, had kept himſelf apart from *Amilcar*, and done little as may ſeem, for that nothing is remembered of him ſince his late loſſes. Neither was *Amilcar* ſorry to want his help; as being able to do better without him. But when the war grew to ſuch extremity, as threatened utter ruine to the one or the other ſide: then was *Hanno* ſent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom he joyned his forces. By this acceſs of ſtrength *Amilcar* was not enabled to do more than in former times; rather he could now perform nothing: ſuch was the hatred between him and his unworthy Colleague. The Towns of *Utica* and *Hippagreta*, that had ſtood alwayes firm to the *Carthaginian* party, did now revolt unto the enemy, murdering all the Souldiers that they had in Garriſon, and caſting their bodies forth, without ſuffering them to be buried. The proviſions brought by ſea, for maintenance of the Army, were loſt in foul weather; and *Carthage* it ſelf ſtood in danger of being beſieged, about which *Matho* and *Spendius* conſulted, whileſt one of the *Carthaginian* Generals did (as it were) bind the others hands.

It hath in all Ages been uſed as the ſafeſt courſe, to ſend forth, in great Expeditions, two generals of one Army. This was the common practice of thoſe two mighty Cities *Athens* and *Rome*, which other States and Princes have often imitated; perſwading themſelves, that great Armies are not ſo well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excell each other, will uſe the greater diligence. They have alſo joyned two chief Commanders in equal commiſſion, upon this further conſideration; the better to reſtrain the ambition of any one, that ſhould be truſted with ſo great a ſtrength. For hereof all Common-weals have been jealous, having been taught by their examples that have made themſelves Tyrants over thoſe Cities and States that have imployed them. In this point the *Venetians* having been ſo circumſpect, as they have, for the moſt part, truſted ſtrangers, and not their own in all the wars which they have made. It is true;

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that the equal authority of two commanding in chief, ſerveth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning upon the Prince or State that hath given them truſt: but in managing the war it ſelf, it is commonly the cauſe of ill ſucceſs. In wars made near unto *Rome* it ſelf, when two good friends were Conſuls, or ſuch two at leaſt, as concurred in one deſire of *Triumph*, which honour (the greateſt of any that *Rome* could give) was to be obtained by that one years ſervice; it is no marvel, though each of the Conſuls did his beſt, and inferred all his thoughts unto none other end than victory. Yet in all dangerous caſes, when the Conſuls proceeded otherwiſe than was deſired, one Dictator was appointed, whoſe power was neither hindred by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the manner, to ſend forth both the Conſuls to one war; but each went whither his lot called him, to his own Province; unleſs one buſineſs ſeemed to require them both, and they alſo ſeemed fit to be joyned in the adminiſtration. Now although it was ſo, That the *Romans* did many times prevail with their joynt-Generals: yet was this never ſo ſeldom, without as much concord, as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modeſty hath often been ſuch, that the leſs able Captain, though of equal authority, hath willingly ſubmitted himſelf to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithſtanding, they have many times by ordaining two Commanders of one Army, received great and moſt dangerous overthrows; wherefore in the ſecond *Punick* War we ſhall find examples. On the contrary ſide, in their wars moſt remote, that were alwayes managed by one, they ſeldom failed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter ſhall appear. Now of thoſe ten Generals, which ſerved the *Athenians* at the battel of *Marathon*, it may be truly ſaid, that had not their temper been better than the judgment of the people that ſent them forth, and had not they ſubmitted themſelves to the conduction of *Miltiades*; their affairs had found the ſame ſucceſs which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in *Sicil*: the one being ſo over-wary, and the other ſo haſty, as all came to nought that they undertook: whereas *Cimon* alone, as alſo *Ariſtides*, and others, having ſole charge of all, did their Country and Common-weal moſt remarkable ſervice. For it is hard to find two great Captains of equal diſcretion and valour; but that the one hath more of fury than of judgment, and ſo the contrary, by which the beſt occaſions are as often overſlipt, as at other times many actions are unſeaſonably undertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of *Conde* was ſlain after the Battle of *Jarnac*, (which Prince, together with the admiral *Chaſtillan*, had the conduct of the *Proteſtant* Army) the *Proteſtants* did greatly bewail the loſs of the ſaid Prince, in reſpect of his Religion, perſon, and birth; yet comforting themſelves, they thought it rather an advancement, than an hinderance to their affairs. For ſo much did the Valour of the one out-reach the adviſedneſs of the other, as whatſoever the Admiral intended to win by attending the advantage, the Prince adventured to loſe, by being over-confident in his own courage.

But we need no better example, than of the *Carthaginians* in this preſent buſineſs: who, though they were ſtill ſick of their ill-grounded love to *Hanno*, and were unwilling to diſgrace him; yet ſeeing that all ran towards ruine, through the diſcord of the Generals, committed the deciſion of their Controverſies, unto the Army that ſerved under them. The judgment of the Army was, that *Hanno* ſhould depart the Camp: which he did, and *Hannibal* was ſent in his ſtead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*, and that was enough.

After this, the affairs of *Carthage* began to proſper ſomewhat better. *Matho* and *Spendius* had brought their Army near unto the City; and lay before it, as in a ſiege. They might well be bold to hope and adventure much, having in their Camp above fifty thouſand, beſides thoſe that lay abroad in Garriſons. Nevertheleſs, the City was too ſtrong for them to win by aſſault: and the entrance of victuals they could not hinder, if any ſhould be ſent in by friends from abroad.

Hieron King of *Syracuſe*, though during the wars in *Sicil* he aſſiſted the *Romans*, and ſtill continued in their alliance, yet now ſent ſuccours to the *Carthaginians*: fearing their fall, and conſequently his own; becauſe if no other State gave the *Romans* ſomewhat to trouble their digeſtion, the Principality of *Syracuſe* would ſoon be devoured by them. The *Romans* alſo gave them ſome ſlender aſſiſtance, and, for the preſent, refuſed good offers made unto them by the Mercenaries, This they did to ſhew a noble kind of diſpoſition; which was indeed but counterfeit, as the ſequel manifeſtly proved.

Whilſt *Matho* and his followers were buſily preſſing the City, *Amilcar* was as diligent in waiting at their backs, and cutting off

off all that come to their supply: so that finding themselves more straightly besieged by him, than *Carthage* was by them, they purposed to desist from their vain attempt, and try some other course. Hereupon they issued into the field: when *Spendius* and one *Zarcas* an *African* Captain assisting the rebellion, take upon them to find *Amilcar* work; leaving *Matho* in *Tunis*, to negotiate with their friends, and take a general care of the business. The Elephants of *Carthage*, and horse of *Naravasus*, made *Spendius* fearful to descend into the Plains. Wherefore he betook himself to his former method of war, keeping the mountains, and rough grounds, or occupying the straightest passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might shew it self, with little disadvantage. But *Amilcar* had more skill in this Art, than could be matched by the labour of *Spendius*. He drew the enemy to many skirmishes; in all which the success was such, as added courage to his own men, and abated the strength and spirit of the Rebells. Thus he continued, provoking them night and day: still intrapping some of them, and sometimes giving them the overthrow in plain battel: untill at length he got them into a straight, whence ere they should get out, he ment to take of them a good account. Their judgment was enough to perceive their own disadvantage; and therefore they had the less stomach to fight; but awaiting for help from *Tunis*. *Amilcar* prudently foreseeing, that necessity might teach them to dare impossibilities, useth the benefit of their present fear, and shut them close up with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miserably, for succour thrt came not: and having spent all their victuals, were so pinched with hunger, that they fed upon the bodies of their prisoners. This they suffered patiently, as knowing that they had not deserved any favour from *Carthage*: and hoping that their friends at *Tunis* would not be unmindful of them. But when they were driven to such extremity, that they were fain to devour their own companions, and yet saw none appearance or likelihood of relief: their obstinacy was broken, and they threatned their Captains with what they deserved, unless they would go forth to *Amilcar*, and seek such peace as might be gotten. So *Spendius*, *Zarxas*, and *Autarius*, fell to consultation, wherein it was resolved to obey the multitude, and yield themselves, if it were so required, unto the death, rather than perish by the hands of their own companions. Hereupon they send to crave parlie, which is granted; and these three come forth to talk with *Amilcar* in person. What they could say unto him it is hard to conjecture: yet by the conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it seems that they took the blame upon themselves, and craved pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* should chuse, out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remain at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in his shirt, or in one single coat. When the peace was thus concluded, *Amilcar* told these Ring-leaders, that he chose them presently, as part of the ten, and so commanded to lay hands on them: the rest he forthwith went to fetch with his whole Army in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded upon so gentle Articles, thought themselves betrayed: and therefore amazedly ran to Arms. But they wanted Captains to order them; and the same astonishment that made them break the Covenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gave unto *Amilcar* both colour of Justice, in accomplishing revenge and ease in doing the execution. They were all slain: being forty thousand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: and the news thereof exceeding welcome to *Carthage*; and terrible to the revolted Cities of *Africk*. Henceforward *Amilcar*, with his *Naravasus*, and *Hannibal*, carried the war from Town to Town, and found all places ready to yield: *Utica* & *Hippagreta* only standing out, upon fear of deserved vengeance; and *Tunis*, being held by *Matho*, with the remainder of his Army. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chief strength of the enemy. Coming before this Town, they brought forth *Spendius*, with his fellows, in view of the defendants, and crucified them under the walls; to terrifie those of his old companions, that were still in Arms. With this rigour the siege began; as if speedy victory had been assured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of *Tunis*, which lay toward *Carthage*. *Amilcar* on the opposite side: too far asunder to help one another in sudden accidents: and therefore it behoved each to be the more circumspect.

Matho from the walls beheld his own destiny, in the misery of his companion, and knew not how to avoid it otherwise than by a cast at dice with fortune. So he brake out upon that part of the *Carthaginian* Army, that lay secure, as if all danger were past, under the command of *Hannibal*; and with so great and unexpected fury he sallied, that after an exceeding slaughter, he took *Hannibal* prisoner:

priſoner; on whom, and thirty the moſt noble of the *Carthaginian* priſoners, he preſently revenged the death of *Spendius*, by the ſame torture. Of this, *Amilcar* knew nothing, till it was too late; neither had he ſtrength enough remaining, after this great loſs, to continue the ſiege; but was fain to break it up, and remove unto the mouth of the River *Bagradis*, where he incamped.

The terrour was no leſs within *Carthage*, upon the ſame of this loſs, than had been the joy of the late great victory. All that could bear arms, were ſent into the field, under *Hanno*; whom, it ſeems, they thought the moſt able of their Captains ſurviving the late accidents of War. If there were any Law among them forbidding the imployment of one ſole General near unto their City (for they are known to have truſted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this haſty exigent, to deviſe about repealing it. But thirty principal men are choſen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcars* Camp, and by all good perſwaſions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It nearly touched *Amilcar* in his honour, that the careleſneſs of *Hannibal* ſeemed to be imputed unto him, by ſending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Nevertheleſs after many conferences, the authority of the Senators prevailed; *Amilcar* and *Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whilſt this war laſted, *Hanno* took warning by *Hannibals* calamities, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the mean ſeaſon *Matho* was come abroad, as meaning to uſe the reputation of his late ſucceſs, whilſt it gave ſome life unto his buſineſs. He had reaſon to do as he did: but he wanted ſkill to deal with *Amilcar*. The ſkirmiſhes, and light exerciſes of war, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did ſo far abate the ſtrength, and withall diminiſh the credit of *Matho*; that he reſolved to try the fortune of one battel: wherein either his own deſire ſhould be accompliſhed, or his cares ended. To this concluſion the *Carthaginians* were no leſs prone, than *Matho*: as being weary of theſe long troubles, and inſupportable expences; confident in the valour of their own men, which had approved it ſelf in many tryals; and well aſſured of *Amilcar* his great worth, whereunto the enemy hath not what to oppoſe. According to his determination, each part was diligent in making proviſion: inviting their friends to help; and drawing forth into the field, all that lay in Garriſon.

The iſſue of this battel might have been foretold, without help of witchcraft, *Matho*, and his followers, had nothing whereon to preſume, ſave their daring ſpirits, which had been well cooled by the many late ſkirmiſhes, wherein they had learned how to run away. The *Carthaginians* had reaſon to dare, as having been often victorious; and in all points elſe they had the better of their enemies; eſpecially (which is worth all the reſt) they had ſuch a Commander, as was not eaſily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely that the deſire of liberty ſhould work ſo much, in men accuſtomed to ſervitude; as the honour of their State would, in Citizens, whoſe future and preſent good lay all at once ingaged in that adventure. So the *Carthaginians* wan a great victory, wherein moſt of the *Africans* their enemies were ſlain; the reſt fled into a Town, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yielded; and *Matho* himſelf was taken alive. Immediately upon this victory, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made ſubmiſſion to their old Maſters: *Utica* only, and *Hippagreta* ſtood out, as knowing how little they deſerved of favour. But they were ſoon forced to take what conditions beſt pleaſed the victours. *Matho* and his fellows were led to *Carthage* in triumph; where they ſuffered all torments that could be deviſed, in recompence of the miſchiefs which they had wrought in this war. The war had laſted three years, and about four months, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians*, whoſe ſubjects did not love them, ſhould with leſs expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, have prevented in the beginning.

§. IV.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, *that were in* Sardinia, *rebelled: and were afterwards driven out by the Ilanders. The faithleſs dealing of the* Romans *with the* Carthaginians, *in taking from them* Sardinia, *contrary to the peace.*

WHilſt *Matho* and *Spendius* were making terrible combuſtion in *Africk*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: where murdering *Boſtar* the Governour, and other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Iſland to their own uſe. Againſt theſe, one *Hanno* was ſent with a ſmall Army (ſuch as could be ſpared in that buſie time) conſiſting likewiſe of Mercenaries, levied on the ſudden. But theſe companies that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their ſafety,

ſafety, and preſent profit, to joyn themſelves with thoſe that were already revolted, than to endanger themſelves by battel, for the good of that Common-weal, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebels, offering to run one courſe of fortune with them in their enterpriſe. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was ſuſpected. Wherefore to take away all jealouſie and diſtruſt, they reſolved to hang up their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath been in all Ages, with thoſe that have undertaken the quarrel of an unjuſt war, to enjoyn the performance of ſome notorious and villainous act, to thoſe that come in to them as ſeconds, with offer to partake, and to aſſiſt the impious purpoſes which they have in hand. It is indeed the beſt pawn, that deſperate men can deliver to each other, to perform ſome ſuch actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.

By ſuch a kind of cruelty did the ungrateſull *Mantinæans* murder a Garriſon of *Achaians*, ſent unto them for their defence againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, by *Aratus*; who, when he had formerly poſſeſt himſelf of their City, by right of war, did not only ſpare the ſack and ſpoil thereof, but gave them equal freedom, with the reſt of the Cities united. Theſe revolts are alſo common in our Court-wars; where, in the Conqueſts of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the depreſſion or deſtruction of old friends, we cannot be received and truſted by old enemies. *Ceſont les coups de vieille eſcrime. Theſe* (ſay the *French*) *be the blows of the old Art of fencing.*

Theſe Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit leſs violent in their purpoſe, than were *Spendius*, and his aſſociates: only they wanted a *Matho* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Province. The Illanders were no leſs glad, than the Souldiers, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Country: but they could not agree about the profit of the victory. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the ſouldiers for their pains taken. Contrariwiſe, the ſouldiers were of opinion, that the title of the *Carthaginians* to that Iſle, was devolved unto themſelves, by right of Conqueſt. The ſame quarrel would (in likelihood) have riſen between *Spendius* with his Mercenaries, and their *African* friends; if the common deſire of both had once taken effect: unleſs the riches of *Carthage* had ſerved to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than poſſeſſion and rule of the Country; the matter was not eaſily taken up. So they fell to blows; which how they were dealt, I know not; but finally the Mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to ſave themſelves in *Italy*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had invited the *Romans* into it; with as good right, as the *Mamertines* had called them into *Sicil.* Yet this offer was refuſed, upon reaſons that follow.

Some *Italian* Merchants had relieved *Matho* and *Spendius* with Corn: of whom the *Carthaginians* took almoſt five hundred, and held them in priſon. Hereof was made a great complaint: ſo that the *Romans* ſent Embaſſadours to *Carthage*, requiring ſatiſfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to diſpute: they quietly yielded to releaſe them all. This was ſo kindly taken, that they forbade all their Merchants to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admoniſhing them to carry all proviſions to *Carthage*. And upon the ſame reaſon did they forbear to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the City of *Utica*, offering it ſelf unto their ſubjection. This might have ſerved as a notable example of the *Roman* Faith, to all poſterity: had not the iſſue proved, that it was meer regard of greater profit, which kept them ſo temperate, no longer than the hope laſted of thriving better thereby, than they ſhould have done by open breach of Faith. The whole eſtate of *Carthage* depended at that time, upon the vertue of *Amilcar:* who, had he been overthrown by *Spendius* or *Matho*, in one main battel, that mighty City muſt either have fallen into the barbarous hands of mercileſs villains, or have humbled her ſelf under protection of the *Romans*, with whom ſhe had lately ſtriven for ſuperiority. That extreme neceſſity, whereinto *Matho* reduced the City, by the fortune of one ſally made out of *Tunis*, is enough to prove, that *Carthage* was not far from ſuch a miſerable choice. Wherefore it was not unwiſely done of the *Romans*, to make ſuch demonſtration of kindneſs, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich, but ſinking ſhip, to run her ſelf aground upon their ſhore. But when all was well ended in *Africk*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recovery of *Sardinia*; then did Ambition put off her goodly vizor. The *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recovered her feet again; began to ſtrike at her head. They entertained the proffer of thoſe Mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denounced war againſt this enfeebled and

impoveriſhed City, under a ſhameleſs pretence, *that the preparations made for* Sardinia, *were made indeed againſt* Rome *it ſelf.* The *Carthaginians* knew themſelves unable to reſiſt, and therefore yielded to the *Romans* demand; renouncing unto them all their right in *Sardinia.* But this was not enough. They would have twelve hundred talents, in recompence belike (for I ſee not what reaſon they could alledge) of the great fear which they had endured, of an invaſion from *Carthage.* It is indeed plain, that they impudently ſought occaſion of war. But neceſſity taught the *Carthaginians* patience; and the mony was payed, how hardly ſoever it was raiſed. From this time forward, let not *Rome* complain of the *Punick* faith, in breach of Covenants: ſhe her ſelf hath broken the peace already, which *Amilcar* purpoſeth to make her dearly repent; but what *Amilcar* lives not to perform, ſhall be accompliſhed by *Hannibal* his renowned Son.

§. V.

How the Affairs of Carthage *went, between the* African *Rebellion, and the ſecond* Punick *War.*

THE injurious dealings of the *Romans*, expreſſing their deſire to pick a quarrel; ſerved to inſtruct the *Carthaginians* in a neceſſary leſſon; That either they muſt make themſelves the ſtronger, or elſe reſolve to be obedient unto thoſe that were more mighty. In a City long accuſtomed to rule, the braver determination eaſily took place: and the beſt means were thought upon, for the increaſe of Puiſſiance and Empire. The ſtrength, and the jealouſie of the *Romans*, forbade all attempts upon the Mediterranean Sea; but the riches of *Spain*, that lay upon the *Ocean*, were unknown to *Rome:* wherefore that Province might ſerve both to exerciſe the *Carthaginians* in war, and to repair their decayed forces, with all needful ſupplies. Of the *Spaniſh* Expedition, the charge and ſoveraign truſt was committed unto *Amilcar*: upon whom his Country did wholly repoſe it ſelf; in hope to recover ſtrength by his means, that had ſaved it from ruine.

Hanno, with ſome other envious men that were of his faction, took little pleaſure in the general love and honour, which daily increaſed towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not deny him to be the moſt worthy of command in all the City: only they commended peace and quietneſs; adviſing men to beware of provoking the *Romans*, in whoſe amity they ſaid, that the felicity of *Carthage* did conſiſt. By ſuch diſcourſes, harſh to the ears of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common-weal, they got none other reputation, than of ſingularity: which the ignorant ſort ſuſpected to be wiſdom.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually upheld and enlarged, by many notable ſervices that he did, to the ſingular benefit of his Country. He paſſed the ſtraights of *Hercules*, (now called the ſtraights of *Gibralter*) and landed on the Weſtern coaſts of *Spain*; in which Country, during nine years that he lived there, he ſubjected unto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all thoſe Provinces. But finally in a battel that he fought with a Nation in *Portugal*, called the *Vettones*, (defending himſelf a long time with an admirable reſolution) he was invironed and ſlain: carrying with him to the grave the ſame great honour and fame, by which in many ſignal victories, he had acquired the name of a ſecond *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*, *Aſdrubal* his Son-in-law was made General of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain.* This was a good man of war; but far better in practice and cunning than in deeds of arms. By his notable dexterity in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: adding ſo many ſubjects and confederates thereunto, that the *Romans* began to grow jealous again of this haſty increaſe. He built a goodly City upon a commodious Haven, in the Kingdom of *Granado*, oppoſite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gave it the name of *New Carthage*, which to this day it nearly retaineth, being called now * *Carthagena.* With this ſucceſs of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled; but began to accuſe their own negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken ſo much pains to beat them out of the Iſle of *Sicil*, as ſuſpecting their neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbring themſelves in a war of far leſs importance, (whereof I ſhall ſpeak anon) given them leiſure without interruption, to recover upon their own Continent, a Dominion by far exceeding both in the bodies of men, and in revenue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But how to help this, at the preſent they know not; for they daily expected to be invaded by the *Gaules*, their ancient enemies, and neareſt neighbours to the Weſt. But he needeth little help of force, that knoweth himſelf to be feared: it is enough if he requeſt, ſince his requeſt,

* The *Spaniards* have ſince built a City of the ſame name in the Weſt-Indies: which being peopled by them in the year 1532. was ſackt by the *Engliſh* in the year 1586.

requeſt ſhall have the vertue of a command.

Yet were the *Romans* utterly deſtitute of all good colour, that might help them to intermeddle in *Spain*. The *Spaniards* were then unacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they ſcarce had heard the name: ſo that there were no *Mamertines*, nor other ſuch Rebels, to call in *Roman* ſuccours; but in the enterpriſe of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might alſo ſerve their turn in *Spain*. For though it were apparent, that the *Spaniſh* affairs had no relation to the peace between theſe two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Aſdrubal* had any purpoſe to extend his victories unto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* frontiers: yet (as if ſome ſuch matter had been ſuſpected) they ſent unto him, requiring that he ſhould forbear to proceed any further, than to the River of *Iberus*. In addreſſing their meſſengers, rather to *Aſdrubal*, than to the City of *Carthage*; they ſeem to have hoped, that howſoever the generality of the *Carthaginians* had ſweetly ſwallowed many bitter pills, to avoid all occaſion of war with *Rome*, yet the bravery of one man might prove more faſtidious, and reſenting the injury, return ſuch anſwer, as would intangle his whole Country in the quarrel, that they ſo much deſired; and might embrace at leiſure, when once they had found apparent cauſe. But *Aſdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of diſlike at all: and whereas they would have this inſolent covenant inſerted into the Articles of peace; he took upon him to do it of his own power, with ſuch appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and ſought no further.

If it had been ſo, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto preſſed by the *Romans*, for fear of preſent war, had ratified this new compoſition made by *Aſdrubal*; yet ſhould it not have ſtood bound in honour, to obſerve the ſame carefully, unleſs an oath had alſo been extorted, to make all ſure. But ſince all paſſed quietly, under the bare authority of *Aſdrubal*, this Capitulation was none other in effect than a ſecond breach of peace; whereof the *Romans* might be accuſed more juſtly, than they could accuſe the *Carthaginians* of perjury, (as they after did) for refuſing to ſtand to it.

By this Treaty with *Aſdrubal*, the *Romans* wan ſome reputation in *Spain*. For when it was once conceived by the *Spaniards*, that the City which would needs be Miſtreſs over them, ſtood in fear her ſelf of receiving blows from a ſtouter Dame; there were ſoon found ſome, that by offering themſelves to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-ſervants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will ſhortly teach them another leſſon. The *Saguntines*, a people on the South-ſide of *Iberus*, entred into confederacy with the *Romans*, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawful unto the *Romans* to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other people (neither ſubject, nor open enemy in war to the *Carthaginians*) into their ſociety: and unlawful it was unto the *Carthaginians*, to uſe violence towards any that ſhould thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Nevertheleſs, if we conſider the late agreement made with *Aſdrubal*, we ſhall find that the *Romans* could have none other honeſt colour of requiring it, than an implicit covenant of making the River *Iberus* a bound, over which they themſelves would not paſs, in any Diſcovery or Conqueſt by them intended to be made upon *Spain*: in which regard, they might have ſome honeſt pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome*, as yet, had no foot on the one ſide of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage* on the other ſide of that River, held almoſt all the Country. Howſoever it were, this indignity was not ſo eaſily digeſted, as former injuries had been. For it was a matter of ill conſequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the *Carthaginian*, ſhould behold *Saguntum* reſting ſecurely among them, upon confidence of help from a more mighty City. Wherefore either in this reſpect, or for that the ſenſe is moſt feeling of the lateſt injuries; or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to do themſelves right: war againſt *Saguntum* was generally thought upon, let the *Romans* take it how they liſt. In ſuch terms were the *Carthaginians*, when *Aſdrubal* dyed, after he had commanded in *Spain* eight years (being ſlain by a ſlave, whoſe Maſter he had put to death) and the Great *Hannibal*, Son of the Great *Amilcar*, was choſen General in his ſtead.

§. VI.

The eſtate of Greece *from the death of* Pyrrhus, *to the reign of* Philip *the Son of* Demetrius *in* Macedon.

IN the long term of the firſt *Punick* war, and the vacation following, between it and the ſecond; the eſtate of *Greece*, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was grown ſomewhat like unto that, wherein *Philip* of *Macedon* had found it; though far weaker, as the

after-spring. The whole Country had recovered by degrees, a form of liberty: in petty tyrannies (bred of those inferiour Captains, which in the times of general combustion, had seised each upon such towns as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated, and reformed; and some States were risen to such greatness, as not only served to defend themselves, but to give protection to others. This conversion to the better, proceeded from the like dissensions and tumults in *Macedon*, as had been in *Greece*, when *Philip* first began to encroach upon it. For after many quarrels and great wars, about the Kingdom of *Macedon*, between *Antigonus* the elder, *Cassander*, *Demetrius*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus*, and the *Gaules*: *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning six and thirty years; yet so, that he was divers times thence expelled, not only by the *Gaules*, and by *Pyrrhus*, as hath been already shewed, but by *Alexander* the Son of *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* from whose father he had hardly won it. This happened unto him, by the revolt of his Souldiers, even at such time, as having overthrown with great slaughter an Army of the *Gaules*, he was converting his forces against the *Athenians*, whom he compelled to receive his Garrisons. But his young son *Demetrius* raised an Army, wherewith he chased *Alexander*, not only out of *Macedon*, but out of his own *Epirus*, and restored his Father to the Kingdom.

By the help of this young Prince *Demetrius* (though in another kind) *Antigonus* got into his possession the Citadel of *Corinth*; which was justly termed *the fetter of Greece*. This Citadel called *Acrocorinthus*, stood upon a steep rocky hill on the North side of the Town, and was by nature and art so strong, that it seemed impregnable. It commanded the Town; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Isthmus*, that running between the *Ægean* and *Ionique* Seas, joyneth *Peloponnesus* to the Main of *Greece*. Wherefore he that held possession of this Castle was able to cut off all passage by land, from one half of *Greece* unto the other; besides the commodity of the two Seas, upon both of which, this rich and goodly City had commodious havens. *Alexander*, the son of *Polysperchon*; and after his death, *Cratesipolis* his wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great shuffling of Provinces and Towns, that was made between *Alexanders* Princes. Afterwards it passed from hand to hand, untill it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*; of whom I find nothing else, than that he was thought to be poisoned by this *Antigonus*, who deceived his wife *Nicæa* thereof, and got it from her by a trick. The device was this: *Antigonus* sent his young son *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, willing him to court *Nicæa*, and seek her marriage. The foolish old widow perceived not how unfit a match she was for the young Prince, but entertained the fancy of marriage; whereto the old King was even as ready to consent, as was his son to desire, and came thither in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all *Corinth* was filled with sacrifices, feasts, plaies, and all sorts of games: in the midst of which, *Antigonus* watched his time, and got into the Castle, beguiling the poor Lady, whose jealousie had been exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not contain himself within the gravity beseeming his old age. But as he had stollen it; so was it again stollen from him: neither lived he to revenge the loss of it, being already spent with age.

Demetrius, the son of this *Antigonus*, succeeding unto his Father, reigned ten years. He made greater proof of his vertue before he was King, than after. The *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and *Achæans*, held him continually busied in war; wherein his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About these times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: and the *Gracians* to cast off their yoke.

Philip, the only son of *Demetrius*, was a young child when his Father dyed; and therefore *Antigonus*, his Uncle, had the charge of the Kingdom, during the minority of the Prince; but he assumed the name and power of a King, though he respected *Philip* as his own son, to whom he left the Crown at his death; This *Antigonus*, was called the *Tutor*, in regard of his Protectorship; and was also called *Doson*, that is as much as, *Will-give*, because he was slow in his liberality. He repressed the *Dardanians* and *Thessalians*, which molested his Kingdom, in the beginning of his reign. Upon confidence of this good service, he took state upon him, as one that rather were King in his own right, than only a Protector. Hereupon the people fell to mutiny; but were soon appeased by fair words, and a seeming unwillingness of his to meddle any more with the Government. The *Achaians* took from him the City of *Athens*, soon after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to have wrought him out of all, or most that he held in *Greece*, if their own estate had not been endangered by a nearer enemy. But civil dissension, which had

had overthrown the power of *Greece*, when it flouriſhed moſt, overthrew it eaſily now again, when it had ſcarcely recovered ſtrength after a long ſickneſs; and gave to this *Antigonus* no leſs authority therein, than *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, got by the like advantage.

Theſe *Achaians* from ſmall beginnings, had increaſed in ſhort time to great ſtrength and fame: ſo that they grew the moſt redoubted Nation of all the *Greeks*. By the equality of their Laws, and by their clemency (notwithſtanding that they were a long time held under by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not only draw all others by their love and alliance, but induced, through their example, the reſt of the Cities of *Peloponneſus*, to be governed by one Law, and to uſe one and the ſame ſort of weights, meaſure, and money.

Aratus, the *Sicyonian*, was the firſt that united them again; and gave them courage, after that they had been by the *Macedonian* Captains divided into many Principalities. In elder times they were governed by Kings, as moſt of the great Cities of *Greece* were; to which kind of rule they firſt ſubjected themſelves, after the deſcent of the *Heraclidæ*, when *Tiſamenus* the ſon of *Oreſtes* poſſeſt the Territory of *Achaia*. In this eſtate they continued to the time of *Gyges*, after whom, when his ſons ſought to change the Legal Government of their Predeceſſors unto Tyranny, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as ſeeming moſt equal. This form of Common-weal had continuance, with ſome ſmall changes according to the diverſity of times, till the reign of *Philip* and *Alexander* Kings of *Macedon*: who tempeſt-like overturned all things in that part of the world. For thoſe twelve Cities, called *the Cities of Alliance* (whereof, *Helice*, and *Bura* or *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten up a little before the Battel of *Leuctres*) were, by diſturbance of the *Macedonians*, divided from each other, and trained into a war, no leſs fooliſh than cruel, among themſelves. But in the one hundred and four and twentieth *Olympiad* (in which, or near it, *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus*, *Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, left the world) two of ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the *Patrenſes* and the *Dimæi*, united themſelves, and laid the foundation of the general accord, and re-union, which after followed. For having been, ſome of them *Partiſans* with ſundry *Macedonian* Captains, and others having been governed by petty Kings; they began to faſten themſelves in a ſtrong league of amity, partly, in the *Olympiad* before ſpoken of, and partly, at ſuch time as *Pyrrhus* made his firſt voyage into *Italy*. Now after the uniting of the *Patrenſes* and *Dimæi*, to whom alſo the Cities of *Titræa*, and *Phara*, joyned themſelves; *Ægira* chaſed out her Garriſons: and the *Burians*, killing their Kings, entred with the *Ceraunians* into the ſame Confederacy. Theſe Cities, for twenty and five years, uſed the ſame form of Government with the *Achaians*; who by a Senatory and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Common-weal; and ſoon after by one Prætor, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Carynenſis* was the firſt, and *Aratus* the ſecond.

This *Aratus* was a noble young Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who, living at *Argos* in exile, whileſt his Country was oppreſſed by Tyrants, found means, through the help of other baniſhed men, to enter their own City by night, with ladders; whence they chaſed the Tyrant, and reſtored the people to liberty. This was in the time of *Antigonus Gonatas* King of *Macedon*, a Prince more buſie in watching what to get among the *Greeks*, than wiſe in looking to his own. For fear of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* enter into the *Achaian* league: which though at that time it received more increaſe by their acceſſion than it added ſtrength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction ſerved well enough againſt *Antigonus*, whoſe ſubtlety was ſomewhat greater than his valour. As the induſtry and counſel of *Aratus* delivered his County from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaian* league; ſo further, by his great liberality, with the exceeding great coſt of 150. talents, he pacified the inexplicable controverſies, between the baniſhed *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, and the other Citizens that had poſſeſſion of theſe mens Lands; as alſo with the ſame money he drew many others to aſſiſt him in thoſe enterpriſes following, that redounded to the ſingular good of all *Achaia*. The money he obtained of *Ptolemy Euergetes* King of *Ægypt*; who partly had a deſire to hold ſome ſtrong and ſure friendſhip in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the converſation of *Aratus* himſelf, that made a dangerous voyage to him into *Ægypt*, and fed his pleaſure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious pieces, wherein the workmen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The firſt of *Aratus* his great attempts, was the ſurprize of the *Acrocorinthus* or Citadel of *Corinth*; which he wan by night, being thereinto guided by ſome theeves that he had hired for the purpoſe, who living in the place, had practiſed to rob *Antigonus* his

his treasury, passing in and out by a secret path among the rocks. Yet was he fain to fight for it, ere he could get it: though indeed *Antigonus* his Souldiers were rather overcome by their own fear, than by any force of the assailants; as mistrusting lest the *Achaians* were more in number, than in truth they were, and having lost the advantages of the place already, upon which they had presumed, before they were aware of any enemy.

In these kinds of night-services, ambushments, surprises, and practices, *Aratus* was very cunning, adventurous, and valiant: in open field, and plain battail, he was as timorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize and courage, he ministred argument of disputation, to Philosophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approved) might look pale and tremble, when he began battail; and Whether the vertue of Fortitude were diversified, by the sundry natures of men, and in a manner confined unto several sorts of action. In resolving which doubts it may be said, that all vertue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion: though a natural inclination standeth in need of little practice; whereas the defect hereof must be supplyed with much instruction, use, good success, and other help, yet hardly shall grow absolute in general. Such was *Aratus* in matter of War. In sincere affection to his Country he was unreprovable, and so acknowledged: as his following actions will truly testifie.

When *Acrocorinthus* was taken, and joyned unto the Common-wealth of *Achaia*, the *Megarians* revolted soon after from *Antigonus*, and entred into the same Corporation. So did the *Trazenians*, and the *Epidaurians*: whereby this new erected State grew so powerful, that it adventured to take *Athens*, from the *Macedonians*, and *Argos* and *Megalopolis*, from tyrants that held them. The enterprise upon the *Athenians* was of none effect. For though *Aratus* wasted the Isle of *Salamis*, to shew his strength, and sent home the *Athenian* prisoners, without ransome, to allure the City by shew of love; yet the *Athenians* stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now grown honest slaves to the *Macedonians*. Upon *Argos* the adventure was carryed more strongly. The *Achaians* came sometimes to the gates of the City, but the people stirred not: once they entred it, and might have won it, if the Citizens would have lent any help to the recovery of their own freedom; sundry times, and with divers events, they fought with the Tyrants, (who rose up one after another in *Argos*) in open field, and slew one of them in battail; but all sufficed not: untill at length *Aristomachus* the Tyrant was so terrified, perswaded, and hired by *Aratus*, that he consented to resign his Estate. The like did *Xenon* the Tyrant of *Hermione*, and *Cleonymus*, that had oppressed the *Phliasians*.

Whilest this business with the *Argives* was on foot, *Lysiadas* the Tyrant of *Megalopolis*, was so well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulsion, he gave liberty to his City, and annexed it to the Council of *Achaia*: whereby he got such credit, that he was chosen General of their forces (which was a yearly Office, and might not be held two years together by one man:) every second year, for a certain while, he and *Aratus* succeeded one another by turns. But those late Tyrants, and new Citizens, *Lysiadas* and *Aristomachus*, were carried with private passion from care of the general good; in which courses they opposed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaia*, as shall appear in due time.

The *Achæans* having obtained so much puissance and reputation, that *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) General of their forces by Sea and Land; made open War upon *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus Gonatus*, for the liberty of *Athens*. It is strange and worthy of noting, That when *Aratus* in this quarrel had lost a battail, the *Athenians* wore Garlands, in sign of joy, to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had won the victory. Such were now the *Athenians* become; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in general of the multitude, *Aut humiliter servit, aut superbe dominatur*; *It is either base in service, or insolent in command*. Nevertheless when *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by money, which he could not by force; and corrupting the Captain of the *Macedonian* Garrison, purchased liberty to the *Athenians*, who thenceforth held good correspondence with the *Achæans*, loving them, and speaking well of them, which was all that they could do: but into their Corporation they entred not, scorning it belike, in regard of their own out-worn glory.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaia* daily increased within *Peloponnesus*, by justice and honesty; so did the *Ætolians*, in the utter part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponnesus* it self, wax very powerful, by sturdiness of body, and rude courage in fight, without help of any other vertue. They had stoutly

ſtoutly defended themſelves againſt *Antipater* and *Craterus*; partly by daring to do and ſuffer much, partly by the natural ſtrength and faſtneſs of their Country; but eſpecially by the benefit of the time, which called away theſe famous Captains to other buſineſs, as hath been related. They had moleſted *Caſſander*, in favour of *Antigonus*, and were themſelves as much plagued by him, and by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but a ſtout Nation, that took his part. Afterwards they had to do with *Demetrius*, the Son of the firſt *Antigonus*, and more or leſs with all the Kings of *Macedon* ſucceeding him. They likewiſe held often war with the *Acarnanians*, *Athamanians*, *Epirots*, and many Cities in *Peloponneſus*: ſo that they were hardened with a perpetual travail; ſeldom putting off their Armour. But their hardineſs ill deſerved the name of valour, ſeeing they had no regard of honeſty or friendſhip, meaſuring all things by their own inſolent wills, and thinking all people baſe-minded, that were not as fierce and outragious as themſelves.

Theſe *Ætolians* had lately made great ſpoils in *Peloponneſus*, and occupied a good part of the Country. They had invaded the friends of the *Achæans*; taken and ſacked *Pallene*; where, although they were ſoundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their deſire of gain made them make a new voyage thither, as to a Country wherein ſomewhat was to be gotten. But they were forced to look another way, by *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus Gonatas*: who preſſed them ſo hardly, that they were driven to ſeek help of the *Achæans*; which they obtained. The war which the *Achæans* made upon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponneſus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of *Greece*, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly unto the *Ætolians*, at whoſe inſtance it was ſet on foot: for thereby were the *Macedonian* forces diverted from them. Neither was this good turn unacknowledged; though very baſely the *Ætolians*, giving thanks in words, deviſed how to requite the benefit with ſome great miſchief. They ſaw that the *Achæans* were deſirous to bring all *Peloponneſus* into their Alliance and Corporation: of which intent, the *Lacedæmonians* were very jealous. Wherefore theſe *Ætolians* laboured earneſtly to ſet the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans* together by the ears: hoping that if this might come to paſs, they themſelves ſhould be called in to help (it ſkilled not on what ſide) and ſo get no ſmall ſhare, both in booty and Territory. Neither did they forbear to communicate this their device unto *Antigonus*; offering to make him partaker of their gain, whom they knew to be offended with the many loſſes, that this Kingdom hath ſuſtained by the *Achæans*. Of this plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to ſuffer many indignities, rather than to give the *Lacedæmonians* cauſe to take Arms. But this reſolution was taken ſomewhat too late: and not altogether in his own power to hold. He had been medling with the *Arcadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedæmon*: and thereby had provoked the *Lacedæmonians* to look about them; ſeeing that all *Peloponneſus*, excepting themſelves, the *Elcans*, and a few *Arcadians* their friends (who alſo were attempted) was already become *Achæan*.

The City of *Sparta* was in ill caſe about theſe times; and ſubject to the injuries of any ſtronger neighbour. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakned it; The *Ætolians* entring *Liconia* with an Army, had carried away fifty thouſand ſlaves; and, which was worſe, their diſcipline was corrupted, Avarice and Luxury reigned among them, the poor was oppreſſed by the rich, and the generoſity of ſpirit, that had ſometime been their general vertue, was hardly now to be found among the beſt of them. There was left in *Sparta* no more than ſeven hundred natural Citizens; of whom not above one hundred had Lands: all the reſt were needy people, and deſirous of innovation. Hereupon followed inteſtine ſedition; which endangered the City moſt of all. *Agis* a good King, who ſought to reform the diſorders of the State, exhorted the people to a ſtrict obſervation of *Lycurgus* his Laws. To which purpoſe he cauſed them to paſs an Act, for the aboliſhing of all debts, and equal diviſion of Lands. All the younger, and poorer ſort were glad of this: but the rich men oppoſed it. Theſe had recourſe unto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who took their part: being himſelf a diſſolute man, as one trained up in the Court of *Syria*, whence alſo he had his wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the City, and a new King choſen in his ſtead. But *Agis* his friends and Counſellors in this enteprize, abuſed his good meaning to their own private commodity. They were haſty to take away all debts, and cancel all bonds, for they themſelves were deeply indebted: but the diviſion of Lands they afterwards hindred, becauſe their own poſſeſſions were great. Hence aroſe a tumult in *Sparta*, which theſe men increaſed by their foul oppreſſion of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine, *Leonidas* was brought home, and reſtored to his Kingdom, and the two adverſe

adverſe Kings driven to take Sanctuary; out of which, *Cleombrotus*, the late-made King, was diſmiſſed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into priſon, and there by his enemies condemned and ſtrangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grand-mother. The like to this was never known in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this cruelty proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magiſtrates that ſhould have given Patronage to the Laws, uſing their power, and more power than to them belonged, againſt a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the City as the Law required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens; and ſerved to eſtabliſh the impotent rule of a few tyrannical oppreſſors. In which caſe *Aratus* might well hope to adjoyn *Lacedæmon* to the *Achæans* Commonwealth: though it were great injuſtice to take ſuch advantages, and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the general good of *Peloponneſus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it ſelf, if it could have been wrought by perſwaſion.

But the ſame man who redreſſed the diſorders of *Sparta*, and revenged the death of *Agis*, did alſo requite the unjuſt attempts of the *Achæans*, even in their own kind: obtruding upon them by force an union of all *Peloponneſus*, though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedæmonians* and their King, ſhould have been the principal; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* having thus cauſed *Agis* to be ſlain, took his wife that was very rich and beautiful, and gave her in marriage (perforce) to his own Son *Cleomenes*. This young Prince fell greatly inamoured on his wife, and ſought to win her affection, as well as he had her perſon. He diſcourſed much with her about the purpoſe of her former huſband *Agis*, and by pitying his misfortune, began to entertain a deſire of accompliſhing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So coming himſelf to be King, whileſt he was very young, he gladly embraced all occaſions of War: for that he hoped by ſtrong hand to effect that, which *Agis* by proceeding formally in ſo corrupt an eſtate of the City, had attempted to his own ruine. Therefore when the *Ephori* gave him in charge, to take and fortifie *Athenæum*, a Temple on the marches of *Liconia*, to which both they and the *Megalopolitans* pretended title, he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but ſought to take by ſurprize *Tegea* and *Orchomenus*, Cities then Confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*: wherein, his intelligence failing, he loſt the labour of a painful night travel, and diſcovered his enmity to *Sparta*; of which *Cleomenes* was nothing ſorry. By theſe degrees the war began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had diſcovered the *Ætolian* practice, and therefore would have ſtayed the quarrel from proceeding too far. But *Lyſiadas* and *Ariſtomachus* would needs fight, and he could do none other than be ruled by them; eſpecially ſeeing *Cleomenes* was ſo urgent. *Ariſtomachus* was at that time General of the *Achæans*, (He and *Lyſiadas* being of great account, ſince they had abandoned their tyranny) who ſent unto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his aſſiſtance in a journey to be made into *Laconia*. No diſſwaſions of *Aratus* would ſerve, therefore he came in perſon, and took part of a buſineſs, little pleaſing him in the preſent, and leſs in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durſt not fight; but oppoſed himſelf againſt *Ariſtomachus*, who deſired to give battel. Yet had the *Achæans* twenty thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, in their Army: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than five thouſand in all. This gave reputation to the *Lacedæmonian*, and raiſed an ill report upon *Aratus*; which *Lyſiadas* helped to make worſe, by accuſing his cowardize. Nevertheleſs the *Achæans* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but choſe him their General the year following; againſt *Lyſiadas* his accuſer that ſued for the place. Being General himſelf, it behoved him to confute with deeds, the ſlanderous words of *Lyſiadas*. Therefore he purpoſed to ſet upon the *Eleans*: but was met withall on the way, near unto the Mount *Lycæus*, by *Cleomenes*, who vanquiſhed him in a great battel, and drave him to hide himſelf all night for fear, ſo that he was thought to have been ſlain. This miſadventure *Aratus* recompenced by a trick of his own more natural occupation: performing with his broken Army, that which could hardly have been expected, had he been victorious. For whileſt there was no ſuſpicion of any great matter that he could undertake; he ſuddenly wrought with ſome of the *Mantinæans*, who did let him into their City. Theſe *Mantinæans*, (whom he had thus brought to his purpoſe) had once before joyned themſelves with the *Achaians*; but ſhortly upon fear, or ſome other paſſion, they gave themſelves to the *Ætolians*; and from the *Ætolians*, preſently after this victory, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their levity they were not puniſhed, but freely admitted now again into the *Achæan* ſociety. As this

good

good ſucceſs repaired the credit of *Aratus*; ſo another battel almoſt ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountred near unto *Megalopolis*; where the *Achæans* had ſomewhat the better at the firſt, but their General durſt not follow his advantage. Thereupon *Lyſiadas*, of whom we ſpake before, grew ſomewhat impatient with anger; and taking with him all the horſe, brake upon the *Lacedæmonians* whom he routed at the beginning; but purſuing them too far into places of hard paſſage, he was ſlain by them, and his followers driven back upon their own Companions; in ſuch ſort, that finally all the Army was diſordered an put to flight. This was a great loſs, and incenſed the *Achæans* againſt *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refuſed to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of thoſe Mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* took patiently, and followed the war nevertheleſs; wherein though *Cleomenes* wan ſome Towns, and *Aratus* got the better in one ſmall fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achæans* being weary, and the *Spartan* King intentive to another buſineſs.

Cleomenes having led into the field all that were like to hinder his purpoſe, and tired them with painfull journeys, forſook the *Achæan* war on a ſudden, and came unexpected home to *Sparta*, where he ſlew the *Ephori*, and reſtored by force the ancient diſcipline of *Lycurgus*. Then he gave an account of his doings; and ſhewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroached upon the power of Kings, and many diſorders had grown in the City; he juſtified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equal diviſion of the Lands, reducing all to the firſt inſtitution. He alſo ſupplied the defect of Citizens, by chuſing new, out of ſuch as were friends to the State, and valiant men: ſo that henceforth his Countrey might not altogether ſtand in need of Mercenary help, as it lately had done, to ſave it ſelf from the *Ætolians*, *Illyrians*, and ſuch other enemies. All this was diſpatched in great haſte; the *Spartans* well ſatisfied, and *Cleomenes* himſelf ready in the field, ere his enemies could take any advantage of theſe his domeſtical troubles.

The *Achæans* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long ere *Cleomenes* durſt iſſue forth of the City, for fear of ſome rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had waſted all the Countrey of *Megalopolis*; had ranged over all *Arcadia* at his pleaſure; and was admitted into *Mantinæa*; and ready to take other places, even of *Achaia*. Theſe news diſpleaſed them not a little: but they muſt patiently endure to hear worſe. For when *Cleomenes* had ſhaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his authority, he proceeded more roundly in his work, being better obeyed, and by better men. His *Lacedæmonians* reſumed their ancient courage; and he himſelf had the heart to demand the Principality of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth contend about the poſſeſſion of a few Towns: but adventured to win or loſe all. The *Ætolians*, in favour of his attempt, declared themſelves on his ſide: and whereas he had gotten *Mantinæa*, *Tegea*, and other places; to which they had ſome title, they willingly renounced all their intereſt unto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Countrey, and ſaw that *Antigonus*, with the *Ætolians*, or perhaps without them, would ſhortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begun. Therefore he adviſed how to provide againſt the worſt, and either to repair all, or (if it could not be) to ſave all from utter ruine. The office of General, when it was next put upon him, he refuſ'd; fearing to be ſo far preſt, as to hazard in one battel all the force of his Countrey, to which as he had never any affection, nor perchance courage, ſo was his manner of warfare otherwiſe. For he commonly attempted by ſurpriſe, and defended upon the advantage of place, after the manner of the *Iriſh*, and of all other Nations, overcharged with numbers of men. Yet did he not forſake the care of the Weal-publick, though in aiming at the general good, it ſeems that private paſſion drew him into an ill courſe. He ſaw that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazard of battel; that *Mantinæa* had not only opened her gates unto *Cleomenes*, but ſlain the *Achæan* Garriſon that lay therein; that other Towns had yielded unto him, without compulſion; and that *Ariſtomachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and ſince General of the *Achæans*, was now revolted unto the enemy following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Ptolemy* was too far off to help; and the nearneſs of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be uſefull, if this King would (as *Polybius* ſaith) like others, be friend or enemy, as ſhould beſt agree with his own profit. To make trial hereof, *Aratus* practiſed with ſome of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt unto his purpoſe; and inſtructed them how to deal with *Antigonus*, and the *Achæans*.

The City of *Megalopolis* had been well

affected to the *Macedonians*, ever since the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it unto him by some special benefits. At this time it lay neareſt unto the danger; was very faithfull, and therefore deſerved ſuccour; yet could not well be relieved by the *Achæans*, with their own proper ſtrength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent unto the General Council of *Achaia*, requeſting leave and good allowance, to try the favour of *Antigonus* in their neceſſity. This was granted, for lack of what elſe to anſwer: and the ſame Embaſſadours diſpatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their own errand briefly; telling him of the good will and reſpect which their City had of long time born unto him and his Predeceſſors; of their preſent need; and how it would agree with his honour to give them aid. But when they delivered the more general matter, wherein *Aratus* had given them inſtruction; ſhewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Ætolians*, might redound to his own great loſs or danger, if the one and the other were not in time prevented; how *Aratus* himſelf did ſtand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achæans* under the Patronage of *Macedon*: then began *Antigonus* to lend a more attentive ear to their diſcourſe. He embraced the motion: and to give it the more life, he wrote unto the *Megalopolitans*, that his help ſhould not be wanting, ſo far forth as it might ſtand with the *Achæans* good liking. Particularly he commended himſelf by theſe Meſſengers to *Aratus*, aſſuring them, that he thought himſelf highly bound to this honourable man, whoſe former actions he now perceived not to have been grounded upon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but only upon a juſt and worthy love to his own Notion. With this anſwer they returned to *Megalopolis*: and are preſently ſent away to the Council of *Achaia*; there to make ſome ſpeedy concluſion, as the neceſſity of the time required. The *Achæans* were glad to hear, that *Antigonus* was ſo inclinable to their deſire; and therefore were ready to entertain his favour, with all good correſpondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gave his conſent; and praiſed the wiſdom of the Countrimen, that ſo well diſcerned the beſt and likelieſt means of their common ſafety: adding nevertheleſs, that it were not amiſs, firſt of all to try their own ability; which if it failed, then ſhould they do well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he ſhewed himſelf moderate; in that which himſelf of all others did moſt wiſh: to the end, that he might not afterward ſuſtain the common reprehenſion, if any thing fell out amiſs; ſince it might appear, that he had not been Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that leiſurably, the general conſent.

Nevertheleſs, in true eſtimation, this fineneſs of *Aratus* might have been uſed, with his greater commendation, in a contrary courſe. For it had been more honourable to make an end of the war, by yielding unto *Cleomenes* that power which they gave unto *Antigonus*: ſince thereby he ſhould both have freed his Country from all further trouble; and withall, ſhould have reſtored unto the univerſal ſtate of *Greece*, that honourable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found, (which is great pity) that Vertue, having riſen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it ſelf, (as it were) in the ſeat of principality, by length of time, and ſucceſs of many actions, can ill endure the haſty growth of any others reputation, wherewith it ſees it ſelf likely to be overtopped. Other cauſe to deſpiſe the *Lacedæmonians* there was none, than that they lately had been in dangerous caſe: neither could any reaſon be found, why *Aratus* ſhould prefer *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had ſtood in doubt of the one, when he thought himſelf more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was juſtly plagued, when he ſaw his own honours reverſed by the inſolent *Macedonians*: and inſtead of living as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was deſcended of a long race of Kings, the poſterity of *Hercules*, was fain to do ſacrifice unto *Antigonus*, as unto a god, and was finally poyſoned by *Philip*, whoſe Nobility was but of five deſcents, and whom perhaps he might have ſeen his fellows, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the love of *Ptolemy* was loſt: who forthwith took part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not ſupply him with ſuch liberality, as he had uſed to the *Achæans*; being warned, as may ſeem, by their example, to be more wary both in truſting and diſburſting. *Cleomenes* himſelf, whilſt this buſineſs with *Antigonus* was a-foot, paſſed through *Arcadia* with an Army, and laboured by all means to draw the *Achæans* to battel. At the City of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were aſſembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded to make trial; whether perhaps they might amend their eſtate, without ſeeking help of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, and there fought with them; where he had ſo great a victory,

that

that the enemy was no longer able to keep the open field. The calamity was ſuch, that *Aratus* himſelf durſt not take upon him to be their General, when his turn came in the next election. Wherefore the *Achæans* were compelled to ſue for peace; which was granted upon this eaſie condition: That they ſhould not arrogate unto themſelves the command of *Peloponneſus*, but ſuffer the *Lacedæmonians* (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in war. Hereunto if they would condeſcend, he promiſed unto them, that he would preſently reſtore all places taken from them, and all his priſoners ranſom-free: alſo that they ſhould enjoy their own Laws and Liberties without moleſtation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleaſing to the *Achæans*: who deſired him to come to the City of *Lerna*, where a Parliament ſhould be held, for the concluſion of the war.

Now ſeeming the affairs of *Greece* likely to be ſetled in better order, than they had ever been ſince the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* Wars, yea, or ſince the *Perſian* invaſion: when God, who had otherwiſe diſpoſed of theſe matters, hindred all with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* drank in great heat, and thereupon fell extream ſick, and ſo could not be preſent at *Lerna*, but cauſed the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Nevertheleſs he ſent home the chief of his priſoners, to ſhew that he meant none other than good faith. By this fair dealing he confirmed the *Achæans* in their deſire of his friendſhip; who aſſembled again at *Argos*, there to eſtabliſh the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent againſt it, and ſought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Country-men afraid of reſolving. When all would not ſerve turn, he betook himſelf to his cunning; and ſent word to *Cleomenes*, that he ſhould do well to leave his Army behind him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiving hoſtages for ſafety of his perſon. *Cleomenes*, was already far on his way, when he met with this advertiſement; and took it in ill part, that he ſhould be thus deluded. For it had been an eaſie matter, to have told him ſo much at the firſt, & not have made him come ſo far with an Army, which afterwards he muſt diſmiſs. Yet that which chiefly ſeems to have troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners; who ſought thereby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deal only with themſelves and their Meſſengers, or if he would adventure himſelf into the City, then to deprive him of all Royal ſhew, that might breed reſpect of him in the multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, and for which he ſought to hinder his coming thither in perſon; leſt the people, hearing the promiſes of *Cleomenes* ratified by his own mouth, ſhould preſently be won with his gentle words, and finiſh the bargain without more ado. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote unto the whole Councel, bitterly complaining againſt theſe juggling tricks: and *Aratus* was not far behind with him in as bitter an Oration. So between fear of the one, and reverence of the other, the Aſſembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake up, leaving all, as it were to fortune. *Cleomenes* took his advantage of their preſent weakneſs, and renewed the War. Many Cities yielded unto him willingly; many he forced; and partly by force, partly by terror, he wan *Argos*, which never King of *Sparta* before him could do. In this caſe *Aratus* ſent his own ſon to *Antigonus*, intreating him to defer no time, but come preſently to relieve the diſtreſſed *Achæans*. *Antigonus* gave good words as could be wiſhed: ſaveing that he utterly refuſed to do any thing, unleſs he might firſt have *Acrocorinthus* put into his hands. This demand was ſomewhat like unto that of the Hunter, who promiſed to help the horſe againſt his enemy the Stagg: but with condition, that the horſe ſhould ſuffer him to be ſaddled and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithall contented, but wanting all honeſt colour to do it: ſeeing the *Corinthians* had no way deſerved to be thus given away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occaſion was found; for that the *Corinthians*, perceiving what he intended, were minded to arreſt him. So he withdrew himſelf out of their City, and ſent word to *Antigonus*, that their Caſtle ſhould be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other ſide ran to *Cleomenes*; who loſt no time, but made haſt with them to *Corinth*, where he ſought how to get poſſeſſion of their Caſtle, or at leaſt to ſave it from *Antigonus*, by ſurrounding it within Trenches; that none might iſſue nor enter without his leave. Whileſt this was doing, he took ſpecial order, that *Aratus* his houſe and goods, within the Town, ſhould be kept for the Owner; to whom he ſent Meſſenger after Meſſenger, deſiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians*, and *Illyrians*, to *Peloponneſus*; promiſing, that if he would hearken to theſe perſwaſions, then would he give him double the ſame penſion, which he had been wont to receive of King *Ptolomy*. As for the Caſtle of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponneſus*, and without which none could hold aſſured ſoveraignty of the Country; he

desired that it might not be committed unto his own disposition, but be joyntly kept by the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans*. All this entreaty served to no purpose. For *Aratus*, rejecting utterly the motion, sent his own son as an Hostage to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the *Achæans*, to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* understood, he seised upon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and wasted all the Countrey of *Sicyon*, whereof this his Adversary was native.

Antigonus in the mean time drew near to the *Isthmus*; having passed with his Army through *Eubœa*, because the *Ætolians* held the straights of *Thermopylæ* against him. This they did, either in favour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatness, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attain by the good success of this journey. At his coming thither, he found the *Lacedæmonians* ready to forbid his entrance: and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazard battel, but rather to weary him thence with hunger; against which he came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able so to do: he secretly got into the *Corinthian* Haven; but was violently driven out again, with great loss of men; finally he resolved to turn aside, and seek a passage over the gulfe of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexity, news from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no less troubled his enemies. The *Achæans* were gotten into that City; and the Garrison which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driven out of the Citadel, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in need of present help. *Argos* had always been enemy to *Sparta*, and well affected to the King of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* took it, he forbare to chase out those whom he most suspected; partly, at the entreaty of friends, and partly, for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes* his victories, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that he would cause all debters to be discharged from their creditors, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta* was agreeable to the *Spartan* institution: in other places, where it would have been tyrannical, he did not. Thereupon, such as were disappointed of their unjust hopes, began to turn good Common-wealths men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because he would not do the like abroad. So they took their time, invited the *Achæans*, assailed his Garrison, cut in pieces the rescue that he sent, and compelled him at length to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and look unto the enemies that were behind his back. For when he understood by continual messengers, that his men which held the Citadel at *Argos* were almost lost: he began to fear lest his labour in guarding the entry should grow frivolous; the *Achæans* in the mean while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore he forsook his custody of the *Isthmus*, and made all haste towards *Argos*: which if he could save, he meant to trust fortune with the rest. And so far he prevailed at his coming to *Argos*, that both *Argives* and *Achæans* were glad to house themselves, leaving him Master of the streets; when the horsemen of *Antigonus* were discovered afar off, hasting to relieve the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himself (to whom *Corinth* was yielded, as soon as the *Spartan* had turned his back) following apace with the body of his Army. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to do, then to make a safe retreat. This he did, and got him home into *Laconia*: losing in short space all, or most of that which he had been long in getting.

Antigonus having shewed himself at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Arcadia*; where he wan such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and restored them to the old Possessors. This done, he took his way to *Ægium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Achæans*; to whom he declared the cause of his coming, and spake brave words, that filled them with hope. The *Achæans* were not behind with him; but made him Captain-General over them and their Confederates: and further entered into covenant with him, That they would not deal with any Prince or State, either by writing, or Embassadour, without his consent. All this while & somewhat longer *Aratus* was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sicyon* his own Town, (for Winter was come on) where he not only feasted him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane honours, as sacrifices and the like, to be done unto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the rest of *Achaia*: which had made (forsooth) a very wise bargain, if in stead of *Cleomenes* that would have been a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this god was poor, and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the

the burthen upon the *Achæans*. This was hardly taken: yet worſe muſt be indured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himſelf over-carefully reſpected; when the ſtatues of thoſe Tyrants, which he had thrown down in *Argos*, were again erected by *Antigonus*; or when the ſtatues which he had erected, of thoſe that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all thrown down by the ſame King, and one only left unto himſelf at his earneſt intreaty. It might therefore appear, that this god was alſo ſpightful. Nevertheleſs in taking revenge upon thoſe that offended him, *Aratus* did ſatisfie his own paſſion by the aid of theſe *Macedonians*. For with extreme torments he did put *Ariſtomachus* to death, who had been once Tyrant of *Argos*, afterwards General of the *Achæans*, and from them revolting unto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like ſort handled he (though not as yet) the *Mantinæans*, for their ingratitude and cruelty ſhewed to the *Achæans*. For he ſlew all the principal Citizens, and ſold the reſt, men, women and children, all for bond-ſlaves: dividing the ſpoil; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achæans*. The Town it ſelf was given by *Antigonus* to the *Argives*, who peopled it with a Colony of their own; and *Aratus* having charge of this buſineſs, cauſed it be new named *Antigonia*. Surely of this cruelty there can be no better excuſe, than even the flattery which *Aratus* was driven to uſe to *Antigonus*: foraſmuch as it was a token of ſervility, whereinto they had urged and brought him; whom he, as in revenge thereof, did thus requite. But leaving to ſpeak of this change, which the coming in of the *Macedonian* wrought in the Civil State of the *Achæans*; let us return unto this war againſt the *Lacedæmonian*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* wan *Tegea*, *Mantinæa*, *Orchomenus*, *Heræa*, and *Telphuſſa*: *Mantinæa* he diſ-peopled, as was ſaid before; in *Orchomenus* he placed a Garriſon of his *Macedonians*; the reſt he reſtored to the *Achæans*, with whom he wintered at *Ægium*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this year; and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his own Territory. The reaſon why he ſtirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantinæa*, & to thoſe other Towns that he wan, was this: He had few Souldiers, and had not money enough to wage more. *Ptolemy* the *Egyptian* promiſed much, but would perform nothing, unleſs he might have *Cleomenes* his own Mother, and his children in pledge. Theſe were ſent unto *Egypt*, yet the aid came not. For *Ptolemy* was ſlow; as dealing in the buſineſs of *Greece*, rather for his minds ſake, than upon any apprehenſion of neceſſity. *Cleomenes* therefore provided for himſelf, as well as his own ability would ſerve. He manumiſed all the *Heilotes* which were the *Lacedæmonian* ſlaves: taking money for their liberty, and arming two thouſand of them after the *Macedonian* faſhion. Having thus increaſed his forces, he came on the ſudden to *Megalopolis*, that lay ſecure, as having defended it ſelf in more dangerous times, and having now *Antigonus* near at hand in *Ægium*. The Town he wan: but after he was entred, all that were fit to bear Arms roſe haſtily againſt him; and though they could not drive him out, yet ſaved the multitude, to whom they gave a Port free for their eſcape. He ſent after the Citizens, offering their Town and goods to them again, if they would be of his party. But they bravely refuſed his offer: wherefore he ſacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great booty that he found therein. Theſe news aſtoniſhed the *Achæans* at *Ægium*: who thereupon brake up their Parliament. *Antigonus* ſent haſtily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering-places: but they were ſo long in coming, that *Cleomenes* was ſafely gone home. Therefore he returned them back to their lodgings, and went himſelf to *Argos*, there to paſs the reſt of his unlucky winter, ſomewhat further from the eyes of the grieved *Achæans*. When he had layn a while at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was at the gates, with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argives* perceiving that their Country would be ſpoiled, if *Antigonus* did not iſſue into the field, were very earneſt with him to go forth and fight. But he was wiſer than to be moved with their clamors, and ſuffered them to ſee their villages burnt; to bid him reſign his Office of Protector unto ſome that were more valiant; and to ſatisfie their paſſions with fooliſh words, rather than he would be overcome in fight, and thereby loſe more honour than could eaſily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his deſire, in weakning the reputation of his enemy: though he hereby added neither followers, nor other ſtrength unto *Lacedæmon*.

Afterwards, when the ſeaſon was more fit for war, *Antigonus* gathered together all his troops; meaning to requite theſe bravadoes of his enemy, with the conqueſt of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes*, on the other ſide laboured to keep the war from his own gates; and therefore entred upon the Country of *Argos*, where

where he made such a havock, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended invasion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonian* was fain to endure, in coasting of the *Spartan* King; that ranging over the Country of the *Argives*, *Phliasians*, and *Orchomenians*, drave a Garrison of his out of *Oligyrtis*; and did sacrifice, as it were before his face, in the suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Juno*, that was shut up; sending unto him in scorn, to borrow the keys. These were light things; yet served to dis-hearten the *Achæan* side, and to fill the enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazard; by setting up his rest, without any more delay, upon *Sparta* it self. He had in his Army eight and twenty thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, collected out of sundry Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, *Gaules*, *Epirots*, *Bœotians*, *Acarnanians*, and others; together with the *Achæans*; and their friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts twenty thousand, with which he lay at *Selasia*: fortifying slightly the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seek entrance. *Antigonus* coming unto *Selasia*, found his enemy so strongly encamped, upon and between the hills of *Eva* and *Olimpus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before he could advance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blows, which he greatly desired, without the hazard of his whole Army, in assailing their well defenced Camp. But at length (as it happens, when men are weary both of their hopes and fears) both Kings being resolved to make an end one way or other; *Antigonus* attemped with his *Illyrians*, to force that part which lay on the hill *Eva*. But his *Illyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achæan* foot, that the *Spartan* horse, and light-armed foot, incamped in the straight valley between those hills, issuing forth, fell upon their skirts, and not only disordered them, but were like to have endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himself had stood in that part of the battel, he would have made great use of such a fair beginning. But *Euclydas*, his Brother, a more valiant than skilfull Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this advantage, nor took such benefit as the ground afforded, whereon he lay. *Philopœmen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards proved a famous Captain, served then on horse, as a private young man, among the *Achæans*. He seeing that all was like to go to rout, if their *Illyrians* were driven to fall back upon the Army following them; perswaded the Captains of the *Achæan* horse, to break upon the *Spartan* Mercenaries. But they would not: partly despising his youth and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had given order, that they should keep their places, untill they received a sign from him, which was not as yet. *Philopœmen* perceiving them to be more orderly than well advised, intreated some of his own Country-men to follow him, gave a charge on the *Spartans*, and forced them, not only to leave the *Illyrians*, but seek how to save themselves. Being so far advanced, he found the place which the *Illyrians* had attemped, like enough to be won, through the unskilfulness of him that held it. Wherefore he alighted, and perswaded the men at Arms his Companions to do the like: the folly of *Euclydas* being manifest, who kept the top of the Hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plain, where they might fight upon even terms. So he recovered the Hill-top; where, though he was sore hurt, yet he made good the place that he had gotten, until the whole Army came up to him; by which the *Lacedæmonians* were beaten from it, with great slaughter of them in their descent. This overthrow, and death of *Euclydas*, made *Cleomenes* lose the day: who fighting bravely on the other side, upon *Olympus*, against *Antigonus* himself, was like to have been surrounded and lost, if he had not withdrawn himself with an extraordinary speed. In this battel ended the glory of *Lacedæmon*, which, as a light ready to go out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, than in many ages past.

Cleomenes fled unto *Sparta*; where he had no desire to stay; finding only two hundred left, of six thousand *Spartans* that he had led unto this battel, and most of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he perswaded his people to yield themselves unto *Antigonus*; and promising to do all that should at any time lye in his own power, for their good, he hasted away to the Sea-side (where he had shipping long before provided against all that might happen) and imbarked himself for *Egypt*. He was lovingly entertained by *Ptolemy Euergetes*; who undertook to restore him to his Kingdom, and (perhaps) meant no less, as being much delighted with his gallant behaviour, and qualities. In the mean season, he had a Pension allowed him, of four and twenty Talents, yearly. But this *Ptolemy* died; and his Son *Ptolemy Philopater* succeeded him: a vicious young

Prince,

Prince, wholly governed by lewd Women, and baſe Men, unmindful of all vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was deſirous to return into *Greece*, whither the troubles in *Peloponneſus* did ſeem to invite him; *Ptolomy* and his Minions, would neither give him aid; nor yet dared to diſmiſs him (as he deſired) to try his own friends in *Greece*, becauſe he was too well acquainted with the weakneſs of *Egypt*: nor well knew how to detain him againſt his will. At length they deviſed matter againſt him, and made him priſoner, the laſt act of him was, that with thirty of his Country-men, he undertook a deſperate enterprize: breaking out of the priſon, and provoking the *Alexandrians* to rebell and ſeek their liberty. In which attempt he ſlew ſome enemies of his that he met; and having walked up and down the ſtreets without reſiſtance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very ſtrang, to fight againſt him on the Kings behalf) he, and his Companions, agreed together to be miniſters of their own death. Upon his dead body *Ptolemy* was bold to ſhew his indignation: and ſlew his Mother and Children, that had been ſent thither, as Hoſtages, together with the Wives of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending upon the old Queen. Such was the end of *Cleomenes*, a generous Prince, but Son of *Leonidas*, who had cauſed *Agis*, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to come to ſuch a bloody end, as now befell his own Wife, Son, and Grand-children.

After the victory at *Sellaſia*: *Antigonus* without reſiſtance entred *Sparta*: wherein to never the force of any Enemy, before him, could make way. He kindly intreated the Citizens, and left them to their own Laws and Government: tarryiug there no longer than two or three daies: after which he haſtned out of *Peloponneſus*, and never returned. The cauſe of his ſpeedy departure was an advertiſment that he received out of *Macedon*; how the *Illyrians* over-ran and deſtroyed the Country. Had theſe news come a little ſooner, or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight, a few daies longer, or at leaſt-wiſe tarried a few daies after the fight, in *Sparta*; the Kingdom of *Lacedæmon* would have ſtood, and perhaps have extended it ſelf over all *Greece*. But God had otherwiſe determined.

Antigonus fought a great battel with the *Illyrians*, and overcame them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any wound, but by over-ſtraining his voice; wherewith he brake a vein that bled inwardly, and in ſhort ſpace finiſhed his life, who was troubled before with a conſumption of the lungs. His Kingdom deſcended unto *Philip* the Son of *Demetrius*, being then a Boy: as alſo about the ſame time it was, that *Antiochus*, ſurnamed (I know not why) *the Great*; and *Ptolomy Philopater*, began to reign in *Aſia* and *Egypt*; Boyes all. Of theſe, *Ptolomey*, though old enough to love Harlots, when he firſt was King, yet continued a Boy all the ſeventeen years of his reign. The unripe age of *Philip* and *Aotiochus*; bred ſuch inteſtine inconvenience to their Kingdoms, as is uſual in the minority of Princes: but their elder years brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; upon which occaſion, when it comes, we ſhall more ſeaſonably ſpeak of them, and of their Kingdoms, more at large.

§. VII.

How the Illyrians *infeſted the Coaſt of* Greece; *and how they were ſubdued by the* Romans

WHilſt things thus paſſed in *Greece*; and whilſt the *Carthaginians* were buſie in their conqueſt of *Spain*; the *Romans* had found themſelves work among the *Sardinians* and *Corſicans*, that were eaſily ſubdued at firſt, and eaſily vanquiſhed again, when they rebelled. They made alſo war with the *Illyrians*, wherein they got much honour with little pain. With the *Gaules* they had much ado, that laſted not long; being rather, as *Livy* ſaith, a tumult than a war. So that by all theſe light exerciſes their valour was hardly kept from ruſt. How they got the Iſlands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, it hath been ſhewed before: of their dealings with the *Illyrians* and *Gaules*, it is not meet to be utterly ſilent. *Lin. lib. 21.*

The *Illyrians* inhabited the Country now called *Slavonia*; a troubleſome Nation, impatient of reſt, and continually making war for gain, without either regard of friend or foe. They were invited by *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, to help the *Mydionians* his friends, that were beſieged by the *Ætolians*, for that they refuſed to be of their ſociety. Before the *Illyrians* ſuccours came, the *Mydionians* were ſo far ſpent, that the *Ætolians* contended about the booty: the old Prætor, or chief Magiſtrate of their Nation, who was going out of his office, claiming to have the honour of the victory; and the diviſion of the ſpoyl to be referred unto him; for that he had in a manner brought the ſiege to an end, and won the Town: others, that were in hope to be choſen into the Office, contradicting this,

this, and desiring that old orders might be kept. It was a petty strife, and somewhat like to that of the *French* in latter ages, who thought upon dividing the prey, before they had won the victories, which anon they lost, at *Poitiers* and *Agincourt*. The *Ætolians* wisely compounded the difference, ordering it thus, That the old and the new Prætor should be joyntly intituled in the victory, and have equal authority in distributing of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finished the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arrived and landed ere any was aware of them; they fell upon the *Ætolians*, and though good resistance was made, yet got the victory, partly by force of their multitude, partly by the help of the *Mydionians*, that were not idle in their own business, but stoutly sallied out of the Town. Many of the *Ætolians* were slain, more were taken, their Camp and all their baggage was lost: the *Illyrians* took the spoil, and went their way; the *Mydionians* erected a Trophie, inscribing the names both of their old and new Magistrates (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the *Ætolians* had directed them by example.

The success of this voyage highly pleased *Agron* King of the *Illyrians*: not only in regard of the money, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his assistance; or of the booty that was gotten; but for that having vanquished the stoutest of the *Greeks*, he found it not uneasie to enrich himself by setting upon the less warlike. For joy of this he feasted, and drank so immoderately, that he fell into a *Pleurisie*, which in few daies ended his life. His Kingdom, together with his great hopes, he left unto *Teuta* his wife.

Teuta gave her people free liberty to rob all sorts at Sea, making no difference between friend and foe; as if she had been sole Mistress of the salt Waters. She armed a fleet and sent it into *Greece*; willing her Captains to make war where they found advantage, without any further respect. These fell on the western coast of *Peloponnesus*; where they invaded the *Eleans*, and *Messanians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, and stayed at the City of *Phœnice*, to take in victuals and other necessaries. There lay in *Phœnice* eight hundred *Gaules*, that having been Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, first *Agrigentum*, then *Eryx*, to the *Romans*; but failing to do either, they nevertheless revolted, and were for their misdeeds disarmed and sent to Sea by the *Romans*; yet entertained by these *Epirots*, and trusted to lye in Garrison within their Town. The *Gaules* were soon grown acquainted with the *Illyrians*, to whom they betrayed *Phœnice*; which deserved none other, in trusting them. All *Epirus* was presently in arms, and hastned to drive out these unwelcome guests. But whilst the *Epirots* lay before the Town, there came news into their Camp, of another *Illyrian* Army, that was marching thitherward by Land, under one *Scerdilaidas*, whom Queen *Teuta* had sent to help his fellows. Upon this advertisement, a part of them is sent away towards *Antigonia*, to make good that Town, and the straights adjoyning, by which these new comers must enter into their Countrey; another part of them remains at *Phœnice*, to continue the siege. Neither the one nor the other speed well in their business. For *Scerdilaidas* found means to joyn with his fellows; and they that were besieged within *Phœnice*, sallied out of the Town, and gave such an overthrow to the *Epirots*, as made them despair of saving their Country, without great and speedy help from abroad. Wherefore Embassadours were sent to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*: craving their help, with very pitifull terms of intreaty. They obtained their suit; neither was it long, before an Army, sent by these two Nations, was ready in *Epirus* to present battel unto *Scerdilaidas*. But *Scerdilaidas* was called home by letters from *Teuta* the Queen, that signified a rebellion of some *Illyrians* against her: so that he had no mind to put his forces to hazard, but offered composition, which was accepted. The agreement was, That the *Epirots* might ransome their Town, and all their people that were prisoners; and that the *Illyrians* should quietly depart with all their booty and slaves. Having made this profitable and honourable bargain, the *Illyrians* returned into their own Country by Land, sending their booty away by Sea.

At their coming home, they found no such great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this voyage. For, in fulfilling the commandment of their Queen, they had taken many *Italian* Merchants, whiles they lay at *Phœnice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints made unto the *Roman* Senate, were so frequent, that Embassadours were sent to require of *Teuta*, that she should abstain from doing such injuries. These Embassadours found her very jolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in; and for that she had, in short space

ſpace, tamed her rebells, and brought all to good order, ſave only the Town *Iſſa*, which her forces held ſtraightly beſieged. Swelling with this poſperity, ſhe could hardly afford a good look to the *Romans*, that found fault with her doings, and, calling them by a true name, *Piracy*, required amends. Yet when their ſpeech was ended, ſhe vouchſafed to tell them, That injury in publick ſhe would do them none: as for private matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings to forbid their ſubjects to get commodity, how they beſt could by Sea. But (ſaid the younger of the two Embaſſadours) we *Romans* have a manner, and a very laudable one, to take revenge in publick, of thoſe private wrongs that are born out by publick authority: therefore we ſhall teach you, God willing, to reform your Kingly manners, and learn better of us. Theſe words the Queen took ſo impatiently, that no revenge could ſatisfie her, but the death of him that had ſpoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, ſhe cauſed him to be ſlain: as if that had been the way to ſet her heart at reſt; which was indeed the mean to diſquiet and afflict it ever after.

The *Romans*, provoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, conſiſting of two hundred ſail, commanded by *C. Fulvius*; the other by Land, led by *A. Poſthumus*. They trouble not themſelves any more with requiring ſatisfaction: for this injury is of ſuch nature, as muſt be requited with mortal war. It is indeed contrary to all humane Law, to uſe violence towards Embaſſadours: the reaſon and ground whereof, ſeems to be this; that ſince without mediation, there would never be an end of war and deſtruction, therefore it was equally received by all Nations, as a leſſon taught by Nature, that Embaſſadours ſhould paſs freely, and in ſafety, between enemies. Nevertheleſs, as I take it, this general Law is not without limitation. For if any King or State lay hold upon Embaſſadours ſent by their enemies, not unto themſelves, but unto ſome third, whom they ſhould draw into the quarrel; then it is as lawful to uſe violence to thoſe Embaſſadours (thus employed to make the war more terrible) as it is to kill the men of war, and ſubjects of an enemy. And ſo might the *Athenians* have anſwered it when they ſlew the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadours, that were ſent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a war upon the *Athenians*. Neither are thoſe Embaſſadours, which practiſe againſt the perſon of that Prince, in whoſe Countries they reſide, warranted by any law whatſoever. For whereas the true office of an Embaſſadour reſiding, is the maintenance of amity; if it be not lawfull for one Prince to practice againſt the life of another; much leſs may an Embaſſadour do it without incurring juſtly the ſame danger to puniſhment, with other Traitors; in which caſe, his place gives him no priviledge at all. But we will leave this diſpute to the *Civilians*; and go on with the revenge, taken by the *Romans*, for the ſlaughter of their Embaſſadour *Coruncanus*.

The *Illyrian* Queen was ſecure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to ſtir againſt her. She was indeed in an errour, that hath undone many of all ſorts, greater and leſs than ſhe, both before and ſince: *Having more regard unto fame, than unto the ſubſtance of things*. The *Greeks* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Ætolians* and *Epirots* had the name of the moſt warlike people in *Greece*; theſe had ſhe eaſily vanquiſhed, and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* ſhe ſhould be little troubled. Had ſhe conſidered that her whole Army, which wrought ſuch wonders in *Greece*; was not much greater than of ten thouſand men; and that nevertheleſs, it prevailed as much by odds of number, as by valour, or ſkill in arms; ſhe would have continued to uſe her advantage againſt thoſe that were of more fame than ſtrength, with ſuch good caution, that ſhe ſhould not have needed to oppoſe her late-gotten reputation, againſt thoſe that were more mighty than her ſelf. But ſhe was a woman, and did what ſhe liſted. She ſent forth a greater fleet than before, under *Demetrius* of *Pharos*; with the like ample commiſſion to take all that could be gotten. This fleet divided it ſelf, & one part of it fell with (a) *Dyrrachium*, the other with *Corcyra*. *Dyrrachium* was almoſt ſurpriſed by the *Illyrians*; yet was it reſcued by the ſtout Citizens. In (b) *Corcyra* the *Illyrians* landed, waſted the Iſle, and beſieged the Town. Hereupon the *Ætolians* and *Achæans* were called in to help; who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea: loſing, beſides others of leſs note, *Marcus Caryneuſis*, the firſt Prætor of *Achaia*, whom *Aratus* ſucceeded. The Town of *Corcyra*, diſmayed with this overthrow, opened the gates unto *Demetrius Pharius*, who took poſſeſſion of it with an *Illyrian* Garriſon: ſending the reſt of his forces to beſiege *Dyrrachium*. In the mean ſeaſon, *Teuta* was angry with her Captain *Demetrius*: I know not why; but ſo, as he reſolved to try any other courſe, rather than to truſt her.

The *Romans* were even ready to put to Sea,

(a) *Dyrrachium*, ſometime called *Epidamnus*, and now *Durazzo*, ſeated upon the *Adriatick* ſea, between the Iſlands of *Pharos* and *Corcyra*.

(b) *Corcyra*, an Iſland of the *Adriatick* ſea, not far from *Durazzo*, called now *Corſu*, and in the poſſeſſion of the *Venetians*.

Sea, though uncertain which way to take, when advertisement was brought to *C. Fulvius* the Consul, of *Demetrius* his fear and discontent. Likely it was that such an occasion might greatly help to advance the business in hand. Wherefore the Consul sailed thither; where he found the Town of *Corcyra* so well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it not only received him willingly, but delivered into his power the *Illyrian* Garrison, and submitted it self unto the *Roman* protection.

After this good beginning, the Consul sailed along the coast to (c) *Apollonia*; accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom he used thenceforth as his Councellor and guide. To *Apollonia* came also *Posthumus*, the other Consul, with the Land-Army, numbred at twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Thence they hastened towards *Dyrrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had besieged; but upon news of the *Roman* army they disperse themselves. From thence the *Romans* enter *Illyria*, and take *Parthenia*; beat the *Illyrians* by sea, take twenty of their ships, and enforce the Queen *Teuta* to forsake the coast, and to cover her self in *Rison* far within the Land. In the end, part of the *Romans* haste them homeward, and leave the best places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; another part staies behind, and prosecutes the war, in such sort, that *Teuta* was forced to beg peace; which she obtained upon miserable conditions; to wit, That she should quit the better part of *Illyria*, and pay tribute for the rest; and from thenceforth never send any of her ships of war towards the coasts of *Greece*, beyond the Island of *Lissa*: exeept it were some one or two vessels unarmed, and by way of Trade.

(c) *Apollonia*, a City near *Dyrrachium*, or *Durazzo*, upon the Sea-coast. *Pinctus* calls it *Sissopolis*.

After this *Illyrian* war, the *Romans* sent Embassadours into divers parts of *Greece*, signifying their love to their Country, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made war with good success upon *Teuta*, and her people. They hoped, belike, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their patronage: which if it hapned, they were wise enough to play their own games. But no such matter fell out. The Embassadours were only rewarded with thanks; and a decree made at *Corinth*, That the *Romans* thenceforth might be partakers of the *Isthmian* pastimes. This was an idle courtesie, but well meant by the vain *Greeks*, and therefore well taken by the *Romans*: who by this *Illyrian* expedition got nothing in *Greece*, save a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

§. VIII.

Of the War between the Romans *and* Gauls, *somewhat before the coming of* Hannibal *into* Italy.

THe *Gaules* that dwelt in *Lombardy* were the next, against whom the *Romans* took Arms. These were a populous Nation, and often molested *Rome*; sometimes with their own forces, and sometimes with the assistance of those that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good, when they took *Rome* and burnt it: though the issue of that war proved not answerable to the beginning, if we may give credit unto *Roman* Historians. In following times their success was variable, and commonly bad. Many overthrows they received; and if they got any victory, it yielded them no profit, but was soon extorted out of their hands. They were indeed more fierce than well advised: lightly stirred up to war, and lightly giving over. At the first brunt, they were said to be more than men; but when that was past, less than women. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper, by long experience, and knew how to handle them: yet gave alwayes careful heed to their approach, were it only bruited. For the danger of them was sudden, and uncertain; by reason of their neighbourhood and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts upon *Rome* were called wars, but *tumultus Gallici*, *tumults of the Gaules*: and rightly. For they gave many alarums to *Italy*, and used to rise with great Armies, but after a few dayes march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion served to disperse them. Having received an overthrow, they would rest ten or twelve years, sometimes twenty or thirty: till they were stirred up again, by younger heads, unacquainted with the danger. Whilst they rested, the State of *Rome*, that against these made only defensive war, had leisure to grow, by setting upon others. Herein God provided well for that Monarchy, which he intended to raise: that the *Gaules* never fell upon *Italy* with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous war. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilst *Pyrrhus* was travelling in the same enterprize; or in either of the two former *Punick* wars: it may be doubled what would have become of this Imperious City. But it seems that the *Gaules* had no better intelligence in the affairs of *Italy*, than strangers had in *Gaule*. At least, they knew not how to use their times: and were therefore like to smart,

when-

whensoever the enemies, whom they had much provoked, and little hurt, should find leisure to visit them at their own home: which was now after the first *Punick* War. Once before this, the *Romans* had been bold. to set upon the *Gauls* in their own Countrey: and that was three years before the coming of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*. At that time the *Senones*, a Tribe of the *Gauls*, invading *Hetruria*, and besieging *Arretium*, had won a great battel, and slain *L. Cælius*, with the most of his Army. *Mannius Curius* the new Consul, sent Embassadours to them, to treat about ransom of prisoners. But these Embassadours they slew. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it so well, that they expelled their *Senones* out of their Countrey, and sent a colony of their own to inhabit it. This caused the (*a*) *Boji*, another people of *Gaul*, to fear the like measure: who thereupon took arms, and drew the *Hetrurians* to their side. But the *Romans* overthrew them in two great battels; and thereby made them sue for peace, which lasted untill the end of this *Illyrian* war.

(*a*) There were divers nations of the *Boji*, as in *Pannonia*, *Illyria* in *Germany*, in *Bourbonois*, in *France*, and in *Aquitain*; but these *Boji* were of *French* race, and dwelt at this time about the mouth of the River *Po*.

It vexed the *Gauls* to see a *Roman* colony planted in their Countrey; who had been accustomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the *Transalpines* (so the *Romans* called those in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*, though to us they were neerer; like as they called *Cisalpines*, or *by-hither the Alpes*, those who dwelt between them and the Mountains) to draw them to their party: reasonably presuming, that as their disjunction had caused their loss, so their union might recompence it, with large amends. But the business was so foolishly carryed, that the *Cisalpines* and *Transalpines* fell together by the ears, putting the *Romans* only to *a tumult*, without further trouble of war. Soon after, they were urged by a greater indignity, to go more substantially to work. For *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome* proposed a Decree, which was ratified by the people; That, besides one Colony already planted in the territory of the *Senones*, as many more should be carried thither, as would serve to people the whole Country between *Ancona* and *Ariminum*: exterminating utterly those *Gauls*. Such an offer were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia*, or *Guiana* it self, would not overjoy the Multitude. But the Commonalty of *Rome* took this in so good part, notwithstanding all danger joyned with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had ever after their good will.

This dreadfull President extremely displeased the *Boji*; who being neighbours to *Ariminum*, feared the like displantation. And because the rest of the *Gauls* had reason to resolve, that themselves also should be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the *Insubrians*, which inhabited the Dutchy of *Milan*, joyned with the *Boji*, and upon a common purse entertained the *Gessates*, Nations about *Rhodanus*, wageable as the *Switzers* in these times. The *Gessates* having received a great impress, come to the field under the conduct of their Kings *Concolitanus* and *Anoroestus*: who with the *Boji*, and *Insubrians*, compound an Army of fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, that ever invaded the *Roman* Territory; to whom the *Senogalli*, that had been beaten out of their possessions, gave a great increase of strength. On the contrary side, the *Venetians*, and the (*b*) *Cenomanni*, adhered to the *Romans*: as better believing in their prosperity and rising fortune. For fear of whose incursions therefore, the *Gauls* were forced to leave a good part of their Army, on the frontier of *Milan*: with the rest of their forces they entred into *Tuscane*. The *Romans* hearing of this danger, send *Æmilius* to *Rimine*, to stop their passage; and in the place of *C. Atilius* their other Consul, who then was in *Sardinia*, they imploy one of their Prætors, for the defence of *Tuscane*.

(*b*) *Cenomanni* are the people about *Bergamo*, on the north side of the River *Po* in *Italy*. There were also of these *Cenomanni* in *France*, and inhabited the Countrey of *Main*.

Being at this time greatly troubled with the consideration of this powerfull Army, which the *Gauls* had assembled, they caused a view to be taken, as well of all their own forces, as of those of their Allies: who were no less willing than themselves, to oppose the incursions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their own destruction could not be prevented otherwise, than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers, found in this Muster, deserve to be recorded: because they set out the power of the *Romans* in those dayes. With the Consuls they sent forth to the war four Legions of their own: every Legion consisting of five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and of their Allies thirteen thousand foot, and two hundred horse. There were also appointed for supplies (if any misadventure came to these) of the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians* fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, which Army was to be lodged in the border of *Hetruria*. Of the *Umbri* and *Sarsinates*, which inhabited the *Apenines*, there were twenty thousand; and of the *Venetians* and *Cenomans*, other twenty thou-

ſand: which latter Armies were directed to invade the *Boji*, that forcing them to defend their own Territories, the General Army of the *Gauls* ſhould be thereby greatly diminiſhed. There were beſides theſe, to be ready againſt all uncertain chances of war, thirty thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, garriſoned in *Rome* it ſelf, of their own people; and of their Allies, thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. Over and above theſe great troops; in the Roll of the *Latines*, that was ſent unto the Senate, there were numbred fourſcore thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe; in that of the *Samnites*, ſeventy thouſand foot, and of horſe ſeven thouſand; in that of the (g) *Iapyges* and *Meſſapyges*, fifty thouſand foot, and ſixteen thouſand horſe; the *Lucans* ſent a liſt of thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; the (h) *Marſi*, (i) *Maruſini*, (k) *Ferrentani*, and the *Veſtini*, of twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. The *Romans* had alſo two Legions in *Sicil*, and about *Tarentum*, containing eight thouſand four hundred foot, and four hundred horſe. So as of the *Romans* and *Campanes* joyntly, reckoning men armed, and fit to bear arms, there were regiſtred two hundred and fifty thouſand foot; and of horſe three and twenty thouſand: of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an hundred and fifty thouſand foot, and about ſix thouſand horſe. Caſting up the whole forces of all the Provinces in *Italy*, both of the *Romans* and their confederates, it amounted to ſeven hundred thouſand foot, and ſeventy thouſand horſe. But the number is ſomewhat miſ-caſt by *Polybius*; not with a purpoſe to inrich himſelf by the dead payes; for where he reckons nine hundred horſe too many, he falls ſhort nine thouſand two hundred of the foot.

(g) *Japyges* and *Meſſapyges* ſeem to be one Nation; who are alſo called *Salentines*, *Peucecians*, *Apulians*, and *Calabrians*. The Countrey is now *Apulia*, containing the Northermoſt head-land of *Calabria*.

(h) A people of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

(i) *Ptolomy* calls them a people of *Italy*.

(k) A people of *Campania*, called to this day *Ferentines*, ſaith *Leander*.

How great ſoever this muſter was, it ſeems to have been like unto that, which *Lodowick Sforza* made, when *Lewis* the twelfth invaded *Milan*: at what time, the better to encourage himſelf and his ſubjects he took a Roll of all perſons able to bear arms, within the Dutchy, though indeed he were never able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certain it is, that the battels of *Trebia*, *Thraſymene*, and *Cannæ*, did not conſume any ſuch proportion, as was anſwerable to this large accompt. Yet were the *Romans* fain to arm their ſlaves, even for want of other Souldiers, after their overthrow at *Cannæ*. Wherefore the marvel is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified with report of ſuch a multitude. For all heads are not fit for Helmets: though the *Roman* Citizens were, in general, as good fighting men, as elſewhere might be found.

Notwithſtanding all theſe counter preparations, the *Gauls* keep on their way: and entring into *Tuſcane*, deſtroy, and put to fire and ſword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*; hoping to find the *Romans* rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence fails them. For the *Roman* Army, ſent into *Tuſcane*, having taken ſome other way than they did, and finding that it had miſſed of them, came again faſt after them, to arreſt them in their journey. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head: and in the ſame evening diſcovered the *Roman* Army, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparent neceſſity, that fight they muſt. Wherefore they helped themſelves with a ſtratagem, that ſhewed no great fineneſs of wit, but ſuch as well beſeemed thoſe that had none other occupation than war; and ſtood them in good ſtead at the preſent. In the dead of the night, they cauſe their foot to march away, but not far, leaving their horſe in guard; to whom they give order to come off at the firſt light of day, with ſuch a ſpeed, as might rather argue a running away, than a retreat; as if they had not dared to abide battell. The *Romans*, interpreting this their haſty departure, as the *Gauls* deſired they ſhould, follow them in diſorder. The *Gauls* return, charge them, and kill ſix thouſand upon the place; the reſt take a piece of ground of advantage, and defend themſelves, till *L. Æmilius*, being at *Ariminum*, comes to their ſuccour. Upon the coming of the Conſul, the *Gauls* conſult, whether they ſhould give the *Romans* battel, or forbear. In which diſpute, *Aneroeſtus*, one of their Kings, perſwades them, rather to return into their own Countreys; where, after they had diſpoſed of the great ſpoils and riches which they had gotten, they ſhould then renew the war, being without carriage, peſter or other impediment. This advice they all embrace; for, ſeeing they that were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the ſpoils of their enemies, they thought it wiſdom, to hazard neither it, nor themſelves any further.

This indeed had been a good reſolution, if they had taken it, before the enemy had been in ſight. But as well in the wars of theſe later ages, as in former times, it hath ever been found extream dangerous to make a retreat in the Head of an Enemies Army. For although they that retire, do often turn head;

head; yet in always going on from the purſuing enemy, they find within few miles, either ſtraight, hedge, ditch or place of diſadvantage, which they are inforced to paſs in diſorder. In ſuch caſes, the Souldier knows it as well as the Captain, that he which forſakes the field, perceives and fears ſome advantage of the Enemies. Fear, which is the betrayer of thoſe ſuccours that reaſon offereth, when it hath once poſſeſt the heart of man, it caſteth thence both courage and underſtanding. They that make retreat, are alwayes in fear to be abandoned; they that lead the way, fear to be ingaged: and ſo the hindmoſt treads on his heels that is foremoſt, and conſequently, all disband, run, and periſh, if thoſe that favour the retrait be not held to it by men of great courage. The miſerable overthrow that the *French* received in *Naples*, in the year 1503. upon a retreat made by the *Marqueſs* of *Sal*, doth teſtifie no leſs. For although a great troop of *French* horſe ſuſtained the purſuing Enemy a long time, and gave the foot leaſure to trot away; yet being retarded by often turnings, the *Spaniſh* foot overtook and defeated them utterly. During the wars between the *Imperials* and the *French*, *Boiſi* and *Mont* were loſt at *Brignolles*, who in a bravery would needs ſee the enemy, before they left the field. So was *Stroſi* overthrown by the *Marqueſs* of *Marignan*, becauſe he could not be perſwaded to diſlodge the night before the *Marqueſs* his arrivall. Therefore did the *French* King *Francis* the firſt wiſely: when without reſpect of *point of honour*, he diſlodged from before *Landerſey*, by night, as many other the moſt adviſed Captains, (not finding themſelves in caſe to give battel) have done. *Je ne trouve point* (ſaith the Marſhall *Monluc*) *aut fait des armes choſe ſi difficile, qu'une retraitte; I find nothing in the art of war ſo difficult as to make a ſafe retreat.* A ſure rule it is that there is leſs diſhonour to diſlodge in the dark, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof *M. de la Noue* gives this judgement of a days retreat, made in *France*, preſently before the battel at *Moncountour*. For (ſaith he) ſtaying upon our reputation, in ſhew, *not to diſlodge by night*; we loſt our reputation indeed, by diſlodging by day: whereby we were forced to fight upon our diſadvantage, and to our ruine. And yet did that worthy Gentleman *Count Lodowick* of *Naſſau*, brother to the late famous *Prince of Orange*, make the retreat at *Moncountor* with ſo great reſolution, as he ſaved the one half of the *Proteſtant* Army, then broken and diſbanded; of which my ſelf was an eye-witneſs, and was one of them that had cauſe to thank him for it.

Now the *Gauls*, embracing the ſafe advice (as they take it) of one of their Kings, turn their backs to the enemy, and their faces homeward. *Æmilius* follows them as near as he can, without ingaging himſelf, attending his advantage. In the mean while, *C. Atilius* the other Conſul, with the Legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Piſa*; ſo as the *Gauls* incloſed between two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally ſtrengthen their Rear and Front. To ſuſtain *Æmilius*, they appoint the *Geſſates*, and the *Milanois*; in the Front they range the *Piemontois*, and the reſt of the *Gauls* inhabiting upon the River of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polybius* deſcribeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the *Gauls* fell; and ſo did *Atilius* the Conſul: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the *Gauls*, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroeſtus*; with forty thouſand of their Vaſſals.

After this fatal overthrow, the *Gauls* loſt courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italy*. For they were invaded the year following this overthrow, by the new Conſuls, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. The *Romans* knew well how to uſe their victory: they gave not ten, twenty, or thirty years time to the *Gauls*, to repair their forces, as the *Gauls* had done to them. Theſe new Conſuls beat the *Boji*; but by reaſon of the great rains that fell, and the great peſtilence that reigned, they were compelled for that preſent to ſurceaſe. In the ſecond year, *Furius* and *Flaminius* invade the *Milanois*; and prevail very far, being ſtrongly aſſiſted by the *Cenomanni* and the *Venetians*. Nevertheleſs theſe Conſuls were revoked out of their Province, by the Senate of *Rome*, and compelled to reſign their Office; becauſe the *Augures*, or *Soothſayers*, had found, that ſome token or other of the Birds (in which, and all ſorts of their divination, the *Romans* were extremely ſuperſtitious) had not only foreſhewed little good, when they were choſen, but had alſo nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiving letters of this revocation from the Senate, and being otherwiſe advertiſed of the contents, was not haſty to open them: but firſt gave battel unto the enemies, vanquiſhed them, and ſpoiled their Countrey; then peruſed the letters; and returning home obtained a triumph, ſore againſt the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bear him out, for that he ſided in faction with the Commonalty, though a man of great Nobility.

This

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the Decree, for dividing the Countrey of the *Senones* among the people of *Rome*. He was the first, or one of the first, that understanding the Majesty of *Rome* to be indeed wholly in the people, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by a way of Delegacy, or grand Commission; did not stand highly upon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and use their power, over himself and his fellow Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the surer side, and found imitators, that rose by the same art, which in process of time, grew the only or chief way to preferment.

Flaminius and his Colleague, being disposed, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, were chosen Consuls, for the rest of that year. The *Gauls* about this time desired peace; and were like to have obtained it: though the new Consuls were against it, as fearing to want work. But when thirty thousand of the *Gessates* following their King *Britomarus*, were come over the *Alpes*, and joyned with the *Insubrians*: all other discourse, than of present war, was at an end. So the Consuls hasted into their Province, where they besieged *Acerræ*, a Town not far from *Novarro* (so far had the *Romans* pierced already in the Dutchy of *Milan*.) To divert them from this siege, *Britomarus* sat down before *Clastidium*, a Town in the same Tract, with a great part of his forces: leaving the rest, with the *Insubrians*, to attend upon the Consuls at *Acerræ*, and to look to the defence of *Milan*. But this would not suffice, to make the *Romans* break up their siege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, and six hundred foot lightly armed, thought to deal well enough with those at *Clastidium*. *Britomarus* heard of the Consuls coming, and met him upon the way: so suddenly, that the *Romans* had no leisure to rest themselves after their journey, but were compelled instantly to fight: Herein *Britomarus* had done well, if he had not forthwith, in a rash bravery, lost his game at a cast. He had advantage enough in number, both of horse and foot: but he thought so well of his own personal valour, that he rode out single before his Army, provoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no less daring, than the barbarous King: whether more wise in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to commend him. He slew and disarmed *Britomarus*, in the presence of both Armies: whereby his own men took such courage, and his enemies were so dismayed, that without much trouble of fight the *Romans* obtained a great Victory.

This was the third and last time, that ever any *Roman* General slew the General of the enemies, with his own hand. To this kind of victory, belonged a peculiar triumph; whereof only *Romulus*, *Cossus*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour: yet I dare say, that the two *Scipio*'s, and divers of the *Roman* Captains, especially *Cæsar*, were better men of war than any of these three; though they never offered up to *Jupiter*, *Opima spolia*, *The Armour of a General slain by themselves*, *when they were Generals*, nor perhaps affected so to do.

After this victory, *Acerræ* was yielded to the *Romans*; and *Milan* soon after: with all that belonged to the *Cisalpines*, or *Gauls*, that dwelt in *Lombardie*. Thus was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had so many years vexed the State of *Rome*, and in former times taken the City it self, brought to nothing in a short time; their pleasant and fertile Territory possest by the *Romans*; and the remainder of their *Nation*, inhabiting *Italy*, so many as would not subject their necks to the *Roman* yoke, either forced to abandon their Countreys, or to hide themselves in the cold and barren Mountains, like Outlawes and Thieves. And thus did the *Romans* spend the three and twenty years following the peace made with *Carthage*. In part of which time, they were at such leisure, that they closed up the Temple of *Janus*: which they never did before, (it standing alwayes open, when they had any war) save once in the reign of *Numa*; nor in long time after, untill the reign of *Augustus*. But this their present happiness was not to last long: a dangerous War, and perhaps the greatest that had ever been, was to come unto their Gates; which being well ended, they might boldly undertake, to extend their Monarchy as far as their ambition could reach.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the ſecond Punick Warr.

§. I.

The Wars of Hannibal *in* Spain. *Quarrels between the* Romans *and* Carthaginians. Hannibal *beſiegeth and taketh* Saguntum, *whilſt the* Romans *are buſied with the* Illyrians. *War proclaimed between* Rome *and* Carthage.

HANNIBAL, the Son of *Amilcar*, was about ſix and twenty years old, when he was choſen General of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*. He was elected by the Army, as ſoon as *Aſdrubal* was dead: and the election was ratified by the State of *Carthage*; wherewith *Hanno* and his Complices were nothing pleaſed. This was now the third of the *Barchine* family (ſo called of *Amilcar*, whoſe ſurname was *Barcas*) that had command in chief, over the men of war. Which honour would perhaps have been leſs envied by theſe domeſtical enemies, if the Alies and friends of the *Bachine* houſe, had not alſo born the whole ſway in Government, and been the only men regarded, both by the Senate and the people. This general good will, as it was firſt purchaſed by the moſt worthy deſerts of *Amilcar* in ſaving his Country from imminent ruine, inlarging the Dominion thereof, and inriching it with treaſures and great revenues; ſo was it retained, by the ſame good Arts, among his friends and followers. *Hanno* therefore, and his Partiſans, being neither able to tax the vertue of their enemies, that was unreprovable; nor to perform the like ſervices unto the common-weal; had nothing left whereby to value themſelves, excepting the general reprehenſion of War, and cautelous advice of not provoking the *Romans*. This they ſeaſoned other-whiles with detraction; ſaying, that the *Barchine* faction went about to oppreſs the liberty of the City. But their malicious words were unregarded; and if it were factious, to bear ill-will to *Rome*, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no leſs *Barchine*, than *Hannibal* himſelf. For it was long ſince apparent, that the oath of the *Romans*, to the articles of peace, afforded no ſecurity to *Carthage*, were ſhe never ſo quiet, and officious; unleſs ſhe ſhould yield to become their ſubject. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than until the *Romans* could find ſome good advantage, to renew the war: it was rather deſired by the *Carthaginians*, that whileſt their owne ſtate was in good caſe, the war ſhould begin; than that in ſome unhappy time of famine or peſtilence, or after ſome great loſs of Army or Fleet, they ſhould be driven to yield unto the impudent demands of their enemies; and to give away baſely their lands and treaſures, as they had lately done; ot miſerably fight, upon terms of diſadvantage.

This diſpoſition of his Country-men, *Hannibal* well underſtood. Neither was he ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time deviſed of this buſineſs) that in making war with the *Romans*, it was no ſmall advantage to get the ſtart of them. If once he could bring an Army into *Italy*, without moleſtation; there was good hope that he ſhould find friends and aſſiſtance, even of thoſe people, that helped to increaſe the *Roman* Armies in foreign wars. But this could never be effected, if the matter were openly diſputed at *Carthage*. For it was to be doubted, that the *Carthaginians*, how glad ſoever they would be, to hear that he had ſet the war on foot, would nevertheleſs be ſlow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterpriſes, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it ſhould happen, then were the *Romans* like to be made acquainted, not only with the generalities of his purpoſe, but with ſuch particulars as muſt be diſcourſed of, in procuring allowance to his deſign. This might ſuffice to diſorder the whole Project. Wherefore, he reſolved to lay ſiege unto *Saguntum*. which might ſeem not greatly to concern the *Romans*, and would highly pleaſe the *Carthaginians*, that had freſh in mind the indignity of that *Spaniſh* Towns alliance with her half friends. So ſhould he aſſay both the patience of his enemies, and the diſpoſition of his own Citizens.

Having

Having thus concluded, he nevertheleſs went fair and orderly to work: and beginning with thoſe that lay next in his way, approaching unto *Saguntum* by degrees. This he did (ſaith *Livie*) to give ſome colour to his proceedings: as if he had not principally intended the war againſt *Saguntum*, but had been drawn thither by courſe of buſineſs. Yet reaſon teacheth plainly, that without regard of ſuch formalities, it was needful to finiſh the conqueſt of the reſt, before he did any thing that ſhould provoke the *Romans*. Firſt therefore he entred upon the Territory of the * *Olcades*; and having beſieged *Althæa* (*Livie* called it *Carteia*) their chief City, he became, in a few daies, Maſter not only thereof, but of all the other Towns of their Country. This Nation which he firſt undertook, being ſubdued, and the winter at hand, he reſted his Army in new *Carthage*, or *Carthagena*; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the ſpoils he had gotten in his late Conqueſt.

In the Spring following, he purſued the war againſt the (*a*) *Vaccæi*; and without any great difficulty, wan firſt *Salmantica*, now called *Salamanca*; and after it, (*b*) *Arbucala*, by aſſault: though not without a long ſiege, and great difficulty. But in his return, he was put to the height, both of his courage, and of his Martial judgment. For all ſuch of the *Vaccæi*, as were able to bear arms, being made deſperate by the ſpoil of their Country, with thoſe of *Salamanca*, and of the *Olcades*, that had eſcaped in the late overthrow, joyning themſelves with the *Toletans*; compounded an Army of an hundred thouſand able men: and ſtayed *Hannibal* on the banks of the River *Tagus*, which runneth to the Sea by *Lisborn* in *Portugal*. Theſe four Nations, having had experience of *Hannibals* invincible courage, and that he never ſaw enemy, upon whom he durſt not give charge; were throughly reſolved, that his natural valour would at this time no leſs neglected the cold advice of diſcretion, than at other times it had ſeemed to do, when the like great occaſion perſwaded him to uſe it. But he that makes himſelf a body of Cryſtal, that all men may look thorow him, and diſcern all the parts of his diſpoſition, makes himſelf (withall) an Aſs: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or drive him. Wiſe men, though they have ſingle hearts in all that is juſt and vertuous; yet they are like Coffers with double bottoms: which when others look into, being opened, they ſee not all that they hold, on the ſudden, and at once. It is true, that this ſubtle *Carthaginian*, when he ſerved under *Aſdrubal*, was, of all the men of mark in the Army, the moſt adventrous, but that which may beſeem a Captain, or inferiour Commander, doth not alwayes become a Chief; though it hath ſomtime ſucceeded well with ſuch great ones, as have been found more fortunate than wiſe. At this time, our great Man of war knew as well how to diſſemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he with-drew himſelf from the River-ſide, as if fearfull to foord it; thereby to draw over that great multitude from their banks of advantage. The *Spaniards*, apprehending this in ſuch ſort, as *Hannibal* deſired that they ſhould thruſt themſelves in fury and diſorder, into the ſwift ſtream, with a purpoſe to charge the *Carthaginians*, abandoning (as they thought for fear) the defences on the contrary ſide. But when *Hannibal* ſaw them in their way, and well-near over; he turned back his Elephants to entertain them at their landing: and thruſt his Horſe-men, both above and beneath them, into the River, Theſe carrying a kind of *Lance de Gay*, ſharp at both ends, which they held in the midſt of the ſtaff; had ſuch an advantage over the foot, that were in the River, under their ſtrokes, clattered together, and unable to move or ſhift their bodies, as on firm ground, that they ſlew all thoſe (in a manner) without reſiſtance, which were already entered into the water; and purſued the reſt, that fled like men amazed, with ſo great a ſlaugher, as from that day forward, there was not any *Spaniard*, on that ſide the River of *Iberus*, (the *Saguntines* excepted) that had the daring to lift up their hands againſt the *Carthaginians*.

The *Saguntines* perceiving the danger towards them, cryed before they were hurt. They ſent Embaſſadours to *Rome*, and bemoaned themſelves, as likely to ſuffer that, which afterwards they ſuffered indeed; only becauſe of their alliance and friendſhip with this honourable City, which the *Carthaginians* hated. This tale moved the Senate, but much more a report, that *Saguntum* was already beſieged. Hereupon ſome cry out, that War ſhould be proclaimed by Land and Sea; as alſo that the two Conſuls ſhould be ſent with Armies, the one into *Spain*, the other into *Africk*. But others went more *Roman*-like to work, and carried it. So it was only concluded; that Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent into *Spain*, to view the ſtate of their confederates: which were indeed none other than the *Saguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended war againſt *Rome*, it was likely that he ſhould give them, ere it were long,

* A people (ſaith *Stephanus*) near the River of *Ebro*. But in the old deſcription of *Spain*, in *Ortelius*, they are found near *Tagus*, and by *Suidas*, not far from New *Carthage*.

a A people on *Caſtile* the Old.

(*b*) *Arbucala*, or *Albricala*, an in-land City of the *Vaccæi* in *Aragon*.

long, a more plauſible occaſion to take Arms againſt him: if he had no ſuch purpoſe, yet would it be in their power to determine what they liſted themſelves, upon the report of theſe Embaſſadours; and this their gravity, in being not too raſh at firſt, would ſerve to countenance their following Decree. Of theſe Embaſſadours *Livie* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*, but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to *Carthage*, where alſo they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polybius* an Hiſtorian of ſincerity leſs queſtionable, tells, that they found him at *Carthagena*, and had conference with him, though ſuch as left them doubtful. This is more agreeable to the reſt of *Hannibal* his whole courſe. And ſurely we might wonder, why the *Carthaginians* ſhould afterwards admit a more peremptory Embaſſage (as *Livie* confeſſeth) and fall to diſputation about the covenants of Peace; if they had rejected that which was ſent, upon none other pretence than prevention of war.

Whileſt the Embaſſadours paſſed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not only his forces, but ſome *Roman* pretences, againſt *Saguntum*. He found out *Mamertines*, or people that ſhould do as the *Mamertines* in *Sicil* had done for the *Romans*; and implore his help againſt the *Saguntines*. Theſe were the *Turdetani*, a Nation adjoyning to *Saguntum*, and having many quarrels with them: (as happens commonly among neighbours) of which, *Hannibal* himſelf hatched ſome. Finding therefore ſuch an occaſion, whatſoever it was, as made him able to ſay, that the *Saguntines* had firſt provoked him, ere he medled with them; he made no more ado, but ſate down with his whole power before their Town. He was now more ſecure, than he had formerly been of his own Citizens: for that they had not entertained the *Roman* Embaſſadours, with any trembling reverence, as of late years they had been wont. Nevertheleſs, he was glad of any handſome colour, to ſhadow his actions: not only becauſe the War, which he ſo much deſired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his courſe, as an open enemy, before he could ſet foot in *Italy*. The *Romans* had the like, though contrary deſire. They were glad of the quarrel; as hoping that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, ſhould thereby in ſhort ſpace become their own. Yet were they not haſty to threaten, before they were ready to ſtrike; but meant to temporize, until they had an Army in readineſs to be ſent into *Spain*, where they thought to make *Saguntum*, the ſeat of the War.

In the mean while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the *Romans* had made King over a great part of *Illyria*, rebelled againſt them: either for that he found himſelf overſtraightly tyed up by them, with hard conditions; or rather becauſe he was of an unthankful diſpoſition. The commotion of the *Gauls*, and afterward the fame of the *Carthaginian* war, emboldened him to deſpiſe his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to have defended and aided, in all perils, even with the hazard of his whole eſtate, which he had received of their gift. But he was a Traitor to his own Queen; and therefore dealt according to his kind, with thoſe that had rewarded him for being ſuch. Firſt, he built ſhips, and ſpoiled the Iſles of *Greece*; againſt the covenants to which he was bound. Then he adventured further, and ſeiſed upon ſome places, that the *Romans* kept in their own hands. If he had begun ſooner, or rather if he had ſtayed ſomewhat longer, he might have ſped better. For the buſineſs with the *Gauls* was ended; with *Hannibal*, not throughly begun, when he declared himſelf by his doings, an enemy, and was vanquiſhed. The *Roman* Conſul, *Æmilius*, was ſent againſt him: who in ſeven daies wan the ſtrong Town of *Dimalum*; and thereby brought ſuch terrour upon the Country round about, that Embaſſadours were ſent from all places, to yield themſelves, without putting him to further pains. Only the City of *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to reſiſt: which he might have done long, if the hot-headed Rebel had not been too fooliſh. *Æmilius* landed a great part of his Army in the Iſle of *Pharus*, by night; and beſtowed them in covert, preſenting himſelf the next morning with twenty ſhips before the Town, and offering to force the Haven. *Demetrius* with all his power iſſued out againſt the Conſul, and was ſoon intercluded from the Town, by thoſe that lay in ambuſh. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths to a Greek, where he had ſhipping ready for him, and imbarqued himſelf: leaving all his eſtate unto them, of whoſe liberality he firſt had it.

This buſineſs, though it were ſoon diſpatched, yet prevented it not the ſiege of *Saguntum*; before which *Hannibal* ſate down, ere *Æmilius* was landed in *Illyria*. In the beginning of the ſiege, the *Carthaginians* were much diſcouraged, by reaſon of the brave ſallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their General received a dangerous wound in the thigh, that cauſed him to lye many daies unable to move. Nevertheleſs, he was not unmindfull of his work in the

mean while; but gave order to raiſe certain movable Towers, that might equal thoſe which were built on the walls of the City; and to prepare to batter the curtains, and make a breach. Theſe being finiſhed and applied, had ſoon wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of divers Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot aſſault was given: but it was ſo well ſuſtained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not only beaten from the breach, and out of ſome ground within the Town, which upon the firſt fury they had won; but they were purſued even to their own trenches and camp. Nevertheleſs the *Carthaginian* Army, wherein were about an hundred and fifty thouſand men, did ſo weary the Towns-men with continual travel, that at length it got within the walls; and was only hindred from taking full poſſeſſion of the City, by ſome counter-works of the *Saguntines*, that were alſo ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one *Alcon* a *Saguntine*, that conveyed himſelf out of the Town, to treat with *Hannibal* for ſome accord. But the conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered were ſo ſevere, and without all compaſs of honour, as *Alcon* durſt not return to propound them to his Countrymen. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had, gold, ſilver, plate, and other riches within the City: yea, the City it ſelf to be abandoned by the Citizens; promiſing, that he would aſſign ſome other place for their habitation: not allowing them to carry out with them any other thing, wherewith to ſuſtain themſelves, than the cloaths on their backs; or other arms, to defend them, than their nails and teeth. Yet might they far better have ſubmitted themſelves unto this miſerable appointment, (ſeeing thereby they might have injoyed their lives, and ſaved the honour of their wives and daughters) than to have reſted at the diſcretion of the Conquerour, as ſoon after they did: by whom their wives and daughters were deflowred before their own faces; and all put to ſword, that were above fourteen years of age. For it was a poor comfort, which a great number of them took; when not daring to fight, and ſell their blood at the deareſt rate, they ſhut themſelves up like moſt wretched creatures in their own houſes, and therein burnt themſelves with all that they had: ſo dying unrevenged. The treaſures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept wherewith to pay his Army: the ſlaves and other booty, he divided among his Souldiers, reſerving ſome things of choice, wherewith to preſent his friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them unto the War.

Theſe tydings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*, who had good cauſe to be angry at their own ſlowneſs, in forbearing to ſend help unto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight months, looking ſtill for ſuccour, but in vain. Wherefore they determined to repair their honour, by taking ſharp revenge. To this end they ſent Embaſſadours again to *Carthage*: demanding only, *Whether it were by general conſent and allowance of the* Carthaginians, *that* Hannibal *had made war upon* Saguntum: which if they granted (as it ſeemed they would) then to give them defiance. Hereunto anſwer was made, in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect; That this their ſecond Embaſſage, howſoever qualified with mild words, was indeed more inſolent than the former. For in that, they only required juſtice againſt *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Common-wealth of *Carthage*, was urged to plead guilty, or not guilty. But (ſaid the *Carthaginian* ſpeaker) whether the General of our Army in *Spain*, in beſieging *Saguntum*, have only followed his own counſel; or whether he did it, by direction from us: it is not the queſtion which the *Romans* ought to aſk us. That which is indeed worthy examination or diſpute, is; *Whether it were lawful or unlawful for* Hannibal *to do as he hath done.* For it belongs to us, to call our own Commanders in queſtion, and to puniſh them according to their faults and errours; to you, to challenge us, if we have done any thing contrary to our late League and contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Lutatius* the Conſul, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no diſpute. As touching the laſt agreement between you and *Aſdrubal*, wherein you will ſay that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by name; it is you that have taught us how to anſwer that particular. For whatſoever you found in the Treaty between us and *Lutatius*, to your own diſadvantage, you caſt it upon your Conſuls preſumption as promiſing thoſe things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and people of *Rome*. If then it be lawfull for the *Romans*, to diſavow the actions of their Conſuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctual and preciſe warrant; the ſame liberty may we alſo aſſume, and hold our ſelves no way bound in honour to perform thoſe bargains which *Aſdrubal* hath made for

for us, without our commandment and conſent.

This was an impertinent anſwer, and little better than a meer cavil. For *Lutatius* the Conſul, in his Treaty of Peace with the *Carthaginians*, had expreſly referred the allowance thereof to the people of *Rome*. It had been therefore much better to have dealt plainly, and to have alledged, That after this League was made and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the *Romans*, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the Iſle of *Sardinia*, and withall of twelve hundred talents: which perjury the State of *Carthage*, being now grown able, would revenge with open War. As for the *Saguntines*, it little ſkilled that the *Romans* had admitted them into confederacy, and forthwith inſerted their names into the Treaty of Peace with *Aſdrubal*: ſeeing that the Treaty with *Aſdrubal*, and all other buſineſs between *Rome* and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of Peace, in taking away *Sardinia*, were no better than *Roman* injuries, as implying this commination, *Do whatſoever we require; elſe will we make War, without regard of our oath, which we have already broken.*

But this the *Carthaginians* did not alledge, forgetting, in heat of contention (as *Polybius* takes it) the beſt of their Plea. Yet ſince *Livie* himſelf doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, did inflame the ſpirit of *Amilcar* with deſire of revenge: we may reaſonably think, that the mention of this injury was omitted, not ſo much upon forgetfulneſs, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping up ſuch ancient matter of quarrel, to ſhew that the war, now towards, had long been thought upon, and like to be made with extraordinary force, in other manner than heretofore. In concluſion, the *Carthaginian* Senate moved the *Roman* Embaſſadours, to deliver unto them in plain terms the purpoſes of thoſe that ſent them, and the worſt of that, which they had long determined againſt them: as for the *Saguntines*, and the confining of their Armies within *Iberus*; thoſe were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* gathering up the ſkirt of his gown, as if ſomewhat had been laid in the hollow thereof, made this ſhort reply: I have here (quoth he) in my Gown-ſkirt both Peace and War: make you (my Maſters of the Senate) election of theſe two, which of them you like beſt, and purpoſe to imbrace. Hereat all cryed out at once; Even which of them you your ſelf have a fancy to offer us. Marry then (quoth *Fabius*) take the War, and ſhare it among you: Which the aſſembly willingly accepted.

This was plain dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had reſolved to make War, it was meerly frivolous. For all theſe diſputes of breach of Peace, have ever been maintained by the party unwilling, or unable to ſuſtain the War. The ruſty ſword, and the empty purſe, do alwayes plead performance of covenants. There have been few Kings or States in the World, that have otherwiſe underſtood the obligation of a Treaty, than with the condition of their own advantage: and commonly (ſeeing Peace between ambitious Princes and States, is but a kind of breathing) the beſt adviſed have rather begun with the ſword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the *Arragonois* with the *French* in *Naples*; *Henry* the ſecond of *France*, with the Imperials, when he wrote to *Briſac*, to ſurpriſe as many places as he could, ere the War brake out; *Don John*, with the Netherlands; and *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain*, with the *Engliſh*, when in the great *Imbarge* he took all our ſhips and goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, beſides the preſent ſtrength of *Carthage*, and the common feeling of injuries received from theſe enemies, had another private and hereditary deſire, that violently carryed him againſt the *Romans*. His Father *Amilcar*, at what time he did ſacrifice, being ready to take his journey into *Spain*, had ſolemnly bound him by oath, to purſue them with immortal hatred, and to work them all poſſible miſchief, as ſoon as he ſhould be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine years old, when his Father cauſed him to lay his hand upon the Altar, and make this vow: ſo that it was no marvel, if the impreſſion were ſtrong in him.

That it is inhumane to bequeath hatred in this ſort, as it were by Legacy, it cannot be denyed. Yet for mine own part, I do not much doubt, but that ſome of thoſe Kings, with whom we are now in peace, have received the like charge of their Predeceſſors, that as ſoon as their coffers ſhall be full, they ſhall declare themſelves enemies to the people of *England*.

§. II.

Hannibal *takes order for the defence of* Spain, *and* Africk. *His Journey into* Italy.

WArr being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* reſolved not to put up his ſword which he had drawn againſt the *Saguntines*, untill

untill he had therewith opened his passage unto the gates of *Rome*. So began the second Punick War; second to none that ever the Senate and people of *Rome* sustained. *Hannibal* wintred at *Carthagena*; where he licensed his *Spanish* Souldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselves against the Spring. In the mean while he gave instructions to his Brother *Asdrubal* for the Government of *Spain* in his absence. He also took order, to send a great many troops of *Spaniards* into *Africk*, to equal the number of *Africans* formerly drawn thence into *Spain*; to the end, that so the one Nation might remain as pledges and gages for the other. Of the *Spaniards*, he transported into *Africk* thirteen thousand, eight hundred and fifty foot, and twelve hundred horse; also eight hundred slingers of the * *Baleares*. Besides these, he selected four thousand foot, all young men, and of quality, out of the best Cities of *Spain*; which he appointed to be garrisoned in *Carthage* it self, not so much in regard of their forces, as that they might serve for hostages: for among those four thousand, the best of the *Spanish* Citizens, and those that swayed most in their several States, had their Sons or Kinsmen. He also left with his Brother, to guard the Coasts and Ports, fifty and seven Gallies; whereof thirty seven were presently armed, and appointed for the war. Of *Africans* and other Nations, strangers, he left with him above twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides one and twenty Elephants.

* *Majorca, & Minorca.*

Having in this sort taken order for the defence of *Spain* and *Africk*; he sent discoverers before him, to view the Passages of the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, and of the *Alps*. He also sent Embassadours to the Mountainers of the *Pyrenes*, and to the *Gauls*, to obtain a quiet passage: that he might bring his Army entire into *Italy*, and not be compelled to diminish his force, by any War in the way, till he came to encounter the *Romans*. His Embassadours and Discoverers being returned with good satisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he past over the River of *Iberus*, with an Army consisting of fourscore and ten thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. All those parts of *Spain*, into which he had not entred before, he now subdued: and appointed *Hanno* (not that old enemy of his house, who sate still at *Carthage*) to govern *Spain* on the East side of *Iberus*; to whom he left an Army of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arrived at the borders of *Spain*, some of his *Spanish* Souldiers returned home, without asking leave: which that others might not also do, or attempt, he courteously dismissed many more that seemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to pass, that the Journey seemed the less tedious unto those that accompanied him, as being not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his Army, consisting now but of fifty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, he past the *Pyrenes*, and entred into *Gaul*. He found the *Gauls* that bordered upon *Spain*, ready in Arms to forbid his entrance into their Countrey: but won them with gentle speech, and rich presents that he bestowed upon their Leaders, to favour his Expedition. So without any molestation, he came to the bank of *Rhodanus*; where dwelt, on each side of the River, a people called *Volcæ*. These were unacquainted with the cause of his coming; and therefore sought to keep him from passing over the water. But he was greatly assisted by some of those *Gauls*, that inhabited on the West side of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by those of *Vivaretz* and *Lyonnois*. For although many of them had transported themselves and their goods, into the Country of *Dauphine*, thinking to defend the further bank against him: yet such as remained, being very desirous to free their Countrey of so many ill guests, were better pleased to have their Countrey-men well beaten, which had abandoned them, than to have their own store of corn and cattel wasted, by the long stay of so great an Army, as lay upon them. For which reason, they helped him to make boats; informed him of another more easie passage, higher up the River; and lent him guides. When the Vessels for transportation of his Army were in readiness; he sent *Hanno*, the Son of *Bomilcar*, up the River: himself in the mean while making countenance to enter the Foord below. The end of this labour, was, that *Hanno* charging the *Gaules* unawares upon their own side, and *Hannibal*, at the same time, passing the River in their faces, the further bank was won, though with some difficulty; and the enemies dispersed. Yet was he greatly troubled in conveying over his Elephants; who marvellously feared the water. He was therefore driven to make raffs of trees, and cover them with Earth and Turf; whereof he fastned one to each bank, that might serve as a bridge, to and from another of the same sort, but loose upon which the beasts were towed over.

Having past this first brunt, and overcome both the rage of the River, and of those that defended it, he was visited by the Princes of the *Gauls Cisalpines*, that inhabited *Piemont* and *Milan*, who lately had revolted from

from the *Romans*. These informed him of the passages of the *Alps*; that they were not so difficult, as common report made them; and from these he received guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithstanding, he found himself extreamly incombred by the *Savoyans*; and lost, both of his carriages, and of his *Carthaginians*, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainly assailed by them, before he could recover the plain Countreys on the other side. And whereas his Journey over the Mountains cost him fifteen dayes travel, he was every day, more or less, not only charged by those Mountainers, but withall extreamly beaten with grievous weather and snow: it being the beginning of Winter, when he began, and overcame this passage. But the fair and fertile Plains, which were now ready to receive them; with the assistance and conduct of the *Cisalpine Gauls*, who by their proper forces had so often invaded the *Roman* Territory; gave them great comfort and encouragement to go on: having nothing else of difficulty remaining, but that which from the beginning they made accompt to overcome, by their proper valour and resolution; namely, the *Roman* Armies, and resistance.

§. III.

How the Romans *in vain solicited the* Spaniards *and* Gauls *to take their part. The Rebellion of the* Cisalpine-Gauls *against the* Romans.

THE Countries of *Spain* and *Gaul*, through which the *Carthaginians* marched thus far, had been solicited before, by the same *Roman* Embassadours, who had denounced the war at *Carthage*. These, as they were instructed by the Senate, took *Spain* in their way home-ward from *Carthage*, with a purpose to draw into the *Roman* Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at least to disswade them from contracting any friendship with the *Carthaginians*. The first which they attempted were the *Volcians*, a people in *Spain*, from whom, in open assembly, they received by one that spake for the rest, this uncomfortable answer: With what face (saith he) can ye *Romans* perswade us to value your Alliance, or to prefer it before the friendship of the *Carthaginians*; seeing we are taught by the example of the *Saguntines*, to be more wise than so? For they, relying on your faith and promised assistance, have been utterly rooted out, and destroyed by the *Carthaginians*; whom they might else have held their assured friends, and good neighbours, as we, and other the people of *Spain* have found them. Ye may therefore be gone, with this resolution from us, That for our parts (and so I think, I may answer for the rest of our Country-men) the *Romans* henceforth are not to expect any kindness at our hands; who are resolved, never to make account of their protection, nor amity. From the *Volcians*, the Embassadours took their way towards the *Gauls*; using their best arguments to perswade them not to suffer the *Carthaginians* to pass into *Italy*, thorow their Territory: and withall greatly glorifying themselves, their strength, and large Dominion. But the *Gauls* laught them to scorn, and had hardly the patience to hear them speak. For shall we (said one of their Princes) by resisting *Hannibals* passage into *Italy*, entertain a war which is not meant to be made against us? Shall we hold the war among our selves, and in our own Territory, by force which marcheth with a speedy pace from us, toward our ancient enemies? Have the *Romans* deserved so well of us, and the *Carthaginians* so ill, that we should set fire on our own houses, to save theirs from burning? No, we know it well, that the *Romans* have already forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territory and inheritance: and constrained others, as free as themselves, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the *Carthaginians*, our enemies, who have no way as yet offended us, nor we them.

With this unpleasing answer the Embassadours returned home, carrying no good news, of friends likely to help them; but rather some assurance from the people of *Massilia*, which were confederates with *Rome*, that the *Gauls* were determined to take part with their enemy. Of this inclination, the *Cisalpine Gauls* gave hasty proof. For when the news was brought into *Italy*, that the *Carthaginians* had passed *Iberus*, and were on the way towards *Rome*; this alone sufficed to stir up the *Boji*, and *Insubrians*, against the *Romans*. These people were lately offended at the plantation of new *Roman* Colonies, at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, within their Territories. Relying therefore upon the *Carthaginian* succour, which they supposed to be now at hand; they laid aside all regard of those hostages, which they had given to the *Romans*, and fell upon the new Colonies. The Towns it seems they could not win; for *Hannibal* shortly after failed to get them. But they forced the *Roman* Commissioners

Commissioners, (who belike were abroad in the Country) to flye to *Modena*: where they besieged them. The siege of *Modena* had continued some small time; when the *Gaules*, having little skill in assaulting Cities, waxed weary, and seemed desirous to have peace, and to come to some good accord with the *Romans*. This they did of purpose, to draw on some meeting; that they might therein lay hand upon the *Roman* Deputies, thereby to redeem their Hostages in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wish. For the *Romans* sent out Embassadours to treat with them, and to conclude a Peace; whom they detained. *Manlius* the Prætor, who lay in these quarters with an Army, hearing this outrage; marched in all haste to the relief of the besieged. But the *Gaules*, having laid a strong ambush in a wood joyning to the way, fell upon the Prætor so opportunely, as he was utterly overthrown, and all his followers left dead in the place, a few excepted, that recovered, by fast running to a little village, but defensible; upon the River of *Po*. When this was heard at *Rome*, *C. Attilius*, another of the Prætors, was hastily sent to relieve the besieged with a Legion, and five thousand of the *Roman* associates: which forces were taken out of the Consuls Army, and supplyed by a new levy.

As the *Gaules* were too rash and hasty; so were the *Romans* too slow, and indeed too ill-advised, in the beginning of this war. They were not perswaded that *Carthage*, which had almost servilely endured so many indignities in time of the late peace; would be so brave and couragious on the sudden, as to attempt the conquest of *Italy* it self. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls to make war in *Spain*, the other in *Africk*: resting secure of all danger at home. *Titus Sempronius* took his way toward *Africk*, with an hundred and sixty *Quinqueremes*, or Gallies of five to an Oar, which preparation may seem to threaten even the City of *Carthage*, to which it shall not come near. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the other Consul, made all possible haste, by the way of *Genoa*, into *Provence*; and used such diligence, having the wind also favourable, as in five dayes he recovered *Massilia*. There he was advertised of *Hannibal* his having passed the River of *Rhodanus*, whom he thought to have found busie yet a while in *Spain*. *Hannibal* had also news of the Consuls arrival: whereof he was neither glad, nor sorry, as not meaning to have to do with him. Each of them sent forth Scouts to discover the others number and doings: *Hannibal*, about five hundred *Numidians*; *Scipio*, three hundred of his better appointed *Roman* horse. These met and fought, and the *Numidians* were beaten: yet could not the *Romans* greatly brag, having slain only two hundred, and lost of their own, one hundred and forty. But when *Scipio* drew near, to have met with the *Carthaginians*; he found, that they were gone three dayes before; and that (as he then found assuredly true) with an intent to look upon the walls of *Rome*. This interrupted his intended Voyage into *Spain*. Nevertheless he sent away thither his Brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, with the greatest part of his Fleet and Army, to try what might be done against *Asdrubal*, and the other *Carthaginian* Lieutenants in the Country. He himself, taking with him a few choise bands, returned by Sea to *Pisa*; and so passing thorow *Tuscane* into *Lumbardie*, drew together the broken troops of *Manlius* and *Atilius* that lately had been beaten by the *Gaules*: with which forces he made head against the enemy, thinking to find him over-laboured, with travel of his painful Journey.

§. IV.

Scipio *the* Roman *Consul overcome by* Hannibal *at* Ticinum. *Both of the* Roman *Consuls beaten by* Hannibal, *in a great battel at* Trebia.

FIve Months *Hannibal* had spent in his tedious Journey from *Carthagena*; what great muster he could make, when he had passed the *Alpes*, it is not easily found. Some reckon his foot at an hundred thousand, and his horse at twenty thousand; others report them to have been only twenty thousand foot, and six hundred horse. *Hannibal* himself in his monument which he raised, in the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, agreeth with the latter summ. Yet the *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, and others that joyned with him, are likely to have mightily increased his Army, in short space. But when he marched Eastward from the banks of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight and thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; of which, all save those remembred by himself in the Inscription of his Altar in *Juno*'s Temple, are like to have perished by diseases, enemies, Rivers and Mountains; which mischiefs had devoured, each their several shares.

Having newly passed the *Alpes*, and scarce refreshed his wearied Army in the Country of *Piemont*; he sought to win the friendship

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of the (a) *Taurini*, who lay next in his way. But the *Taurini* held war at that time with the *Inſubrians*, which were his good friends; and refuſed (perhaps for the ſame cauſe) his amity. Wherefore he aſſaulted their Town; and wan it by force in three daies. Their ſpoil ſerved well to hearten his Army; and their calamity, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the *Gauls*, without more ado, fell unto his ſide: many for fear, many alſo for good-will, according to their former inclination. This diſpoſition ran thorow the whole Country: which joyned, or was all in readineſs to joyn with the *Carthaginians*; when the news of *Scipio* the Conſul his arrival, made ſome to be more adviſed than the reſt. The name of the *Romans* was terrible in thoſe quarters; what was in the *Carthaginians*, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the *Roman* Conſul was already gotten thorow the moſt defenſible paſſages, ere any ſpeech had been heard of his approach: many ſate ſtill for very fear, who elſe would fain have concluded a League with theſe new-come friends; and ſome, for greater fear, offered their ſervice againſt the *Carthaginians*, whom nevertheleſs they had wiſhed well to ſpeed.

(a) Theſe dwelt about *Turine*, a goodly City, now ſubject unto the Duke of *Savoy*: which from them took the name of *Auguſta Taurinorum*.

This wavering affection of the Province, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals haſten to the tryal of a battail. Their meeting was at *Ticinum*, now called *Pavia*; where each of them wondred at the others expedition: *Hannibal* thinking it ſtrange that the Conſul, whom he had left behind him on the other ſide of the *Alpes*, could meet him in the face, before he had well warmed himſelf in the Plains; *Scipio* admiring the ſtrange adventure of paſſing thoſe Mountains, and the great ſpirit of his Enemy. Neither were the Senate at *Rome* little amazed at *Hannibals* ſucceſs, and ſudden arrival. Wherefore they diſpatched a Meſſenger in all haſte unto *Sempronius*, the other Conſul, that was then in *Sicily*, giving him to underſtand hereof: and letting him further know, that whereas he had been directed to make the war in *Africa*, it was now their pleaſure that he ſhould forbear to proſecute any ſuch attempt, but that he ſhould return the Army under his charge, with all poſſible ſpeed, to ſave *Italy* it ſelf. According to this order, *Sempronius* ſent off his Fleet from *Lilybæum*; with direction to land the Army at *Ariminum*, a Port Town not far from *Ravenna*: quite another way from *Carthage*, whither he was making haſte. In the mean while, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were come ſo near, that fight they muſt, ere they could part aſunder. Hereupon both of them prepared the minds of their Souldiers, by the beſt arguments they had: unto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetorick of a preſent example, that he ſhewed upon certain priſoners of the *Savoians*, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpoſe, into *Italy*. For theſe, having been no leſs miſerably fettered and chained, than ſparingly fed; and withall ſo often ſcourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their deſire, than to be delivered from their miſeries by any kind of preſent death, were brought into the middle of the Army: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with ſome other of his Companions, till the one of them were ſlain, with condition, being the Victor, to receive his liberty, and ſome ſmall reward. This was no ſooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cauſe lots to be caſt, which of them ſhould enter the Liſt, with ſuch weapons, as the Chieftains of the *Gauls* were wont to uſe in ſingle combats. Every one of theſe unhappy men wiſhed, that his own lot might ſpeed; whereby it ſhould at leaſt be his good fortune, to end his miſeries by death, if not to get a reward by victory. That couple, whoſe good hap it was to be choſen, fought reſolvedly: as rather deſiring, than fearing death; and having none other hope, than in vanquiſhing. Thus were ſome few couples matched, it ſkilled not how equally: for all theſe poor creatures were willing, upon whatſoever uneven terms, to rid themſelves out of ſlavery. The ſame affection that was in theſe Combatants, and in their fellows which beheld them, wrought alſo upon the *Carthaginians*, for whom the ſpectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by wining the victory had gotten his liberty, together with an horſe and armour: but even him alſo, who being ſlain in fight, had eſcaped that miſerable condition, unto which his Companions were returned. Their General perceiving what impreſſion this dumb ſhew had wrought in them, began to admoniſh them of their own condition, ſpeaking to this effect: That he had laid before them an example of their own eſtates: ſeeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to run the ſame fortune, that theſe ſlaves had done; all to live victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which theſe priſoners eſteemed far more grievous) to live in a perpetual ſlavery: That none of them all, in whom was common ſenſe, could promiſe to himſelf any hope of life by flight; ſince the Mountains, the Rivers, the great diſtance

ſtance from their own Countries, and the purſuit of mercileſs Enemies, muſt needs retrench all ſuch impotent imaginations. He therefore prayed them to remember, that they, who had even now praiſed the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquiſhed, would make it their own caſe; ſeeing that there was never any in the world, appointed with ſuch a reſolution, that had ever been broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrary, he told them that the *Romans*, who were to fight upon their own ſoil, and in view of their own Towns; who knew as many waies to ſave themſelves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertain ſuch a reſolution as theirs: ſeeing the ſame Neceſſity, (to which nothing ſeems impoſſible) did no way preſs them, or conſtrain them. In this ſort did *Hannibal*, with one ſubſtantial Argument, *That there was no mean between Victory and Death*, encourage his Companions. For, (ſaith a great Captain of *France*) *La cõmodite de la retraitte advance la fuite*; *The commodity of a retrait, doth greatly advance a flat running away.*

Scipio on the other ſide, after that he had given order for the laying of a bridge over the River of *Ticinus*, did not neglect to uſe the beſt arguments and reaſons he could, to encourage the Army he led: putting them in mind of the great conqueſts and victories of their Anceſtors; againſt how many Nations they had prevailed; and over how many Princes, their Enemies, had they triumphed. As for this Army commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late war they had ſo often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withall to conſider, that at this time it was not only ſo diminiſhed in numbers, as it rather ſeemed a troup of Brigants and Thieves, than an Army likely to encounter the *Romans*, but ſo weather-beaten, and ſtarved, as neither the men, nor horſes, had ſtrength or courage to ſuſtain the firſt charge that ſhould be given upon them. Nay (ſaid he) ye your ſelves may make judgment what daring they have now remaining, after ſo many travails and miſeries; ſeeing when they were in their beſt ſtrength, after they had paſt the *Roan*, their horſe-men were not only beaten by ours, and driven back to the very Trenches of their Camp, but *Hannibal* himſelf, fearing our approach, ran headlong towards the *Alps*: thinking it a leſs diſhonour, to die there by froſt, famine, and precipitation, than by the ſharp ſwords of the *Romans*, which had ſo often cut down his people, both in *Africa*, and in *Sicil*. It was not long after this, ere the two Generals met: each being far advanced before the groſs of his Army, with his Horſe; and the *Roman* having alſo with him ſome light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they diſcovered the approach one of the other; *Scipio* ſent before him his horſemen of the *Gauls*, to begin the fight, and beſtowing his Darters in the void ground between their troups, to aſſiſt them: himſelf with his *Roman* men at arms, followed ſoftly in good order. The *Gauls* (whether deſirous to try the metal of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get favour of the *Romans*) behaved themſelves couragiouſly, and were as couragiouſly oppoſed. Yet their foot that ſhould have aided them, ſhrank at the firſt brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without caſting a Dart; for fear of being trodden down by the enemies horſe. This notwithſtanding, the *Gauls* maintained the fight, and did more hurt than they received; as preſuming that they were well backt. Neither was the Conſul unmindful to relieve them: their hardineſs deſerving his aid; and the haſty flight of thoſe that ſhould have ſtood by them, admoniſhing him that it was needful. Wherefore he adventured himſelf ſo far, that he received a dangerous wound; and had been left in the place, if his Son (afterward ſurnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others give the honour of this reſcue to a *Ligurian* ſlave. Whilſt the *Romans* were buſied in helping their Conſul; an unexpected ſtorm came driving at their backs, and made them look about how to help themſelves. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Numidian* light-horſe, to give upon the *Romans* in flank, and to compaſs them about, whilſt he with his men at Arms ſuſtained their charge, and met them in the face. The *Numidians* performed this very well: cutting in pieces the ſcattered foot, that ran away at the firſt encounter; and then falling on the backs of thoſe, whoſe looks were faſtned upon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impreſſion, the *Romans* were ſhuffled together, and routed: ſo that they all betook them to their ſpeed, and left unto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* ſaw his horſemen thus beaten, and the reſt of his Army thereby greatly diſcouraged; he thought it a point of wiſdom, having loſt ſo many of his Fleet upon the firſt puff of the wind, to take Port with the reſt, before the extremeſt of the tempeſt overtook him. For he ſaw by the lowring morning what manner of day it was like

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to prove. Therefore his battail of foot being yet unbroken, he in a manner ſtole the retrait; and recovered the Bridge over *Ticinus*, which he had formerly built. But notwithſtanding all the haſte that he made, he left ſix hundred of his Rear behinde him: who were the laſt that ſhould have paſſed, and ſtaid to break the bridge. Herein he followed this rule of a good man of War, *Si certamen quandoque dubium videatur, tacitam miles arripiat fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda:* which muſt be underſtood in this ſort: *If a General of an Army, by ſome unproſperous beginnings doubt the ſucceſs; or find his Army fearful or wavering, it is more profitable to ſteal a ſafe retrait, than to abide the uncertain event of battail.*

It was two dayes after, ere *Hannibal* could paſs the River; *Scipio* the whileſt refreſhing his men, and eaſing himſelf of his wound in *Placentia*. But as ſoon as *Hannibal* preſented his Army before the Town, offering battail to the *Romans*, who durſt not accept it, nor iſſue forth of their Camp; the *Gauls*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for fear, gathered out of his fear, courage to forſake him. They thought that now the long-deſired time was come, in which better Chieftains and Souldiers, than *Aneroeſtus*, *Britomarus*, and *Geſſates*, were come to help them: if they had the hearts to help themſelves. Wherefore the ſame night they fell upon the *Roman* Camp; wounded and ſlew many eſpecially of thoſe guards that kept watch at the gate; with whoſe heads in their hands, they fled over to the *Carthaginians*, and preſented their ſervice. *Hannibal* received them exceeding courteouſly, and diſmiſt them to their own places: as men likely to be of more uſe to him, in perſwading the reſt of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other ſervice at the preſent.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Conſul ſtole a retrait, as he had done before; but not with the like eaſe and ſecurity. *Hannibal* had a good eye upon him, and ere he could get far, ſent the *Numidians* after him: following himſelf with all his Army. That night the *Romans* had received a great blow, if the *Numidians*, greedy of ſpoil, had not ſtaid to ranſack their Camp: and thereby given time to all (ſave ſome few in Rear, that were ſlain or taken) to paſs the River of *Trebia*, and ſave themſelves. *Scipio*, being both unable to travel by reaſon of his wound, and withall, finding it expedient to attend the coming of his fellow-Conſul; incamps himſelf ſtrongly upon the banks of *Trebia*. Neceſſity required that he ſhould ſo do; yet this diminiſhed his reputation. For every day more and more of the *Gauls* fell to the *Carthaginian* ſide; among whom came in the *Boji*, that brought with them the *Roman* Commiſſioners, which they had taken in the late Inſurrection. They had hitherto kept them as pledges, to redem their own hoſtages: but now they deliver them up to *Hannibal*, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him; by whoſe help they conceived better hope of recovering their own men and lands. In the mean while, *Hannibal*, being in great ſcarcity of victuals, attempted the taking of *Claſtidium*, a Town wherein the *Romans* had laid up all their ſtore and munition. But there needed no force; a *Brunduſian*, whom the *Romans* had truſted with keeping it, ſold it for a little money.

The news of theſe diſaſters, brought to *Rome*, filled the Senate and People, rather with a deſire of haſty revenge, than any great ſorrow for their loſs received; ſeeing that in a manner, all their Foot, wherein their ſtrength and hope conſiſted, were as yet entire. They therefore haſted away *Sempronius*, that was newly arrived, towards *Ariminum*, where the Army, by him ſent out of *Sicil*, awaited his coming. He therefore haſted thither; and from thence he marched ſpeedily towards his Colleague: who attended him upon the banks of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being joyned in one, the Conſuls deviſed about that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* received from *Scipio* the relation of what had paſſed ſince *Hannibals* arrival; the fortune of the late fight; and by what errour or miſadventure the *Romans* were therein foiled; which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the revolt and treaſon of the *Gauls*.

Sempronius, having received from *Scipio* the ſtate of the affairs in thoſe parts; ſought by all means to try his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recovered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchaſe to himſelf the ſole glory of the victory, which he had already, in his imagination, certainly obtained. He alſo feared the election of the new Conſuls: his own time being well-near expired. But *Scipio* perſwaded the contrary; objecting the unſkilfulneſs of the new-come Souldiers: and withall, gave him good reaſon, to aſſure him that the *Gauls*, naturally unconſtant, were upon terms of abandoning the party of the *Carthaginians*; thoſe of them inhabiting between the rivers of *Trebia* and *Po*, being already revolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haſte to find out the diſhonour

which he might otherwise easily have avoided. This resolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleasing to *Hannibal:* who feared nothing so much as delay and loss of time. For the strength of his Army, consisting in strangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gauls*; he no less feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatience of the other: who being far from their own home, had many passions moving them to turn their faces towards it. To further the desire of *Sempronius*, it fell out so, that about the same time, the *Gauls*, inhabiting near unto *Trebia*, complained of injuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not supply *Hannibal* with necessaries, as he supposed that they might have done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their sakes, and to set them at liberty, he had undertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was bold to be his own Carver; and took from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they fly to the *Romans* for help: and, to make their tale the better, say that this wrong is done them, because they refused to joyn with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: he suspected their falshood, and was assured of their mutability. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it stood with the honour of *Rome*, to preserve their Confederates from suffering injury: and that hereby might be won the friendship of all the *Gauls*. Therefore he sent out a thousand Horse: which coming unlooked for upon *Hannibal* his forragers, and finding them heavy loaden, cut many of them in pieces, and chased the rest even into their own Camp. This indignity made the *Carthaginians* sally out against them: who caused them to retire faster than they came. *Sempronius* was ready to back his own men; and repelled the enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length all the *Roman* Army was drawn forth; and a battel ready to be fought, if the *Carthaginian* had not refused it.

This victory (for so the Consul would have it called) made the *Romans* in general desirous to try the main chance in open field: all the perswasions of *Scipio* to the contrary notwithstanding. Of this disposition *Hannibal* was advertised by the *Gauls*, his Spies, that were in the *Roman* Camp. Therefore he bethought himself how to help forward the victory by adding some stratagem to his forces: he found in the hollow of a water-course, over-grown with high reed, a fit trench to cover an ambush. Therein he cast his brother *Mago* with a thousand choice Horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Army, after they had well warmed, and well fed themselves in their Camp, he led into the field, and marched towards the Consul. Early in the morning, he had sent over *Trebia* some companies of *Numidian* light-horse, to brave the enemy, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. *Sempronius* was ready to take any opportunity to fight: and therefore not only issued out of his Camp, but foorded the River of *Trebia*, in a most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the arm-holes: which, together with the want of food, did so enfeeble and cool their courages, as they wanted force to handle the arms they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their own Nation, as of the *Latines*: having of the one sixteen, of the other twenty thousand. The mass of these they ranged in a gross Battalion, guarded on the flanks with three thousand horse; thrusting their Light-armed, and Darters, in loose troops in the head of the rest, in the nature of a Vantguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of foot were in a manner equal to their enemies; in horse they had by far the better, both in number and goodness. When therefore the *Roman* horse ranged on the flanks of their foot, were broken by the *Numidians*; when their foot, were charged both in front and flank, by the *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and Elephants; when finally the whole Army was unawares prest in the Rear, by *Mago* and his two thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush; then fell the *Romans*, by heaps, under the enemies swords: and being beaten down, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the River, by the Horsemen that pursued them, there escaped no more of six and thirty thousand, than ten thousand of all sorts, Horse and Foot.

Three great errours *Sempronius* committed, of which every one deserved to be recompensed with the loss that followed. The first was, that he fought with *Hannibal* in a Champain, being by far inferiour in Horse, and withall, thereby subject to the *African* Elephants, which in inclosed or un-even grounds & wood-lands, would have been of no use. His second errour was, that he made no discovery of the place upon which he fought; whereby he was grossly over-reach'd and insnared, by the ambush which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that he drencht his footmen with empty stomacks, in the River of *Trebia*, even in a most cold and frosty day, whereby, in effect, they lost the use of their limbs. For, as one saith well, *There is nothing more inconvenient and perilous, than to present an Army tyred with travel, to*

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an enemy fresh and fed; since where the strength of body faileth, the generosity of mind is but as an unprofitable vapour.

The broken remainder of the *Roman* Army, was collected by *Scipio*, who got therewith into *Placentia*; stealing away the same night, which was exceeding rainy, from the *Carthaginians*, who either perceived him not, because of the showrs; or would not perceive him, because they were over-wearied. *Sempronius* escaped with extream danger, flying, through the Country that was over-run by the enemies horse. He was attended by more than were requisite in a secret flight; yet by fewer than could have made resistance; if the enemy had met with him. Nevertheless he got away, and came to *Rome*; where he did his office in chusing new Consuls for the year following: and then returned into his Province, with a fresh supply against *Hannibal*.

§. V.

The departure of Hannibal *from the* Cisalpine Gauls *into* Hetruria. Flaminius *the* Roman *Consul slain, and his Army destroyed by the* Carthaginians, *at the Lake of* Thrasymene.

THE Winter growing on apace, was very sharp, and unfit for service: to the great contentment of the *Romans* who, being not able to keep the field, lay warm in *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not suffer them to rest very quiet; but vexed them with continual Alarms: assayled divers places, and taking some; beating the *Gauls* their adherents, and winning the *Ligurians* to his party, who presented him, in token of their faithful love, with two *Roman* Questors, or Treasurers, two Colonels, and five Gentlemen, the Sons of Senators, which they had intercepted. These, and in general all such prisoners as he had of the *Romans*, he held in straight places, loaden with Irons, and miserably fed: those of their followers he not only well intreated, but sent them to their Countries without ransome; with the protestation, That he therefore undertook the War in *Italy*, to free them from the oppression of the *Romans*. By these means he hoped, and not in vain, to draw many of them to his party and assistance. But the *Gauls* were not capable of such perswasions. They stood in fear, lest he should make their Country the seat of War, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieved than reason willed them, at his feeding upon them, and wasting their territory. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gave him the advice, were ready soon after to practise against him; but were in like sort detected. He was therefore glad to use Periwigs of hair, and false beards of divers colours; to the end that he might not be descryed, nor known, to those that should undertake to make him away. Fain he would have passed the *Appenines*, upon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the *Gauls*, till he had seen more swallows than one. At length, when the year was somwhat better opened, he resolved to take his leave of these giddy companions and bring the war nearer to the gate of *Rome*. So away he went, having his Army greatly increased with *Ligurians* and *Gauls*; more serviceable friends abroad, than in their own Country. That the passage of the *Appenine* Mountains was troublesome, I hold it needless to make any doubt. Yet since the *Roman* Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell upon *Hannibal*, when he was travelling thorow and over them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter, that makes alwayes foul, than to any intollerable difficulty in that journey. Nevertheless, to avoid the length of war, together with the resistance and fortifications which may not improbably be thought to have been erected upon the ordinary passages towards *Rome*: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to travel thorow the Fens and rotten grounds of *Tuscane*. In those Marishes, and bogs, he lost all his Elephants, save one, together with the use of one of his eyes; by the moistness of the air, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading thorow deep mire and water. In brief, after he had, with much ado, recovered the firm and fertile Plains, he lodged about *Arretium*; where he somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard news of the *Roman* Consuls:

C. Flaminius, and *Cn. Servilius* had of late been chosen Consuls for this year: *Servilius* a tractable man, and wholly governed by advice of the Senate; *Flaminius* an hot-headed popular Orator; who having once been robbed (as he thought) of his Consulship, by a device of the Senators, was afraid to be served so again, unless he quickly finished the war. This jealous Consul thought it not best for him to be at *Rome*, when he entred into his Office, lest his adversaries, by feigning some religious impediment, should

detain him within the City, or find other busines for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour that he hoped to get in the war. Wherefore he departed secretly out of the Town, and meant to take possession of his Office when the day came at *Ariminum*. The Fathers (so the Senators were called) highly displeased with this, revoked him by Embassadors: but he neglected their injunction; and hastening to meet with the *Carthaginians*, took his way to *Aretium*, where he shortly found them.

The fiery disposition of this Consul, promised unto *Hannibal* great assurance of victory. Therefore he provoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Roman*; hoping thereby to draw him unto fight, ere *Servilius* came with the rest of the Army. All the Country between *Fesulæ* and *Aretium*, he put to fire and sword, even under the Consuls nose; which was enough to make him stir, that would not have sitten still, though *Hannibal* had been quiet. It is true that a great Captain of *France* hath said; *Pays gaste n'est pas perdu*; *A wasted Country is not thereby lost*. But by this waste of the Country, *Flaminius* thought his own honour to be much impaired; and therefore advanced towards the Enemy. Many advised him (which had indeed been best) to have patience a while, and stay for his Co leaguе. But of this he could not abide to hear; saying, that he came not to defend *Aretium*, whilst the *Carthaginians* went burning down all *Italy* before them, to the gates of *Rome*. Therefore he took horse, and commanded the Army to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Ensigns stuck so fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked up by the Ensign-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or false, *Tully* makes a jest, saying, That the cowardly knave did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) having hardly pitched it into the earth. Neither was the answer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) disagreeable hereto: for he commanded that it should be digged up, if fear had made the hands too weak to lift it: asking withall, whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this their jealousie, both he and the Senate that did give him cause, are likely to repent.

All the Territory of *Cortona*, as far as to the lake of *Thrasymene*, was on a light fire; which while the Consul thought to quench with his enemies blood, he pursued *Hannibal* so unadvisedly, that he fell with his whole Army into an ambush cunningly laid for him between the Mountains of *Cortona* and the Lake, There was he charged unawares, on all sides, (save only where that great Lake of *Perusia*, permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flye from them) knowing not which way to turn, or make resistance. So was he slain in the place, accompanied with fifteen thousand dead carkasses of his Country-men. About six thousand of his men, that had the Vantguard, took courage, as for the most part it happens, out of desperation: and breaking thorow the enemies, that stood in their way, recovered the tops of the Mountains. If these had returned, and given charge upon the *Carthaginians* backs, it was thought that they might have greatly amended, if not wholly altered the fortune of the day. But that violence of their fear, which, kindled by necessity had wrought the effects of hardiness, was well asswaged, when they ceased to despair of saving their lives by flight. They stood still, in a cold sweat, upon the Hill-top, hearing under them a terrible noise, but not any way discovering how things went, because of the great fogg that held all that morning. When it grew toward noon, the Air was cleared, and they might plainly discern the lamentable slaughter of their fellows. But they staid not to lament it; for it was high time, they thought, to be gone ere they were descryed and attached by the enemies horse. This they should have thought upon sooner, since they had no mind to return into the fight. For, descryed they were, and *Maharbal* sent after them, who overtook them by night in a Village, which he surrounded with his horse: and so they yielded the next day, rendring up their arms, upon his promise of their lives and liberties.

This accord *Hannibal* refused to confirm; saying, that it was made by *Maharbal* without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authority to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his own honour) what it was to keep no faith: and fitted them with a trick of their own. For if it were lawful unto the *Romans*, to alter covenants, or add unto them what they listed; if the *Carthaginians* must be fain to pay certain hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, besides their first bargains; as also to renounce their interest in *Sardinia*, and be limited in their *Spanish* Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the *Romans*, whose present advantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded Peace: then can *Hannibal* be as *Roman*, as themselves; and make them know, that perfidiousness gaineth no more in prosperity, than it loseth in the

the change of fortune. Fifteen thousand *Italian* prisoners, or thereabout, he had in his hands: of which, all that were not *Romans*, he set free without ransom; protesting, as he had done before, that it was for their sakes, and to free them and others from the *Roman* tyranny, that he had undertaken this war. But the *Romans* he kept in straight prison, and in fetters, making them learn to eat hard meat. This was a good way to breed in the people of *Italy*, if not a love of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this war had not concerned the general safety, but only the preserving of her own neck from the yoke of slavery, which her over-strong enemies would thrust upon her in revenge of her oppressions. But an antient reputation confirmed by success of many ages, is not lost in one or two battles. Wherefore more is to be done, ere the *Carthaginians* can get any *Italian* Partisans.

Presently after the battle of *Thrasimene*, *C. Centronius*, with four thousand *Roman* horse, drew near unto the Camp of *Hannibal*. He was sent from *Ariminum* by *Servilius* the other Consul, to increase the strength of *Flaminius*: but, coming too late, he increased only the misadventure. *Maharbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this company; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great overthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almost half of them, drave the rest unto a high piece of ground, where they came down, and simply yielded to mercy the next day. *Servilius* himself was in the mean time skirmishing with the *Gauls*; against whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the news was brought him of his Colleagues overthrow and death in *Hetruria*; that made him hasten back to the defence of *Rome*.

In these passages, it is easie to discern the fruits of popular jealousie, which perswaded the *Romans* to the yearly change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certain it is, that all men are far better taught by their own errours, than by the examples of their foregoers. *Flaminius* had heard in what a trap *Sempronius* had been taken up but the year before, by this subtile *Carthaginian*; yet suffered he himself to be caught soon after in the same manner. He had also belike forgotten how *Sempronius*, fearing to be prevented by a new Consul, and ambitious of the sole honour of beating *Hannibal* in battle, without help of his companion *Scipio*, had been rewarded with shame and loss; else would he not, contrary to all good advice, have been so hasty to fight, before the arrival of *Servilius*. If *Sempronius* had been continued in his charge, it is probable that he would have taken his companion with him the second time, and have searched all suspected places, proper to have shadowed an ambush: both which this new Consul *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his Government of *France* ten years, *Cæsar* brought that mighty Nation, together with the *Helvetians* and many of the *Germans*, under the *Roman* yoke; into which parts had there been every year a new Lieutenant sent, they would hardly, if ever, have been subdued. For it is more than the best wit in the World can do, to inform it self, within one years compass, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Places, Rivers, and of all good helps, whereby to prosecute a War to the best effect. Our Princes have commonly left their Deputies in *Ireland* three years; whence by reason of the shortness of that their time, many of them have returned as wise as they went out; others have profited more, & yet when they began but to know the first rudiments of War, and Government, fitting the Country, they have been called home, and new Apprentices sent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that Estate. But it hath ever been the old course of the World rather to follow the errours, than to examine them: and of Princes and Governours to uphold their slothful ignorance, by the old examples and policy of other ages and people; though neither likeness of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, have perswaded the imitation.

§. VI.

How Q. Fabius *the* Roman *Dictator, sought to consume the force of* Hannibal, *by lingring War.* Minutius *the Master of the Horse, honoured and advanced by the People, for bold and successful attempting; adventures rashly upon* Hannibal, *and is like to perish with his Army, and rescued by* Fabius.

GReatly were the *Romans* amazed at this their ill success, and at the danger apparent; which threatned them in more terrible manner, than ever did war since *Rome* it self was taken. They were good Souldiers, and so little accustomed to receive an overthrow, that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and again, in open field, all *Italy* was strangely affected with his success, and held him in admiration, as one that could

could work wonders. But *Pyrrhus* his quarrel was not grounded upon hate: he only ſought honour, and fought (as it were, upon a bravery; demeaning himſelf like a courteous enemy. This *Carthaginian* deteſted the whole *Roman* name; againſt which he burned with deſire of revenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thraſymene*, witneſſed his purpoſe, and his ability; which to withſtand, they fled unto a remedy that had long been out of uſe, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Conſuls, and ſcarcely ſubject unto controll of the whole City. Wherefore this Officer was ſeldom choſen, but upon ſome extremity, and for no longer time than ſix months. He was to be named by one of the Conſuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were ſo, that the Conſul (if he ſtood upon his prerogative) might name whom he pleaſed. At this time the one Conſul being dead, and the other too far off, the people took upon them, as having ſupream authority, to give the Dignity by their election, to *Q. Fabius Maximus*; the beſt reputed man of war in the City. *Novum factum novum conſilium expetit, contrary winds, contrary courſes.* *Q. Fabius choſe M. Minutius Ruſus* Maſter of the horſe: which Officer was cuſtomarily as the Dictators Lievtenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous, by taking more upon him.

The firſt act of *Fabius*, was the reformation of ſomewhat amiſs in matters of Religion: a good beginning and commendable, had the Religion been alſo good. But if it were true (as *Livie* reports it) that the Books of *Sybil* were conſulted, and gave direction in this buſineſs of devotion; then muſt we believe that thoſe books of *Sybil*, preſerved in *Rome*, were dictated by an evil ſpirit. For it was ordained, that ſome Vow, made in the beginning of this war to *Mars*, ſhould be made anew, and amplyfied, as having not been rightly made before: alſo that great Plays ſhould be vowed unto *Jupiter*, and a Temple to *Venus*; with ſuch other Trumpery. This vehemency of ſuperſtition, proceeds always from vehemency of fear. And ſurely this was a time, when *Rome* was exceedingly diſtempered with paſſion; whereof that memorable accident, of two women that ſuddenly died, when they ſaw their Sons return alive from *Thraſymene*, may ſerve to bear witneſs, though it be more properly an example of motherly love. The Walls and Towers of the City were now repaired and fortified; the Bridges upon Rivers were broken down, and all care taken for defence of *Rome* it ſelf. In this tumult, when the Dictator was newly ſet forth againſt *Hannibal*, word was brought that the *Carthaginian* Fleet had intercepted all the ſupply, that was going to *Cn. Scipio* in *Spain*. Againſt theſe *Carthaginians*, *Fabius* commanded *Servilius* the Conſul to put to Sea; and taking up all the ſhips about *Rome* and *Oſtia*, to purſue them: whilſt he, with the Legions, attended upon *Hannibal*. Four Legions he had levied in haſte: and from *Ariminum* he received the Army which *Servilius* the Conſul had conducted thither.

Liv. lib. 22.

With theſe forthwith he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what advantage the *Numidian* horſe had over the *Romans*, he alwayes lodged himſelf on high grounds, and of hard acceſs. *Hannibal* in the mean while, purſuing his victory, had ranged over all the Country, and uſed all manner of cruelty towards the inhabitants; eſpecially to thoſe of the *Roman* Nation, of whom he did put to the ſword all that were able to bear arms. Paſſing by *Spoletum* and *Ancona*, he incamped upon the *Adriatick* ſhores; refreſhed his diſeaſed, and over-travelled Companies, armed his *Africans* after the manner of the *Romans*, and made his diſpatches from *Carthage*; preſenting his friends, which were in effect, all the Citizens with part of the ſpoils that he had gotten. Having refreſhed his army, fed his horſes, cured his wounded Souldiers, and (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his horſe heeles of the ſcratches, by waſhing their paſterns in old wine: he followed the coaſt of the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Apulia* a Northern Province of the Kingdom of *Naples* ſpoiling the *Murrucini*, and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he over-ran, he had not taken any one City: onely he had aſſayled *Spoletum* a Collony of the *Romans*; and finding it well defended, preſently gave it over. The malice of a great Army is broken, and the force of it ſpent in a great ſiege. This the *Proteſtant* Army found true at *Poictiers*, a little before the battle of *Moncountour*; and their victorious enemies, anon after at *S. Jean d' Angely*. But *Hannibal* was more wiſe. He would not engage himſelf in any ſuch enterpriſe, as ſhould detain him, and give the *Romans* leave to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once he was abſolute Maſter of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of battery. To this end he preſented *Fabius* with battle, as ſoon as he ſaw him; and provoked him with all manner of bravadoes. But

Fabius

Fabius would not bite. He knew well the differences between souldiers bred up, ever since they were boyes, in war and in blood, trained and hardened in *Spain*, made proud and adventurous by many victories there, and of late by some notable acts against the *Romans*; and such, as had no oftner seen the enemy, than been vanquished by him. Therefore he attended the *Carthaginian* so neer, as he kept him from stragling too far; and preserved the countrey from utter spoil. He inured his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees, and he brought them first to look on the Lyon afar off, that in the end he might sit on his tail.

Now *Minutius* had a contrary disposition, and was as fiery as *Flaminius*: taxing *Fabius* with cowardize and fear. But all stirred not this well-advised Commander. For wise men are no more moved with such noise, than with wind bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indiscretion and danger, than to pursue misfortune: it wasteth it self sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the invading Army that desires battel: and this of *Hannibal*, was both the invading and victorious. *Fabius* therefore suffered *Hannibal* to cross the *Appenines*, and to fall upon the most rich and pleasant Territory of *Campania*; neither could he by any arguments be perswaded, to adventure the *Roman* Army in battel: but being far too weak in horse, he alwayes kept the Hills and fast grounds. When *Hannibal* saw he could by no means draw this wary Dictator to fight, that the Winter came on, and that the Towns stood firm for the *Romans*, whose Legions were in sight, though afar off; he resolved to rest his Army, that was loaden with spoil, in some plentiful and assured place, till the following spring. But ere this can be done he must pass along by the Dictators camp, that hung over his head upon the hills of *Collicula*, and *Casilinum*: for other way there was none, by which he might issue out of that goodly garden-countrey, which he had already wasted, into places more abundant of provision for his wintering. It was by meer errour of his guide, that he first entred within these straights. For he would have been directed unto *Casinum*, whence he might both affay the fair City of *Capua*, which had made him friendly promises under-hand, and hinder the *Romans* from coming near it to prevent him. But his guide mis-understood the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, and conducted him awry another way, from *Casinum* to *Casilinum*, whence *Fabius* hoped that he should not easily escape. Now began the wisdom of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the *Carthaginians* in a trap, and won the victory without blows. But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himself, by a sleight invention, yet serving the turn as well as a better. In driving the countrey, he had gotten about two thousand Kine, whose hornes he dressed with dry faggots, and setting fire to them in the dark night, caused them to be driven up the hills. The spectacle was strange, and therefore terrible; especially to those that knew it to be a work of a terrible enemy. What it should mean, *Fabius* could not tell; but thought it a device to circumvent him, and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the hill tops were horribly affraid, when some of these fiery Monsters were gotten beyond them; and ran therefore hastily away, thinking the enemies were behind their backs; and fell among the light-armed *Carthaginians*, that were no less afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole Army recovered sure ground without molestation: where he staid till the next morning, and then brought off his light footmen, with some slaughter of the *Romans*, that began to hold them in skirmish. After this, *Hannibal* made semblance of taking his journey towards *Rome*: and the Dictator coasted him in the wonted manner; keeping still on high grounds, between him and the City, whilest the *Carthaginian* wasted all the Plains. The *Carthaginian* took *Geryon*, an old ruinous Town in *Apulia*, forsaken by the Inhabitants, which he turned into Barns and Store-houses for winter, and incamped under the broken wall. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time passed idly, till the Dictator was called away to *Rome*, about some business of Religion, and left the Army in charge with *Minutius* the Master of the horse.

Minutius was glad of this good occasion to shew his own sufficiency. He was fully perswaded, that his *Romans*, in plain field would be too hard for the *Africans* and *Spaniards*: by whom if they had been foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by subtilty and ambush, which he thought himself wise enough to prevent. All the Army was of his opinion; and that so earnestly, as he was preferred, by judgement of the Souldiers, in worthiness to command, before the cold and wary *Fabius*. In this jollity of conceit, he determined to fight. Yet had he been peremptorily forbidden so to do, by the Dictator; the breach of whose command was extream peril of death

death. But the honour of the victory, which he held undoubtedly his own; and the love of the Army, and the friends that he had at home bearing office in *Rome*, were enough to save him from the Dictators rods and axes, took he the matter never so hainously. *Hannibal* on the other side was no less glad, that he should play with a more adventurous Gamester. Therefore he drew near, and to provoke the *Romans*, sent forth a third part of his Army to waste the Countrey. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it seems, that he now despised those whom he had so often vanquished. There was a piece of high ground between the two Camps; which because it would be commodious to him that could occupy it, the *Carthaginians* seized upon by night with two thousand of their light armed. But *Minutius*, by plain force, wan it from them the next day; and intrenching himself thereupon, became their neerer neighbour.

The main business of *Hannibal* at this time was, to provide abundantly, not only for his men, but for his Horses, which he knew to be the chief of his strength; that he might keep them in good heart against the next Summer: if besides this he could give the *Romans* another blow, it would increase his reputation, incourage his own men, terrifie his enemies, and give him leave to forrage the Countrey at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many dayes issue forth of his Camp, the *Carthaginian* sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in harvest. This advantage *Minutius* wisely espied, and took. For he led forth his Army, and setting it in order, presented battel to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, even at his own Trenches. His horses, and all his light Armature, divided into many companies, he sent abroad against the forragers; who being dispersed over all the fields, and loaden with booty, could make no resistance. This angred *Hannibal*, that was not able to help them; but worse did it anger him, when the *Romans* took heart to assail his Trenches. They perceived that it was meer weakness, which held him within his Camp, and therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the business, *Asdrubal* came from *Geryon* with four thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the *Roman* horse. This imboldened *Hannibal* to issue forth against the *Romans*; to whom nevertheless he did not much hurt, as he had received.

For this piece of service *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the Army, and more highly by the people at *Rome*, to whom he sent the news, with somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the *Roman* Army had recovered spirit, so far forth that it dared to set upon *Hannibal* in his own Camp; and that in so doing, it came off with the better. Every man therefore praised the Master of the Horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as far out of liking with *Fabius* and his timerous proceedings, thinking that he had not done any thing wisely, in all his Dictatorship: saving that he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeed in no other thing he had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so joyful of a little good luck, as angry with the breach of discipline; and fearfull of greater danger, thereon likely to ensue. He said that he knew his own place, and what was to be done: that he would teach the Master of the Horse to do so likewise; and make him give account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good success issuing from bad counsel, was more to be feared, than calamity; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence, the other taught men to be wary. Against these Sermons every one cryed out, especially *Metellus*, a Tribune of the people: which office warranted him to speak, and do what he list, without fear of the Dictator. Is it not enough (said he) that this our only Man, chosen to be General, and Lord of the Town, in our greatest necessity, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all *Italy* to be wasted before his eyes, to the utter shame of our State; unless he also hinder others, from doing better than himself can, or dares? It were good to consider what he means by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* he hath not chosen any new Consul all this while; *Servilius* is sent away to Sea, I know not why; *Hannibal* and he, have as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* sparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeed forborn to spoil some grounds of *Fabius*, that so he might bring him into envy and suspicion) and the Dictator giving him leave to spoil all others, without impeachment. Surely his drift is even this: he would have the War to last long, that he himself might be long in office, and have the sole Government both of our City and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonalty of *Rome*, which gave him this authority, should again take it from him and conferr it upon one more worthy. But lest, in moving the

people

people hereto, I ſhould ſeem to do him injury; thus far forth I will regard his honour: I will only propound, That the Maſter of the Horſe may be joined in equal authority with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor leſs neceſſary, than was the election of this Dictator, by the People.

Though all men, even the Senators, were ill perſwaded of the courſe which *Fabius* had taken againſt *Hannibal*, as being neither plauſible, nor ſeeming beneficial at the preſent; yet was there none ſo injurious, as to think that his general intent, and care of the Weal-publique, was leſs than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in paſſing of any act, that ſome man of credit and authority, beſides the propounder, ſhould ſtand up, and formally deliver his approbation, not one of the principal Citizens was found ſo impudent, as to offer that open diſgrace, both unto a worthy Perſonage, and (therewithal) unto that dignity, whoſe great power had freed the State at ſeveral times, from the greateſt dangers. Only *C. Terentius Varro*, who the year before had been Prætor, was glad of ſuch an opportunity, to win the favour of the Multitude. This fellow was the ſon of a Butcher, afterwards became a Shop-keeper; and being of a contentious ſpirit, grew by often brabling, to take upon him as a Pleader, dealing in poor mens cauſes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and roſe by degrees, being advanced by thoſe, who in hatred of the Nobility favoured his very baſeneſs. And now he thought the time was come, for him to give a hard puſh at the Conſulſhip; by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or favouring one another, either durſt or would. So he made an hot invective, not only againſt *Fabius*, but againſt all the Nobility; ſaying, That it grieved them to ſee the people do well, and take upon them what belonged unto them, in matter of Government; That they ſought to humble the Commons by poverty, and to impoveriſh them by War; eſpecially by War at their own doors, which would ſoon conſume every poor mans living, and find him other work to think upon, than matter of State. Therefore he bade them to be wiſe; and ſince they had found one (this worthy Maſter of the Horſe) that was better affected unto them and his Countrey, to reward him according to his good deſerts; and give him authority, according as was propounded by the Tribune, that ſo he might be encouraged and enabled to proceed as he had begun. So the Act paſſed.

Before this buſie day of contention, *Fabius* had diſpatched the election of new Conſull, which was *M. Atilius Regulus*, in the room of *C. Flaminius*: and, having finiſhed all requiſite buſineſs, went out of Town, perceiving well, that he ſhould not be able to withſtand the multitude in hindering the decree. The news of *Minutius* his advancement, was at the camp as ſoon as *Fabius*: ſo that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, began to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the firſt, in what ſort he thought it beſt to divide their authority: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them ſucceſſively, for ſome longer time, ſhould command in chief. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleaſure of the Citizens, to make the Maſter of the Horſe equal to the Dictator, but that he ſhould never be his ſuperior: He would therefore divide the Legions with him by lot, according to the cuſtom. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleaſed; for that with half of the Army he could not work ſuch wonders as otherwiſe he hoped to accompliſh. Nevertheleſs he meant to do his beſt, and ſo taking his part of the Army, incamped about a mile and a half from the Dictator. Needful it was (though *Livy* ſeems to tax him for it) that he ſhould ſo do. For where two ſeveral Commanders are not ſubordinate one unto another, nor joyned in Commiſſion, but have each intire and abſolute charge of his own followers, there are the forces (though belonging to one Prince or State) not one, but two diſtinct Armies: in which regard, one Camp ſhall not hold them both without great inconvenience. *Polybius* neither finds fault with this diſtinction, nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was unwilling to command in chief ſucceſſively (as the two Conſuls uſed) with *Minutius*, by turns. He ſaith that *Minutius* was very refractory, and ſo proud of his advancement, that continually he oppoſed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choice, either to divide the forces between them, as is ſaid before, or elſe to have command over all by courſe. This is likely to be true. For Natures impatient of ſubjection, when once they have broken looſe from the rigour of authority, love nothing more, than to conteſt with it; as if herein conſiſted the proof and aſſurance of their liberty.

It behoved the Maſter of the horſe to make good the opinion which had thus advanced him. Therefore he was no leſs careful of getting occaſion to fight, than was *Fabius* of avoiding the neceſſity. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally deſired, could

not long be wanting. The countrey lying between them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adjoyning, had many and spacious caves; able some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places *Hannibal* bestowed five hundred horse, and five thousand foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not be discovered. But lest by any misadventure they should be found out, and buried in their holes; he made offer betimes in the morning, to seize upon a piece of ground that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eyes and the thoughts of the *Romans*, from their more needful care, to business little concerning them. Like unto this was the occasion, which not long before had provoked *Minutius* to adventure upon the *Carthaginians*. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like sort as he got it; he sent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that *Hannibal* seconded his own troops with fresh companies) he followed in person with the Legions. He was soon caught, and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safe retrait. In this dangerous case, whilst the *Romans* defended themselves losing many, and those of their best men: *Fabius* drew near in very good order to relieve them. For this old Captain, perceiving afar off, into what extremity his new Colleague had rashly thrown himself & his followers, did the office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Countrey, than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to approve himself by hasting to do good, than by suffering his enemy to feel the reward of doing ill. Upon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* retired: fearing to be well wetted with a showre, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the Hill-tops. *Minutius* forthwith submitted himself to *Fabius*; by whose benefit he confessed his life to have been saved. So from this time forwards the war proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would have it; both whilest his Office lasted which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when he delivered up his charge unto the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

Servilius the Consul had pursued in vain a *Carthaginian* fleet, to which he came never within kenning. He ran along all the coast of *Italy*; took hostages of the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*; passed over into *Africk*; and there negligently falling to spoil the countrey, was shamefully beaten aboord his ships, with the loss of 1000. men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haste, he returned home by *Sicil*; and (being so required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the camp, with his fellow-Consul, where they took charge of the Army.

§. VII.

The Roman *people, desirous to finish the war quickly, choose a rash and unworthy Consul. Great forces levied against* Hannibal. Hannibal *taketh the* Romans *provisions in the Castle of* Cannæ. *The new Consuls set forth against* Hannibal.

WIth little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in *Rome* hear the great commendations that were given to *Fabius* by the principal Citizens. He had indeed preserved them from receiving a great overthrow; but had neither finished the war, nor done any thing in appearance thereto tending. Rather it might seem that the reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the work to a great length. Else, what meant the Consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former custome; since it was never heard before, that any *Roman* General had willingly suffered the time of his command to run away without any performace: as if it were honourable to do just nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were ready every man to discharge the grief and anger of his own private loss, upon the ill administration of the publick.

This affection of the people, was very helpful to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his suit for the Consulship. It behoved him to strike, whilst the Iron was hot: his own worth being little or none; and his credit over-weak, to make way into that high Dignity. But the Commonalty were then in such a mood, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Wherein to help, he had a kinsman, *Bibius Herennius*, then Tribune of the People; who spared not to use the liberty of his place, in saying what he listed, without all regard of truth, or modesty. This bold Orator stuck not to affirm, that *Hannibal* was drawn into *Italy*, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; That *Minutius* indeed with his two Legions, was likely to have been overthrown, and was rescued by *Fabius* with the other two: but, had all been joyned together, what they might have done, it was apparent, by the victory of *Minutius* when he commanded over all as Master of the horse; That without a *Plebeian* Consul,

Consul, the war would never be brought to an end; That such of the *Plebeians* as had long since been advanced to honour by the people, were grown as proud as the old Nobility, and contemned the meaner sort, ever since themselves were freed from contempt of the more mighty; That therefore it was needful to choose a Consul, who should be altogether a *Plebeian*, a meer new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples love, nor could wish more, than to keep it, by well deserving of them. By such perswasions the Multitude was won, to be wholly for *Terentius*: to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure to see a man raised for none other vertue, than his detracting from their honour; and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the People, it fell out, or at least was alledged, that neither of the two present Consuls could well be spared from attending upon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpose; and he again deposed (either as was pretended) for some religious impediment, or because the Fathers desired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to prevail in choice of the new Consuls. This *Inter-regnum* took name and being in *Rome*, at the death of *Romulus*: and was in use at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. All the Fathers, or Senators, who at the first were an hundred, parted themselves into *Tens* or *Decuries*; and governed successively, by the space of five dayes, one *Decurie* after another in order: yet so, that the *Lictors*, or *Virgers*, carrying the *Fasces*, or bundles of rods and axes, waited only upon the chief of them with those Ensigns of power. This custome was retained in times of the Consuls; and put in use, when by death, or any casualty, there wanted ordinary Magistrates of the old year, to substitute new for the year following. The advantage of the Fathers herein was, that if the election were not like to go as they would have it, there needed no more, than to slip five dayes, and then was all to begin anew: by which interruption, the heat of the multitude was commonly well asswaged. Upon such change of those, that were Presidents of the election, it was also lawful unto new Petitioners, to sue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publickly declare themselves to seek those offices. But no device would serve against the general favour born unto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* passed over, and the malice of the Fathers, against the vertue (as it was believed) of this mean, but worthy man, seemed so manifest, that when the People had urged the business to dispatch, only *Terentius* was chosen Consul: in whose hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners gave over. For whereas men of ordinary mark had stood for the place before, it was now thought meet, that, both, to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this unexpert, and hot-headed man, one of great sufficiency and reputation, should be joyned with him, as both Companion and Opposite. So *L. Æmilius Paulus*, he who a few years since had overcome the *Illyrians*, and chased *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdome, was urged by the Nobility to stand for the place; which he easily obtained, having no Competitor. It was not the desire of this honourable man, to trouble himself any more in such great business of the Common-wealth. For, notwithstanding his late good service, He, and *M. Livius* that had been his companion in office, were afterwards injuriously vexed by the people, and called unto judgement: wherein *Livius* was condemned, and *Æmilius* hardly escaped. But of this injustice they shall put the *Romans* well in mind each of them in his second Consulship wherein they shall honourably approve their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the most grievous loss; the other bravely winning, in the most happy victory that ever befell that Common-wealth.

These new Consuls, *Varro* and *Paulus* omitted no part of their diligence in preparing for the war; wherein though *Varro* made the greater noise, by telling what wonders he would work, and that he would ask no more, than once to have a sight of *Hannibal*, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day: yet the providence aud care of *Paulus* travelled more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote unto the two old Consuls *Servilius* and *Atilius*, desiring them to abstain from hazard of the main chance; but nevertheless, to ply the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when he and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Army which they were now levying, they might find the four old Legions well accustomed to the enemy, and the enemy well weakned to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate assist him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the slanders, with which *Terentius* and his adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised, it is

uncertain. Fourscore thousand foot, at the least, and six thousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had so greatly desired, of looking upon *Hannibal*.

Hiero the old King of *Syracuse*, as he had relieved the *Carthaginians*, when they were distressed by their own Mercenaries; so did he now send help to *Rome*, a thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barly, and other Provisions: fearing nothing more, than that one of these two mighty Cities should destroy the other, whereby his own estate would fall to ruine, that stood upright, by having them somewhat evenly ballanced. He gave them also counsel, to send forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that means they might divert the war from home. His gifts, and good advice were lovingly accepted; and instructions were given to *Titus Otacilius* the Prætor, which was to go into *Sicil*, that he should accordingly pass over into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

The great Levies, which the *Romans* made at this time, do much more serve to declare their puissance, than any, though larger accompt by Poll, of such as were not easily drawn into the field, and fitted for service. For, besides these Armies of the Consuls, and that which went into *Sicil*, twenty five thousand, with *L. Posthumius Albinus*, another of the Prætors, went against the *Gauls*, to reclaim that Province, which the passage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength might well embolden them to do as they did. They sent Embassadours to *Philip*, the Son of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, requiring him to deliver into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*: who, having been their subject, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdom. They also sent to the *Illyrians*, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was already past. What answer they received, it is not known: only this is known, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not sent unto them; and that *Philip* henceforth began to have an eye upon them, little to their good. As for the *Illyrian* money, by the shifts that they were driven soon after to make, it will appear, that the one half of it (how little soever) would have been welcome to *Rome*, and accepted, without any cavil about forfeiture for *non-payment* of the whole.

Whilest the City was busied in these cares, the old Consuls lay as near unto *Hannibal* as possibly they could without incurring the necessity of a battel. Many skirmishes they had with him; wherein their success, for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not only blemished the honour of their other services, but was indeed the occasion to draw on the misery following. *Hannibal* for the most part of that time, made his abode at *Geryon*; where lay all his store for the Winter. The *Romans* to be near him, lodged about *Cannusium*; and, that they might not be driven to turn aside for all necessaries, to the loss of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the Castle of *Cannæ*: for the Town was razed the year before. This place *Hannibal* wan, and thereby not only furnished himself, but compelled his enemies to want many needfull things, unless they would be troubled with far carriage. Besides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himself to abide in that open Country, fit for the service of his Horse, longer than the *Romans*, having so many mouths to feed, could well endure to tarry; without offering battel, which he most desired. Of this mishap when *Servilius* had informed the Senate, letting them understand how this Piece taken by *Hannibal*, would serve him to command no small part of the Country adjacent; it then seemed needfull, even unto the Fathers themselves, to adventure a battel with the *Carthaginian*, rather than suffer him thus to take root in the ground of *Italy*. Nevertheless answer was returned unto *Servilius*, that he should have patience yet awhile: for that the Consuls would shortly be there, with a Power sufficient to do as need required.

When all things were ready in the City, and the season of the year commodious to take the field, the two Consuls, with their Army, set forth against *Hannibal*. This was alwayes done with great solemnity: especially, whensoever they went forth to war against any noble or redoubted Enemy. For Sacrifices, and solemn Vows, were made unto *Jupiter*, and the rest of their gods, for good success and Victory: which being performed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honourable train of the principal men, (not only such as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the war, as Voluntaries for love, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home,) were accompanied on their way, and dismissed with friendly leave-taking, and good wishes. At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole Nobility, waited upon *Æmilius Paulus*, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthy of this honour, or likely to do his Country remarkable service. *Terentius* his Attendants

Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troop no leſs in greatneſs, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Fabius* the late Dictator, is ſaid to have exhorted the Conſul *Paulus*, with many grave words, to ſhew his magnanimity, not only in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outragious folly of his fellow-Conſul. The anſwer of *Paulus*, was, That he meant not again to run into danger of condemnation by offending the multitude; that he would do his beſt for his Country, but if he ſaw his beſt were likely to be ill taken, he would think it leſs raſhneſs to adventure upon the Enemies ſword, than upon the malice of his own Citizens.

§. VIII.

Diſſenſion between the two Roman *Conſuls. Whether it be likely, that* Hannibal *was upon point of flying out of* Italy, *when the* Romans *preſſed him to fight. The great battail of* Cannæ.

THeſe new Generals, arriving at the Camp, diſmiſſed *M. Atilius*, one of the laſt years Conſuls, requeſting it becauſe of his age and weakneſs: *Servilius* they retained with them, as their aſſiſtant. The firſt thing that *Æmilius* thought neceſſary, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad ſucceſs hitherto, had gathered more cauſe of fear, than of courage. He willed them to conſider not only now, their victories in time paſt againſt the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but even their own great numbers: which were no leſs than all that *Rome* at the preſent was able to ſet forth. He told them in what danger their Country ſtood; how the ſtate and ſafety thereof reſted upon their hands; uſing ſome ſuch other common matter of perſwaſion. But the moſt effectual part of this Oration, was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victory by plain force and valour: but that only by deceit and ambuſh he had ſtoln the honour, which he had gotten at *Trebia* and *Thraſymene*. Herewithall he taxed the inconſiderate raſhneſs of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one ſaw not his enemies, untill he was ſurrounded by them; the other ſcarce ſaw them, when they ſtruck off his head, by reaſon of the thick miſt, through the darkneſs whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their ſnares. Finally declaring what advantages they had againſt the Enemy; and how deſtitute the Enemy was of thoſe helps, by which he had hitherto prevailed againſt them; he exhorted them to play the men, and do their beſt. They were eaſily perſwaded: for the contemplation of their own multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* vertue in matter of Arms, gave them cauſe to think, that under a Captain ſo well experienced, and every way ſufficient, as *Æmilius* was known to be, they ſhould eaſily prevail againſt the *Carthaginians*, that came ſhort of them in all things elſe, ſave craft; which would not alwayes thrive. But in one thing they miſtook the meaning of their General. It was his deſire that they ſhould have heart to fight; not that they ſhould loſe the patience of awaiting a convenient ſeaſon. But they, having preconceived a victory, thought all delayes to be impediments: and thereby ſought to rob themſelves of their beſt help; which was, Good conduct. They remembred what talk they had heard at *Rome*: and were themſelves affected with the vulgar deſire, of ending the war quickly; wherein ſince *Æmilius* had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them, forbear to uſe it: Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus alſo thought the Conſul *Terentius*; who was no leſs popular in the Camp, than he had been in the City. Expectation is alwayes tedious; and never more, than when the Event is of moſt importance. All men longed, both at *Rome*, and in the Army, to be freed from the doubtfull paſſions of Hope and Fear: therefore *Terentius*, who haſtened their deſire to effect, was likely to win more thanks, than ſhould his Colleague, though greater in performance.

Thus while the *Romans* think themſelves to have the better of their enemies, they fall into an inconvenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Diſſenſion* of their chief Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Æmilius* would ſo too, but ſaid that it was not yet time; why? becauſe the enemy muſt ſhortly diſlodge, and remove hence, into places leſs fit for his horſe. But ſhall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, having eaten up his laſt years proviſions, return into *Campania* to gather a ſecond Harveſt? This would (ſaid *Varro*) ſavour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haſte (ſaid *Paulus*) doth ſavour no leſs of *C. Flaminius*. Their deeds were like their words: for they commanded by turns interchangeably every day. *Æmilius* lodged ſix miles from *Hannibal*, where the

the ground was somewhat uneven. Thither if the *Carthaginians* would take pains to come, he doubted not to send them away in such haste, as they should not leave running till they were out of *Italy*. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day descended into the Plains; his Colleague holding him, and beseeching him to stay. Nevertheless, he sate down close by *Hannibal*; who, as an unbidden guest, gave him but a rude welcome and entertainment. The *Carthaginian* Horse, and light armature, fell upon the *Roman* Vant-courrers; and put the whole Army in tumult, whilest it was yet in march: but they were beaten off, not without loss, for that the *Romans* had among their *Velites*, some troops weightily armed, whereas the *Carthaginians* had none. The day following, *Æmilius*, who could not handsomely withdraw the Army out of that level ground, incamped upon the River *Ausidus*; sending a third part of his forces over the water, to lie upon the Eastern bank, where they entrenched themselves. He never was more unwilling to fight than at this present; because the ground served wholly for the advantage of his enemy; with whom he meant to deal, when occasion should draw him to more equal terms. Therefore he stirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himself, expecting when *Hannibal* should dislodge, and remove towards *Geryon*, *Cannæ*, or some other place, where his store lay, for want of necessaries: whereof an Army forraging the Countrey, was not likely to carry about with it sufficient quantity, for any long time.

Here it would not be passed over with silence, That *Livie* differeth much in his Relation from *Polybius*; telling many strange tales, of the misery into which *Hannibal* had been driven; and of base courses that he devised to take, if the *Romans* could have retained their patience a little longer. He had (saith *Livie*) but ten dayes provision of meat. He had not money to pay his souldiers. They were an unruly Rabble, gathered out of several Nations, so that he knew not how to keep them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Provant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the *Spaniards* were ready to forsake him, and run over to the *Romans* side. Yea *Hannibal* himself was once upon the point, to have stoln away into *Gaul* with all his horse, and left his foot unto their miserable destinies. At length for lack of all other counsel, he resolved to get him as far as he could from the *Romans*, into the Southermost parts of *Apulia*; to the end, that both his unfaithfull Souldiers might find the more difficulty in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieved with the more early harvest. But whilest he was about to put this device in execution, the *Romans* pressed him so hard, that they even forced him to that, which he most desired, even to fight a battel upon open Champain ground: wherein he was victorious. It was not uncommendable in *Livie*, to speak the best of his own Citizens; and, where they did ill, to say, That, without their own great folly, they had done passing well. Further also he may be excused; as writing only by report. For thus he saith, *Hannibal de fuga in Galliam [dicitur] agitasse*; Hannibal [*is said*] *to have bethought himself of flying into Gaul:* where he makes it no more than a matter of hearsay; as perhaps was all the rest of this Relation. As for the process it self, it is very incredible. For if *Hannibal*, coming out of *Gaul*, thorow the *Marishes* and *Bogs* of *Hetruria*, could find victuals enough, and all things needfull unto his Army, the Summer foregoing: what should hinder him to do the like this year; especially since he had plaid the carefull Husband in making a great harvest; since he had long been Master of the open field; and besides, had gotten, by surprise, no small part of the *Romans* provisions? Sutable hereunto is all the rest. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but Corn and Cattel, his Souldiers might perhaps have fallen into mutiny for pay. But he brought gold with him into *Italy:* and had so well increased his stock, since he came into that Country, that he had armed his *African* Souldiers, all *Roman*-like, and loaded his followers with spoil: having left wherewith to redeem as many of his own, as were taken by the enemy; when the *Romans* were not willing, as finding it not easie to do the like. In this point therefore, we are to attend the general agreement of Historians; who give it as a principal commendation unto *Hannibal*, That he alwayes kept his Army free from sedition, though it were composed of sundry Nations, no less different in Manners, Religion, and almost in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might he so do, having not only pronounced, That which of his men soever fought bravely with an enemy, was thereby a *Carthaginian*; but solemnly protested and swore, (besides other rewards) to make as many of them as should deserve and seek it, free Citizens of *Carthage*. The running away into *Gaul*, was a senseless device. *Hannibal* being there with his whole Army, took so little

little pleasure in the Country and People, that he made all haste to get him out of it. And what should he now do there with his horse? or could he be trusted, either there, or elsewhere? yea, how could he desire to live, having betrayed all his Army, and relinquished his miserable foot to the butchery of their enemies? This tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth, who in writing the life of *Hannibal*, takes in a manner all his directions from *Livie*. But of this and the like it is enough to say, That all Historians love to extoll their own Country-men; and where a loss cannot be dissembled, nor the honour of the victory taken from the enemy, and given unto blind Fortune, there to lay all the blame on some strange mis-government of their own forces: as if they might easily have won all, but lost all through such folly, as no Enemy can hope to find in them another time.

Now let us return back to the two Armies, where they lye incamped on the River *Aufidus*. *Varro* was perswaded, that it concerned him in honour to make good his word unto the people of *Rome*: and since he had thus long waited in vain to get the consent of *Paulus*, now at length to use his own authority; and, without any more disputing of the matter, to fight when his own day came. When therefore it was his turn to command; at the first break of the day he began to pass the River, without staying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him, and sought, as in former times, to have disswaded him from putting the estate of his Country to a needless hazard. Against those words and substantial arguments, *Terentius* could alledge none other than *point of Honour*. *Hannibal* had presented them battel at their Trenches: should they endure this Bravado? He had sent his *Numidians* over the River but even the day before, who fell upon the *Romans* that were fetching water to the lesser Camp; and drave them shamefully to run within their defences; which also they made offer to assail: Must this also be suffered? He would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the spirit of the *Roman* Souldier; which as yet was lively, and full of such courage, as promised assured victory. When *Æmilius* perceived that he could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his Companion, he took all care, that what he saw must be done, might be done well. Ten thousand *Roman* foot he caused to be left behind, in the greater Camp opposite unto the *Carthaginian*, to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might be compelled to leave behind him some answerable number, for defence of his Trenches (which out of his paucity he was less able to spare from the battel, than were the *Romans*) or that these ten thousand, falling upon the *Carthaginian* Camp, when the fight began, and taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly do such accidents) terrifie and distract the enemies in the heat of fight. This done, the two Consuls went over the water with their Army to the lesser Camp, whence also they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battel: the ground on the East part of the River, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their Army. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cause; and without any delay, passed likewise over, somewhat higher up the stream, which ran from the South; leaving in his own Camp so many, as he thought would serve to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; he bade them look about them, and view the ground well, upon which they were to fight. They did so. And could you (said he) pray for any greater fortune, than to joyn battel with the *Romans* upon such a level ground, where the stronger in horse are sure to prevail? They all assented to him; and shewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (said he further) ye are first of all to thank the gods, that have brought them hither; and then Us, that have trained them along, and drawn them into necessity of playing for their lives, where they are sure to lose them. As for these *Romans*, I was fain to encourage you against them, when ye met them first: but now ye may even encourage your selves, by calling to mind that they are the men, whom ye have as often beaten as seen. Of one thing only I will put you in mind: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects, as, to drive them before you out of *Gaul*; and to win the open Country, and fields of *Italy*; both of which ye have obtained: how are ye to fight for the Towns themselves, and all the riches within them; which this victory shall make yours. Therefore play the stout Souldiers: and ere many hours pass, ye shall be Lords of all that the *Romans* hold.

When he had said this; his Brother *Mago* came to him, whom he had sent to view the countenance of the enemy. *Hannibal* asked him, what news; and what work they were likely to have with these *Romans*? Work enough (answered *Mago*) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are

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(thus *Hannibal* replied) I tell thee, Brother, that among them all, search them never so diligently, thou shalt not find one man, whose name is *Mago*. With that he fell a laughing, and so did all that stood about him; which gladded the souldiers, who thought their General would not be so merry, without great assurance. Whether it were so, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* above many thousand *Romans*; or whether he intimated, that the *Romans* were no less troubled with thinking upon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether he meant only to correct the sad mood of his Brother with a jest, and shew himself merry unto the Souldiers: this his answer was more manly, than was the relation of his discoverer. But if *Hannibal* himself had been sent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*, he could not have returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captain *Gam*, before the battel of *Agincourt*, made unto our King *Henry* the fifth: saying, That of the *Frenchmen*, there were enow to be killed; enow to be taken prisoners; and enow to run away. Even such words as these, or such pleasant jests as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but serve many times, when battel is in hand, to work upon such passions, as must govern more of the business: especially, where other needful care is not wanting; without which they are but vain boasts.

In this great day, the *Carthaginian* excelled himself, expressing no less perfection of his military skill, than was greatness in his spirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiousness of the place, into which he had long before conceived the means to draw his enemies to battel; he marshalled his Army in such convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might do his best service. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Balcares*, he sent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman Velites*. These were loose troops, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a *French* name, *Enfans Perdues*; but when we use our own terms, *the forlorn-hope*. The gross of his Army following them, he ordered thus. His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* manner, with the spoils which they had gotten at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, or elsewhere; and well trained in the use of those weapons that were of more advantage, than those wherewith they had formerly served; made the two wings very deep in File. Between these he ranged his *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, armed each after their own Country manner; their shields alike; but the *Gauls* using long broad swords, that were forcible in a down-right stroak; the *Spaniards*, short and well pointed blades, either to strike or thrust; the *Gauls*, naked from their navel upwards, as confident in their own fierceness: the *Spaniards*, wearing white Cassocks embroidered with Purple. This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in quality, made a gallant shew, and terrible, because strange. The *Gauls* were strong of body, and furious in giving charge, but soon wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt, which disposition all that come of them have inherited to this day. The *Spaniards* were less eager, but more wary; neither ashamed to give ground, when they were over-prest; nor afraid to return, and renew the fight, upon any small encouragement. As the roughness of the one, and patience of the other, served mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firm temper; so the place which they held in this battel, added confidence joyntly unto them both. For they saw themselves well and strongly flanked with *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*; whose name was grown terrible in *Spain*, by their Conquests, and in *Gaul*, by this their present war. Since therefore it could not be feared, that any great calamity should fall upon them, whilst the wings on either side stood fast: these *Barbarians* had no cause to shrink, or forbear to imploy the uttermost of their hardiness, as knowing that the enemy could not press far upon them, without further ingaging himself than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great advantage, which the *Carthaginian* had in horse; by which he was able, if the worst had hapned, to make a good retrait. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Desperation begetteth courage; but no greater, nor so lively, as doth assured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore caused the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* to advance, leaving void the place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall back, when they should be over-hardly prest. So, casting them into the form of a *Crescent*, He made them as it were his Vantguard: the two points of this great half Moon, that looked toward the empty space from which he had drawn it, being narrow and thin, as serving only to guide it orderly back, when need should require; the foremost part of the Ring, swelling out toward the enemies, being well strengthned and thickned against all impression. The circle

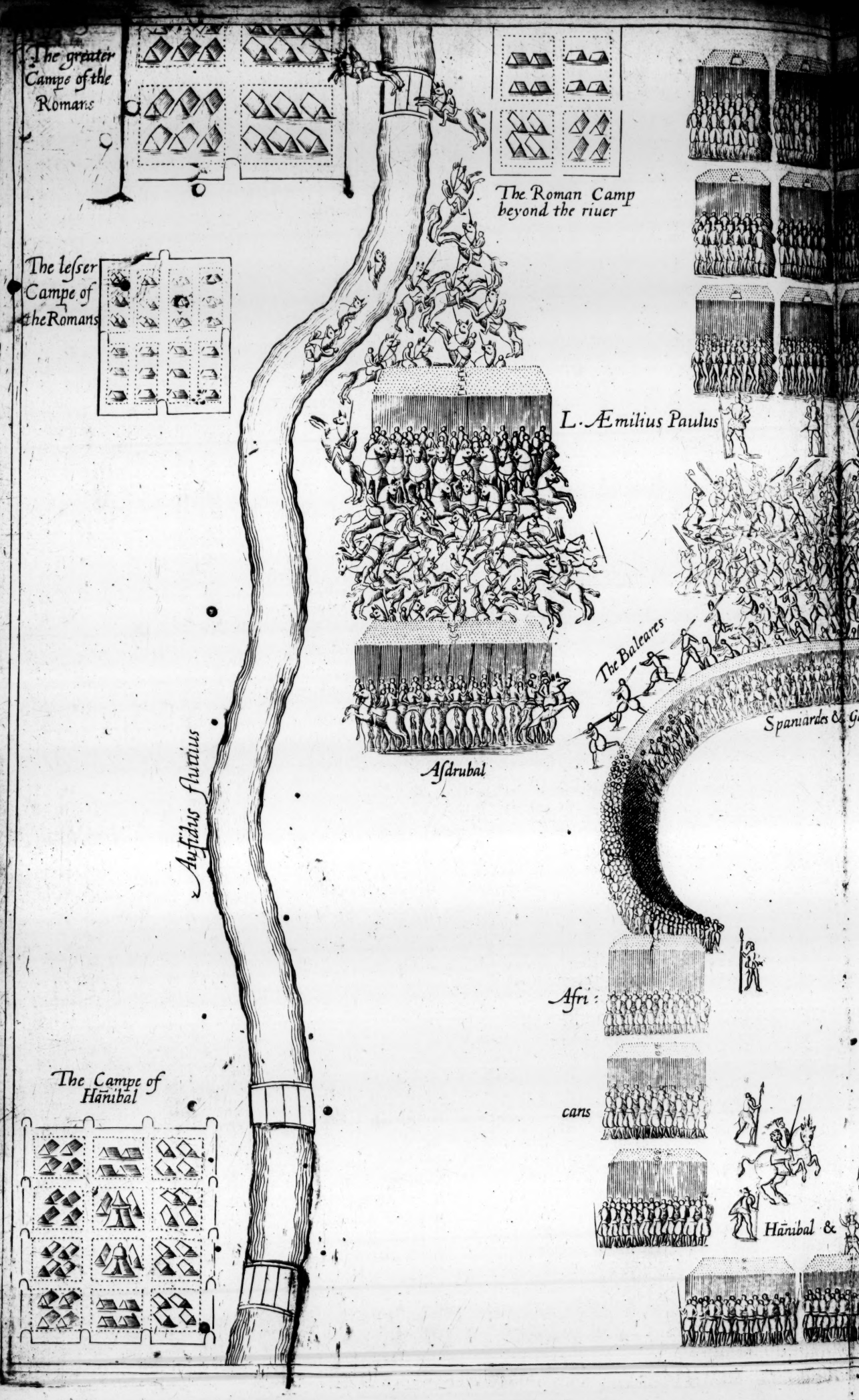
hereof

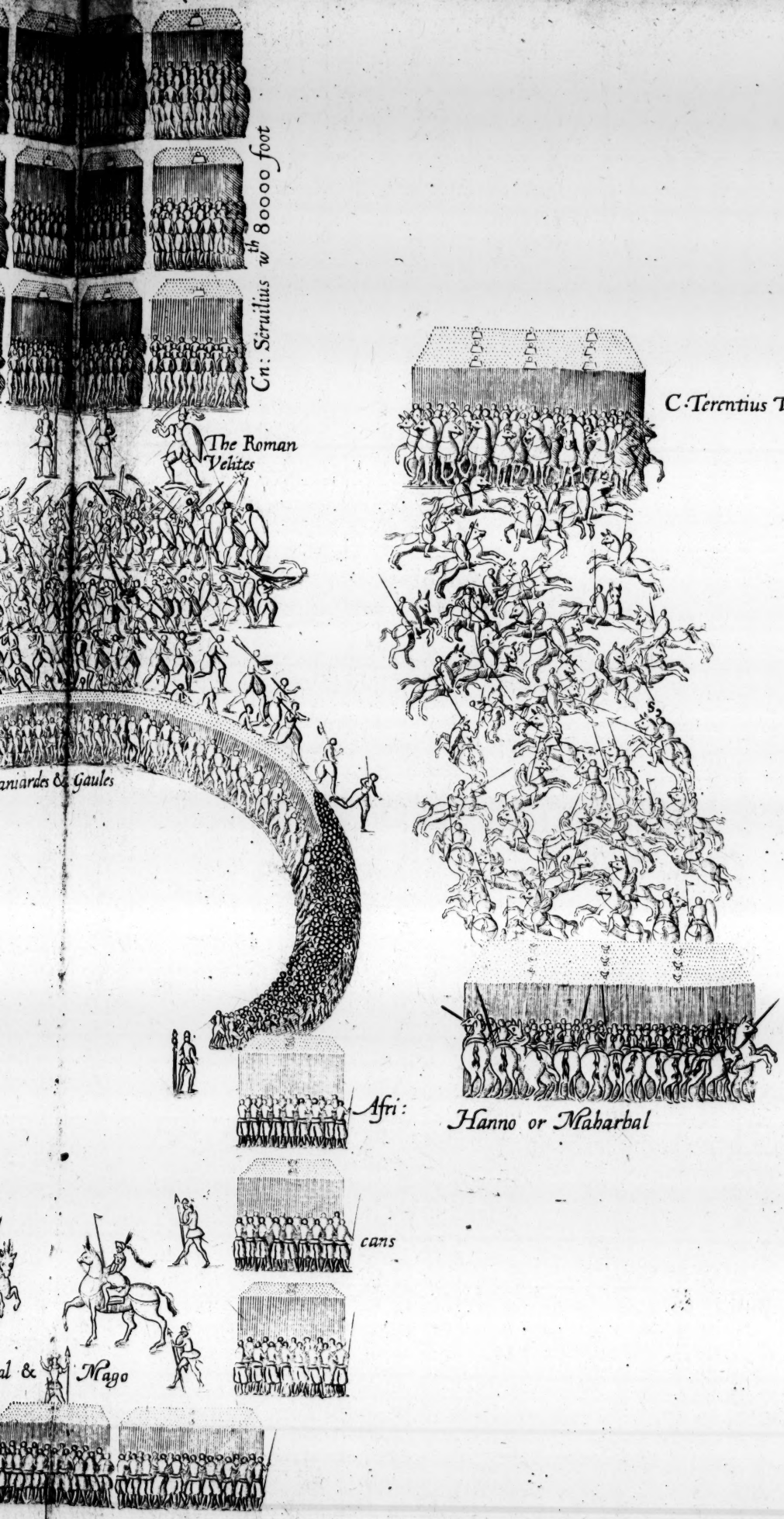
hereof seemeth to have been so great, that it shadowed the *Africans*, who stood behind it: though such figures, cut in brass, as I have seen of this Battle, present it more narrow; with little reason, as shall anon appear: as also in the same figures it is omitted, That any Companies of *Africans*, or others, were left in the Rear, to second the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* when they were driven to retrait; though it be manifest, that *Hannibal* in person stood between the last ranks of his long Battalions, and in the head of his Rear, doubtless well accompanied with the choice of his own Nation. Between the left Battalion and the River *Ausidus*, were the *Gauls* and *Spanish* horse, under the command of *Asdrubal*: On the right wing, toward the wide Plains, was *Hanno* (*Livie* saith *Maharbal*) with the *Numidian* light-horse. *Hannibal* himself, with his brother *Mago*, and the leading of the Rear. The whole summ of *Hannibals* Army in the field this day, was ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, his enemies having two to one against him in foot; and He, five to three against them in horse.

The *Roman* Army was marshalled in the usual form: but somewhat more narrow, and deep than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had been found convenient against the *Carthaginians*, in the former war. It was indeed no bad way of resistance against Elephants, to make the Ranks *thick and short*, but the Files long; as also to strengthen well the Rear, that it might stand fast compacted as a wall, under shelter whereof the disordered troops might re-ally themselves. Thus much it seems, that *Terentius* had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battels accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his understanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here no Elephants with them in the field: their advantage was in Horse; against which this manner of imbattailing was very unprofitable, forasmuch as their charge is better sustained in front, than upon a long flank. As for *Æmilius*, it was not his day of command: He was but an Assistant; and in such cases it happens often, that wise men yield for very weariness unto the more contentious. Upon the right hand, and toward the River, were the *Roman* horsemen, under the Consul *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terentius Varro* the other Consul, with the rest of the horse, which were of the *Latines*, and other associates: *Cn. Servilius* the former years Consul, had the leading of the battel. The Sun was newly risen, and offended neither part; the *Carthaginians* having their faces Northward, the *Romans* toward the South.

After some light skirmish, between the *Roman Velites*, and *Hannibal* his Darters and Slingers of the Baleares; *Asdrubal* brake upon the Consul *Paulus*, and was roughly encountred: not after the manner of service on horse-back, used in those times, wheeling about *Alman like*; but each giving on in a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as having the River on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand; so that there was no way left, but to pierce and break thorow. Wherefore they not only used their Lances and Swords; but rushing violently amongst the Enemies, grasped one another: and so their horses running from under them, fell many to the ground; where starting up again, they began to deal blows like footmen. In conclusion, the *Roman* horse were over-born, and driven by plain force to a staggering recoil. This the Consul *Paulus* could not remedy. For *Asdrubal*, with his boisterous *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, were not to be resisted by these *Roman* Gentlemen, unequal both in number, and in horsmanship. When the battels came to joyning, the *Roman* Legionaries found work enough, and somewhat more than enough, to break that great *Crescent*, upon which they first fell: so strongly for the while, did the *Gauls* and *Spanish* foot make resistance. Wherefore the two points of their battel drew towards the midst; by whose aid, these opposites were forced to disband, and fly back to their first place. This they did in great haste and fear: and were with no less haste, and folly pursued. Upon the *Africans* that stood behind them, they needed not to fall foul; both for that there was void room enough; and forasmuch as the Rear, or Horns of this Moon, pointed into the safe retrait, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was ready to re-enforce them, when time should require. In this hasty retrait, or flight of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, it happned, as was necessary, that they who had stood in the limb or utter compass of the half Moon, made the innermost or concave surface thereof (disordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turn the inside outward: the horns or points thereof, as yet, untouched, only turning round, and recoyling very little. So the *Romans*, in pursuing them, were inclosed in an half circle; which they should not have needed greatly to regard, (for that the sides of it were exceeding thin and broken; and the bottom of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and seeming unable to make resi-

ſtance) had all the enemies foot been caſt into this one great body, that was in a manner diſſolved. But whileſt the Legions, following their ſuppoſed victory, ruſhed on upon thoſe that ſtood before them, and thereby unwittingly engaged themſelves deeply within the principal ſtrength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two *African* Battalions on either ſide advanced ſo far, that getting beyond the Rear of them, they encloſed them, in a manner, behind: and forward they could not paſs far, without removing *Hannibal* and *Mago*; which made that way the leaſt eaſie. Hereby it is apparent, That the great *Creſcent*, before ſpoken of, was of ſuch extent, as covered the *Africans*, who lay behind it undiſcerned, untill now. For it is agreed, that the *Romans* were thus empaled *unawares*; and that they behaved themſelves, as men that thought upon no other work, than what was found them by the *Gauls*. Neither is it credible, that they would have been ſo mad, as to run head-long, with the whole bulk of their Army, into the throat of ſlaughter; had they ſeen thoſe weapons bent againſt them at the firſt, which when they did ſee, they had little hope to eſcape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and raſhneſs of inferiour Captains: but ſince the Conſul *Paulus*, a man ſo expert in war, being vanquiſhed in horſe, had put himſelf among the Legions; it cannot be ſuppoſed, that he and they did wilfully thus engage themſelves. *Aſdrubal*, having broken the troops of *Roman* horſe, that were led by the Conſul *Paulus*, followed upon them along the River ſide, beating down and killing, as many as he could, (which were almoſt all of them) without regard of takeing priſoners. The Conſul himſelf was either driven upon his own Legions, or willingly did caſt himſelf among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithſtanding the defeat of his horſe. But he failed of this his expectation. Nevertheleſs he cheared up his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and with the example of his own ſtout behaviour: beating down and killing many of the enemies with his own hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in the ſame part of the battle; and with better ſucceſs. For the Conſul received a blow from a ſling, that did him great hurt: and though a troup of *Roman* Gentlemen, riding about him, did their beſt to ſave him from further harm; yet was he ſo hardly laid at, that he was compelled, by wounds and weakneſs, to forſake his horſe. Hereupon all his company alighted, thinking that the Conſul had given order ſo to do: as in many battels, the *Roman* men at arms had left their horſes, to help their foot in diſtreſs. When *Hannibal* (for he was near at hand) perceived this, and underſtood that the Conſul had willed his horſe-men to diſmount; He was very glad of it, and pleaſantly ſaid, *I had rather he would have delivered them unto me, bound hand and foot*: meaning that he had them now almoſt as ſafe, as if they were ſo bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the horſe of his aſſociates, in the left wing, was marvelouſly troubled by *Hanno* (or *Maharbal*) and the *Numidians*: who beating up and down about that great ſandy Plain, raiſed a foul duſt; which a ſtrong South wind, blowing there accuſtomarily, drave into the eyes and mouths of the *Romans*. Theſe, uſing their advantage both of number and of lightneſs, wearied the Conſul and his followers exceedingly: neither giving, nor ſuſtaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the firſt they ſeemed to promiſe him an happy day of it. For when the battails were even ready to joyn; five hundred of theſe *Numidians* came pricking away from their fellows, with their ſhields caſt behind their backs, (as was the manner of thoſe which yielded) and throwing down their arms, rendred themſelves. This was good luck to begin withall, if there had been good meaning. *Varro* had not leiſure to examine them; but cauſed them, unweaponed as they were, to get them behind the Army, where he bade them reſt quietly till all was done. Theſe crafty adventurers did as he bade them, for a while; till they found opportunity to put in execution the purpoſe, for which they had thus yielded. Under their Jackets they had ſhort ſwords and poniards; beſides which, they found other ſcattered weapons about the field of ſuch as were ſlain, and therewithal flew upon the hindmoſt of the *Romans*, whileſt all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: ſo that they did great miſchief, and raiſed yet a greater terrour. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plain level ground, found means to lay an ambuſh at the back of his enemies. The laſt blow, that ended all fight and reſiſtance, was given by the ſame hand which gave the firſt. *Aſdrubal* (having in ſhort ſpace broken the *Roman* troups of horſe, and cut in pieces all, ſave the Company of *Æmilius* that ruſhed into the groſs of his foot, and a very few beſides, that recovered ſome narrow paſſage, between the River and their own Battalions) did not ſtay to charge upon the face of the Legions, but fell back


The greater Campe of the Romans
The Roman Camp beyond the riuer
The leſser Campe of the Romans
L. Æmilius Paulus
The Baleares
Spaniardes &
Aſdrubal
Auſidus fluuius
Afri:
cans
The Campe of Hānibal
Hānibal &


Cn: Scipio with 80000 foot
The Roman Velites
C. Terentius Varro
Afri:
Hanno or Mahabal
Mago

back behind the Rear of his own, and fetching about, came up to the *Numidians*: with whom he joyned, and gave upon *Terentius*.

This fearful Cloud, as it ſhewed at the firſt appearance what weather it had left behind it, on the other ſide: ſo did it prognoſticate a diſmal ſtorm unto thoſe upon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, having wearied themſelves much in doing little, and ſeeing more work toward, than they could hope to ſuſtain; thought it the beſt way, to avoid the danger by preſent flight. The Conſul was no leſs wiſe than they, in apprehending the greatneſs of his own peril; nor more deſperate, in ſtriving to work impoſſibilities: it being impoſſible, when ſo many ſhrank from him, to ſuſtain the impreſſion alone, which he could not have indured with their aſſiſtance. Now he found that it was one thing to talk of *Hannibal* at *Rome*; and another, to incounter him. But of this, or of ought elſe, excepting haſty flight, his preſent leiſure would not ſerve him to conſider. Cloſe at the heels of him and his flying troops, followed the light *Numidians*, appointed by *Aſdrubal* unto the purſuit, as fitteſt for that ſervice. *Aſdrubal* himſelf, with the *Gauls* and *Spaniſh* horſe, compaſſing about, fell upon the backs of the *Romans*; that were ere this hardly diſtreſſed, and in a manner ſurrounded on all parts elſe: He brake them eaſily; who before made ill reſiſtance, being incloſed, and laid at on every ſide, not knowing which way to turn. Here began a pittiful ſlaughter: the vanquiſhed multitude thronging up and down, they knew not whither or which way, whileſt every one ſought to avoid thoſe enemies, whom he ſaw neareſt. Some of the *Roman* Gentlemen that were about *Æmilius*, got up to horſe, and ſaved themſelves: which though it is hardly underſtood how they could do; yet I will rather believe it, than ſuppoſe that *Livie* ſo reporteth, to grace thereby his Hiſtory with this following tale. *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, galloping along by a place where he ſaw the Conſul ſitting all bloddied upon a ſtone, intreated him to riſe and ſave himſelf; offering him his aſſiſtance and horſe. But* Paulus *refuſed it; willing* Lentulus *to ſhift for himſelf, and not to loſe time: ſaying, That it was not his purpoſe to be brought again into judgement by the People, either as an accuſer of his Colleague, or as guilty himſelf of that dayes loſs. Further, he willed* Lentulus *to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to* Fabius: *willing them to fortifie* Rome, *as faſt as well they could; and telling* Fabius, *that he lived and died mindful of his wholeſome counſel.* Theſe words (peradventure) or ſome to like purpoſe, the Conſul uttered to *Lentulus*, either when againſt his will he was drawn to that battel, or when he beheld the firſt defeat of his horſe; at what time he put himſelf in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew what he ſaid a good while before this; when he thought the Conſul and his troup, in little better caſe than if they had been bound. The whole Groſs of the *Romans*, was incloſed indeed as within a ſack; whereof the *African* Battalions made the ſides; the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians*, the bottom; and *Aſdrubal* with his horſe, cloſed up the mouth: in which part, they firſt of all were ſhuffled together, and began the Rout, wherein all the reſt followed. *Æmilius* therefore, who could not ſit his horſe, whileſt the battel yet laſted, and whileſt the ſpaces were ſomewhat open, by which he might have withdrawn himſelf; was now (had he never ſo well been mounted) unable to fly, having in his way ſo cloſe a throng of his own miſerable followers, and ſo many heaps of bodies, as fell apace in that great Carnage. It ſufficeth unto his honour, That in the Battel he fought no leſs valiantly, than he had warily before, both abſtained himſelf, and diſſwaded his fellow-Conſul, from fighting at all. If, when the day was utterly loſt, it had lien in his power to ſave his own life unto the good of his Country, never more needing it; I ſhould think, that he either too much diſeſteemed himſelf; or being too faintly minded, was weary of the World, and his unthankfull Citizens. But if ſuch a reſolution were praiſe-worthy in *Æmilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* valour; then was the *Engliſh* vertue of the Lord *John Talbot*, Viſcount *Liſle*, ſon to that famous Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who died in the Battel of *Chaſtillon*, more highly to be honoured. For *Æmilius* was old, grievouſly, if not mortally wounded, and accomptable for the overthrow received: *Talbot* was in the flowre of his youth, unhurt, eaſily able to have eſcaped, and not anſwerable for that dayes misfortune, when he refuſed to forſake his Father; who foreſeeing the loſs of the battel, and not meaning to ſtain his actions paſt by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble ſon to be gone and leave him.

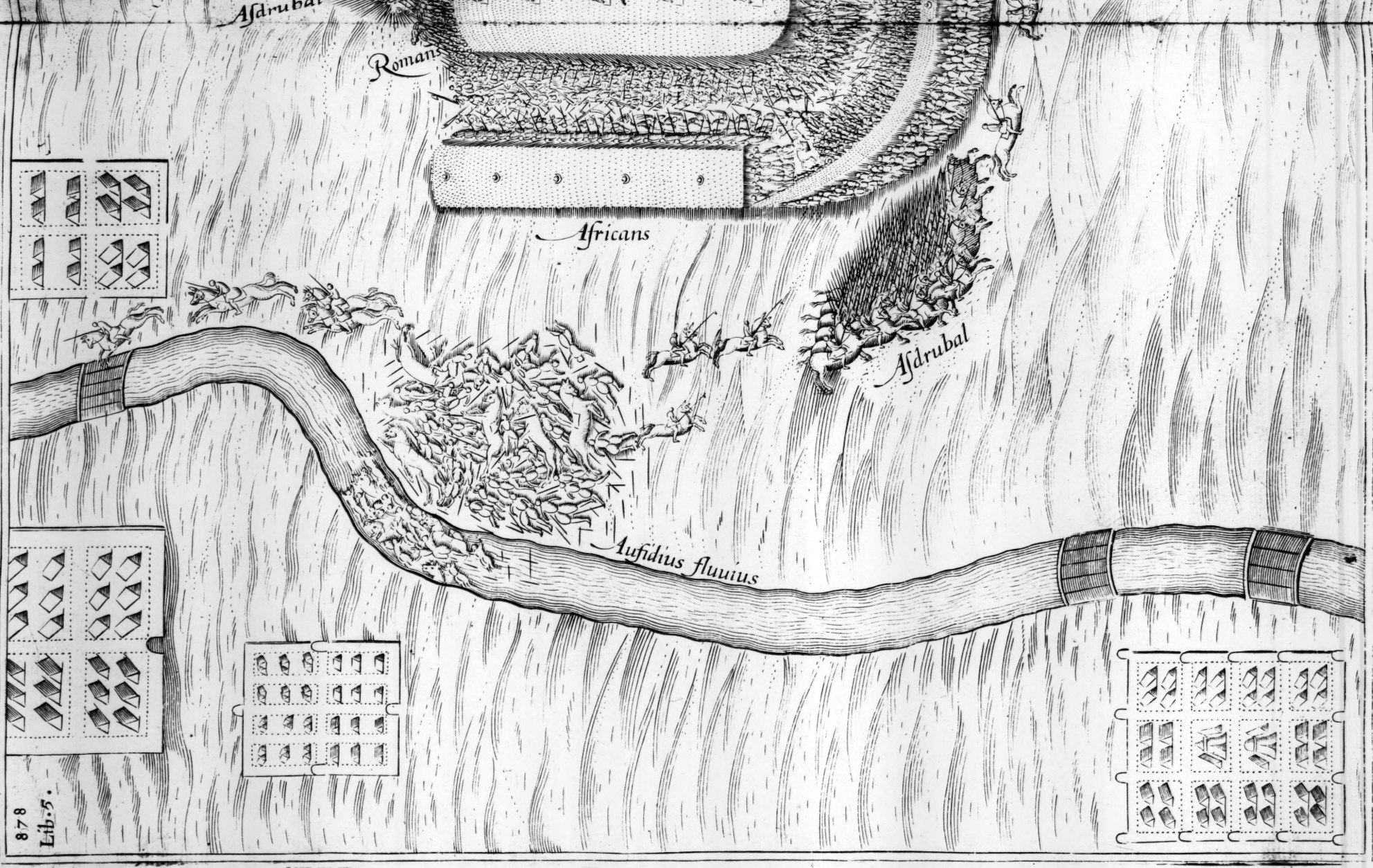
In this terrible overthrow died all the *Roman* foot, ſave two or three thouſand, who (as *Livie* ſaith) eſcaped into the leſſer Camp; whence the ſame night, about ſix hundred of them brake forth, and joyning with ſuch

of those in the greater Camp, as were willing to try their fortune, conveyed themselves away ere morning, about four thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in whole troops, partly dispersed into *Cannusium*: the next day the *Roman* Camps, both less and greater, were yielded unto *Hannibal* by those that remained in them. *Polybius* hath no mention of this escape: only he reports, that the ten thousand, whom *Æmilius* had left on the West side of *Aufidus* (as was shewed before) to set upon the Camp of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their desire, which they had well-near done, the battel was lost: and *Hannibal*, coming over the water to them, drave them into their own Camp; which they quickly yielded, having lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first sight of *Hannibal*, coming upon them with his victorious Army, a greater number of these did flye, and thereby escaped, whilest their fellows, making defence in vain, retired into their Camp, and held the enemy busied. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not half full, but made up by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was like) that having served at *Cannæ*, were afterwards extremely disgraced by the State of *Rome*, for that they had abandoned their companions fighting. Of the *Roman* horse what numbers escaped, it is uncertain: but very few they were that saved themselves in the first charge, by getting behind the River; and *Terentius* the Consul recovered *Venusia*, with threescore and ten at the most in his company. That he was so ill attended, it is no marvel: for *Venusia* lay many miles off to the Southward; so that his neerest way thither, had been thorow the midst of *Hannibals* Army, if the passage had been open. Therefore it must needs be, that when once he got out of sight, he turned up some by-way; so disappointing the *Numidians* that hunted *contre*. Of such as could not hold pace with the Consul, but took other wayes, and were scattered over the fields; two thousand, or thereabout, were gathered up by the *Numidians*, and made prisoners: the rest were slain, all save three hundred, who dispersed themselves in flight, as chance led them, and got into sundry Towns. There died in this great Battel of *Cannæ*, besides *L. Emilius Paulus* the Consul, two of the *Roman* Quæstors or Treasurers, and one and twenty Colonels or Tribunes of the Souldiers, fourscore Senators, or such as had born office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of special mark, as having been *Ædiles*, Prætors or Consuls: among whom was *Cn. Servilius*, the last years Consul, and *Minutius*, late Master of the horse. The number of prisoners, taken in this battel, *Livie* makes no greater than three thousand foot, and three hundred horse: too few to have defended for the space of one half hour, both the *Roman* Camps, which yet the same *Livie* saith, to have been over-cowardly yielded up. We may therefore do better, to give credit unto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth, speaking in the Senate, and saying, That they were no less than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that these three thousand were only such as the Enemy spared, when the fury of Execution was past: but to these must be added about five thousand more, who yielded in the greater Camp, when their company were either slain or fled. So the reckoning falls out right: which the *Romans*, especially the Consul *Varro*, had before cast up (as we say) without their Host; nothing so chargeable, as now they find it. On the side of *Hannibal* there died some four thousand *Gauls*, fifteen hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred Horse, or thereabouts: a loss not sensible, in the joy of so great a victory; which if he had pursued, as *Maharbal* advised him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*; it is little doubted, but that the war had presently been at an end. But he believed not so far in his own prosperity; and was therefore told, That *he knew how to get, not how to use a victory.*

§. IX.

Of things following the Battel at Cannæ.

NOT without good cause doth *Polybius* reprehend those two Historians, *Fabius* the *Roman*, and *Philinus* the *Carthaginian*; who, regarding more the pleasure of them unto whose honour they consecrated their travels, than the truth of things, and information of posterity, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his *Carthaginians*, the other of his *Roman* Quirites, and Fathers conscript. No man of sound judgement will condemn this liberty of censure, which *Polybius* hath used. For, to recompence his juniority (such as it was) he produceth substantial arguments, to justifie his own Relation; and confuteth the vanity of those former Authors, out of their own writings, by conference of places ill cohering: which pains is to be suspected, that he would not have taken, had he been born in either



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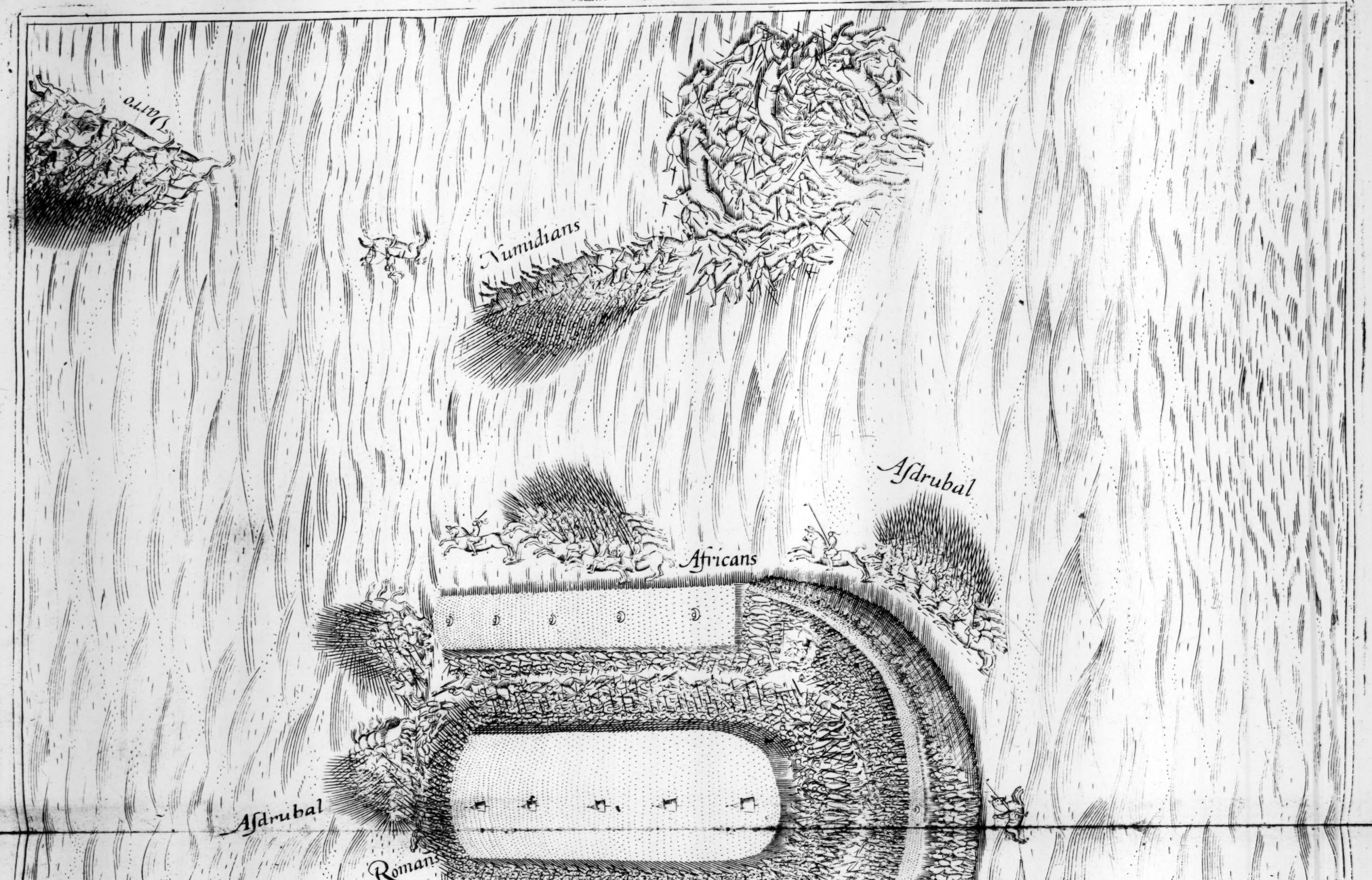
Numidians
Africans
Asdrubal
Asdrubal

either of these two Cities, but have spared some part of his diligence, and been contented to have all men think better and more honourably than he deserved, of his own Countrey. The like disease it is to be feared, that we shall hereafter find in others; and shall have some cause to wish, that either they were somewhat less *Roman*, or else, that some works of their opposite Writers were extant, that so we might at least hear both sides speak: being henceforth destitute of *Polybius* his help, that was a man indifferent. But since this cannot be, we must be sometimes bold, to observe the coherence of things; and believe so much only to be true, as dependeth upon good reason, or (at least) fair probability. This attentive circumspection is needful at the present: such is the repugnancy, or forgetfulness, which we find in the best narration of things following the Battel of *Cannæ*. For it is said, that four thousand foot and horse gathered together about the Consul *Terentius* at *Venusia*; that others to the number of ten thousand got into *Cannusium*, chusing for their Captains, young *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the Consul *Terentius Varro*, joyning his company unto those of *Scipio* at *Cannusium*, wrote unto the Senate, that he had now well-near ten thousand men about him; that these letters of the Consul were brought to *Rome*, when the Senate was newly risen, that had been taking order for pacifying those tumults in the City, which grew upon the first bruit of the overthrow; and yet, that Embassadours from *Capua* (after some consultation, whether it were meet to send any, or without further circumstance, to side with *Hannibal*) were sent unto *Terentius*, and found him at *Venusia*, a pretty while before he wrote those letters, which overtook (in a manner) at *Rome* the first news of the overthrow. Among such incoherences, I hold it the best way, to omit so much as hath not some particular connexion with matter ensuing: mutual dependency in things of this nature, being no small argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had sacked the *Roman* Camp, and trussed up the spoils, forthwith he dis-lodged, and marched away into *Samnium*; finding a disposition in the *Hirpines*, and many other people thereabout, to forsake the *Roman* party, and make alliance with *Carthage*. The first Town that opened the gates unto him, was *Cossa*, where he laid up his baggage: and leaving his Brother *Mago* to take in other places, he hasted into *Campania*. The general affection of the multitude, in all the Cities of *Italy*, was inclinable unto him; not only in regard of their grievous losses sustained abroad in the fields, which the *Romans* themselves, who could not hinder him from spoiling the Country, especially the poorer sort of them, did hardly indure; but in a loving respect unto that great courtesie (as it seemed) which he used unto such of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now after this great victory at *Cannæ*, he had lovingly dismissed as many of the *Italian* Confederates of *Rome*, as fell into his hands; rebuking them gently for being so obstinate against him that had sought to deliver them from bondage. Neither spared he to win their love by gifts, pretending to admire their valour; but seeking indeed, by all wayes and means, to make them his, whilest all other motives were concurrent. At this time also he began to deal kindly (though against his nature) with the *Roman* prisoners; telling them that he bore no mortal hatred unto their Estate; but being provoked by injuries, sought to right himself and his Country; and fought with them, to try which of these two Cities, *Rome* or *Carthage* should bear soveraign Rule, not which of them should be destroyed. So he gave them leave to chuse ten of their number, that should be sent home to treat with the Fathers about their ransome: and together with these he sent *Carthalo* a Nobleman of *Carthage*, and General of his Horse, to feel the disposition of the Senate, whether it were bowed as yet by so much adversity, and could stoop unto desire of peace. But with the *Romans* these Arts prevailed not, as shall be shewed in due place. The people of *Italy*, all, or most of them, save the *Roman* Colonies, or the *Latines*, were not only weary of their losses past, but entertained a deceivable hope, of changing their old Society for a better. Wherefore not only the *Samnites*, *Lucans*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, ancient enemies of *Rome*, and not untill the former Generation utterly subdued, began to re-assume their wonted spirits: but the *Campans*, a Nation of all in *Italy* most bound unto the State of *Rome*, and by many mutual affinities therewith straightly conjoyned, as were any save the *Latines*, changed on a sudden their love into hatred, without any other cause found, than change of fortune.

Campania is the most goodly and fruitful Province of *Italy*, if not (as some then thought) of all the Earth: and the City of *Capua*, answerable unto the Country, whereof it was Head; so great, fair, and wealthy, that it seemed no less convenient a seat of the Empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*.

But

But of all qualities, Bravery is the leaſt requiſite unto ſoveraign command. The *Campans* were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themſelves like Jayes by their feathers, deſpiſed the unfortunate vertue of the *Romans* their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there ſome of the principal among them, as in other Cities, that bore eſpecial regard unto the Majeſty of *Rome*, and could not indure to hear of Innovation. But the *Plebeian* faction had lately ſo prevailed within *Capua*, that all was governed by the pleaſure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of *Pacuvius Calavius* an ambitious Noble-man, whoſe credit grew, and was up-held by furthering all popular deſires; whereof, the conjunction with *Hannibal* was not the leaſt. Some of the *Capuans* had offered their City to the *Carthaginians* ſhortly after the battel of *Thraſymene*: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his journey into *Campania*: the Dictator *Fabius* waiting upon him. At that time, either the nearneſs of the *Roman* Army, or ſome other fear of the *Capuans*, hindred them from breaking into actual rebellion. They had indeed no leiſure to treat about any article of new Confederacy: or, had leiſure ſerved, yet were the multitude (whoſe inconſtant love *Hannibal* had won from the *Romans*, by gentle uſage, and free diſmiſſing of ſome priſoners in good account among them) unable to hold any ſuch negotiation, without advice of the Senate, which mainly impugned it. So they that had promiſed to yield up their Town to *Hannibal*, and meet him on the way, with ſome of their Nobility that ſhould aſſure him of all faithful meaning, were driven to ſit ſtill in a great perplexity: as having failed to let in this their new friend, yet ſufficiently diſcovered themſelves to draw upon them the hatred of the *Romans*. In this caſe were no ſmall number of the Citizens; who thereupon grew the more incenſed againſt their Senate, on whom they caſt all the blame, eaſily pardoning their own cowardize. The people holding ſo tender a regard of liberty, that even the lawful government of Magiſtrates grieved them, with an imaginary oppreſſion; had now good cauſe to fear leſt the Senators would become the Lords indeed, and by help of the *Romans* bring them under a more ſtraight ſubjection, than ever they had endured. This fear being ready to break into ſome outrage, *Pacuvius* made uſe of, to ſerve his own ambition. He diſcourſed unto the Senate, as they ſate in Counſel, about thoſe motions troubling the City: and ſaid, That he himſelf had both married a *Roman* Lady, and given his Daughter in marriage to a *Roman*: but, that the danger of forſaking of the *Roman* party was not now the greateſt: for that the people were violently bent to murder all the Senate, and after to joyn themſelves with *Hannibal*, who ſhould countenance the fact, and ſave them harmleſs. This he ſpake, as a man well known to be beloved himſelf by the people, and privy unto their deſigns. Having throughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging over them: He promiſed nevertheleſs to deliver them all, and to ſet things in quiet, if they would freely put themſelves into his hands; offering his oath, or any other aſſurance that they ſhould demand for his faithful meaning. They all agreed. Then ſhutting up the Court, and placing a guard of his own followers about it, that none might enter, nor iſſue forth, without his leave; he called the people to aſſembly: and ſpeaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would be glad to hear, he told them, that theſe wicked Governours were ſurpriſed by his policy, and all faſt, ready to abide what ſentence they would lay upon them. Only thus much he adviſed them, as a thing which neceſſity required, That they ſhould chuſe a new Senate, before they ſatisfied their anger upon the old. So rehearſing unto them the names of one or two Senators; he aſked what their judgement was of thoſe. All cryed out, That they were worthy of death. Chuſe then (ſaid he) firſt of all ſome new ones into their places. Hereat the multitude, unprovided for ſuch an election, was ſilent, untill at laſt ſome one or other adventured to name whom he thought fit. The men ſo nominated, were utterly diſliked by the whole Aſſembly; either for ſome known fault, baſeneſs and inſufficiency; or elſe even becauſe they were unknown, and therefore held unworthy. This difficulty in the new Election appearing more and more, whileſt more were to be choſen; (the fitteſt man to be ſubſtituted, having been named among the firſt, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* intreated, and eaſily prevailed with the people, that the preſent Senate might for this time be ſpared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtleſs) they would make, having thus obtained pardon of all offences paſt. Henceforth, not only the people, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and eſteemed him their Patron; but the Senators alſo were governed by him, to whom they acknowledged themſelves indebted, for ſaving all their lives. Neither did the Senate fail after this by all obſequiouſneſs, to court the people, giving the

the reines unto their lawless Will, who else were likely to cast them down. All the City being thus of one mind; only fear of the *Romans* kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battel at *Cannæ*, this impediment was removed; and few there were that would open their mouths to speak against the rebellion. Yet forasmuch as three hundred principal Gentlemen of the *Campans*, did then serve the *Romans* in the Isle of *Sicil*: the Parents and Kinsmen of these prevailed so far, that Embassadors were sent unto *Terentius* the Consul, to see his present case, and what it could minister of Hope or Fear. These, wheresoever they found him, found him weakly attended, and as weak in spirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the service of their State; and desired to know what he would command them. But he most basely lamented unto them the greatness of the *Roman* misfortune: saying, That all was lost; and that the *Campans* must now not help the *Romans*, who had nothing left wherewith to help themselves, but make war in their defence against the *Carthaginians*; as the *Romans* had sometimes done for the *Campans* against the *Samnites*. Hereunto he is said to have added a foolish Invective against *Hannibal* and his *Carthaginians*: telling, how he had taught them to make bridges of slaughtered carkasses, and to feed upon mans flesh, with such other stuff, as only bewrayed his own fear. As for the *Campans* themselves, he put them in mind of their present strength: they having thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; with money, and all provisions, in abundance. Thus he dismissed them prouder than they came, and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; whereas before they were somewhat timorous in adventuring to seek their own liberty. Having reported this at *Capua*; the same Embassadors were dispatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they easily made alliance, upon these conditions; that the *Campans* should be absolutely free, and ruled by their own Laws; That no Citizens of theirs should be subject unto any *Carthaginian* Magistrate, in what case soever, whether in War or Peace; and that *Hannibal* should deliver unto the *Campans* three hundred *Roman* prisoners, such as themselves would chuse, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in *Sicil*.

Against all this Negotiation, *Decius Magius*, an honourable Citizen, opposed himself earnestly; using, in vain, many perswasions, to the wilful and head-strong Multitude; whom he put in mind of *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*, wishing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were sending Embassadours unto *Hannibal*; and this also did he, when the new alliance was concluded; but most earnestly, when a *Carthaginian* Garrison was entring the Town: at which time he gave advice, either to keep it out, or to fall upon it, and to cut it in pieces, that by such a notable piece of service, they might make amends unto the *Romans*, whom they had forsaken.

Advertisement hereof was given to *Hannibal*: who lying about *Naples* not far off, sent for *Magius* to come speak with him in the Camp. This *Magius* refused: alledging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from subjection unto any *Carthaginians*; and therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon hasted himself towards *Capua*; forbearing to attempt any further upon *Naples*, which he thought to have taken in his way by *Scalado*, but found the walls too high, and was not well provided to lay siege unto it. At *Capua* he was entertained with great solemnity and pomp: all the people issuing forth of the Town, to behold the great Commander, which had won so many noble victories. Having taken his pleasure in the sight of that goodly City, and passed over his first entertainments, he came into their Senate, where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the *Roman* yoke; promising, that ere long all *Italy* and *Rome* it self, should be driven to acknowledge *Capua* as chief, and receive Law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly took part with the *Romans* their enemies; he prayed them, that they would not use him as a *Campan*, but a Traitor to the State, and use him accordingly, giving sentence out of hand upon him, as he deserved. This was granted: and *Magius* delivered unto *Hannibal*; who unwilling to offend the *Capuans*, at his first coming, by putting so geeat a man to death, yet fearing that they might sue for his liberty, if he kept him alive, thought it best to send him away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* setled his friendship with the *Campanes*: among whom, only this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to speak against him; being assisted by *Perolla* the Son of *Pacuvius*. This *Perolla* would have murdered *Hannibal*, whilest he was at supper, the first night of his coming, had not his Fathers authority kept him from attempting any such attempt. All the Town (besides) were so earnest in the love of their new Society, that they are said to have murdered all the *Romans*, upon whom at the

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preſent they could lay hand; or (which is all one) to have ſmothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The ſame courſe of fortune, with thoſe of *Capua*, ran ſome other Towns thereabouts which dependeth on this, as their Mother-City. *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Caſiline*, and *Acerræ*, were the Cities next adjoyning, that ſtood out for the *Romans*. Againſt theſe *Hannibal* went, thinking to find them weakly manned; as they were indeed, though ſtoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in caſe, to put Garriſons into all their walled Towns; but were fain to leave all places, except a few of the moſt ſuſpected, unto the faith and courage of the inhabitants. *Rome* it ſelf was in extream fear of *Hannibals* coming, at the firſt report of the overthrow at *Cannæ*: and the grief of that loſs was ſo general, and immoderate, that it much diſturbed the proviſion againſt apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the loſs already received, or the fear of deſtruction preſently threatning, were the more terrible. All the Senators found work enough, to ſtint the noiſe and lamentable bewailings, whereof the ſtreets were full. Courrers were ſent forth, to bring aſſured tidings how all went: whereof when Letters from the Conſul *Varro* had throughly informed them, they were ſo amazed, that they ran into barbarous ſuperſtition; and taking direction (as was ſaid) from their fatal books, buried alive two men and women, *Gaules* and *Greeks*, in their Oxe-market. If the books of *Sibyl* gave them ſuch inſtructions; we may juſtly think that *Sibyl* her ſelf was inſtructed by the Devil. Yet it is not improbable, that extremity of fear cauſed them to hearken to wicked South-ſayers; whoſe deteſtable counſels they afterwards for their own honour (as aſhamed of ſuch Authors) imputed to the books of *Sibyl*. An Embaſſador was ſent to *Delphi*, to conſult with the oracle of *Apollo*; and enquire with what prayers and ſupplications they might pacifie the gods, and obtain an end of theſe calamities. This is enough to diſcover the greatneſs of their fear; though not ſerving to give remedy. At that time came Letters out of *Sicil*, from the Prætor of *Octacilius*; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to paſs over into *Africk*. In theſe were contained news of one *Carthaginian* fleet that waſted the kingdome of *Hieron* their good friend and confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the Iſles *Ægateis*, which was in readineſs to ſet upon *Lilybæum*, and the reſt of the *Roman* Province, if the Prætor ſtirred aſide to the reſcue of *Hieron*.

In the midſt of theſe extremities, it was thought needful to call home *Terentius* the Conſul, that he might name a Dictator, to take ſoverain charge of the Weal-publick, with abſolute power, as neceſſity required. It muſt needs ſeem ſtrange, that all ſorts of people went forth to meet the Conſul, and bid him welcome home, giving him thanks *for that he had not deſpaired of the Weal-publick*. But this was done (as may ſeem) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtleſs) provided wiſely for upholding the general reputation. If this coming into the City had renewed the lamentations and outcries of the people: what elſe would have followed, than a contempt of their wretchedneſs, among thoſe that were ſubject unto their Dominion? Now in finding this occaſion (though indeed he gave it not) of beſtowing upon him their welcome, and thanks; they noiſed abroad a fame, which came perhaps unto the ears of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimity and Confidence: that might ſeem grounded on their remaining ſtrength. This therefore was wiſely done. But whereas *Livie* would have us think, that it was done generouſly, and out of great ſpirit; let me be pardoned, if I believe him not. It was done fearfully, and to cover their grief: had they dared to ſhew their indignation, they would have ſtruck off his head; as in few years after, *Cn. Fulvius* had his life brought into queſtion, and was baniſhed by them, being leſs blame-worthy, for a ſmaller offence. *M. Junius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and *T. Sempronius*, Maſter of the horſe. Theſe fell preſently to muſtering of Souldiers, of whom they raiſed four new Legions, and one thouſand horſe: though with much difficulty; as being fain to take up ſome that were very boyes. Theſe four Legions are elſewhere forgotten in account of the forces levied by this Dictator; and two Legions only ſet down, that had been enrolled in the beginning of the year for the cuſtody of the City. So it may be, that theſe two Legions being drawn into the field; four new ones of *Prætextati*, or ſtriplings were left in their places. In ſuch raw Souldiers, and ſo few, little confidence was to be repoſed; for which reaſon they increaſed their number, by adding unto them eight thouſand ſturdy ſlaves, that were put in hope of liberty, if they ſhould deſerve it by manfull ſervice. This not ſufficing, the Dictator proclaimed, that whoſoever ought mony and could not pay it, or had committed any capital offence,

Liv. lib. 26.

Liv. lib. 22.

Liv. lib. 23.

offence, should forthwith be discharged of his debt or punishment, if he would serve in the War. To arm these Companies, they were fain to take down out of their Temples and Porches, the spoils of their enemies that had been there set up: among which, were 6000. Armours of the *Gaules*, that had been carried in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this War. To such mockery had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their insolent oppressions, that they were fain to issue forth of their own gates, in the habit of strangers, when *Hannibal* was ready to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman*-like.

About the same time it was that *Carthalo* with the Agents of the prisoners taken at *Cannæ*, came to *Rome*. *Carthalo* was not admitted into the City, but commanded, whilst he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territory. To the messengers of the captives audience was given by the Senate. They made earnest Petition to be ransomed at the publick charge; not only the tears and lamentation of their poor kinsfolk but the great need, wherein the City then stood, of able Souldiers, commending their suit; which yet they obtained not. Besides the general custom of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and strengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was overthrown, and taken prisoner in the former War) not to be too tender of such as had yielded to the enemy, much was alleadged against those who now craved ransome: but the special point was, that they were wilfully lost, since they might have saved themselves, as others did. It sufficed not unto these poor men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Consuls; they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the State wanted money; and therefore could not want excuses; whereby to avoid the disbursement: whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we find recorded. Neither must we regard it, that the slaves which were armed for the war, are said to have cost more, than the summ did amount unto, that would have ransomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, devised to countenance the *Roman* proceedings, as if they had been severe; when as indeed they were suitable to the present fortune, poor and somewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little proof, That *Hannibal* valued those *Roman* slaves, whom he had taken in the Camp among their Masters, at no more, than every one the third part of a common Souldiers ransome: and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, whereat he thought them current. But if we should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargain for slaves might have been made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with private men; yet must we withall consider, that these private men did only lend these slaves for a while unto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented *to forbear the price of them* (when by order of the Senate they were enfranchised) untill the war should be ended. If *Hannibal* would have given such long day of payment, it is likely that the *Romans* would have been his Chapmen: but, seeing he dealt only for ready money, they chose rather to say, We will not give, than, We cannot. The like austerity, upon the same reason, but contrary pretence, was used toward the Souldiers that escaped from that great battel. These were charged for having fled: as the prisoners were, for not flying, when they might have done so. True it is, that in such cases (if ever) that which they call *Raggione del Stato*, may serve for an excuse: when the Common-wealth, being driven to a miserable exigent, is fain to help it self, by doing injuries to private men. And so dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all those that had served at *Cannæ*, to be transported into *Sicil*; and there to serve, not as others did, untill they had fulfilled twenty years in the Wars, or else were fifty years of age, but untill this War should be ended, how long soever it lasted, and that without reward. The same thrifty censure was afterwards laid upon others, for their mis-behaviour: but never upon any man of quality, save only (a good while after this, at better leisure) upon *Cecilius Metellus*, and a few other hare-brain'd fools his companions; who, being frighted out of their wits, with the terrour of so great a loss, were devising, after the battel, which way to run out of *Italy*, when *Hannibal* as yet had scarce one Town within it. The inequality of this rigour grew shortly distasteful to the Commonalty: and was openly blamed by *a Tribune of the people*; nevertheless it was quietly digested, the excuse being no less apparent than the fault.

Liv. lib. 25.

Liv. lib. 24.

M. Junius the Dictator, having dispatched all needfull business within the City, took the field with five and twenty thousand men. What he did with this Army, I cannot find: nor more of him than this, That he spent the time about *Campania*; where (as

may be presumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater evil: for of any evil done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans*, in this their weak estate, only *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Ostia*, with a Fleet ready to set sail for *Sicil*, having one Legion aboord his ships; and fifteen hundred other Souldiers newly taken up: with which forces he was to defend that Island, and do what harm he could in *Africk*. But hearing of the overthrow at *Cannæ*, he sent these of his new Levy to *Rome*, for defence of the City; and marched hastily with his Legion toward *Cannusium*: delivering the Fleet, empty of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magistrates. and chief Citizens of *Nola*, to help them: who were like to be forced by the multitude (affected, as were the rest of the *Campanes*) to let in the *Carthaginian*; and knew not how to avoid this otherwise, than by seeming to deliberate about the articles of this new confederacy. Wherefore he made great journeys thitherward; and arrived even time enough to prevent the Enemy. Many idle walks *Hannibal* made betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*: assaying by fair words and terrible threats the one and the other City. *Naples* was strong, and not infected with any the least touch of disloyalty: had also a sure Haven, whereby it stood in the less fear of sustaining much inconvenience, by spoil of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Countrey. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable consideration, That *Hannibal* was Master of the field: which if he laid waste, all the poor people were utterly undone. So thought the Multitude: and such talk used some, that had little fear of their own private want or poverty, but a great desire to gratifie the *Carthaginian*. Of these, one *L. Bantius* was chief; a stout young Gentleman, and Souldier of especial mark, well beloved in the City, and one that had done good service to the *Romans*; but was found by *Hannibal* half dead at *Cannæ*; and after much gentle usage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly dismissed with liberal gifts. He therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to return the greatest thanks he could unto so courteous an enemy. *Marcellus* perceiving this, wrought upon the same easie nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had been by chance, seemed to wonder, why one that had so well deserved of the *Roman* State, had not repaired unto him the Prætor, who desired nothing more than such acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and loving entertainment, being himself also a man highly reputed for his personal valour, he made this *Bantius* so far in love with him, that no thing could be attempted within *Nola*, against the *Romans*, whereof he had not presently advertisement. At the coming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* removed from about *Nola*; and assayed, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*: but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garrison; upon confidence whereof they gave him a peremptory answer, to his discontent. Thence went he to *Nuceria*, which he took by composition; and so returned back again to *Nola*. He was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore unto him: who although they durst not stir in his quarrel, being over-awed by the *Roman* Garrison; yet if they saw *Marcellus* hardly bestead, and forced to turn his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies assailing him without, like enough it seemed, that they would not be wanting unto the accomplishment of their own desires. He therefore brought his Army close to the Town, and skirmished often with *Marcellus*: not in hope thereby to do much good, but only to make shew of a meaning to force the Town; which he sought in the mean while to take by intelligence. In the night time there passed messages between him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if once *Marcellus*, with all his forces, could be trained into the field, the multitude within the Town should presently rise; and seizing upon the gates, exclude him as an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was advertised: and fearing lest the Conspirators would shortly adventure, even to find him busied within the City, whilest the *Carthaginians* should scale the walls; he thought it the surest way, to cut off the Enemies hope, and send him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in three companies, within three several gates, looking towards the enemy: he gave a straight command, that all the Citizens should keep their houses. Thus he lay close a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder, against whom he had customarily issued forth before more early, every day, to skirmish. But when it was further noted, that the walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them;

them; then thought *Hannibal*, that surely all was discovered, and *Marcellus* now busied with the Citizens. Whereupon he bad his men bring ladders, and make ready for the assault: which was done in all haste. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very wals, and thought nothing less, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the field: suddenly the middle gate was opened, whereat *Marcellus*, with the best and oldest of his Souldiers, brake forth upon them, with a great noise, to make his unexpected sally the more terrible. Whilest the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were some of them flying before *Marcellus*, the rest making head against him: the other two gates opened, whereat in like sort issued they of the new levied Companies, upon the enemies backs. The sudden terrour was more available unto the *Romans*, than their force; yet the Execution was so great, that this was accounted as a victory, and reputed one of the bravest Acts performed in all that War, forasmuch as hereby it was first proved, that *Hannibal* might be overcome. After this, *Marcellus* being freed from his enemies that were departed, took a strict account of the Citizens of *Nola*; condemning above threescore and ten of high Treason, whose heads he struck off; and so leaving the Town in quiet obedience unto their Senate, went and incamped hard by about *Suessula*. *Hannibal* in the mean season was gone to *Acerræ*: where being excluded, he thought it no wisdom to lose time in perswasions, but laid siege unto it, and began on all sides to close it up. This terrified the People, who knew themselves unable to hold out. Therefore before his Works were finished, and they quite surrounded; they stole out by night, and left him the Town empty: which he sacked and burnt. Then hearing news of the Dictator, that he was about *Casiline*, thither went *Hannibal*; as being unwilling that an enemy so near should disquiet him at *Capua*; where he meant to Winter. It seems, or rather indeed it is plain, that the late victory of *Marcellus* had nothing abated the spirit of the *Carthaginian*: who durst with a small part of his Army seek out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Roman* strength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, upon so slight an occasion as the death of some two thousand of his men, at the most, and those not slain in plain battel, but by a sudden eruption; witnesseth chiefly, in what great fear they stood of *Hannibal*, and how Crest-fallen they were: that having three years since demanded at *Carthage* the body of *Hannibal*, to be delivered unto their pleasure, by his own Citizens; could now please themselves, as with good news, to hear, That in a skirmish not far from *Rome*, he appeared to be a man, and not resistless. At *Casilinum* the Dictator was not: but many Companies of *Italians*, Confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into the Town, and held it. Five hundred of the *Prænestines* there were, and about four hundred of *Perusia*, with some of the *Latines*. All these had the good hap, to come too late to the battel at *Cannæ*, being sent by their several States to the Camp: whither whilest they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountred them, and sent them back sorrowfull; for they loved well their Lords the *Romans*, under whose government they lived happily. So came they all, one after another to *Casiline*, where they met and stayed. Neither had they stayed there long, ere they heard news from *Capua*, How that great City became the Ring-leader of all the *Campanes* into rebellion. The people of *Casiline* were affected as they of *Capua*: and therefore sought how to rid their hands of those *Prænestines* and their fellows; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many trains laid one for another, at last they slew all the Townsmen in a night, and fortified the Western part of the Town (for it was divided by the River *Vulturnus*) against the Enemy. If they had run away with the goods, and pretended, that these of *Casiline* were as the rest of the *Campanes*, all Traitors; they themselves might have been reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*. But their constancy in defence of the place witnesseth, upon what honest reasons they surprised it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to have encountred with greater forces: but these few found him more work than he expected. Divers assaults he gave, but was still repelled with loss: and many sallies they made, with variable event. The Enemy mined; and they countermined: opposing so much industry to his force, that he was driven to close them up, and seek to win them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Master of the Horse, lay with the *Roman* Army higher up the River: who fain would have relieved *Casiline*, but that the Dictator being gone to *Rome* about some matters of Religion, had given him an expres charge not to fight till his return. *Marcellus* from *Suessulæ* could not come: his way being stopped by the overflowings of *Vulturnus*; the *Nolans* also beseeching him not to leave them, who were in danger of the *Campanes*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water

ſtayed his journey, ſuch intreaties were needleſs. Neither is it like that the Dictator tarried at *Rome* ſo long, as till extrem famine had conſumed the Garriſon in *Caſiline*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Town was loſt, becauſe the *Romans* durſt not adventure to raiſe the ſiege. Barrels of Corn were ſent by night, floting down the River; and when ſome of theſe, being carried awry by an Eddie of water, ſtuck among the Willows on the bank, whereby this manner of relief was diſcovered and prevented; *Gracchus* caſt a great quantity of Nuts into the ſtream, which faintly ſuſtained the poor beſieged men. At length when all food was ſpent, and whatſoever grew green under the Walls was gathered for Sallets, the *Carthaginians* ploughed up the ground; whereon the beſieged preſently ſowed Rape-ſeed. *Hannibal* ſeeing this, admired their patience; and ſaid, That he meant not to ſtay at *Caſiline* untill the Rapes were grown. Wherefore though hitherto he had refuſed to hearken unto any Compoſition, as intending to make them an example to all others, by puniſhing their obſtinacy; yet now he was content, to grant them their lives at an indifferent ranſome; which when they had paid, he quietly diſmiſſed them, according to his promiſe. Seven hundred *Carthaginians* he placed in *Caſiline*, as a Garriſon for defence of the *Campanes*; unto whom he reſtored it. To the *Præneſtine* Souldiers great thanks were given, and loving rewards; among which they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But their preſent condition pleaſed them ſo well, that they choſe rather to continue, as they were in *Præneſte*: which is no weak proof, of the good eſtate wherein the Cities flouriſhed, that were ſubject to the *Roman* Government. This ſiege of *Caſiline* was not a little beneficial to the *Romans*; as having long detained *Hannibal*, and conſumed much of his time, that might otherwiſe have been better ſpent. For winter overtook him long before he could diſpatch the buſineſs: which how to quit with his honour he knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua*: where he refreſhed his Army, or rather corrupted it, as all Hiſtorians report, and made it effeminate; though effeminate as it was, He therewithall did often beat the *Romans* in following times, as ſhall appear hereafter.

§. X.

Of the great ſupply that was decreed at Carthage, *to be ſent to* Hannibal *into* Italy. *How by the malice of* Hanno, *and ſloth or parſimony of the* Carthaginians, *the ſupply was too long deferred. That the riches of the* Carthaginians *grew faſter, than of the* Romans. *Of* Fabius *and other old* Romans *Hiſtorians, how partial they were in their writings.*

WHen *Mago*, the ſon of *Amilcar* had ſpent ſome time about the taking in ſuch *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the battel at *Cannæ*; his brother *Hannibal* ſent for him to *Capua*, and thence diſpatched him away to *Carthage*, with the joyfull meſſage of Victory. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate with how many *Roman* Generals his brother had fought, what Conſuls he had chaſed, wounded or ſlain; how the ſtout *Romans*, that in the former war never ſhunned any occaſion of fight, were now grown ſo calm, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the only good Captain, becauſe he never durſt adventure to come to battel; That not without reaſon their ſpirits were thus abated, ſince *Hannibal* had ſlain of them above two hundred thouſand, and taken above fifty thouſand priſoners. He further told them of the *Brutians*, *Apulians*, *Samnites*, *Lucans*, and other people of *Italy*, that followed the fortune of thoſe great victories, had revolted unto the *Carthaginians*. Among the reſt he magnified *Capua*, as a goodly City, and fit to be not only (as already it was) Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chief ſeat of their Dominion in *Italy*: and there he informed them, how lovingly his brother had been entertained, where he meant to reſt that winter attending their ſupply. As for the war, He ſaid it was even at an end, if they would now purſue it cloſely, and not give the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to re-collect themſelves, and repair their broken forces. He willed them to conſider, that the war far from home, in the Enemies Countrey: that ſo many battels had much diminiſhed his brothers Army: that the Souldiers, who had ſo well deſerved, ought to be conſidered with liberal rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* friends, with exactions of money, corn, and other neceſſaries; but that theſe things muſt be ſent from *Carthage*, which the victory would requite with large amends. Finally, he cauſed the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman* Knights that were ſlain,

to

to be poured out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three bushels; or (as others would rather have it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appear the greatness of the *Roman* calamity, forasmuch as none but the *principal of that order, were accustomed to wear that ornament.

* Thus *Livie* reports it; and credible it is, that while *Rome* was poor, the bravery of private men was not altogether so great, as the Law would have permitted, though otherwise *Jus Annuli, The wearing of the Ring*, was the general priviledge of the *Roman Equites*.

Who so considers the former *Punick War*, may easily find, that the State of *Carthage* never did receive, in all the durance thereof, any such hopefull advertisements from their Captains abroad. Wherefore it is no marvel, if the errand of *Mago* found extraordinary welcome. In the vehemency of this joy, *Himilco*, a Senator adverse to the faction of *Hanno*, is said to have demanded of that great perswader unto peace with *Rome*, Whether he were still of opinion, that *Hannibal* should be yielded up unto the *Romans*; or whether he would forbid them to give thanks unto the gods, for this their good success. Hereunto though it be not likely that *Hanno* made the same formal answer, which *Livie* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senators *Patres Conscripti*, by a term proper to the *Romans*; and putting them in mind of his own shamefull overthrow received at the Islands *Ægatis*: yet the sum of his speech appears to have been no less malicious than is set down, forasmuch as *Hannibal* himself, at his departure out of *Italy*, exclaimed against the wickedness of this *Hanno*; saying, that his hatred against the *Barchines*, had oppressed their Family, when otherwise it could not, with the ruine of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a jest of these victories, as is reported; saying, it ill beseemed him, who had vanquished the *Romans* to call for more help as if he had been beaten; or him, that had taken their Camp, filled forsooth with spoil, to make request for meat and money. To these cavils, if answer were needfull, it might be said, That other booty than of horses and slaves, little was to be found in the *Roman* Camp: the best of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few * silver studs in the bridles and trappings of their horses. If *Hannibal* had taken any main convoy of money and provisions, going to supply all wants of a great Army in some other Province, (as the two *Scipio*'s are afterwards said to have done, when they wan the Camp of *Asdrubal*, that carryed along with him all the wealth of *Spain*, in his journey towards *Italy*) then might such an objection more justly have been made unto his demand of a supply. But the most likely part of *Hanno* his Oration, and wherein he best might hope to prevail, contained a perswasion to use their fortune with moderation; and now to seek peace, whilest they had so much the better in war.

* *Liv. l.* 22.

What would have been the issue of this counsel, if it had been followed, it were not easie to say. For though it be likely, that the *Roman* pride would have brooked much indignity, in freeing *Italy* from the danger of war; yet it is not likely that the faith, so often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would have been kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for revenge of so many shameful overthrows; since after this war ended, and a new league concluded, no submissive behaviour could preserve *Carthage* from ruine, longer, than untill such time as *Rome* was at leisure from all other wars. This counsel therefore of *Hanno*, though it might seem temperate, was indeed very pestilent; and served only to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a main consent of the Senate, that forty thousand *Numidians*, forty Elephants, and great abundance of silver, should be sent over to *Hannibal*: and that, besides these, twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, should be levied in *Spain*; not only to supply, as need should require, the Armies in their Province, but to be transported into *Italy*.

This great Aid, had it been as carefully sent, as it was readily decreed; the *Roman* Historians would not have found cause, to tax the retchless improvidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Cannæ* to *Rome*, or in refreshing his Army among the delights of *Capua*: the next years work would have finished the business, with less dangerous adventure; and the pleasures, which his men enjoyed among the *Campanes*, would have been commended, as rewards by him well thought upon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be imployed in the following War. But either the too much carelesness of those, that were loth to make haste in laying out their money, before extreme necessity required it; or the crafty malice of *Hanno*, and his fellows, working upon the private humours of men, that had more feeling of their own commodity, than sense of the publick need; utterly perverted, and made unprofitable in the performance, the order that had been so well set down. The * Elephants were sent: and some money peradventure,

* *Liv. l.* 26.

uncertain

uncertain it is how long after. But those great forces of threescore thousand foot, and four thousand horse, came not into *Italy*, till much was lost of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Army, was first consumed by time, and sundry accidents of war. Only some small numbers, no way answering unto the proportion decreed, were sent into *Spain*; and the journey of *Asdrubal* thence through *France* into *Italy* much talked of, but he not enabled thereunto, till many years were past, and the *Romans* had recovered their strength.

Here we may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their City, both by the Tributes received from their subjects, and by their wealthy Trade of Merchandize. For it is not long, since the War of the Mercenaries, and the perfidious tyranny of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greatest necessity twelve hundred talents; had exceedingly impoverished *Carthage:* which was before brought into great want, even by the expence of so much money, as was to be disbursed for redeeming of peace, after the loss of *Ægates*. Yet we see, what great Armies of *Numidians*, and *Spaniards*, besides those already on foot, are appointed to the service in *Italy*, and how little the *Carthaginians* fear the want of money in these chargeable undertakings: whereas the *Romans* on the other side, having three or four years together been forced to some extraordinary cost, are fain to go upon credit; even for the price of those slaves, which they bought of their own Citizens to arm for their defence. Such advantage in means to enrich their Treasury, had the wealthy Merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterranean* Sea, even from *Tyrus* their Mother-City in the bottom of the straights unto the great Ocean, above the *Romans:* who lived on the fruits of their ground, and received their Tributes from people following the same course of life. When the time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leisure to shew it self, in the destruction of *Carthage*; the impudence of *Roman* falshood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of Faith, discovered plainly whence the jealousie was bred, that this mighty City would again rebell. For the *Carthaginians*, having given up hostages, even before the *Roman* Army did set forth, to perform whatsoever should be enjoyned them, with condition, that their City might not be destroyed; and having accordingly, when they were so required, yielded up all their weapons, and engines of War; the *Romans* told them plainly, That the City of *Carthage*, which was the body of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withall, but the Town must needs be demolished, and removed into some other place, that should be twelve miles distant from the Sea. For (said the *Romans*) This Trade of Merchandise, by which ye now live, is not fit for peaceable men, such as ye promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of Husbandry; an wholesome kinde of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conversation. This villanous dealing of the *Romans*, though sugred with glosing words, plainly shews, what good observation the elder *Cato* had made of the hasty growth of *Carthage* in riches. For, when being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatsoever it were, he added still this conclusion, *Thus I think*, and *that Carthage should be destroyed*; He may seem, not only to have had regard unto that present wealth, which at his being there he had found in the City, but much more unto these times, and the great height whereunto it rose, even suddenly as we see, out of many calamities, whilest the *Romans* thought, that it had not been in case to dare so terrible a War.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skilfull than the *Romans*; so came they far short of them in the honourable care of the publick good: having every one, or most of them, a more principal regard of his own private benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the first heat of their affection (wherein they concluded to pursue the war strongly) was over-past, go more leisurely to work, than had been requisite in the execution. It was easie for *Hanno* to perswade covetous men, that they should first of all defend their own in *Spain*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Province was secured, they might send an Army into *Italy*; so going to work orderly by degrees. For it were no wisdom to commit all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of fortune, against the enemies, or (which perhaps were worse) to the government of an ambitious man, and his brethren; who having once (if they could so do) finished the war, might easily make * *Hannibal* a King, and subdue *Carthage*, with the forces that they had given him to the conquest of *Rome*.

By such malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their own slackness, incredulity, dullness,

* Of such ambition *Hanno* directly accused *Hannibal*, saying, that he made war, that so he might live compassed with Legions, as knowing no other way to make himself a King. *Liv. l.* 21.

neſs, or niggardize, the *Carthaginians* were perſwaded rather to make ſmall diſburſments in *Spain*, than to ſet up all their reſt at once in *Italy*. Yet was it indeed impoſſible to hold a Countrey of ſo large extent, and ſo open a coaſt as that of *Spain*, free from all incurſion of the Enemy : eſpecially the affection of the Naturals being (as in a new conqueſt) ill eſtabliſhed. A better way therefore it had been, to make a running War, by which the *Romans* might have been found occupied, even with the ordinary *Carthaginian* Garriſons or ſome little addition thereunto. For if it were thought meet, to defer the proſecution of their main intendment againſt *Rome* it ſelf, untill ſuch time as every little thorn were pulled out of the ſides of ſo great a Province, then muſt *Emporiæ* have been beſieged and forced : which, by reaſon of alliance with the *Maſſilians*, gave unto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleaſed, a ready and ſecure Harbour. But the Town of *Emporiæ*, was too ſtrong to be won in haſte : it had long defended it ſelf againſt the *Barbarians* ; having not above four hundred paces of wall to the main Land, and exceedingly well fortified : a great *Spaniſh* Town of the ſame name, lying without it, that was three miles in compaſs, very ſtrong likewiſe, and friend unto the *Græcians*, though not over much truſted. Wherefore to force this Town of *Emporiæ*, that was, beſides the proper ſtrength, like to be ſo well aſſiſted by the *Maſſilians*, *Romans*, and ſome *Spaniards*, would have been a work of little leſs difficulty, than was the *Romans* war (in appearance) after the battel at *Cannæ* : yea, it had been in effect none other, than to alter the ſeat of the war ; which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better judgement, near unto the gates of *Rome*. The difficulty of this attempt, being ſuch as cauſed it altogether to be forborn ; great folly it was to be much troubled about expelling the *Romans* utterly out of *Spain* : whom they might more eaſily have diverted thence, and drawn home to their own doors, by making ſtrong war upon their City. For even ſo the *Romans* afterwards removed *Hannibal* into *Africk*, by ſending an Army to *Carthage* ; and by takeing the like courſe, they now endeavoured to change the ſeat of the war transferring it out of *Italy* into *Spain*. But the private affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwiſe, than as it is acceſſary to their own purpoſes, did make them eaſily wink at opportunities, and hope that ſomewhat would fall out well of it ſelf, though they ſet not to their helping hands. *Hanno* was a malicious wretch : yet they that thought him ſo, were well enough contented to hearken unto his diſcourſes, as long as they were plauſible, and tended to keep the purſe full. In the mean while they ſuffered *Hannibal*, and all the noble houſe of *Amilcar*, to weary themſelves in travel for the Common-wealth : which all *Carthage* in general highly commended, but weakly aſſiſted ; as if the induſtry of theſe *Barchines* had been ſomewhat more than needful. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in general, were far leſs honourable than the people of *Rome* : not only in government of their ſubject Provinces, but in adminiſtration of their own eſtate ; few of them preferring the reſpect of the Weal-publick above their private intereſt. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parſimony uſed toward their own Mercenaries, when the former *Roman* war was finiſhed : ſo the concluſion of this war preſent, will make them complain, with feeling ſighs, of their negligence in ſupplying *Hannibal*, after the victory at *Cannæ* ; when gladly they would give all their Treaſures, to redeem the opportunity, that now they let paſs, as if it were coſt enough to ſend a few handfuls into *Spain*.

That both the *Spaniſh* buſineſs, and the ſtate of *Africk* it ſelf, depended wholly, or for the moſt part, upon ſucceſs of things in *Italy*, the courſe of actions following will make manifeſt. Particularly, how matters were ordered in *Spain* by the *Carthaginian* Governours, it is very hard and almoſt impoſſible to ſet down. For, though we muſt not reprehend, in that worthy Hiſtorian *Livy*, the tender love of his own Countrey, which made him give credit unto *Fabius* and others ; yet muſt we not, for his ſake, believe thoſe lyes, which the unpartial judgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers that gave them original. It were needleſs to rehearſe all that may be found in *Polybius*, concerning the untruth of that *Roman* Hiſtorian *Fabius*. One example may ſuffice. He ſaith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former war, That, having clean ſpent their ſtrength, and being even broken with many miſeries, they were glad to ſubmit themſelves unto the *Romans*. Contrary hereunto we find in *the life of Amilcar*, ſet down by *Æmilius Probus*, That *Eryx* was in ſuch ſort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it ſeemed to be in as good condition, as if in thoſe parts there had not been any war. Theſe words, being referred to the brave reſolution of the *Carthaginian* ſouldiers, and the ſingular vertue of their General, infuſing ſuch ſpirit into them, may be taken as not over liberal. For in the treaty of peace between *Amilcar* and *Catulus*, when the

Pol. lib. 1.

the *Roman* first of all required, that this Garrison of *Eryx* should lay down their arms and forsake *Sicil*, threatning, that otherwise he would not talk of any composition: *Amilcar* boldly bade him chuse, whether he would talk of it or no; for that the Arms which his Countrey had put into his hands to use against her enemies, it was not his purpose to yield up unto them. Now since the *Romans*, contrary to their custom upon like advantages, were content to let *Amilcar* have his will, and not to stand with him upon point of honour, whilest otherwise they might quietly rid their hands of him; plain enough it is, that they were far from thinking him a man consumed with miseries, as *Fabius* would have him seem. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flatly, and by name, chargeth *Fabius* with untruth; saying, That howsoever *Amilcar* and his Souldiers had endured all extremity, yet they behaved themselves as men that had no sense thereof; and were as far from being either vanquished or tyred, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference between *Fabius* (as also perhaps between other old Writers of the *Roman* story) and those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mighty City of *Rome*: we must take it in good part, that howsoever *Livie* introduceth *Hanno*, in one place, joyning very foolishly his own shameful overthrow at the Islands * *Ægateis*, with the great services of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had had a like event; yet † elsewhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his own unhappy conduct) into the same *Hanno* his mouth, making him say, That the affairs of *Carthage* went never better, than a little before the loss of their Fleet in that battel at Sea; wherein himself was General. Now, concerning the doings of the *Scipio*'s in *Spain*, there is cause to wish, that this *Fabius*, with *Val. Antias*, and others of the like stamp, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Livie* to his *Rome*, had not caused him to think too well of their relations; which are such as follow.

* *Ægateis insulas Erycemque ante oculos proponite, &c. Liv. l. 21.*

† *Liv. 23.*

§. XI.

Strange reports of the Roman *victories in* Spain, *before* Asdrubal *the Son of* Amilcar *followed thence his Brother* Hannibal *into* Italy.

IT hath been shewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Consul returning from *Gaul* into *Italy*, to encounter with *Hannibal* at his descent from the *Alps*, sent before him his Brother *Cneus*, with part of his Fleet and Army, into *Spain*. Two *Roman* Legions, with fourteen thousand foot of the Confederates, and twelve hundred horse, had been allotted unto the Consul, therewith to make war in *Spain* against *Hannibal*; who, since he was marching into *Italy* with the strength of his Army, *P. Scipio* believed, that a good part of these his own forces might well be spared from the *Spanish* Expedition; and therefore made bold to carry some of the number back with him, sending on his Brother with the rest, as his Lieutenant. *Publius* himself remained in *Italy* all the time of his Consulship; which being expired, he was sent Proconsul into *Spain* by the Senate, with an Army of eight thousand men, and a Fleet of thirty Gallies.

The Acts of these two Brethren in their Province, were very great; and, as they are reported, somewhat marvellous. For they continually prevailed in *Spain* against the *Carthaginians*; whom they vanquished in so many battels, and withdrew from their Alliance so many of the *Spaniards* their Confederates, that we have cause to wonder how the enemy could so often find means to repair his forces, and return strong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliver the Countrey from the tyranny of *Carthage*, might easily win unto their Confederacy, as many as were galled with the *African* yoke, and durst adventure to break it: so the ancient reputation of the first Conquerors might serve to arm the Naturals against these Invaders, and to reclaim those that had revolted unto the *Romans*, were it only by the memory of such ill success, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the *Carthaginian* Treasure; which easily raised Souldiers, among those valiant (but in that Age) poor, and gold-thirsty Nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the *Spaniards* had their children, kinsmen, and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his *Italian* Wars; or serving the *Carthaginians* in *Africk*. And peradventure, if we durst be bold to say it; the victories of the *Scipio*'s were neither so many, nor so great as they are set out by *Livie*. This we may be bold to say, that the great Captain *Fabius*, or *Livie* in his person, maketh an objection unto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*, nor *Livie* for him, doth answer. That *if* Asdrubal *were vanquished, as* Scipio *would say by him in* Spain: *strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had been extreamly dangerous to* Rome, *that*

that the same vanquished man should invade Italy. And it is indeed an incredible narration, That *Asdrubal*, being enclosed on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of battel, save only by the steep descent of Rocks, over a great River that lay at his back, ran away with all his mony, Elephants and broken troops, over *Tagus*, directly towards the *Pyrenees*, and so toward *Italy*; upon which he fell with more than three-score thousand armed Souldiers. Neither do I see, how it hangs well together. That he chose a piece of ground very defensible, but most incommodious for his retrait, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his mony and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the enemy: Or how it could be true, that these his Elephants being so sent before, could hinder the *Romans* (for so have they said to have done in the last battel between him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his Camp. Wherefore we can no more than be sorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of this War, and *Spanish*, (if there were any) being utterly lost, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the *Romans* to tell us; unto whom it were no wisdom to give too much credit. in this regard, I will summarily run over the doings of the *Scipio*'s in *Spain*, not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

Cn. Cornelius landed at *Emporiæ*, an Haven Town, not far within the *Pyrenees*, retaining still the same name with little inflexion. That by the flame of his clemency he allured many Nations to become subject unto *Rome*, as the story begins of him, I could easily believe, if I understood by what occasion they had need to use his clemency, or he to give such famous example thereof, being a meer stranger, and having no jurisdiction in the Country. Yet it is certain, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himself in to the love of the *Barbarians*, among whom, his dexterity in practice had the better success, for that he seemed to have none other errand than setting them at liberty. This pretext availed with some; others were to be hired with mony: and some he compelled to yield by force or fear; especially when he had won a battel against *Hanno*. Into all Treaties of Accord, made with these people, likely it is, that he remembred to insert this Article, which the *Romans* in their Alliances never forgat, unless in long times past, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their Superiours; *Majestatem Pop. Rom. comiter conservent*, which is, as *Tully* interprets it, *That they should gently* (or *kindly*) *uphold the Majesty of the people of Rome*. This was in appearance nothing troublesome; yet implied it indeed an obscure covenant of subjection. And in this respect it may be true, That the *Spaniards* became *ditionis Romanæ*, *of the Roman jurisdiction*; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Country wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly subdued by *Hannibal* in his passage toward *Italy*; and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience, particularly in the *Bargusians*; *Hannibal* had found at his coming among them such an apprehension of the *Roman* greatness, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them start from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he not only appointed *Hanno* Governour over them, as over the rest of the Province between *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees*, but made him also their *Lord*; that is, (as I conceive it; for I do not think he gave the Principality of their Country unto *Hanno* and his Heirs) he made him not only Lieutenant-general over them, in matters of War, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*; but took from them all inferiour Officers of their own, leaving them to be governed by *Hanno* at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to rejoyce at the coming of *Scipio*; with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to joyn, it being the custom of all conquered Nations in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indiscreetly into the protection of others, that many times prove worse than the former. So were the *Neapolitans*, and *Milanois*, in the age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turns of the *Spaniards* and *French*; as more sensible still of the present evil which they felt, than regardful of the greater mischief, whereinto they ran by seeking to avoid it. This bad affection of this Province, would not suffer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, *Hannibal* had left unto him: besides which, it is like, that some forces he was able to raise out of his Province. Therefore he adventured a battel with *Scipio*, wherein he was overthrown and taken. Following this victory, *Scipio* besieged *Stissum*, a Town hard by, and won it. But *Asdrubal* having passed *Iberus*, and coming too late to the relief of *Hanno*, with eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse, fell upon the *Roman* Sea-forces, that lay not far from *Tarracon*, whom he found careless, as after a victory, roaving abroad in the Country; and with great slaughter drave them aboard their ships. This done, he

Liv. lib. 21.

Pol. lib. 3.

Orat. pro Cor. Balbo.

ran up into the Country, where he withdrew the *Ilergetes* from the *Roman* party, though they had given Hoſtages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the mean ſeaſon was gone to viſit and aid his Fleet; where having ſet things in order, he returned back, and made toward *Aſdrubal*; who durſt not abide his coming, but withdrew himſelf again over *Iberus*. So the *Ilergetes* were compelled by force, having loſt *Athanagia* their chief City, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increaſe the number of their Hoſtages. The *Auſetani* likewiſe, Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were beſieged in their chief Town; which they defended thirty dayes; hoping, in vain, that the ſharp Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell, would have made the *Romans* to diſlodge. But they were fain at length to yield; and for this their obſtinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of ſilver. During the ſiege, the *Lacetani* came to help their diſtreſſed neighbours; and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leaving twelve thouſand of their Company dead behind them. I cannot but wonder how theſe *Lacetani*, that are ſaid to be the firſt which embraced the friendſhip of *Scipio*, ſhould, without any cauſe remembred, become *Carthaginian* on the ſudden, in the next news that we hear of them. As alſo it is ſtrange, that all the Sea-coaſt Northward of *Iberus*, having lately become voluntarily *ditionis Romanæ*, *ſubject unto Rome*, ſhould, in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold war againſt *Scipio*, without any reſiſtance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I believe, that *Aſdrubal*, as it were by a charm, ſtirred up the *Ilergetes*, making them lay aſide all care of their Hoſtages, and take Arms in his quarrel; whilſt himſelf had not the daring to ſtand againſt *Scipio*, but ran away, and ſaved himſelf beyond *Iberus*. *Philinus* perhaps, or ſome *Carthaginian* Writer, would have told it thus: That *Scipio* adventuring too far into the Country, was beaten by *Aſdrubal* back to his ſhips, whence he durſt not ſtir until Winter came on: at what time the *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his Province, leaving ſome few Garriſons to defend thoſe places, that after *Scipio* won, by returning upon them, unlooked for through a deep Snow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Ilergetes*, and the reſt, we may reaſonably think, that they ſought their own benefit; helping themſelves one while by the *Romans* againſt the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwiſe, upon ſenſe of injuries received, or apprehenſion of more grievous tyranny, under which they feared to be brought by theſe new Maſters, hearkning again unto the comfortable promiſes of thoſe that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live under their own Country Laws, and not under Governours ſent from *Rome* or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all Ages following may teſtifie: even from henceforth unto the dayes of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, till when they were never thorowly conquered.

Liv. lib. 21.

The year following this, *Cn. Scipio* had a victory againſt the *Carthaginians* in fight at Sea; or rather came upon them unlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, moſt of their men being on ſhore. All their ſhips that ran not too far on ground, he took; and thereby grew Maſter of the whole coaſt; landing at pleaſure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defenced. After this victory, above one hundred and twenty Nations, or petty eſtates in *Spain*, are ſaid to have ſubmitted themſelves unto the *Romans*, or given Hoſtages; whereby *Aſdrubal* was compelled to flye into the uttermoſt corners of the Land, and hide himſelf in *Luſitania*. Yet it followes, that the *Ilergetes* did again rebel; that *Aſdrubal* hereupon came over *Iberus*; and that *Scipio* (though having eaſily vanquiſhed the *Ilergetes*) went not forth to meet him, but ſtirred up againſt him the *Celtiberians*, that lately were become his ſubjects, and had given him Hoſtages. Theſe took from the *Carthaginians* three Towns, and vanquiſhed him in two battels; wherein they ſlew fifteen thouſand of his men, and took four thouſand priſoners. Then arrived *P. Scipio*, with the ſupply before mentioned: and henceforward the two Brethren joyntly adminiſtred the buſineſs in *Spain*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celtiberian War*; the two *Scipio's* did *haud cunctanter*, *without both fear or doubt*, paſs over *Iberus*, and beſieged *Saguntum*. Little cauſe of doubt had they, if *Cn.* had already ſubdued many Nations beyond it; and, among many other, the ſame *Celtiberians*, that with their proper forces were able to vanquiſh *Aſdrubal*. *Boſtar*, the Governor of *Saguntum*, a ſimple man, ſuffered himſelf to be perſwaded by one *Acedux* a *Spaniard*, that the only way to get the favour and hearty good will of the Country, was by freely reſtoring unto them their Hoſtages; as reſting without any pledge, aſſured of their faith. But the crafty *Spaniard*, being truſted with this meſſage and reſtitution of the Hoſtages, carried them all to the *Roman* General; perſwaded them, as he had done *Boſtar*, to make the Liberality their own. Hereby the *Romans* purchaſed much love, if the

if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere this we find that all the *Spaniſh* Hoſtages were left in new *Carthage*. I am weary of rehearſing ſo many particularities, whereof I can believe ſo few. But ſince we find no better certainties, we muſt content our ſelves with theſe.

The year following was like unto this: *Aſdrubal* muſt be beaten again. The two *Scipio*'s divide their forces: *Cn.* makes war by Land, *P.* by Sea. *Aſdrubal*, with much labour and entreaty, hath gotten four thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe out of *Africk*: He repairs his Fleet, and provides every way to make reſiſtance. But all his chief Sea-men, and Maſters of his Ships, revolt unto the *Romans*; becauſe they had been chidden the laſt year for their negligence, which had betrayed the Navy. The revolt of theſe ſhip-maſters animates to rebellion the *Carpetians*, or *Carpetani*, an Inland people about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spain*. Theſe do much miſchief, ſo that *Aſdrubal* is fain to make a journey to them. His ſudden coming cuts off ſome of them, that were found ſcattered abroad in the fields. But they, making a head, ſo valiantly aſſail him, that they drive him for very fear, to encamp himſelf ſtrongly on an high piece of ground; whence he dares not come forth to give them battel. So they take a Town by force, wherein he had laid up all his proviſions; and ſhortly make themſelves Maſters of the Country round about. This good ſucceſs breeds negligence; for which they dearly pay. *Aſdrubal* comes upon them, takes them unprepared, beats them, kills the moſt of them, and diſperſeth the reſt; ſo that the whole Nation yieldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*, that *Aſdrubal* ſhould lead his Army forth into *Italy*; which we may wonder why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to do, if they had been informed by his letters in what hard caſe he was; and had ſo weakly ſupplyed him, as is ſhewed before. But thus we find it reported; and that upon the very rumour of this his journey, almoſt all *Spain* was ready to fall to the *Romans*. *Aſdrubal* therefore preſently ſends word to *Carthage*, That this muſt not be ſo: or, if they will needs have it ſo, that then they muſt ſend him a ſucceſſor, and well attended with a ſtrong Army, which to imploy they ſhould find work more than enough; ſuch notable men were the *Roman* Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moved with this excuſe; *Aſdrubal* muſt needs be gone: *Himilco*, with ſuch forces as are thought expedient for that ſervice, both by Land and Sea, is ſent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherefore *Aſdrubal* hath now no more to do, than to furniſh himſelf with ſtore of mony, that he might have wherewithall to win the friendſhip of the *Gauls*; through whoſe Countries he muſt paſs, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly to blame, for not remembring to eaſe him of his care. But ſince it can be no better, he layes great Impoſitions upon all the *Spaniards* his ſubjects: and having gotten together as much treaſure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipio*'s hearing theſe news, are careful how to arreſt him on the way. They beſiege *Iberá* (ſo called of the Rivers name running by it) the richeſt Town in all thoſe quarters, that was confederate with *Aſdrubal*; who thereupon ſteps aſide to relieve it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battel with him; which they win the more eaſily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers, had rather be vanquiſhed at home, than get the victory, and afterwards be haled into *Italy*. Great numbers are ſlain; and few ſhould have eſcaped, but that the *Spaniards* ran away ere the battels were fully joyned. Their Camp the *Romans* take and ſpoil; whereby (queſtionleſs) they are marvellouſly enriched; all the mony that could be raked together in *Spain* being carried along in this *Italian* Expedition. This dayes event joyns all *Spain* to the *Romans*, if any part of the Country ſtood in doubt before; and puts *Aſdrubal* ſo far from all thought of travelling into *Italy*, that it leaves him ſmall hope of keeping himſelf ſafe in *Spain*. Of theſe exploits advertiſment is ſent to *Rome*, and Letters to the Senate, from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are, That they have neither mony, apparel, nor bread, wherewith to ſuſtain their Army and Fleet; That all is wanting: ſo as unleſs they may be ſupplied from *Rome*, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the Province. Theſe Letters come to *Rome* in an evil ſeaſon; the State being ſcarcely able, after the loſs at *Cannæ*, to help it ſelf at home. Yet relief is ſent; how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that love and care, which the private Citizens of *Rome* bare unto the Common-wealth, ſhall be inſerted elſewhere into the relation of things, whereof the truth is leſs queſtionable. At the coming of this ſupply, the two *Scipio*'s purſue *Aſdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What elſe can we think, that remember the laſt news of him, and how fearfully he miſtruſted his own ſafety? They find him, and *Magd* and *Amilcar* the Son of *Bomilcar*, with an *Liv. lib. 23.*

Army of threescore thousand men, besieging *Illiturgi*: (which the learned *Ortelius*, and others probably conjecture to have stood, where *Carinnena* is now in the Kingdom of *Aragon*; for there was *Illiturgis*, afterwards called *Forum Julii*, quite another way) a Town of the *Illergetes* their neerest Neighbours, for having revolted unto the *Romans*. The Town is greatly distressed; but most of all, for want of victuals. The *Romans* therefore brake through between the Enemies Camps, with terrible slaughter of all that resisted them: & having victualled the place, incourage Townsmen to defend their wals as stoutly, as they should anon behold them fighting manfully with the besiegers, in their behalf. So they issue forth, about sixteen thousand against threescore thousand: and killing more of the enemies, than themselves were in number, drave all the three *Carthaginian* Commanders, every one out of his quarter; and took that day, besides prisoners and other booty, fifty and eight Ensignes. *Liv. lib.* 23

The *Carthaginian* Army, being thus beaten from *Illiturgi*, fall upon *Incibili*, that stood a little Southward from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning money by war, for thus re-inforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondred, whence the *Carthaginians* had money to pay them: since *Asdrubal* was lately driven to poll the Country, wanting money of his own; and being beaten in his journey, had lost his wealthy carriages when his Camp was taken after the battel by *Iberus*. Howsoever it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their custome) are beaten again at *Incibili*: where there were of them above thirteen thousand slain, and above three thousand taken; besides two and forty Ensigns, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of *Spain* fell from them unto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius*, *Antius*, or some other Historian, to whom *Livy* gave credit, conquer all *Spain* twice in one year, by winning famous victories; whereof these good Captains, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware. *Liv. ibid.*

The *Romans* notwithstanding this large access of Dominion, winter on their own side of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next year, great Armies of the *Spaniards* rise against *Asdrubal*; and are overthrown by him. *P. Scipio*, to help these his friends, is forced to make great haste over the River. At *Castrum Altum*, a place in the mid-way between new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*, *Publius Scipio* incampeth: and stores the place with victuals, being strong and defensible; as intending to make it his seat for a while. But the Countrey round about is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* horse have charged the *Romans* in their march, and are gone off clear; falling also upon some stragglers, or such as lagged behind their fellows in march, they have cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behoveful, to retire unto some place more assured. So *Publius* withdraws himself unto *Mons victoriæ*: that rising somewhat Eastward from *Incibili*, overlooketh the Southern Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursue him: His brother *Cn.* repairs unto him; and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, with a full Army, arrives to help his Companions. As they lie thus near incamped together, *P. Scipio* with some light-armed, going closely to view the places thereabouts, is discovered by the enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdraws himself to an high piece of ground; where they besiege him, until his brother *Cn.* fetcht him off. After this (but I know not why) *Castulo*, a great city of *Spain*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, joyneth with the *Romans*; though being far distant from them, and seated on the head of the River *Bætis*. Nevertheless the *Carthaginians* pass over *Iberus*, to besiege *Illiturgi* again, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* garrison; hoping to win it by famine. We may justly wonder, what should move them to neglect the rebellion of *Castulo*, yea and the *Roman* Army lying so close by them, and to seek adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had been so grievously beaten the year before. But thither they go: and thither follows them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Town by force, breaks out upon them the next day, and in two battels kills above twelve thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with six and thirty Ensigns. This victory (doubtless) is remarkable: considering that the greatest *Roman* Legion at this time, consisted of no more than five thousand men. The vanquished *Carthaginians* besiege *Bigarra*: but that siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remove to *Manda*; where the *Romans* are soon at their heels. There is a great battel fought, that lasteth four hours, wherein the *Romans* get a notable victory: and a more notable would have gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* been wounded. Thirty nine Elephants are killed, and twelve thousand men; three thousand prisoners taken, and seven and fifty Ensigns. The *Carthaginians* flie to *Auringes*;

Auringes; and the *Romans* purſue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquiſhed the *Carthaginians* again; but kils not half ſo many of them, as before; good cauſe why, for there are *fewer* of them left to fight. Notwithſtanding all theſe overthrows, the *Spaniards*, a people framed even by nature to ſet war on foot, quickly fill up the broken troops of *Aſdrubal*, who having alſo hired ſome of the *Gauls*, adventures once more to try his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten again: and loſeth eight thouſand of his men; beſides Priſoners, Elephants, Enſigns, and other appurtenances. After ſo many victories, the *Romans* are even aſhamed to leave *Saguntum* enthralled unto the *Carthaginians*; ſince, in behalf of that City, they had at firſt entred into this war. And well may we think it ſtrange, that they had not recovered it long before, ſince we may remember, that long before this they had won all the Countrey once and again. But it muſt not be forgotten, that they had ere now beſieged *Saguntum*; and were fain (as appears) to go their way without it: ſo as they need not to bluſh, for having ſo long forborn to do that, which ere now they had attempted, but were unable to perform. At the preſent they won *Saguntum*: and reſtored the poſſeſſion thereof unto ſuch of the poor diſperſed Citizens as they can find out. They alſo waſte and deſtroy the Countrey of the *Turdetani*, that had miniſtred unto *Hannibal* matter of quarrel againſt the *Saguntines*. This laſt action (queſtionleſs) was much to their honour; and wherein we may be aſſured, that the *Carthaginians* would have diſturbed them if they had been able.

Liv. lib. 24.

But overlooking now this long continuance of great victories, which the *Romans* have gotten in *Spain*, other print or token of all their brave exploits, we can perceive none, than this recovery of *Saguntum*: excepting the ſtopping of *Aſdrubals* journey; which was indeed of greateſt importance, but appertaining to their own defence. For they have landed at *Emporiæ*, an Haven Town, built and peopled by a Colony of the *Phocæans*, kin to the *Maſſilians*, friends to the *Romans*; They have eaſily won to their party, loſt, recovered, and loſt again, ſome petty bordering Nations of the *Spaniards*, that are carried one while by perſwaſion, other-whiles by force, & ſometimes by their own unſettled paſſions; and now finally they have won a Town, whereof the *Carthaginians* held entire poſſeſſion, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may eaſily believe, that when they took *Saguntum* (if they took it not by ſurpriſe; which is to be ſuſpected, ſince in this Action we find no particulars remembred, as when the ſame place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in ſome notable ſight. In like ſort alſo muſt we think, that all thoſe battails lately remembred, after every one of which *Aſdrubal* ſate down before ſome place, that had rebelled, or ſeemed ready to rebel, were proſperous unto the *Carthaginians*. For it is not the cuſtome of Armies vanquiſhed, to carry the war from Town to Town, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themſelves within their own places of ſtrength, and therein to attend the levy and arrival of new ſupplies. And ſurely, if the *Romans* had been abſolute Maſters of the field, when they won *Saguntum*, they would not have conſumed a whole year following, in practiſing only with the *Celtiberians* the next adjoyning people. Yet made they this, little leſs than two years buſineſs. Of theſe *Celtiberians* we hear before, That they had yielded up themſelves unto the *Romans*; for ſecurity of their faith, given Hoſtages to *Scipio*; and, at his appointment, made war againſt the *Carthaginians*, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is ſtrange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and not without expreſs condition of a great ſumm, hired to ſerve in the *Roman* camp. How this may hold together I cannot perceive; unleſs perhaps in thoſe days it were the *Roman* cuſtome, or rather the cuſtome of ſome bad Author whom *Livy* follows, to call every meſſenger, or ſtraggler, that entred that camp, an Hoſtage of that people from whom he came.

The *Celtiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, ſend an Army of thirty thouſand to help the *Romans*: out of which, 3000. of the fitteſt men are choſen, and carried into *Italy*, there to deal with their Countrey-men that follow *Hannibal* in his wars. But if any of theſe three hundred return back into *Spain*, it is to be feared, that he brings with him ſuch news of the riches and welfare of *Hannibals* men, that all his fellows at home are the leſs unwilling to follow *Aſdrubal*, when he ſhall next have a deſire to lead them into *Italy*. Hereof we find more than probability, when theſe mercenary *Celtiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* Army in the field. The two *Scipio's*, preſuming on this acceſs of ſtrength, divide their forces, and ſeek out the Enemies, who lie not far off with three Armies. *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Annibar*, is neareſt at hand; even among the *Celtiberians*, at *Anitorgis*.

With

With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the fear is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being destroyed; *Mago*, the Son of *Gesco*, hearing the news, will make use of their distance, which is five dayes march, and, by running into the furthest part of the Country save themselves from being overtaken. *Publius* therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better Souldiers, that is, two parts of the old *Roman* Army, leaving the third part, and all the *Celtiberians*, to his Brother. He that hath the longer journey to make, comes somewhat the sooner to his lives end. *Mago* and *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gesco*, are not studying how to run away: they find no such necessity. They joyn their forces together, meet with *Publius Scipio*, and lay at him so hardly, that he is driven to keep himself close within his Trenches; wherein he thinks himself not well assured. Especially he is vexed by *Masanissa*, Prince of the *Massæsyli*, *Numidians*, bordering upon *Mauritania*, in the Region called now *Tremizen*: to whom the chief honour of this service is ascribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the *Romans*. In this dangerous case, *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis* a *Spanish* Prince, is coming with seven thousand and five hundred of the *Suessetani*, to joyn with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be strait shut up, and besieged, he issues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* upon the way, leaving *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant, with a small company to defend the Camp. He meets with *Indibilis*, but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first incounter. The fight continues so long, that the *Numidian* horse appear (whom he thought to have been ignorant of his departure) and fall upon the *Romans* on all sides: neither are the *Carthaginians* far behind; but come so fast upon him in a Rear, that *P. Scipio*, uncertain which way to turn, yet fighting and animating his men, where need most requireth, is struck thorow with a lance, and slain: very few of his Army escaping the same destiny, through benefit of the dark night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twenty daies after. At his meeting with *Asdrubal*, the *Celtiberian* Mercenaries all forsake him, pretending that they had war in their own Country. If *Anitorgis*, where *Asdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Beuterus* takes it, a *Celtiberian* Town; this was no vain pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly believe, that they were won by *Asdrubal*, and easily perswaded to take as much mony for not fighting, as they should have had for hazarding their lives. *C. Scipio* therefore being unable to stay them, and no less unable, without their help, either to resist the enemy, or to joyn with his Brother, maketh a very violent retrait; herein only differing from plain flight, that he keeps his men together. *Asdrubal* presseth hard upon him: and *Mago*, with *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gesco*, having made an end of *Publius*, hasten to dispatch his Brother after him. *Scipio* steals from them all by night, but is overtaken the next day by their horse, and arrested, in an open place of hard stony ground, where grows not so much as a shrub, unfit for defence of his Legions against such enemies. Yet a little Hill he finds of easie ascent on every side; which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with pack-saddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Pallisado. These weak defences the *Carthaginians* soon tear in sunder: and, breaking in on all hands, leave very few of them alive; that saving themselves, I know not how, within some woods adjoyning, escape unto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his Camp, as is before said. It is a terrible overthrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on every side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to cover them, could break out, and shrowd themselves within woods adjoyning, I should much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio*'s Camp, on the North side of *Iberus*, fearful (as may be supposed) of his own life; since his General, with two parts of the *Roman* Army, had little hope to remain long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a young *Roman* Gentleman of a notable spirit; who having gathered together the scattered Souldiers, and drawn some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a pretty Army. The Souldiers, being to chuse a General by most voices, preferr this *L. Martius* before *Fonteius* the Lieutenant, as well they may. For *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gesco*, coming upon them; this *L. Martius* so encourageth his men (fondly weeping when he led them forth, upon remembrance of their more honourable Generals lately slain) and admonisheth them of their present necessity, that he beats the *Carthaginians* into their Trenches. A notable victory perhaps he might have gotten, but that he wisely sounds the retrait; reserving the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occasion. The *Carthaginians* are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldness grows, in enemies lately vanquished,

vanquiſhed, and now again little better than taken: but when they ſee, that the *Roman* dares not follow his advantage, they return to their former ſecurity; and, utterly deſpiſing him, ſet neither *Corps de garde* nor Sentinel, but reſt ſecure, as if no enemy were near. *Martius* therefore animates his Souldiers with lively words; and tells them, That there is no adventure more ſafe, than that which is furtheſt from ſuſpicion of being undertaken. They are ſoon perſwaded to follow him, in any deſperate piece of ſervice. So he leads him forth by night, and ſteals upon the Camp of *Aſdrubal*; where, finding no guard, but the enemies faſt aſleep, or very drowſie, he enters without reſiſtance, fires their Cabbins, and gives a terrible alarm; ſo that all affrighted the *Carthaginians* run head-long one upon another, they know not which way. All paſſages out of their Camp, *Martius* hath prepoſſeſſed, ſo that there is no way to eſcape, ſave by leaping down the Rampart; which as many do, as can think upon it, and run away toward the Camp of *Aſdrubal* the Son of *Amilcar*, that lay ſix miles off. But *Martius* hath way-laid them. In a Valley between their two Camps he hath beſtowed a *Roman* cohort, and I know not what number of Horſe; ſo that into this Ambuſh they fall every one, and are cut in pieces. But, leſt perchance any ſhould have eſcaped, and give the alarm before his coming; *Martius* haſtens to be there as ſoon as they. By which diligent ſpeed, he comes early in the morning upon this further Camp; which with no great difficulty he enters, and partly by apprehenſion of danger which the Enemies conceived, when they beheld the *Roman* ſhields, foul, and bloodied with their former execution, he drives head-long into flight, all that can ſave themſelves from the fury of the ſword. Thirty ſeven thouſand of the enemies periſh in this nights work; beſides a thouſand eight hundred and thirty, taken priſoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antius* adds, that the Camp of *Mago* was alſo taken, and ſeven thouſand ſlain; and that in another battel with *Aſdrubal*, there were ſlain ten thouſand more; beſides four thouſand three hundred and thirty taken priſoners. Such is the power of ſome Hiſtorians. *Livie* therefore hath elſewhere well obſerved, That there is none ſo intemperate, as *Valerius Antius*, in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battels. That, whilſt *Martius* was making an Oration to his Souldiers, a flame of fire ſhone about his head; *Livie* reports as a common tale, not giving thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, That this Captain *Martius* got a great name, which he might well do, if with ſo ſmall forces, and in ſuch diſtreſs, he could clearly get off from the Enemies, and give them any parting blow, though it were far leſs than that which is here ſet down.

Of theſe occurrents *L. Martius* ſent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his own good ſervice, whatſoever it was, but ſetting it out in ſuch wiſe, as the Senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their Vicegerent in *Spain*: which the better to intimate unto them, he ſtiled himſelf Propretor. The Fathers were no leſs moved with the tydings than the caſe required; and therefore took ſuch careful order, for ſupplying their forces in *Spain*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*, ere the Companies levied to ſerve that Province, could be ſent away; yet could they not ſtay a tyde for defence of the City it ſelf, but ſhipped them in all haſte for *Spain*. As for the title of Propretor, which *Martius* had aſſumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended at his preſumption in uſurping it: foreſeeing well, that it was matter of ill conſequence, to have the Souldiers abroad make choice among themſelves, of thoſe that ſhould command Armies and Provinces. Therefore *Claudius Nero* was diſpatched away with all convenient haſte, into *Spain*: carrying with him about ſix thouſand of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Latines*, with three hundred *Roman* horſe, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

It happened well that about theſe times, the affairs of *Rome* began to proſper in *Italy*, and offered means of ſending abroad ſuch a ſtrong ſupply: otherwiſe the victories of *Martius* would ill have ſerved, either to keep footing in *Spain*, or to ſtop the *Carthaginian* Armies from marching towards the *Alps*. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, took charge of that remainder of the Army, which was under *Martius* and *Fonteius*; he found ſurer tokens of the overthrows received, than of thoſe miraculous victories, whereof *Martius* had made his vaunts unto the Senate. The *Roman* party was forſaken by moſt of the *Spaniſh* friends; whom how to reclaim, it could not eaſily be deviſed. Yet *Claudius* advanced boldly towards *Aſdrubal* the Brother of *Hannibal*; whom he found among the *Auſetani*, near enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides atri*; out of which there was no iſſue, but only through a ſtrait, whereon the *Roman* ſeized at the firſt coming. What ſhould have tempted any man of underſtanding to

to incamp in such a place, I do not find: and as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said, that *Asdrubal* seeing himself thus lockt up, made offer to depart forthwith out of all *Spain*, and quit the Province to the *Romans*, upon condition that he and his Army might be thence dismissed; That he spent many dayes, in entertaining parley with *Claudius* about his business; That night by night he conveyed his footmen (a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking advantage of a misty day, he stole away with all his Horse and Elephants, leaving his Camp empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Asdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* Generals in *Spain*; we shall find no less cause to wonder at the simplicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a Country, with one of these three Chieftains, than at the strange nature of those passages, through which the footmen could hardly creep out by night; the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a dark misty day. Wherefore in giving belief to such a tale, it is needful that we suppose, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to have been of far less vallue. Howsoever it was; neither this, nor ought else that the *Romans* could do, served to purchase any new friends in *Spain*, or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chosen *Martius* their Propretor, took it not well, that the Senate, regardless of their good deserts, had repealed their election, and sent a Propretor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may have moved them to desire a Proconsul, and (perhaps) young *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignity were needful to work regard in the *Barbarians*; and the beloved memory of *Cn.* and *Publius*. likely to do good, were it revived in one of the same family. Whether upon these, or upon other reasons; *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Province; and *Publius* the Son of *P. Scipio* sent proconsul into *Spain*.

This is that *Scipio*, who afterward transferred the war into *Africk*: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Country. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well conditioned; especially he excelled in Temperance, Continency, Bounty, and other vertues that purchase love; of which qualities what great use he made, shall appear in the tenour of his actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, savouring a little too much of the great *Alexanders* vanity; how he used to walk alone in the Capitol, as one that had some secret conference with *Jupiter*; how a Dragon (which must have been one of the gods; and, in likelihood, *Jupiter* himself) was thought to have conversed with his Mother, entring her Chamber often, and vanishing away at the coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtful answers; I hold them no better than fables, devised by Historians, who thought thereby to add unto the glory of *Rome*: that this Noble City might seem not only to have surpassed other Nations in vertue of the generality, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out, that might serve to adorn this *Roman* Champion. For it is confidently written, as matter of unquestionable truth, That when a Proconsul was to be chosen for *Spain*, there durst not any Captain of the principal Citizens offer himself as Petitioner for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the people of *Rome* were much astonished thereat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the City stood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart to adventure himself in such a desperate service; and finally, that this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about four and twenty years of age, getting up on a high place where he might be seen of all the multitude, requested and obtained, that the office might be conferred upon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L. Martius* no better than dreams: and either very unreasonable was the fear of all the *Roman* Captains, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into *Spain* Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Province, which *Asdrubal* the *Carthaginian*, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon these incoherences, which I find in the two partial *Roman* Historians, I do not willingly insist.

P. Scipio was sent Proconsul into *Spain*; and with him was joyned *M. Junius Syllanus*, as Propretor, and his Coadjutor. They carried with them ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, in thirty *Quinquereme*-Gallies, with these they landed at *Emporia*; and marched from thence to *Tarracon* alongst the Sea-coast. At the fame of *Scipio's* arrival, it is said, that Embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the Province; which he entertained with such a Majesty, as bred a wonderful opinion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly afraid of him; and so much the greater was their fear, by how

how much the leſs they could give any reaſon of it. If we muſt believe this, then muſt we needs believe, that their fear was even as great as could be: for very little cauſe there was, to be terrified with the fame of ſo young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the Winter following (or, as ſome think, all the next Year) he did nothing: but ſpent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, intreating with the *Spaniards*. His firſt enterpriſe was againſt new *Carthage*: upon which he came unexpected, with five and twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe; his Sea-forces coaſting him, and moderating their courſe in ſuch wiſe, that they arrived there together with him. He aſſailed the Town by Land and Sea; and won it by aſſault the firſt day. The *Carthaginians* loſt it, by their too much confidence upon the ſtrength of it: which cauſed them to man it more ſlenderly, than was requiſite. Yet it might have been well enough defended, if ſome Fiſhermen of *Tarracon* had not diſcovered unto *Scipio*, a ſecret paſſage unto the walls; whereof the Townſmen themſelves were either ignorant, or thought (at leaſt) that their enemies could have no notice. This City of new *Carthage*, reſembled the old and great *Carthage* in ſituation; ſtanding upon a demy-Iſland, between an Haven and a great Lake. All the Weſtern ſide of the walls, and ſomewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fiſher-men of *Tarracon* had ſounded; and finding ſome part thereof a ſhelf, whereon at low-water men might paſs knee-deep, or (at moſt) wading up to the Navil, *Scipio* thruſt thereinto ſome companies of his men; who recovered the top of the walls without reſiſtance: the place being left without guard; as able to defend it ſelf by the natural ſtrength. Theſe falling ſuddenly upon the backs of the *Carthaginians* within the City, eaſily forced a gate, and gave free entrance to the *Roman* Army. What booty was found within the Town, *Livie* himſelf cannot certainly affirm; but is fain to ſay, that ſome *Roman* Hiſtorians told lies without meaſure, in way of amplification. By that ſmall proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* Treaſury, we may eaſily perceive how great a vanity it was to ſay, that all the wealth of *Africk* and *Spain* was heaped up in that one Town. But therein were beſtowed all the *Spaniſh* Hoſtages (or at leaſt of the adjoyning Provinces) whom *Scipio* intreated with ſingular courteſie: reſtoring them unto their kindred and friends, in ſuch gracious manner, as doubled the thanks due to ſo great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the *Celtiberians*, and two petty Kings of the *Ilergetes* and *Lacetani*, neareſt Neighbours to *Tarracon*, and dwelling on the North-ſide of *Iberus*, forſook the *Carthaginian* party, and joyned with the *Romans*. The ſpeech of *Indibilis*, King of the *Ilergetes*, is much commended; for that he did not vaunt himſelf, as commonly Fugitives uſe, of the pleaſure, which he did unto the *Romans*, in revolting from their enemies; but rather excuſed this his changing ſide, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the *Carthaginians*, and invited by the honourable dealing of *Scipio*. This temperate eſtimation of his new profeſſed friendſhip, was indeed no unſure token, that it ſhould be long-laſting. But if the *Ilergetes* had long ere this (as we have heard before) forſaken the *Carthaginian* party, and ſtoutly held themſelves as friends to *Cn. Scipio*: then could nothing have been deviſed more vain, than this Oration of *Indibilis* their King, excuſing, as new, his taking part with the ſame, when he ſhould have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Uncle. Moſt likely therefore it is, that howſoever the two elder *Scipio's* had gotten ſome few places among theſe their Neighbours, and held them by ſtrength; yet were the *Romans* never maſters of the Country, till this worthy Commander, by recovering their Hoſtages from the *Carthaginians*, and by his great munificence in ſending them home, won unto himſelf the aſſured love and aſſiſtance of theſe Princes. The *Carthaginian* Generals, when they heard of this loſs, were very ſorry: yet nevertheleſs they ſet a good face on the matter; ſaying, that a young man, having ſtoln a Town by ſurpriſe, was too far tranſported, and over-joyed, but that ſhortly they would meet with him, and put him in mind of his Father and Uncle; which would alter his mood, and bring him to a more convenient temper.

Now if I ſhould here interpoſe mine own conjecture; I ſhould be bold to ſay, that the *Carthaginians* were at this time buſie, in ſetting forth towards *Italy*; and that *Scipio*, to divert them, undertook new *Carthage*, as his Father and Uncle, upon the like occaſion, ſate down before *Iberа*. And in this reſpect I would ſuppoſe, that it had not been much amiſs, if the paſſage over the Lake had been undiſcovered, and the Town held out ſome longer while. For howſoever that particular Action was the more fortunate, in coming to ſuch good iſſue upon the firſt day: yet in the generality of the buſineſs,

between *Rome* and *Carthage*, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should be stayed from going into *Italy*, than that half of *Spain* should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do, that should hinder his journey; *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, were thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* work, in that lingring War of taking and retaking Towns, whilst the main of the *Carthaginian* forces, under *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterprise: even to fight in tryal of the Empire. But the *Roman* Historians tell this after another fashion; and say, That *Asdrubal* was beaten into *Italy*: whither he ran for fear, as thinking himself ill assured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might but hear the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, say they, coming upon *Asdrubal*; his Vant-currers charged so lustily the *Carthaginian* horse, that they drave them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, even by that small piece of service, how full of spirit the *Romans* Army was, and how dejected the Enemy. *Asdrubal* therefore by night retired out of that even ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with the River, very steep of ascent, and not easie of access on the foreside; by which himself got up, and was to be followed by the *Romans*. On the top of it there was a Plain, whereon he strongly encamped himself: and in the mid-way, between the top and root of the Hill, was also another Plain; into which he descended, more upon bravery, that he might not seem to hide himself within the Trenches, than for that he durst adventure his Army to the hazzard of a battail, for which this was no equal ground. But such advantage of place could not save him from the *Romans*. They climed up the Hill to him; they recovered even footing with him; drove him out of this lower Plain, up into his Camp on the Hill top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his Elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got up before them, they drave both men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither: for it is said, that there was no way to flye. Out of such a battel, wherein he had lost eight thousand men, *Asdrubal* is said to have escaped; and gathering together his dispersed troops, to have marched toward the *Pyrenees*, having sent away his Elephants ere the fight began. Nevertheless, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, are reported after this to have consulted with him about this War; and finally to have concluded, that go he needs must, were it but to carry all the *Spaniards* as far as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to have been true, it shall appear at his coming into *Italy*; whence these incoherent relations of the *Spanish* affairs have too long detained us.

§. XII.

The great troubles that Hannibal *raised in all quarters, to the City of Rome.* Posthumius *the Roman General, with his whole Army, is slain by the Gauls.* Philip *King of* Macedon *enters into a League with* Hannibal, *against the Romans. The Romans joyning with the Ætolians, make war upon* Philip *in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him, the better to intend their business against the Carthaginians.*

WE left *Hannibal* wintering at *Capua*: where he and his new Confederates rejoyced (as may be thought) not a little, to hear the good news from *Carthage* of such mighty aid, as was decreed to be sent thence unto him. In former times he had found work enough, to carry the *Romans* corn into his own barns, and to drive away their Cattle to *Geryon*: his victories affording him little other profit, than sustenance for his Army; by making him master of the open field. He might perhaps have forced some walled Towns in like sort as he did *Geryon*, and the Castle of *Cannæ*: but had he spent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended; the hunger, that his Army must have endured the Winter and Spring following, untill corn were ripe, would have grievously punished him for such imployment of the Summer. This may have been the reason, why he forbore to adventure upon *Rome*, after his victory at *Cannæ*. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certainty) to carry the City at his first coming; want of victuals would have compelled him to quit the enterprise. Yea many of the people that opened so hastily their gates unto him, upon the fresh bruit of his glorious success, would have taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the event of another battel; if being, either for want of means to force the City, or of necessaries to continue a siege before it, repelled (as might seem) from the walls of *Rome*, he had presented himself unto them with a lessened reputation, somewhat later in the year; when time to force their obedience

was

was wanting, unleſs they would freely yield it. But this great part of the care and travel was paſt, when ſo many States of *Italy* were become his: the year following, the *Samnites*, and other old enemies of *Rome*, were like to receive a notable pleaſure of their new alliance with *Carthage*, by helping to lay ſiege unto that proud City, which ſo long had held them in ſubjection. Thus the winter was paſſed over joyfully, ſaving that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to ſecond the welcome report of thoſe mighty forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring grew on: and of the promiſed ſupply there arrived no more, than only the Elephants. How late it was ere theſe came, I find not: only we find, that after this he had above thirty of them; whereas all, ſave one, that he brought over the *Alps*, had been loſt in his journy through the Mariſhes of *Hetruria*. Very bad excuſe of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make unto *Hannibal*. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what miſchiefs the perſwaſion of *Hanno* wrought among the too niggardly *Carthaginians*. Otherwiſe, they might perhaps inform him, that it was thought a ſafer, though a farther way about, to paſs along through *Spain* and *Gaul*, as he himſelf had done; and increaſe the Army, by hyring the *Barbarians* in the journey; than to commit the main ſtrength of their City, to the hazzard of the Seas: eſpecially wanting a commodious Haven, to receive the Fleet that ſhould carry ſuch a number of Men, Horſes, and Elephants, with all needful proviſions. With theſe allegations *Hannibal* muſt reſt content; and ſeek, as well as he can, to ſatisfie his *Italian* Confederates. Therefore when time of the year ſerved, he took the field: and having finiſhed what reſted to be done at *Caſilinum*, ſought to make himſelf Maſter of ſome good Haven-town thereabout; that might ſerve to entertain the *Carthaginian* Fleet, or take from his Enemies at home all excuſe, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the ſame purpoſe, and to do what elſe was needful, he ſent *Himilco* unto the *Locrians*, and *Hanno* to the *Lucans*: not forgetting at once to aſſay all quarters of *Italy*, yea, the Iſles of *Sicil* and *Sardinia*, ſince the ſiege of *Rome* muſt needs be deferred unto another year. *Hanno* made an ill journey of it, being met, or overtaken, by *T. Sempronius Longus*: who ſlew above two thouſand of his men; with the loſs of fewer than three hundred *Romans*. But *Himilco* ſped far better. By help of the *Brutians*, his good friends, he won *Petellia*, or *Petilia*, by force; after it had held out ſome moneths. He won likewiſe *Conſentia*, and *Croton*, that was forſaken by the Inhabitants. Alſo the City of *Locri*, which was of great importance, yielded unto him: as did all other places thereabout; except only the Town of *Rhegium*, over againſt *Sicil*.

The great faith of the *Petilians* is worthy to be recorded, as a notable teſtimony of the good government, under which the *Roman* ſubjects lived. As for the *Samnites*, *Campanes*, and others, whoſe earneſtneſs in rebellion may ſeem to prove the contrary; we are to conſider, That they had lately contended, with *Rome* for Soveraignty, and were now tranſported with ambition: which reaſon can hardly moderate, or benefits allay. The *Petilians*, in the very beginning of their danger, did ſend to *Rome* for help: where their meſſengers received anſwer from the Senate, That the publick misfortunes had not left means, to relieve their Aſſociates that were ſo far diſtant. The *Petilian* Meſſengers (Embaſſadours they are termed; as were all others, publickly ſent from Cities of the *Roman* ſubjection, that had a private juriſdiction within themſelves) fell down to the ground, and humbly beſought the Fathers, not to give them away: promiſing to do and ſuffer whatſoever was poſſible, in defence of their Town, againſt the *Carthaginians*. Hereupon the Senate fell to conſultation again: and having throughly conſidered all their forces remaining plainly confeſſed, that it was not in their power to give any relief. Wherefore theſe Embaſſadours were willed to return home, and to bid their Citizens provide hereafter for their own ſafety, as having already diſcharged their faith to the utmoſt. All this notwithſtanding, the *Petilians* (as was ſaid) held out ſome moneths: and having ſtriven in vain to defend themſelves, when there was no apparent poſſibility gave to the *Carthaginians* a bloody victory over them; being vanquiſhed as much by famine, as by any violence of the Aſſailants.

The *Romans* at this time were indeed in ſuch ill caſe, that *Hannibal* with a little help from *Carthage*, might have reduced them unto terms of great extremity. For whereas in a great bravery, before their loſs at *Cannæ*, they had ſhewed their high minds, by entertaining the care of things far off, notwithſtanding the great war that lay upon them ſo near at hand: it now fell out miſerably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better than at home. *L. Poſthumius Albinus* their Prætor they had ſent,

with an Army of five and twenty thousand, into *Gaul*: to the *Illyrian* King *Pineus* they had sent for their tribute due, whereof the pay-day was past; willing him, if he desired forbearance, to deliver Hostages for his performance of what was due; and to *Philip* King of *Macedon* they had sent, to require, that he should deliver up unto them *Demetrius Pharius* their Subject and Rebel, whom he had received. But now from all quarters they hear tydings, little suitable to their former glorious conceits. *Posthumius* with all his Army was cut in pieces by the *Gauls*, in such sort, that scarce ten men escaped. The manner of his overthrow was very strange. There was a great Wood, called by the *Gauls*, *Litana*; thorow which he was to pass. Against his coming, the Enemies had sawed the trees so far, that a little force would serve to cast them down. When therefore *Posthumius*, with his whole Army, was entred into this dangerous passage, the *Gauls* that lay about the Wood, began to cast down the trees; which falling one against another, bore all down so fast, that the *Romans* were overwhelmed, Men and Horses; in such wise, that no more escaped, than is said before. How this tedious work of sawing so many trees, could take desired effect, and neither be perceived, nor made frustrate, either by some wind that might have blown all down before the *Romans* entred, or by some other of those many accidents, whereto the device was subject; I do not well conceive. Yet some such thing may have been done, and what failed in the stratagem, supplied with the Enemies sword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the savage condition, wherewith *Lombardie*, a Country now so civil, was infected in elder times, that of *Posthumius* his skull, being cleansed and trimmed up with gold, a drinking cup was made, and consecrated in their principal Temple, as an holy vessel for the use of the Priest in their solemnities. Of this great overthrow, when word was brought to *Rome*, the amazement was no less than the calamity. But sorrow could give no remedy to the mischief: and anger was vain, where there wanted forces to revenge. Tribute from the *Illyrians* there came none; neither do I find that any was a second time demanded; this we find, that with *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*, *Illyrian* Kings as also with *Gentius*, who raigned within a few years following, the *Romans* dealt upon even terms; entreating their assistance against *Philip* and *Perseus*; not commanding their duty, as Vassals. The *Macedonian* troubled them yet a little further. For having assured his affairs in *Greece*, and enjoying leisure to look into the doings abroad, he sent Embassadours to *Hannibal*; with whom he made a league, upon these conditions; That the King in person should come into *Italy*, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, assist the *Carthaginians* in the *Roman* war, until it were finished; That *Rome*, and all *Italy*, together with all the spoil therein to be gotten, should be left intire unto the State of *Carthage*; and that afterwards *Hannibal*, with his Army, should pass into *Greece*, and there assist *Philip*, until he had subdued all his enemies (which were the *Ætolians*, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus* and others) leaving semblably unto him the full possession of that Country, and the Isles adjoyning. But such prediſposition of Kingdoms and Provinces, is lightly controlled by the divine providence, which therein shews it self; not (as *Herodotus* falsly terms it, and like an *Atheist*) envious or malicious, but very just and Majestical in upholding that unspeakable greatness of Soveraignty, by which *It* rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The first Embassadours that *Philip* sent, fell into the *Romans* hands, in their journey towards *Hannibal*: and being examined what they were, adventured upon a bold lye, saying, That they were sent from the King of *Macedon* to *Rome*, there to make a League with the Senate and people, and offer his help in this time of great necessity. These news were so welcome, that the joy thereof took away all care of making better inquiry. So they were lovingly feasted, and freely dismissed with guides that should lead them the way, and shew them how to avoid the *Carthaginians*. But they being thus instructed concerning their journey, fell wilfully into the Camp of *Hannibal*; who entertained them after a better fashion, and concluded the business about which they came, upon the points before remembered. In their return homeward, they happened again unluckily to be descried by the *Roman* Fleet; which mistrusting them to be of the *Carthaginian* party, gave them chace. They did their best to have escaped: but being overtaken, they suffered the *Romans* to come aboord; and trusting to the lye that once had served them, said it again, That having been sent from King *Philip* to make a league with the people of *Rome*, they were not able by reason of the *Carthaginians* lying between, to get any further than to *M. Valerius* the Prætor, unto whom they had signified the good affection of the King their Master. The tale was now less credible than before:

before: and (which marred all) *Gesco*, *Bostar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, *Carthaginians* that were sent with them from *Hannibal* to ratifie the agreement, being presently detected, made the matter apparent. Wherefore a little inquisition served to find all out: so that at length *Hannibals* own letters to King *Philip* were delivered up, and the whole business confected. The Embassadours and their followers were sent close prisoners to *Rome*; where the chief of them were cast into prison, and the rest sold for bond-slaves. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into *Macedon* of all that had happened. Whereupon new Embassage was sent, that went and returned with better speed; concluding, as was agreed before, only with some loss of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed; thinking with what heavy weight this *Macedonian* war, in an evil hour, was likely to fall upon them, when their shoulders were over-burdened with the load of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they took a noble resolution, and suitable unto that, whereby they kept off the storm, that else would have beaten upon them from *Spain*. They judged it more easie with small force to detain *Philip* in *Greece*, than with all their strength to resist him in *Italy*. And herein they were in the right. For, that the very reputation of a King of *Macedon*, joyning with *Hannibal* in such a time, would have sufficed to shake the allegiance, not only of the *Latines*, and other, their most faithful Subjects, but even of the *Roman* Colonies, that held all priviledges of the City, it will appear by the following success of things. *M. Valerius* the Prætor, with twenty *Quinquereme* Gallies, was appointed to attend upon the *Macedonian*, and to set on foot some commotion in *Greece*; or to nourish the troubles already therein begun. *Philip* was busie about the Sea Towns, that looked towards *Italy*, setting upon *Apollonia*; and thence falling upon *Oricum*, which he won, and so returned to *Apollonia* again. The *Epirots* craved help of *M. Valerius*; or rather excepted his kind offers; who had none other business to do. The Garrison that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was strong enough to hold the Towns-men in good order, but not to keep out the *Romans*; of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, *Philip* as then had no suspition. *Valerius* therefore easily regained the Town, and sent thence a thousand men, under *Nævius Crispus*, an undertaking and expert Captain, which got by night into *Apollonia*. These made a notable sally, and brake into *Philip's* Trenches with so great slaughter, that they forced him to forsake his Camp, and raise the siege. The King purposed (as it is said) to have departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, coming with his Fleet from *Oricum*, stopped up the mouth of the River, so that he was fain to burn his ships (which belike were no better than long boats) and depart ill furnished of carriages by Land. After this *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*, a Nation alwaies enemy to the Crown of *Macedon*; and easily perswaded them (being so affected, as hath else-where been shewed) to make strong war on *Philip*; wherein he promised them great assistance from the *Romans*. That which most moved the troublesome spirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*; after which they had gaped long, and whereof the *Roman* was as liberal in making promise, as if already it had been his own. So a league was made between them; and afterward solemnly published at *Olympia*, by the *Ætolians*, and by the *Romans* in their *Capitol*. The conditions were, that from *Ætolia* to *Corcyra*, in which space *Acarnania* was contained, all the Country should be subdued, and left unto the *Ætolians*, the pillage only to be given to the *Romans*. And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it should be with Provision, to hold no longer than whilst he abstained from doing injury to the *Romans*, or their Associates. This was indeed the only point whereat *Valerius* aimed, who promised as much on the *Romans* behalf, That they should not make peace with the *Macedonian*, unless it were with like condition of including the *Ætolians*. Into this league was place reserved for the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans*, as to those that had made or favoured the side of *Cleomenes* against the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*: the first of which reigned at *Pergamus* in *Asia* the less, a Prince hereafter much to be spoken of; the other two held some part of *Illyria*, about which the *Romans* were so far from contending with them, that gladly they sought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Associates are thrust into the Treaty, rather to give it countenance, than for any readiness which they disclose to enter thereinto. The *Ætolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Prætor, with *Donymachus* and others, are yet a while the only men, of whom the *Roman* Generals must make much; as the late *French* King, *Henry* the fourth, when he had only the title of *Navarre*, was said to court the Majors of *Rochel*. *Philip* was not idle, when he heard whereunto

whereunto the *Ætolian* tended. He repaired his Army, made a countenance of war upon the *Illyrians*, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to infeſt the Kingdom of *Macedon*; waſted the Country about *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, and overrunning the *Pelagonians*, *Dardanians*, and others, whom he held ſuſpected, came down into *Theſſaly*, whence he made ſhew as if he would invade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, he thought to ſtir up all the *Greeks* adjoyning, againſt the *Ætolians*; whom they generally deteſted as a neſt of Robbers, troubleſome to all the Country. To which purpoſe, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaking into *Greece*, he left *Perſeus*, his Son and Heir, with four thouſand men, upon their borders: with the reſt of his Army, before greater buſineſs ſhould overtake and intangle him, he made a long journey into *Thrace*, againſt a people called the *Medes*, that were wont to fall upon *Macedon*, whenſoever the King was abſent. The *Ætolians* hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could againſt the *Acarnanians*; in hope to ſubdue thoſe their daily enemies, and win their little Country, ere he ſhould be able to return. Hereto it much availed, that the *Romans* had already taken *Oeniadæ* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* Towns, conveniently ſituated to let in an Army; and conſigned them unto the *Ætolians*, according to the tenour of the contract lately made with them. But the ſtout reſolution of the *Acarnanians* to die (as we ſay) every Mothers Son of them, in defence of their Country; together with the great haſte of the *Macedonian* (who laid aſide all other buſineſs) to ſuccour theſe his friends; cauſed the *Ætolians* to forſake their enterpriſe. When this Expedition was given over, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* fell upon *Ancyræ*, which they took: the *Romans* aſſailed by Sea, the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Town, and the *Romans* the ſpoil.

For theſe good ſervices *M. Valerius* was choſen Conſul at *Rome*; and *P. Sulpitius* ſent in his ſtead, to keep the war on foot in *Greece*. But beſides the *Roman* help, *Attalus* out of *Aſia* came over to aſſiſt the *Ætolians*. He was chiefly moved by his own jealouſie of *Philips* greatneſs; though ſomewhat alſo tickled with the vanity of being choſen by the *Ætolians* their principal Magiſtrate; which honour, though no better than titulary, he took in very loving part. Againſt the forces which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had ſent, being joyned with the main power of *Ætolia*, *Philip* tried the fortune of two battels; and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, theſe his troubleſome neighbours deſired peace of him, and uſed their beſt means to get it. And when the day appointed for the concluſion therefore, was come: their Embaſſadours, in ſtead of making ſubmiſſion, propoſed unto him ſuch intolerable conditions, as ill beſeemed vanquiſhed men to offer; and might therefore well teſtifie, that their minds were altered. It was not any love of peace, but fear of being beſieged in their own Towns, that had made them deſirous of compoſition. This fear being taken away, by the incouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as ever; and thruſt a Garriſon of their own, and ſome *Roman* friends into *Elis*; which threatned *Achaia*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut over the ſtraight from *Naupactus*, waſted the Country in a terrible bravery; wherein *Philip* required him, coming upon them in great haſte from the *Nemæan* Games (which he was then celebrating) and ſending them faſter away, but nothing richer than they came.

In the heat of this contention, *Pruſius* King of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no leſs than *Attalus* held ſuſpected the power of *Philip*, ſent a Navy into *Greece*, to aſſiſt the *Macedonian* party. The like did the *Carthaginians*; and upon greater reaſon, as being more intereſſed in the ſucceſs of his affairs. *Philip* was too weak by Sea: and though he could man ſome two hundred ſhips, yet the veſſels were ſuch, as could not hold out againſt the *Romans Quinqueremes*. Wherefore it behoved him to uſe the help of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aid came ſomewhat too late; which might better at firſt have kept thoſe Enemies from faſtening upon any part of *Greece*, than afterward it could ſerve to drive them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that Country. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by Sea, it was needful that he ſhould correct the *Eleans*, bad neighbours to the *Achaians* his principal Confederates. But in aſſailing their Town, he was encountred by the *Ætolian* and *Roman* Garriſon, which drave him back with ſome loſs. In ſuch caſes, eſpecially where God intendeth a great converſion of Empire, Fame is very powerful in working. The King had received no great detriment in his retrait from *Elis*: rather he had given teſtimony of his perſonal valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horſe was ſlain under him. He had alſo ſoon after taken a great multitude of the *Eleans*, to the number of four thouſand, with ſome twenty thouſand head of Cattel which they had brought together in a place

of

of safety, as they thought, when their Country was invaded. But it had hapned, that in his pursuit of the *Romans* forragers about *Sicyon*, his horse running hastily under a low tree, had torn off one of the horns, which (after the fashion of those times) the King wore in his Gresh. This was gathered up by an *Ætolian*, who carried it home, and shewed it as a token of *Philip's* death. The horn was well known, and the tale believed. All *Macedon* therefore was in an uproar; and not only the borderers, ready to fall upon the Country, but some Captains of *Philip* easily corrupted; who thinking to make themselves a fortune in that change of things, ran into such treason, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuse. Hereupon the King returned home, leaving not three thousand men to assist his friends the *Achæans*. He also took order, to have beacons erected, that might give him notice of the enemies doings, upon whom he meant shortly to return. The affairs of *Macedon*, his presence quikly established. But in *Greece* all went ill-favouredly; especially in the Isle of *Eubœa*, where one *Plator* betrayed to *Attalus* and the *Romans*, the Town of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arrive to help it: where also the strong City of *Chalcis* was likely to have been lost, if he had not come the sooner. He made such hasty marches, that he had almost taken *Attalus* in the City of *Opus*: this City, lying over against *Eubœa*, *Attalus* had won more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that he had used: now because the *Roman* Souldiers had defrauded him in the sack of *Oreum*, and taken all to themselves; it was agreed, that *Attalus* should make his best profit of the *Opuntians*, without admitting the *Romans* to be his sharers. But whilst he was busie, in drawing as much mony as he could out of the Citizens: the sudden tydings of *Philip's* arrival, made him leave all behind him, and run away to the Sea-side, where he got aboord his ships, finding the *Romans* gone before, upon the like fear. Either the indignity of this misadventure, or tydings of *Prusias* to *Bithynian* his invasion upon the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; made *Attalus* return home, without staying to take leave of his friends. So *Philip* recovered *Opus*, won *Torone*, *Tritonos*, *Drymus* and many small Towns in those parts; performing likewise some actions, of more bravery than importance, against the *Ætolians*. In the mean season, *Machanidas*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, had been busie in *Peloponnesus*; but hearing of *Philip's* arrival, was returned home.

The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing certain report of *Cleomenes* his death in *Egypt*, went about to chuse two new Kings, and to conform themselves to their old manner of government. But their estate was so far out of tune, that their hope of redressing things within the City, proved no less unfortunate, than had been their attempts of recovering a large dominion abroad. *Lycurgus* a Tyrant rose up among them: upon whom succeeded this *Machanidas*, and shortly after came *Nabis*, that was worse than both of them. They held on the *Ætolian* and *Roman* side, for fear of the *Achæans*, that were the chief Confederates of *Philip*, and hated extremely the name both of Tyrant and *Lacedæmonian*. But of these we shall speak more hereafter.

Philip entring into *Achaia*, and seeing his presence had brought the contentment of assurance to that Country; spake brave words to the Assembly of their States, saying, That he had to do with an Enemy that was very nimble, and made War by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Orecum*, to *Opus*, and now into *Achaia*; but could no where find them, such hast they made, for fear of being overtaken. But flight, he said, was not alwaies prosperous: he should one day light upon them; as ere this he sundry times had done, and still to their loss. The *Achaians* were glad to hear these words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For he restored unto their Nation some Towns that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewise to the *Megalopolitans* their confederates, he rendred *Aliphera*. The *Dymæans*, that had been taken by the *Romans*, and sold for slaves, he sought out, ransomed, and put in quiet possession of their own City. Further, passing over the *Corinthian* Gulf, he fell upon the *Ætolians*; whom he drave into the mountains and woods, or other their strongest holds, and wasted their Country. This done, he took leave of the *Achæans*, and returned home by Sea, visited the people that were his subjects, or dependants; and animated them so well, that they rested fearless of any threatning danger. Then had he leisure to make war upon the *Dardanians*, ill neighbours to *Macedon*: with whom nevertheless he was not so far occupied, but that he could go in hand with preparing a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, whereby to make himself Master of the Sea; the *Romans* (since the departure of *Attalus*) having not dared to meet or pursue him, when he lately ran along the coast

coast of *Greece*, fast by them where they lay.

This good success added much reputation to the *Macedonian*, and emboldened him to make strong war upon the *Ætolians*, at their own doors. As for the *Romans* either some displeasure, conceived against their Confederates, or some fear of danger at home, when *Asdrubal* was ready to fall upon *Italy*; caused them to give over the care of things in *Greece*, and leave their friends there to their own fortunes. The *Ætolians* therefore being driven to great extremity, were fain to sue for peace unto *Philip*; and accept it, upon what ever conditions it best pleased him. The agreement was no sooner made, than *P. Sempronius* with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty five gallies, came over in great haste (though somewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Ætolia*, he turned aside to *Dyrrhacchium* and *Apolonia*, making a great noise, as if with these his own forces he would work wonders. But it was not long ere *Philip* came to visit him, and found him tame enough. The King presented him battel, but he refused it: and suffering the *Macedonians* to waste the Country round about, before his eyes, kept himself close within the wals of *Apollonia*, making some overtures of peace: which caused *Philip* to return home quietly. The *Romans* had not so great cause to be displeased with the *Ætolians*, as had *Philip* to take in evil part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For notwithstanding the royal offer that he made them, to serve their turn in *Italy*, and assist them, in getting their hearts desire, before he would expect any requital: they had not sent any fleet, as in reason they ought, and as (considering his want of sufficient ability by Sea) it is likely they were bound either to secure the transportation of his Army, or to free his coast from the *Roman* and *Ætolian* Piracies. Only once they came to his help, which was at his last journey into *Achaia*. But they were gone again before his arrival: having done nothing, and pretending fear of being taken by the *Romans*, even at such time as *Philip* with his own Navy, durst boldly pass by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This wretchless dealing of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore seem to have been one of *Hanno* his tricks, whereof *Hannibal* so bitterly complained. For it could not but grieve this malicious man exceedingly to hear that so great a King made offer to serve in person under *Hannibal*, and required the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affairs of the world at pleasure. Therefore he had reason, such as envy could suggest, to perswade the *Carthaginians* unto a safe and thrifty course: which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their *Italian* wars so mighty a Prince; whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection unto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their liberty. Rather they should do well to save charges, and feed the *Macedonian* with hopes; by making many promises of sending a fleet and some other succours. This would cost nothing, yet would it serve to terrifie the *Romans*, and compell them to send part of their forces from home, that might find this Enemy work abroad. So should the *Roman* Armies be lessened in *Italy*; and *Philip*, when once he was ingaged in the war, be urged unto the prosecution, by his own necessity: putting the *Carthaginians* to little or no charges: yea, scarce to the labour of giving him thanks. Now if it might come to pass, as *Hannibal* every day did promise, that *Rome*, and all *Italy* should within a while be at the devotion of *Carthage*: better it were, that the City should be free, so as the troublesome *Greeks* might address their complaints unto the *Carthaginians*, as competent Judges between them and the *Macedonian*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Africk*, should wait upon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hateful in *Greece*, and oblige *Philip* to be no less impudent, in fulfilling all requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the councel of *Hanno* and his fellows were such as this, or whether the *Carthaginians*, of their own disposition, without his advice, were too sparing, and careless, the matter (as far as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good, but rather dodged with him, even in their little courtesie which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why he began the building of an hundred Gallies, as if he would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would have reached, had he not vainly given credit to faithless promises. When therefore the *Ætolians* had submitted themselves already: and when the *Romans* desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very fear of him, with reputation enough, and not as a forsaken Client of the *Carthaginians*, but a Prince able to have succoured them in their necessity, he might give over the war, and, without reprehension, leave them to themselves. For he had wilfully entred into trouble for their

sakes;

sakes but they despised him, as if the quarrel were meerly his own, and he unable to manage it.

The vanity of which their conceits would appear unto them, when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the War, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the year following it was agreed, by the mediation of the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and others, That the *Romans* should retain three or four Towns of *Illyria*, which they had recovered by this War, being part of their old *Illyrian* Conquest: Places no way belonging to the *Macedinian*; and therefore perhaps inserted into the Covenants, that somewhat might seem to have been gotten. On the other side, the *Atintanes* were appointed to return under the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Ortelius* problably conjectures) the people of the Country about *Apollonia*, then did the *Romans* abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appears, that they did not give peace, as they would seem to have done, but accepted it, upon conditions somewhat to their loss.

The Confederates and Dependants of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this Peace, were *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, the *Achæans*, *Bœtians*, *Thessalians*, *Acarnanians* and *Epirots*. On the *Roman* side were named, first, the people of *Ilium*, as an honourable remembrance of the *Romans* descent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; *Plueratus* an *Illyrian* Prince; and *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*; together with the *Eleans*, *Messenians* and *Athenians*. The *Ætolians* were omitted, belike, as having agreed for themselves before. But the *Eleans* and *Messenians*, followers of the *Ætolians*, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their league with *Philip*) were also inserted by the *Romans*; that were never slow in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the *Athenians*; they stood much upon their old honour; and loved to bear a part, though they did nothing, in all great actions. Yet the setting down of their names in this Treaty, served the *Romans* to good purpose: forasmuch as they were a busie people, and ministred occasion to renew the War, when means did better serve to follow it.

§. XIII.

How the Romans *began to recover their strength by degrees. The noble affection of the* Romans, *in relieving the publick Necessities of their Common-weal.*

IT was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that embracing so many enterprises at once, they followed all by the halves; and wasted more men and mony to no purpose, than would have served (if good order had been taken) to finish the whole War, in far shorter space; and make themselves Lords of all that the *Romans* held. This error had become the less harmful, if their care of *Italy* had been sought as it ought. But they suffered *Hannibal* to weary himself with expectation of their promised supplies; which being still preferred from year to year, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a Conquerour could have desired. The death of *Posthumius*, and destruction of this whole Army in *Gaul*; the begun rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the death of *Hiero* their friend in *Syracuse*; with great alterations much to their prejudice, in the whole Isle of *Sicil*; as also that War, of which we last spake threatned from *Macedon*, happening all at one time; and that so nearly after their terrible overthrow at *Cannæ*, among so many revolts of their *Italian* Confederates; would utterly have sunk the *Roman* State; had the *Carthaginians*, if not the first year, yet at least the second, sent over to *Hannibal* the forces that was decreed. It is not to be doubted, that even this diversity of great hopes, appearing from all parts, administred matter unto *Hanno*, or such as *Hanno* was, whereupon to work. For though it were in the power of *Carthage*, to perform all that was decreed for *Italy*; yet could not that prohibition hold, when so many new occurrences brought each along with thim their new care; and required their several Armies. This had not been a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had been throughly prosecuted: though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperity of *Hannibal* in his *Italian* war, should have been strengthned; whatsoever had become of the rest. But the slender Troops, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fed the War in *Spain*; the lingring aid which they sent to uphold the *Sardinian* rebellion, when it was already well-near beaten down; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongst all these their attempts) their hasty catching at *Sicil*: little deserved to be thought good reasons of negle-

cting the main point, whereto all the reſt had reference. Rather every one of theſe Actions, conſidered a part by it ſelf, was no otherwiſe to be allowed, as diſcreetly undertaken, or ſubſtantially followed; than by making ſuppoſition,. That the care of *Italy* made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things elſe. Yet if theſe allegations would not ſerve to content *Hannibal*, then muſt he patiently endure to know, that his own Citizens were jealous of his Greatneſs, and durſt not truſt him with ſo much power, as ſhould enable him to wrong the ſtate at home.

Whatſoever he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himſelf to Neceſſity; to feed his *Italian* friends with hopes; and to trifle away the time about *Nola*, *Naples*, *Cumæ*, and other places: being loth to ſpend his Army in an hard ſiege, that was to be reſerved for a work of more importance. Many offers he made upon *Nola*, but alwayes with bad ſucceſs. Once *Marcellus* fought a battel with him there, yet under the very walls of the Town; having the aſſiſtance of the Citizens, that were grown better affected to the *Roman* ſide, ſince the Heads that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thouſand men *Hannibal* in that fight loſt: which was no great marvel; his forces being then divided, and imployed in ſundry parts of *Italy* at once. *Naples* was even in thoſe dayes, a ſtrong City; and required a years work to have taken it by force. Wherfore the earneſt deſire of *Hannibal* to get it, was alwayes fruſtrate. Upon the Town of *Cumæ* they of *Capua* had their plot, and were in hope to take it by cunning. They ſent to the chief Mageſtrates of the *Cumans*, deſiring them (as being alſo *Campans*) to be preſent at a ſolemn ſacrifice of the Nation, where they would conſult about their general good: promiſing to bring thither a ſufficient guard, to aſſure the whole Aſſembly from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Cumans* made ſhew to entertain; but privily ſent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, the *Roman* Conſul.

Gracchus was a very good man of war, and happily choſen Conſul in ſo dangerous a time. His Colleague ſhould have been *Poſthumus Albinus*, that was lately ſlain by the *Gauls*: after whoſe death *Marcellus* was choſen, as being judged the fitteſt man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the *Roman* Augures either found ſome religious impediment that nullified the election of *Marcellus*; or at leaſt they fained ſo to have done, becauſe this was the firſt time, that ever two *Plebeian* Conſuls were choſen together. *Marcellus* therefore gave over the place; and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the late famous Dictator, was ſubſtituted in his room. But *Fabius* was detained in the City, about matters of religion or ſuperſtition: wherewith *Rome* was commonly, eſpecially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Conſular Army, waited upon *Hannibal* among the *Campans*: not able to meet the enemy in field; yet intentive to all occaſions, that ſhould be preſented. The *Volones*, or Slaves, that lately had been armed, were no ſmall part of his followers. Theſe, and the reſt of his men, he continually trained; and had not a greater care to make his Army ſkilful in the exerciſes of war, than to keep it from quarrels that might ariſe by upbraiding one another with their baſe conditions.

Whilſt the Conſul was thus buſied at *Linternum*, the Senators of *Cumæ* ſent him word of all that had paſſed between them and the *Capuans*. It was a good occaſion to fleſh his men, and make them confident againſt the Enemy; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himſelf into *Cumæ*: whence he iſſued at ſuch time, as the Magiſtrates of that City were expected by the *Campans*. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Hamæ*: three miles from *Cumæ*. There lay *Marius Alfius* the chief Magiſtrate of *Capua*, with fourteen thouſand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather deviſing how to ſurprize others, than fearing himſelf to be aſſailed. The Conſul therefore, ſuffering none to go forth of *Cumæ*, that might bear word of him to the enemies, iſſued out of the Town when it grew dark: his men being well refreſhed with meat and ſleep, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights ſervice. So he came upon the *Capuans* unawares, and ſlew more than two thouſand of them, together with their Commander, loſing not above a hundred of his own men. Their Camp he took; but tarried not long to rifle it, for fear of *Hannibal*, who lay not far off. By this his providence, he eſcaped a greater loſs, than he had brought upon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was informed how things went at *Hamæ*, forthwith he marched thither; hoping to find thoſe young ſouldiers, and ſlaves, buſied in making ſpoil, and loading themſelves with the booty. But they were all gotten ſafe within *Cumæ*; which partly for anger, partly for deſire of gaining it, and partly at the urgent entreaty of the *Capuans*, *Hannibal* aſſailed the

the next day. Much labour, and with ill ſucceſs, the *Carthaginians* and their fellows ſpent about this town. They raiſed a wooden Tower againſt it; which they brought cloſe unto the walls; thinking thereby to force an Entry. But the Defendants, on the inſide of the wall, raiſed againſt this an high Tower; whence they made reſiſtance, and found means at length to conſume with fire the work of their Enemies. While the *Carthaginians* were buſie in quenching the fire, the *Romans*, ſallying out of the Town at two gates, charged them valiantly, and drave them to their Trenches, with the ſlaughter of about fourteen hundred. The Conſul wiſely ſounded the Retreat, ere his men were too far engaged, and *Hannibal* in a readineſs to requite their ſervice. Neither would he in the pride of his good ſucceſs, adventure forth againſt the Enemy; who preſented him battle the day following, near unto the wals. *Hannibal* therefore ſeeing no likelihood to prevail in that which he had taken in hand, brake up the ſiege, and returned to his old camp at *Tifata*. About theſe times, and ſhortly after, when *Fabius* the other Conſul had taken the field; ſome ſmall Towns were recovered by the *Romans*, and the people ſeverely puniſhed for their revolt.

The *Carthaginian* Army was too ſmall, to fill with garriſons all places that had yielded; and withall to abide (as it muſt do) ſtrong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the ſupply from home, that ſhould enable him to ſtrike at *Rome* it ſelf, was driven in the mean time to alter his courſe of war: and inſtead of making (as formerly he had done) a general invaſion upon the whole Countrey, to paſs from place to place; and wait upon occaſions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemy, than to him. The Countrey of the *Hirpines* and *Samnites* was grievouſly waſted by *Marcellus*, in the abſence of *Hannibal*; as alſo was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Conſul; when *Hannibal* having followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*, and received there the loſs before mentioned, was gone to winter in *Apulia*. Theſe people ſhewed not the like ſpirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* Empire, as in former times they had done, when they contended with the *Romans*, in their own behalf, to get the Soveraignty. They held it reaſon, that they ſhould be protected by ſuch as thought to have dominion over them: whereby at once they overburdened their new Lords; and gave unto their old, the more eaſie means to take revenge of their defection.

The people of *Rome* were very intentive as neceſſity conſtrained them, to the work that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Conſulſhip: and joyned with him *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appointed unto that honour the year before. Of theſe two, *Fabius* was called the *Shield:* and *Marcellus*, the *Roman Sword*. In *Fabius* it was highly, and upon juſt reaſon, commended, That being himſelf Conſul, and holding the Election, he did not ſtand upon nice points of formality, or regard what men might think of his ambition, but cauſed himſelf to be choſen with *Marcellus*; knowing in what need the City ſtood of able Commanders. The great name of theſe Conſuls, and the great preparations which the *Romans* made, ſerved to put the *Campans* in fear, that *Capua* it ſelf ſhould be beſieged. To prevent this, *Hannibal*, at their earneſt entreaty, came from *Arpi* (where he lay, hearkening after news from *Tarentum*) and having with his preſence comforted theſe his friends, fell on the ſudden upon *Puteoli*, a Sea-town of *Campania*; about which he ſpent three dayes in vain, hoping to have won it. The garriſon in *Puteoli* was ſix thouſand ſtrong: and did their duty ſo well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good ſucceſs, could only ſhew his anger upon the fields there and about *Naples*; which having done, and once more (with as ill ſucceſs as before) aſſailed *Nola*, he bent his courſe to *Tarentum:* wherein he had very great intelligence. Whileſt he was in his progreſs thither; *Hanno* made a journey againſt *Beneventum:* and *T. Graccus*, the laſt years Conſul, haſting from *Nuceria*, met him there; and fought with him a battel. *Hanno* had with him about ſeventeen thouſand foot, *Brutians* and *Lucans* for the moſt part: beſides twelve hundred horſe; very few of which were *Italians*, all the reſt *Numidians* and *Moors*. He held the *Romans* work four hours, ere it could be perceived to which ſide the victory would incline. But *Gracchus* his ſouldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed ſlaves, had received from their General a peremptory denunciation, That this day or never they muſt purchaſe their liberty, bringing every man for price thereof, an enemies head. The ſweet reward of liberty was ſo greatly deſired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vain labour impoſed by their General, of cutting off the ſlain enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindred the ſervice by imployment of ſo many hands in a work ſo little concerning the victory. *Gracchus* there-

fore finding his own error, wisely corrected it: proclaiming aloud, That they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all should have liberty immediately after the battel, if they won the day. This encouragement made them run head-long upon the Enemy; whom their desperate fury had soon overthrown, if the *Roman*-horse could have made their part good against the *Numidian*. But though *Hanno* did what he could, and pressed so hard upon the *Romans* battel, that four thousand of the slaves, (for fear either of them, or of the punishment which *Gracchus* had threatned before the battel unto those that should not valiantly behave themselves) retired unto a ground of strength; yet was he glad at length to save himself by flight, when the Gross of his Army was broken; being unable to remedy the loss. Leaving the field, he was accompanied by no more than two thousand, most of which were horse; all the rest were either slain or taken. The *Roman* General gave unto all his souldiers that reward of liberty which he had promised: but unto those four thousand, which had recoyled unto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they served in the wars, they should neither eat nor drink otherwise than standing, unless sickness forced them to break his order. So the victorious Army returned to *Beneventum*: where the newly enfranchised Souldiers were feasted in publick by the Townsmen; some sitting some standing, and all of them having their heads covered (as was the custom of slaves manumised) with caps of white wooll. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterwards hung up in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of Liberty; which his Father had built and dedicated. This was indeed the first battel, worthy of great note, which the *Carthaginians* had lost since the coming of *Hannibal* into *Italy*: the victories of *Marcellus* at *Nola*, and of this *Gracchus* before at *Hamæ*, being things of small importance.

Thus the *Romans*, through industry, by little and little, repaired the great Breach in their Estate, which *Hannibal* had made at *Cannæ*. But all this while, and long after this, their Treasury was so poor, that no industry nor art could serve to help it. The fruits of their grounds did only (and perhaps hardly) serve to feed their Towns and Armies, without any surplusage, that might be exchanged for other needful commodities. Few they were in *Italy* that continued to pay them tribute: which also they could worse do than before; as living upon the same trade, and subject to the same inconveniencies, which enfeeble *Rome* it self. *Sicil* and *Sardinia*, that were wont to yield great profit, hardly now maintaining the *Roman* Armies, that lay in those Provinces, to hold them safe, and in good order. As for the Citizens of *Rome*; every one of them suffered his part of the detriment, which the Common-wealth sustained, and could now do least for his Country, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased; so as if money should be raised upon them by the *Poll*, yet must it be far less than in former times. The Senate therefore diligently considering the greatness of the war within the bowels of *Italy*, that could not be thence expelled, without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the peril, wherein *Sicil* and *Sardinia* stood, both of the *Carthaginians*, and of many among the Naturals, declining from the friendship or subjection of *Rome*; the threats of the *Macedonian*, ready to land in the Eastern parts of *Italy*, if they were not at the cost to find him work at home; the greater threats of *Asdrubal*, to follow his Brother over the *Alps*, as soon as he could rid himself of the *Scipio*'s in *Spain*; and the poverty of the Common-wealth, which had not mony for any one of these mortal dangers; were driven almost even to extream want of counsel. But being urged by the violence of swift necessity, signified in the letters of the two *Scipio*'s from *Spain*; they resolved upon the only course, without the which the City could not have subsisted.

They called the people to assembly; Wherein *Quintus Fulvius* the Prætor laid open the publick wants; and plainly said, That in this exigent, there must be no taking of mony for victuals, weapons, apparel, or the like things needful to the Souldiers; but that such as had stuff, or were Artificers; must trust the Common-wealth with the Loan of their commodities and labors, until the war were ended. Hereunto he so effectually exhorted all men, especially the Publicans or Customers, and those which in former times had lived upon their dealing in the common Revenues, that the charge was undertaken by private men; and the Army in *Spain*, as well supplied, as if the Treasury had been full. Shortly after this, *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, and *Publius Furius Philus*, the *Roman* Censors; taking in hand the redress of disorders within the City, were chiefly intentive to the correction of those, that had mis-behaved themselves in this present war. They began with *L. Cecilius Metellus*;

Metellus; who after the battel at *Cannæ*, had held discourse with some of his Companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if *Rome*, and all *Italy*, had been no better than lost. After him they took in hand those, that having brought to *Rome* the message of their fellows made prisoners at *Cannæ*, returned not back to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath; but thought themselves thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once back into his Camp, with pretence of taking better notice of the Captives names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Censors: as also were a great many more; even whosoever had not served in the wars, after the term which the Laws appointed: Neither was the note of the Censors at this time (as otherwise it had used to be) hurtful only in reputation: but greater weight was added thereunto, by this Decree of the Senate, following; *That all such as were noted with infamy by these Censors, should be transported into* Sicil, *there to serve until the end of the War, under the same hard conditions, that were imposed upon the Remainder of the Army beaten at* Cannæ. The office of the Censors was, to take the List and account of the Citizens; to chuse or displace the Senators; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) upon those whose unhonest or unseemly behaviour fell not within the compass of the Law. They took also an account of the *Roman* Gentlemen: amongst whom they distributed the publick Horses of service, unto such as they thought meet; or took them away for their mis-behaviour. Generally, they had the oversight of mens lives and manners: and their censure was much reverenced and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of rank; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the most that they could do) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasury, from which others were exempted. But, besides the care of this general Tax, and matters of Morality, they had the charge of all publick Works; as mending of High-wayes, Bridges, and Water-courses; the reparations of Temples, Porches, and such other buildings. If any man incroached upon the Streets, High-wayes, or other places that ought to be common; the Censors compelled him to make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customs, and other publick Revenues to farm: so that most of the Citizens of *Rome* were beholding unto this office; as maintaining themselves by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small help to conserve the dignity of the Senate: the commonalty being obnoxious unto the Censors; which were alwayes of that Order, and careful to uphold the reputation thereof. But the Common-weal being now impoverished by War, and having small store of Lands to lett, or of Customs that were worth the farming; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themselves much with perusing the Temples, or other decayed places, that needed reparations: or, if they took a view of what was requisite to be done in this kind; yet forbore they to set any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein again appeared a notable generosity of the *Romans*. They that had been accustomed in more happy times, to undertake such pieces of work, offered now themselves as willingly as the Censors, as if there had been no such want: promising liberally their cost and travel; without expectation of any payment, before the end of the War. In like sort, the Masters of those slaves, that lately had been infranchised by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forbear the price of them, until the City were in better case to pay. In this general inclination of the Multitude, to relieve, as far forth as every one was able, the common necessity; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widows living under Patronate, were brought into the Treasury; and there the Questor kept a Book of all that was laid out for the sustenance of these Widows and Orphans: whilst the whole stock was used by the City. This good example of those which remained in the Town, prevailed with the Souldiers abroad: so that (the poorer sort excepted) they refused to take pay; and called those *Mercenaries*, that did accept it, when their Country was in so great want.

The twelve hundred Talents wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians*; nor any injuries following, done by the *Romans* in the height of their pride, yielded half so much commodity, as might be laid in ballance against these miseries, whereinto their Estate was now reduced. Nevertheless if we consider things aright, the calamities of this War did rather inable *Rome* to deal with those Enemies, whom she forthwith undertook, than abate or slacked the growth of that large Dominion, whereto she attained, ere the youngest of those men was dead, whose names we have already mentioned. For by this hammering, the *Roman* metal grew more hard and solid: and by paring the branches of private fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the City of *Athens*, when

when *Xerxes* had burnt the Town to ashes, and taken from every particular Citizen, all hope of other felicity, than that which rested in the common happiness of the universality. Certain it is, (as Sir *Francis Bacon* hath judiciously observed) That a State, whose dimension or stem is small, may aptly serve to be foundation of a great Monarchy, which chiefly comes to pass, where all regard of domestical prosperity is laid aside; and every mans care addressed to the benefit of his Country. Hereof I might say that our Age hath been a great example, in the united Provinces in the Netherlands; whose present riches and strength grew chiefly from that ill assurance, which each of their Towns, or almost of their Families, perceived it self to hold, whilst the generality was oppressed by the Duke of *Alva*; were it so, that the people had thereby grown as warlike, as, by extreme industry, and straining themselves to fill their publick Treasury, they are all grown wealthy, strong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their services by Land. Wherefore if we value at such a rate as we ought, the patient resolution, conformity to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and above all other, the great love of the Commonweal, which was found in *Rome* in these dangerous times: we may truly say, That the City was never in greater likelihood to prosper. Neither can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had lasted, when their Empire, being grown more large and beautiful, should in all reason have been more dear unto them; if the riches and delicacies of *Asia* had not infected them with sensuality, and carryed their appetites mainly to those pleasures, wherein they thought their well-being to consist; if all the Citizens and subjects of *Rome* could have believed their own interest to be as great, in those wars which these latter Emperours made for their defence, as in these which were managed by the Consuls: the Empire, founded upon so great vertue, could not have been thrown down by the hands of rude *Barbarians*, were they never so many. But unto all Dominions God hath set their periods: Who, though he hath given unto Man the knowledge of those wayes, by which Kingdoms rise and fall; yet hath left him subject unto the affections, which draw on these fatal changes, in their times appointed.

§. XIV.

The Romans *win some Towns back from* Hannibal. Hannibal *wins* Tarentum. *The siege of* Capua. *Two Victories of* Hannibal. *The journey of* Hannibal *to the gates of* Rome. Capua *taken by the* Romans.

AS the people of *Rome* strained themselves to the utmost, for maintaining the War: so their Generals abroad omitted no part of industry, in seeking to recover what had been lost. The Town of *Casiline*, *Fabius* besieged. It was well defended by the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and likely to have been relieved by those of *Capua*, if *Marcellus* from *Nola*, had not come to the assistance of his Colleague. Nevertheless, the place held out so obstinately, that *Fabius* was purposed to give it over: saying, that the enterprise was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrary opinion. He said, that many such things, as were not at first to have been undertaken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to be prosecuted unto the best effect. So the siege held on: and the Town was pressed so hard, that the *Campans* dwelling therein, grew fearful, and craved parley; offering to give it up, so as all might have leave to depart in safety, whither they pleased. Whilst they were thus treating of conditions: or whilst they were issuing forth, according to the composition already made; (for it is diversly reported) *Marcellus* seizing upon a Gate, entred with his Army, and put all to sword that came in their way. Fifty of those that were first gotten out, ran to *Fabius* the Consul, who saved them, and sent them to *Capua* in safety; all the rest were either slain, or made prisoners. If *Fabius* deserved Commendations, by holding his word good unto these fifty; I know not how the slaughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such as escaped the heat of execution, could be excused by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himself after the *Roman* fashion, with some æquivocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In like sort was *Mount Marsan* in *Gascoin* taken by the Marshall *Monluc*, when I was a young man in *France*. For whilst he entertained parley about composition; the besieged ran all from their several guards, upon hasty desire of being acquainted with the conditions proposed. The Marshall therefore discovering a part of the Walls unguarded, entred by *Scalado*, and put all save the Governour unto the sword. Herein that

the Governour of *Mount Marſam* committed two groſs errors; the one, in that he gave no order for the Captains and Companies, to hold themſelves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parlee without Pledges for aſſurance given and received. Some ſuch overſight the Governour of *Caſiline* ſeemeth to have committed; yet neither the advantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Monluc*, was very honourable. When this Work was ended, many ſmall Towns of the *Samnites*, and ſome of the *Lucans* and *Apulians*, were recovered: wherein were taken or ſlain, about five and twenty thouſand of the Enemies; and the Country grievouſly waſted by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying ſick at *Nola*.

Hannibal in the mean while was about *Tarentum*, waiting to hear from thoſe, that had promiſed to give up the Town. But *M. Valerius* the *Roman* Propretor had thruſt ſo many men into it, that the Traitors durſt not ſtir. Wherefore the *Carthaginian* was fain to depart, having wearied himſelf in vain with expectation. Yet he waſted not the Country, but contented himſelf with hope, that they would pleaſe him better in time following. So he departed thence toward *Salapia*, which he choſe for his wintring-place; and began to victual it when Summer was but half paſt. It is ſaid, that he was in love with a young Wench in that Town, in which regard if he began his Winter more timely than otherwiſe he required, he did not like the *Romans*; whom neceſſity inforced, to make their Summer laſt as long as they were able to travel up and down the Country.

About this time began great troubles in *Sicil*, whither *Marcellus* the Conſul was ſent, to take ſuch order for the Province, as need ſhould require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than the Conſulſhip, we will ſpeak hereafter.

The new Conſuls choſen at *Rome*, were *Q. Fabius* the Son of the preſent Conſul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the ſecond time. The *Romans* found it needful for the publick ſervice, to imploy oftentimes their beſt able men: and therefore made it lawful, during the war, to recontinue their Officers, and chuſe ſuch as had lately held their places before; without regarding any diſtance of time, which was otherwiſe required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant unto his Son: which was perhaps the reſpect, that moſt commended his Son unto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the Camp, and his Son rode forth to meet him: eleven of the twelve Lictors, which carried an Axe with a bundle of Rods before the Conſul, ſuffered him, in regard of due reverence, to paſs by them on horſe-back, which was againſt the cuſtom. But the Son perceiving this, commanded the laſt of his Lictors to note it: who thereupon bade the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Conſul on his feet. The Father chearfully did ſo; ſaying, *It was my mind, Son, to make tryal, whether thou didſt underſtand thy ſelf to be Conſul.* *Caſſius Altinius* a wealthy Citizen of *Arpi*, who after the battel at *Cannæ*, had holpen the *Carthaginian* into that Town, ſeeing now the fortune of the *Romans* to amend, came privily to this Conſul *Fabius*, and offered to render it back unto him, if he might be therefore well rewarded. The Conſul purpoſed to follow old examples; and to make this *Altinius* a pattern to all Traitors; uſing him as *Camillus* and *Fabricius* had done thoſe that offered their faithful ſervice againſt the *Faliſci*, and King *Pyrrhus*. But *Q. Fabius* the Father, was of another opinion: and ſaid, it was a matter of dangerous conſequence, That it ſhould be thought more ſafe to revolt from the *Romans*, than to turn unto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that he ſhould be ſent to the Town of *Cales*, and there kept as priſoner; until they could better reſolve, what to do with him, or what uſe to make of him. *Hannibal* underſtanding that *Altinius* was gone, and among the *Romans*, took it not ſorrowfully; but thought this a good occaſion to ſeize upon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet that he might ſeem rather ſevere, than covetous, he ſent for the wife and children of *Altinius* into his Camp: where having examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitive, partly, and more ſtrictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, he condemned them as partakers of the treaſon, to be burnt alive; and took all their goods unto himſelf. *Fabius* the Conſul ſhortly after came to *Arpi*: which he won by *Scalado*, in a ſtormy and rainy night. Five thouſand of *Hannibal*'s Souldiers lay in the Town; and of the *Arpines* themſelves, there were about three thouſand. Theſe were thruſt formoſt by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; when it was underſtood, that the *Romans* had gotten over the Wall, and broken open a Gate. For the Souldiers held the Townſ-men ſuſpected; and therefore thought it no wiſdom to truſt them at their backs. But after ſome little reſiſtance, the *Arpines* gave over fight, and entertained parley with the *Romans*: proteſting, they had been betrayed by their Princes; and

were

were become subject to the *Carthaginians*, against their wills. In process of this discourse, the *Arpine* Prætor went unto the *Roman* Consul: and receiving his faith for security of the Town, presently made head against the Garrison. This notwithstanding, like it is that *Hannibals* men continued to make good resistance. For when almost a thousand of them that were *Spaniards*, offered to leave their companions, and serve on the *Romans* side, it was yet covenanted, that the *Carthaginians* should be suffered to pass forth quietly, and return to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and so *Arpi* became *Roman* again, with little other loss, than of him that had betrayed it. About the same time *Cliternum* was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus* one of the Prætors: and unto *Cneus Fulvius*, another of the Prætors, an hundred and twelve Gentlemen of *Capua* offered their service; upon no other condition, than to have their goods restored unto them, when their City should be recovered by the *Romans*. This was a thing of small importance: but considering the general hatred of the *Campans* towards *Rome*, it served to discover the inclination of the *Italians* in those times; and how their affections recoyled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of those mighty succours, that had been promised from *Carthage*. The *Consentines* also, and the *Thurines*, people of the *Brutians*, which had yielded themselves to *Hannibal*, returned again to their old allegiance. Others would have followed their example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a Publican had made himself a Captain, and gotten reputation by some petty exploits in forraging the Country, was slain by *Hanno*; with a great multitude of those that followed him. *Hannibal* in the mean while had all his care bent upon *Tarentum*; which if he could take, it seemed that it would stand him in good stead, for drawing over that help out of *Macedon*, which his *Carthiginians* failed to send. Long he waited ere he could bring his desire to pass: and being loth to hazard his forces, where he hoped to prevail by intelligence; he contented himself with taking in some poor Towns of the *Salentines*. At length, his Agents within *Tarentum*, found means to accomplish their purpose, and his wish. One *Phileas*, that was of their conspiracy, who lay at *Rome* as Embassadour, practising with the Hostages of the *Tarentines*, and such as had the keeping of them, conveyed them by night out of the City. But he and his company the next day were so closely pursued, that all of them were taken, and brought back to *Rome*, where they suffered death as Traytors. By reason of this cruelty, or severity, the people of *Tarentum* grew to hate the *Romans* more generally and earnestly than before. As for the Conspirators, they followed their business the more diligently, as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention should happen to be discovered. Wherefore they sent again to *Hannibal*; and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the same composition with him for the *Tarentines*, which they of *Capua* had made before. *Nico*, and *Philomenes*, two of the chief among them, used much to go forth of the Town on hunting by night; as if they durst not take their pleasure by day, for fear of the *Carthaginians*. Seldom or never they missed of their game: for the *Carthaginians* prepared it ready for their hands, that they might not seem to have been abroad upon other occasion: From the Camp of *Hannibal* it was about three dayes journey to *Tarentum*, if he should have marched thither with his whole Army. This caused his long abode in one place the less to be suspected: as also, to make his enemies the more secure, he caused it to be given out, that he was sick. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum*, were grown careless of such his neighbourhood, and the Conspirators had set their business in order; he took with him ten thousand the most expedite of his horse and foot; and long before break of day, made all speed thitherward. Fourscore light horse of the *Numideans* ran a great way before him, beating all the wayes, and killing any that they met, for fear lest he, and his troop following him, should be discovered. It had been often the manner of some few *Numidian* horse, to do the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* Governour, when he heard tell in the evening, that some *Numidians* were abroad in the fields, took it for a sign, that *Hannibal* was not as yet dislodged; and gave order, that some companies should be sent out the next morning, to strip them of their booty, and send them gone. But when it grew dark night; *Hannibal*, guided by *Philomenes*, came close to the Town: where, according to the tokens agreed upon, making a light to shew his arrival; *Nico*, that was within the Town, answered him with another light, in sign that he was ready. Presently *Nico* began to set upon one of the Gates, and to kill the watch-men. *Philomenes* went toward another gate: and whistling (as was his manner) called up the Porter; bidding him make haste, for that he had killed a great Bore, so heavy, that scarce two men could stand under

under it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and forthwith entred two young men, loaden with the Bore; which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to be worthy the looking on. While the Porter ſtood wondring at the largeneſs of the beaſt, *Philomenes* ran him through with his Bore-ſpear: and letting in ſome thirty armed men, fell upon all the watch; whom when he had ſlain, he entred the great gate. So the Army of *Hannibal* entring *Tarentum* at two Gates, went directly toward the Market place, where both parts met. Thence they were diſtributed by their General, and ſent into all quarters of the City, with *Tarentines* to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*, and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof, *Hannibal* willed the Conſpirators, that when any of their friends appeared in ſight, they ſhould bid him be quiet, and of good chear. All the Town was in an uproar: but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* trumpet was unſkilfully ſounded by a *Greek* in the Theater: which helped the ſuſpition, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to ſpoil the Town; and of the *Romans*, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Governour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadel, that ſtood in the mouth of the Haven; whence he might eaſily perceive the next morning, how all had paſſed. *Hannibal* aſſembling the *Tarentines*, gave them to underſtand, what good affection he bore them; inveighed bitterly againſt the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppreſſours; and ſpake what elſe he thought fit for the preſent. This done, and having gotten ſuch ſpoil as was to be had of the Souldiers goods in the Town, he addreſſed himſelf againſt the Citadel; hoping that if the Garriſon would ſally out, he might give them ſuch a blow, as ſhould make them unable to defend the Piece. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when he began to make his approaches, the *Romans* in a bravery ſallying forth, gave charge upon his men: who fell back of purpoſe according to direction, till they had drawn on as many as they could, and ſo far from their ſtrength, as they durſt adventure. Then gave *Hannibal* a ſign to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared ready for the purpoſe: and fiercely ſetting upon the Enemy, drave him back with great ſlaughter, as faſt as he could run; ſo that afterwards he durſt not iſſue forth. The Citadel ſtood upon a Demi-Iſland, that was plain ground; and fortified only with a Ditch and Wall againſt the Town, whereunto it was joyned by a cawſey. This cawſey *Hannibal* intended to fortifie in like ſort againſt the Citadel; to the end that the *Tarentines* might be able, without his help, to keep themſelves from all danger thence. His work in few dayes went ſo well forward, without impediment from the beſieged, that he conceived hope of winning the piece it ſelf, by taking a little more pains. Wherefore he made ready all ſorts of engines, to force the place. But whilſt he was buſied in his works, there came by Sea a ſtrong ſupply from *Metapontum*: which took away all hope of prevailing; and made him return to his former counſel. Now foraſmuch as the *Tarentine* fleet lay within the haven, and could not paſs forth, whileſt the *Romans* held the Citadel: it ſeemed likely that the Town would ſuffer want, being debarred of accuſtomed trade and proviſions by Sea: whileſt the *Roman* garriſon by help of their ſhipping, might eaſily be relieved, and enabled to hold out. Againſt this inconvenience, it was rather wiſhed by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the haven; to guard the mouth of it, and cut of all ſupply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their Town ſtanding in plain ground, and their ſtreets being fair and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the Gallies over land, and lanch them into the Sea without. This he undertook, and effected: whereby the *Roman* garriſon was reduced into great neceſſity; though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* oftentimes otherwiſe buſied, than his affairs required.

Thus with mutual loſs on both ſides, the time paſſed: and the *Roman* forces, growing daily ſtronger, Q. *Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately choſen Conſuls, prepared to beſiege the great City of *Capua*. Three and twenty Legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and haſty growth from that want of men, and of all neceſſaries, whereinto the loſs at *Cannæ* had reduced them. But to fill up theſe Legions, they were fain to take up young Boyes that were under ſeventeen years of age: and to ſend Commiſſioners above fifty miles round, for the ſeeking out of ſuch Lads as might appear ſerviceable, and preſſing them to the Wars; making yet a Law, that their years of ſervice, whereinto they were bound by order of the City, ſhould be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning ſo young, as if they had been of lawful age. Before the *Roman* Army drew near, the *Campans* felt great want of victual, as if they had already been beſieged. This happened partly by ſloth of the Nation, partly by the

great waſte and ſpoil, which the *Romans* had in foregoing years made upon their grounds. They ſent therefore Embaſſadors to *Hannibal*; deſiring him to ſuccour them ere they were cloſed up, as they feared to be ſhortly. He gave them comfortable words, and ſent *Hanno* with an Army to ſupply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day; againſt which they ſhould be ready with all manner of carriages, to ſtore themſelves with victuals, that he would provide. Neither did he promiſe more than he performed. For he cauſed great quantity of grain, that had been laid up in Cities round about, to be brought into his Camp, three miles from *Beneventum*. Thither at the time appointed, came no more than forty Carts or Wagons, with a few pack-horſes, as if this had been enough to victual *Capua*. Such was the retchleſneſs of the *Campans*. *Hanno* was exceeding angry hereat: and told them they were worſe than very beaſts; ſince hunger could not teach them to have greater care. Wherefore he gave them a longer day; againſt which he made proviſion to ſtore them throughly. Of all theſe doings word was ſent to the *Roman* Conſuls, from the Citizens of *Beneventum*. Therefore Q. *Fulvius* the Conſul, taking with him ſuch ſtrength as he thought needful for the ſervice, came into *Beneventum* by night; where with diligence he made inquiry into the behaviour of the Enemy. He learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Army was gone abroad to make proviſions; that ſome two thouſand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and other Varlets, lay among the *Carthaginians* in their camp; ſo that little good order was kept: all thought being ſet upon a great harveſt. Hereupon the Conſul bade his men prepare themſelves to aſſail the enemies Camp: and leaving all his impediments within *Beneventum*, he marched thitherward ſo early in the morning, that he was there with the firſt break of day. By coming ſo unexpected, he had well near forced the Camp on the ſudden. But it was very ſtrong, and very well defended: ſo that the longer the fight continued, the leſs deſire had *Fulvius* to loſe more of his men in the attempt; ſeeing many of them caſt away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he ſaid, that it were better to go more leiſurely and ſubſtantially to work; to ſend for his fellow-Conſul, with the reſt of their Army; and to lye between *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Campans* ſhould depart thence, nor the *Carthaginians* be able to relieve them. Being thus diſcourſing, and about to ſound the retrait; he ſaw that ſome of his men had gotten over the enemies Rampart. There was great booty; or (which was all one to the Souldiers) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that Camp. Wherefore ſome Enſign-bearers threw their Enſignes over the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, unleſs they would endure the ſhame and diſhonour following ſuch a loſs. Fear of ſuch ignominy (than which nothing could be greater) made the Souldiers adventure ſo deſperately, that *Fulvius*, perceiving the heat of his men, changed his purpoſe, and encouraged thoſe that were ſomewhat backward, to follow the example of them that had already gotten over the Trenches. Thus the Camp was won: in which were ſlain above ſix thouſand; and taken above ſeven thouſand, beſides all the ſtore of victuals, and carriages, with abundance of booty, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederates. This miſadventure, and the nearer approach of both the Conſuls, made them of *Capua* ſend a pittiful Embaſſage to *Hannibal*: putting him in mind of all the love that he was wont to proteſt unto their City; and how he had made ſhew to affect it no leſs than *Carthage*. But now, they ſaid it would be loſt, as *Arpi* was lately, if he gave not ſtrong and ſpeedy ſuccour. *Hannibal* anſwered with comfortable words: and ſent away two thouſand horſe, to keep their grounds from ſpoil, whileſt he himſelf was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the Citadel, partly by the diſpoſition, which he ſaw in many Towns adjoyning, to yield unto him. Among the Hoſtages of the *Tarentines*, that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and being overtaken, ſuffered death for their attempt; were ſome of the *Metapontines*, and other Cities of the *Greeks*, inhabiting that Eaſtern part of *Italy*, which was called of old, *Magna Græcia*. Theſe people took to heart the death of their Hoſtages, and thought the puniſhment greater than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as ſoon as the *Roman* garriſon was taken from them to defend the Citadel of *Tarentum*, made no more ado, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurines* would have done the like, upon the like reaſon, had not ſome companies layn in their Town; which they feared that they ſhould not be able to maſter. Nevertheleſs, they helped themſelves by cunning: inviting to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were near at hand: againſt whom whileſt they proffered their ſervice to *Atinius* the *Roman* Captain, they drew him forth to fight, and recoyling from him, cloſed up their gates. A little for-

formality they uſed in pretending fear, leſt the enemy ſhould break in together with the *Romans*, in ſaving *Atinius* himſelf, and ſending him away by Sea; as alſo in conſulting a ſmall while (becauſe perhaps many of their chief men were unacquainted with the practice) whether they ſhould yield to the *Carthaginian* or no. But this diſputation laſted not long: for they that had removed the chief impediment, eaſily prevailed in the reſt; and delivered up the Town to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good ſucceſs, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in thoſe quarters, whileſt the Conſuls fortifying *Beneventum* to ſecure their backs, addreſſed themſelves to the ſiege of *Capua*.

Many diſaſters befell the *Romans*, in the beginning of this great enterpriſe. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of War, that had of late been twice Conſul, was ſlain, either by treachery of ſome *Lucans*, that drew him into ambuſh, or by ſome *Carthaginian* ſtragglers, among whom he fell unawares. His body, or his head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himſelf, or (for the reports agree not) by the *Romans*; to whom *Hannibal* ſent it. He was appointed to lie in *Beneventum*, there to ſecure the back of the Army that ſhould beſiege *Capua*. But his death hapned in an ill time, to the great hinderance of that buſineſs. The Volones or Slaves lately manumiſed, forſook their Enſigns, and went every one whither he thought good, as if they had been diſcharged by the deceaſe of their Leader; ſo that it aſked ſome labour to ſeek them out, and bring them back into their Camp. Nevertheleſs, the Conſuls went forward with their work, and drawing near to *Capua*, did all acts of hoſtility, which they could. *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, and the Citizens of *Capua* gave them an hard welcome, wherein above fifteen hundred *Romans* were loſt. Neither was it long ere *Hannibal* came thither, who fought with the Conſuls, and had the better; inſomuch that it cauſed them to diſlodge. They removed by night, and went ſeveral waies: *Fulvius* towards *Canna*, *Claudius* into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*, who having led him a great walk, fetcht a compaſs about, and returned to *Capua*. It ſo fell out, that one *Marcus Centenius Penula*, a ſtout man, and one that with good commendations had diſcharged the place of a Centurion, lay with an Army not far from thence, where *Hannibal* reſted, when he was weary of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vaunts to the *Roman* Senate, of wonders which he would work, if he might be truſted with the leading of five thouſand men. The Fathers were unwilling in ſuch a time, to reject the vertue of any good Souldier, how mean ſoever his condition were. Wherefore they gave him the charge of eight thouſand: and he himſelf being a proper man, and talking bravely, gathered up ſo many voluntaries, as almoſt doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gave proof of the difference between a ſtout Centurion, and one able to command in chief. He and his fellows were all (in a manner) ſlain, ſcarce a thouſand of them eſcaping. Soon after this, *Hannibal* had word, that *Cneus Fulvius* a *Roman* Prætor with eighteen thouſand men was in *Apulia*, very careleſs and a man inſufficient for the charge which he held. Thither therefore he haſted to viſit him: hoping to deal the better with the main ſtrength of *Rome*, which pointed at *Capua*, when he ſhould have cut off thoſe forces that lay in the Provinces about, under men of ſmall ability. Coming upon *Fulvius*, he found him and his men ſo jolly, that needs they would have fought the firſt night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So he beſtowed *Mago* with three thouſand of his lighteſt armed, in places thereabout moſt fit for ambuſh. Then offered battel to *Fulvius*, he ſoon had him in the trap: whence he made him glad to eſcape alive; leaving all, ſave two thouſand of his followers, dead behind him.

Theſe two great blows, received the one preſently after the other, much aſtoniſhed the *Romans*. Nevertheleſs, all care was taken, to gather up the ſmall reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Conſuls ſhould go ſubſtantially forwards with the ſiege of *Capua*: which was of great conſequence; both in matter of reputation, and in many other reſpects. The two Conſuls ſate down before the Town, and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Prætors, came with his Army from *Sueſſula*, to their aſſiſtance. They made Proclamation, That whoſoever would iſſue out of *Capua* before a certain day prefixed, ſhould have his pardon, and be ſuffered to enjoy all that unto him belonged: which day being paſt, there ſhould be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliouſly rejected; the *Capuans* relying on their own ſtrength, and the ſuccours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the City was cloſed up, they ſent meſſengers to the *Carthaginian*; which found him at *Brunduſium*. He had made a long journey in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* Citadel: of which expectation failing, he turned to *Brunduſium*, upon advertiſement that he ſhould

be let in. There the *Capuans* met him, told him of their danger with earneſt words; and were with words as bravely re-comforted. He bade them conſider, how, a few dayes ſince he had chaſed the Conſuls out of their fields; and told them, that he would preſently come thither again, and ſend the *Romans* going as faſt as before. With this good anſwer the Meſſengers returned, and hardly could get back into the City; which the *Romans* had almoſt intrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himſelf, he was of opinion, that *Capua*, being very well manned, and heartily devoted unto his friendſhip, would hold out a long time, and thereby give him leiſure to do what he thought requiſite among the *Tarentines*, and in thoſe Eaſtern parts of *Italy*; whilſt the *Roman* Army ſpent it ſelf in a tedious ſiege. Thus he lingred, and thereby gave the Conſuls time both to fortifie themſelves at *Capua*, and to diſpatch the election of new Magiſtrates in *Rome*; whilſt he himſelf purſued hopes that never found ſucceſs.

Claudius and *Fulvius*, when their term of office was expired, were appointed to continue the ſiege at *Capua*; retaining the ſame Armies, as Proconſuls. The Towns-men often ſallied out, rather in a bravery, than likelihood to work any matter of effect; the Enemy lying cloſe within his Trenches, as intending without other violence, to ſubdue them by famine. Yet againſt the *Campan* horſe (for their foot was eaſily beaten) the *Romans* uſed to thruſt out ſome troops, that ſhould hold them ſkirmiſh. In theſe exerciſes the *Campans* uſually had the better, to the great grief of their proud Enemy; who ſcorned to take foil at the hands of ſuch Rebels. It was therefore, deviſed that ſome active and couragious young men ſhould learn to ride behind the *Roman* men at arms; leaping up, and again diſmounting lightly, as occaſion ſerved. Theſe were furniſhed like the *Velites*, having each of them three or four ſmall darts: which alighting in time of conflict, they diſcharged thick upon the Enemies horſe; whom vanquiſhing in this kind of ſervice, they much diſheartned in the main. The time thus paſſing, and famine daily increaſing within the City, *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the *Romans*: and taking a Fort of theirs, called *Galatia*, fell upon their Camp. At the ſame time the *Capuans* iſſued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could deviſe: ſetting all their multitude of unſerviceable people by the walls, which with a loud noiſe of Pans and Baſons, troubled thoſe that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* oppoſing himſelf to the *Campans*, eaſily defended his Trenches againſt them; and ſo well repreſſed them, that he drave them at length back into their City. Nevertheleſs, in purſuing them to their gates, he received a wound that accompanied him in ſhort ſpace after to his grave. *Q. Fulvius* was held harder to this taſk by *Hannibal*, and the *Carthaginian* Army. The *Roman* Camp was even at point to have been loſt; and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought three and thirty, were either gotten within the rampart, or elſe (for the report varies) being ſome of them ſlain upon it, fell into the ditch, and filled it up in ſuch ſort, that their bodies ſerved as a bridge to the Aſſailants. It is ſaid, that *Hannibal* in this tumult cauſed ſome fugitives that could ſpeak Latin well, to proclaim aloud as it were in the Conſuls name, That every one of the Souldiers ſhould ſhift for himſelf, and fly betimes unto the next hills, for as much as the Camp was already loſt. But all would not ſerve. The fraud was detected; and the Army having ſitten there ſo long, had at good leiſure ſtrongly intrenched it ſelf, ſo as little hope there was to raiſe the ſiege by force.

This did extremely perplex the *Carthaginian*. The purchaſe of *Capua* had (as was thought) with-held him from taking *Rome* it ſelf: and now his deſire of winning the *Tarentine* Citadel, had well-near loſt *Capua*; in reſpect of which, neither the Citadel, nor the City of *Tarentum* were to have been much regarded. Falling therefore into a deſperate anger with himſelf and his hard fortune, that of ſo many great victories he had made no greater uſe: on the ſudden he entertained an haughty reſolution, even to ſet upon *Rome*; and carry to the walls of that proud City, the danger of War that threatned *Capua*. This, he thought, would be a mean, to draw the *Roman* Generals, or one of them at leaſt, unto the defence of their own home. If they roſe from the ſiege with their whole Army, then had he his deſire: If they divided their forces, then was it likely, that either he or the *Campans*, ſhould well enough deal with them apart. Neither did he deſpair, that the terrour of his coming might ſo aſtoniſh the multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter ſome part or other of the City. His only fear was, leſt the *Campans*, being ignorant of his purpoſe, ſhould think he had forſaken them; and thereupon forthwith yield themſelves to the Enemy. To prevent this danger, he ſent letters to *Capua* by a ſubtle *Numidian*; who running as a fugitive into the *Roman* Camp, conveyed himſelf thence over the innermoſt Trenches

into

into the City. The Journey to *Rome* was to be performed with great celerity: no small hope of good success resting in the suddenness of his arrival there. Wherefore he caused his men to have in a readiness ten dayes victuals; and prepared as many boats, as might in one night transport his Army over the River *Vulturnus*. This could not be done so closely, but that the *Roman* Generals, by some fugitives, had notice of his purpose. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate; which was therewith affected, according to the diversity of mens opinions, in a case of such importance. Some gave counsel to let alone *Capua*, yea, and all places else, rather than to put the Town of *Rome* into peril of being taken by the enemy. Others were so far from allowing of this, as they wondred how any man could think, that *Hannibal*, being unable to relieve *Capua*, should judge himself strong enough to win *Rome*; and therefore stoutly said, That those Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the City, would serve the turn well enough, to keep him out and send him thence, if he were so unwise as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that Letters should be sent to *Fulvius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the present were in *Rome*: who, since they knew best what the strength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were best able to judge, what was needful to oppose him. So it was referred unto the discretion of these Generals at *Capua*, to do as they thought behoveful: and if it might conveniently be, neither to raise their siege, nor yet to put the City of *Rome* into much adventure. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fulvius* took fifteen thousand foot, and a thousand horse, the choice of his whole Army; with which he hasted toward *Rome*; leaving *App. Claudius*, who could not travel by reason of his wound, to continue the siege at *Capua*.

Hannibal having passed over *Vulturnus*, burnt up all his boats, and left nothing that might transport the Enemy, in case he should offer to pursue or coast him. Then hasted he away toward *Rome*, staying no longer in any one place, than he needs must. Yet found he the Bridges over *Liris* broken down by the people of *Fregellæ*: which, as it stopped him a little on his way; so it made him the more grievously to spoil their Lands, while the Bridges were in mending. The nearer that he drew to *Rome*, the greater waste he made: his *Numidians* running before him; driving the Country, and killing or taking multitudes of all sorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The Messengers of these news came apace, one after another into the City; some few bringing true advertisements; but the most of them reporting the conceits of their own fear. All the Streets and Temples in *Rome* were pestred with women, crying, and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their hair, because they could do none other good. The Senators were all in the great Market, or place of Assembly; ready to give their advice, if it were asked, or to take directions given by the Magistrates. All places of most importance were stuffed with souldiers: it being uncertain, upon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the midst of this trepidation, there came news that *Quintus Fulvius*, with part of the Army from *Capua*, was hasting to the defence of the City. The Office of a Proconsul did expire, at his return home, and entring into the Gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fulvius* might lose nothing by coming into the City, in time of such need, an Act was passed, That he should have equal power with the Consuls during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arrived at *Rome*, one soon after another: *Fulvius* having been long held occupied in passing over *Vulturnus*; and *Hannibal* receiving impediment in his journey, as much as the Country was able to give. The Consuls, and *Fulvius* incamped without the Gates of *Rome*, attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew nearer and greater; so took they more careful & especial order against all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the River *Anio*, or *Anien*, three miles from the Town; whence he advanced with two thousand horse, and rode along a great way under the Walls, viewing the sight thereof, and considering how he might best approach it. But he either went, or (as the *Roman* Story saith) was driven away, without doing or receiving any hurt. Many tumults rose in this while among the people; but were suppressed by the care and diligence of the Senators. Above the rest, one accident was both troublesome, and not without peril. Of *Numidians* that had shifted aside, and fallen (upon some displeasures) from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, there were some twelve hundred then in *Rome*; which were appointed by the Consuls, to pass thorow the Town, from the Mount *Aventine*, to the Gate *Colliatna*, where it was thought that their service might be useful, among broken wayes, and Garden-walls lying in the suburbs. The faces of these men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*; bred such

ſuch miſtaking, as cauſed a great uproar among the people: all crying out that *Aventine* was taken, and the Enemy gotten within the walls. The noiſe was ſuch, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the ſtreets were ſo full of cattel, and huſbandmen, which were fled thither out of the Villages adjoyning, that the paſſage was ſtopt up: and the poor *Numidians* pitifully beaten from the houſe tops, with ſtones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the deſperate multitude, that would have run out at the Gates, had it not been certain who lay under the Walls. To remedy the like inconveniences, it was ordained, *That all which had been dictators, Conſuls, or Cenſors, ſhould have authority as Magiſtrates, till the Enemy departed.* The day following *Hannibal* paſſed over *Anien*, and preſented battel to the *Romans*, who did not wiſely if they undertook it. It is ſaid, that a terrible ſhowre of rain, cauſed both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to return into their ſeveral Camps, and that this happened two dayes together, the weather breaking up and clearing as ſoon as they were departed aſunder: certain it is, that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more than ten dayes proviſion, could not endure to ſtay there, until his victuals were all ſpent. In which regard the *Romans*, if they ſuffered him to waſte his time and proviſions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became well adviſed men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is ſaid) by ſome accident of weather, the commendations muſt be given to their fortune. The terror of *Hannibals* coming to the City, how great ſoever it was at the firſt, yet after ſome leiſure, and better notice taken of their forces, which appeared leſs than the firſt apprehenſion had formed them, was much and ſoon abated. Hereupon it helped well, that at the ſame time the Supply appointed for *Spain*, after the death of the two *Scipio's*, were ſent out of the Town, and went forth at the Gate, whilſt one *Carthaginian* lay before another. In all *Panick terrours*, as they are called, whereof there is either no cauſe known, or no cauſe anſwerable to the greatneſs of the ſudden conſternation; it is a good remedy to do ſomewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it ſuch as men have faſhioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cauſe his ſouldiers to diſarm themſelves, when they were all on a ſudden in a great fear of they wiſt not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacifie a fooliſh uproar in his Army, by proclaiming a reward unto him that could tell who had ſent the Aſs into the Camp. But in this preſent example of the *Romans*, appears withall a great magnanimity; whereby they ſuſtained their reputation, and augmented it no leſs, than by this bold attempt of *Hannibal* it might ſeem to have been diminiſhed. Neither could they more finely have checked the glorious conceits of their enemy, and taken away the diſgrace of that fear, which clouded their valour at his firſt coming; than by making ſuch demonſtrations, when once they had recovered ſpirit, how little they eſteemed him. To this purpoſe therefore that very piece of ground, on which the *Carthaginian* lay encamped, was ſold in *Rome*: and ſold it was nothing under the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had been in time of peace. This dignity coming to his ear, incenſed *Hannibal* ſo much, that he made port-ſale of the Silver-ſmiths ſhops, which were near about the Market or Common place in *Rome*; as if his own title to the houſes within the Town were no whit worſe, than any *Roman* Citizens could be unto that piece of ground, whereon he raiſed his Tent. But this counter-practice was nothing worth. The *Romans* did ſeek to manifeſt that aſſurance which they juſtly had conceived; *Hannibal*, to make ſhew of continuing in an hope, which was already paſt. His victuals were almoſt ſpent: and of thoſe ends, that he had propoſed unto himſelf, this Journey had brought forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore he brake up his Camp: and doing what ſpoil he could to the *Roman* Territory, without ſparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, he paſſed like a tempeſt over the Country, and ran toward the Eaſtern Sea ſo faſt, that he had almoſt taken the City of *Rhegium* before his arrival was feared or ſuſpected. As for *Capua*, he gave it loſt: and is likely to have curſed the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus diſabled him to relieve that fair City, ſince he had no other way to vent his grief.

Q. Fabius returning back to *Capua*, made Proclamation anew, that whoſo would yield before a certain day, might ſafely do it. This, and the very return of *Fulvius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gave the *Capuans* to underſtand, that they were abandoned, and their caſe deſperate. To truſt the *Roman* pardon proclaimed, every mans conſcience of his own evil deſerts, told him, that it was a vanity: and ſome faint hope was given, by *Hanno* and *Boſtar*, Captains of the *Carthaginian* Garriſon within the Town, that *Hannibal* ſhould come again, if means could only be found, how

to

to convey ſuch Letters unto him as they would write. The carriage of the Letters was undertaken by ſome *Numidians*; who running as fugitives, out of the Town into the *Roman* Camp, waited fit opportunity to make an eſcape thence with their packets. But it happened ere they could convey themſelves away, that one of them was detected by an harlot following him out of the Town; and the Letters of *Boſtar* and *Hanno* were taken and opened, containing a vehement entreaty unto *Hannibal*, that he would not thus forſake the *Capuans* and them. For (ſaid they) we came not hither to make War againſt *Rhegium* and *Tarentum*, but againſt the *Romans*: whoſe Legions, whereſoever they lye, there alſo ſhould the *Carthaginian* Army be ready to attend them; and by taking ſuch a courſe, have we gotten thoſe victories at *Trebia*, *Thraſymene*, and *Cannæ*. In fine, they beſought him, that he would not diſhonour himſelf, and betray them to their enemies, by turning another away; as if it were his only care, that the City ſhould not be taken in his full view; promiſing to make a deſperate ſally, if he would once more adventure to ſet upon the *Roman* Camp. Such were the hopes of *Boſtar* and his fellow.

But *Hannibal* had already done his beſt; and now began to faint under the burden of that War, wherein as afterward he proteſted he was vanquiſhed by *Hanno* and his Perſians, in the *Carthaginian* Senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*. It may well be, as a thing incident in like caſes, that ſome of thoſe which were beſieged in *Capua*, had been ſent over by the *Hannonians*, to obſerve the doings of *Hannibal*, and to check his proceedings. If this were ſo, juſtly might they curſe their own malice, which had caſt them into this remedileſs neceſſity. Howſoever it were, the Letters directed unto *Hannibal*, fell (as is ſhewed) unto the *Roman* Proconſuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all ſuch counterfeit fugitives, as carried ſuch meſſages, whipt them back into the Town. This miſerable ſpectacle brake the hearts of the *Campans*, ſo that the multitude crying out upon the Senate, with menacing terms, cauſed them to aſſemble and conſult, about the yielding up of *Capua* unto the *Romans*. The braveſt of the Senators and ſuch as a few years ſince, had been moſt forward in joyning with *Hannibal*, underſtood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the reſt home to ſupper; telling them, that when they had made good chear, he would drink to them ſuch an health, as ſhould ſet them free from that cruel revenge, which the Enemies ſought upon their bodies. About ſeven and twenty of the Senators there were, that liking well of his motion, ended their lives together by drinking poyſon. All the reſt hoping for more mercy than they had deſerved, yielded ſimply to diſcretion. So one of the Town-gates was ſet open; whereat a *Roman* Legion, with ſome other Companies, entring, diſarmed the Citizens; apprehended the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; and commanded all the Senators of *Capua* to go forth into the *Roman* Camp. At their coming thither, the Proconſuls laid Irons upon them all, and commanding them to tell what ſtore of gold and ſilver they had at home, ſent them into ſafe cuſtody; ſome to *Cales*, others to *Theanum*. Touching the general multitude, they were reſerved unto the diſcretion of the Senate, yet ſo hardly uſed by *Fulvius* in the mean while, that they had little cauſe of hope or comfort in this adverſity. *Ap. Claudius* was brought even to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately received; yet was he not inexorable to the *Campans*; as having loved them well in former times, and having giving his Daughter in marriage to that *Pacuvius*, of whom he ſpake before. But this facility of his Colleague, made *Fulvius* the more haſty in taking vengeance; for fear, leſt upon the like reſpects, the *Roman* Senate might prove more gentle, than he thought behoveful to the common ſafety, and honour of their ſtate. Wherefore he took the pains to ride by night unto *Theanum*, and from thence to *Cales*; where he cauſed all the *Campan* priſoners to ſuffer death; binding them to ſtakes, and ſcourging them firſt a good while with rods; after which he ſtruck off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made all Towns of *Italy* the leſs apt to follow the vain hope of the *Campans*; and bred a general inclination, to return upon good conditions to the *Roman* ſide. The *Atellans*, *Calatines* and *Sabatines*, people of the *Campans*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made alſo now the like ſubmiſſion, for very fear and want of ability to reſiſt. They were therefore uſed with the like rigour, by *Fulvius*; who dealt ſo extremely with them all, that he brought them into deſperation. Wherefore ſome of their young Gentlemen burning with fire of revenge got into *Rome*; where they found means by night-time, to ſet on fire many houſes, that a great part of the City was like to have been conſumed. The beginning of the fire

fire in divers places at once, argued that it was no casualty. Wherefore liberty was proclaimed unto any slave, and other sufficient reward to any free-man, that should discover who those Incendiaries were. Thus all came out; and the *Campans* being detected by a slave of their own (to whom, above his liberty promised, was given about the summ of an hundred marks) had the punishment answerable to their deserts. *Fulvius* hereby being more and more incensed against this wretched people, held them in a manner as prisoners within their Walls: and this extreme severity caused them at length to become suppliants unto the *Roman* Senate; that some period might be set unto their miseries. That whereupon the Senators resolved in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Only two poor women in *Capua* (of which one had been an harlot) were found not guilty of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wives and children sold for slaves, and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and reserved to further deliberation: but the generallity of them, commanded to depart out of *Campania* by a certain day, and confined unto several places, as best liked the angry victors. As for the Town of *Capua*, it was suffered to stand, in regard of the beauty and commodious sight: but no corporation or form of polity was allowed to be therein; only a *Roman* Provost was every year sent to govern over those that should inhabit it, and to do justice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto done by the people of *Rome*, after many great losses in the present War. After this, the glory of *Hannibal* began to shine with a more dim light than before: his oyl being far spent and that which should have revived his flame, being unfortunately shed; as shall be told in place convenient.

§. XV.

How the Carthaginians, *making a party in* Sardinia *and* Sicil, *held War against the* Romans *in those Islands, and were overcome.*

WHilst things passed thus in *Italy*, the commotions raised in *Sardinia* and *Sicil* by the *Carthaginians* and their friends, were brought to a quiet and happy end by the industrious valour of the *Romans*. The *Sardinian* rebellion was great and sudden: above thirty thousand being up in arms, ere the *Roman* forces could arrive there to suppress it. One *Harsicoras* with his Son *Hyostus*, mighty men in that Island, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, that promised the assistance of his Country. Neither were the *Carthaginians* in this enterprise so careless, as in the rest of their main undertakings, about the same time. Yet it had been better if their care had been directed unto the prosecution of that main business in *Italy*; whereon this and all other hopes depended. For it would have sufficed, if they could have hindred the *Romans* from sending an Army into *Sardinia*. *Harsicoras* with his followers might well enough have served to drive out *Quintus Mutius* the Prætor; who lay sick in the Province; and not more weak in his own body, than in his train. But whilst they sought revenge of that particular injury, whereof the sense was most grievous; they neglected the opportunity of requiting those that had done them wrong, and of the securing themselves from all injuries in the future. Their fortune also in this enterprise was such, as may seem to have encouraged them from being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For, whereas they sent over *Asdrubal*, surnamed *the Bald*, with a competent Fleet and Army, assisted in this expedition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, and by *Mago* a Gentleman of the *Barchine* house, and near kinsman to *Hannibal*: it so fell out, that the whole Fleet, by extremity of foul weather, was cast upon the *Baleares*; so beaten, and in such evil plight, that the *Sardinians* had even spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquished, ere these their friends could arrive to succour them.

Titus Manlius was sent from *Rome* with two and twenty thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, to settle the estate of that Island, which he had taken in, and annexed unto the *Roman* Dominion, long before this, in his Consulship. It was a laudable custom of the *Romans*, to preserve and uphold in their several Provinces, the greatness and reputation of those men, and their families, by whom each Province had been first subdued unto their Empire. If any injury were done unto the Provincials, if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate, or whatsoever accident required the assistance of a Patron; the first Conqueror, and his race after him, were the most ready and best approved means, to procure the benefit of the people subdued. Hereby the *Romans* held very sure intelligence in every Province, and had alwayes in readiness fit men to reclaim their subjects, if they fell into any such disorder, as would otherwise have required

required a greater charge and trouble. The coming of *Manlius* retained in obedience all that were not already broken too far out. Yet was *Harsicoras* so strong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arm his Mariners: without whom he could not have made up that number of two and twenty thousand, whereof we have spoken before: he landed at *Calaris*, or *Carallis*, where mooring his ships, he passed up into the Country, and sought out the enemy. *Hyostus*, the Son of *Harsicoras*, had then the command of the *Sardinian* Army left unto him by his Father, who was gon abroad into the Country, to draw in more friends to their side. This young Gentleman would needs adventure to get honour, by giving battle to the *Romans* at his own discretion. So he rashly adventured to fight with an old Souldier; by whom he received a terrible overthrow; and lost in one day above thirty thousand of his followers. *Hyostus* himself, with the rest of his broken troops, got into *Cornus*, the chief Town of the Island; whither *Manlius* pursued them. Very soon after this defeature came *Asdrubal* with his *Carthaginians*; too late to win all *Sardinia* in such hast as he might have done, if the tempest had not hindred his voyage; yet soon enough, and strong enough to save the Town of *Cornus*, and put a new spirit into the Rebels. *Manlius* hereupon withdrew himself back to *Calaris*; where he had not stayed long, ere the *Sardinians* (such of them as adhered to the *Roman* party) craved his assistance; their Country being wasted by the *Carthaginians*, and the rebels, with whom they had refused to joyn. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calaris*; where, if he had stayed a little longer, *Asdrubal* would have sought him out with some blemish to his reputation. But the fame of *Asdrubal* and his company, appears to have been greater than was their strength. For after some trial made of them in few skirmishes, *Manlius* adventred all to the hazard of a battle; wherein he slew twelve thousand of the enemies; and took of the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians* three thousand. Four hours the battle lasted; and victory at length fell to the *Romans*, by the flight of the Islanders, whose courages had been broken in their unprosperous fight, not many dayes before. The death of young *Hyostus*, and of his Father *Harsicoras*, that slew himself for grief, together with the captivity of *Asdrubal* himself with *Mago* and *Hanno* the *Carthaginians*, made the victory the more famous. The vanquished Army fled into *Cornus*, whither *Manlius* followed them, and in short space wonn the Town. All other Cities of the Isle that had rebelled, following the example of *Cornus*, and yielded unto the *Roman*; who, imposing upon them such increase of tribute, or other punishment, as best sorted with the nature of their several offences, or their ability to pay, returned back to *Calaris* with a great booty, and from thence to *Rome* leaving *Sardinia* in quiet.

The war in *Sicil* was of greater length, and every way more burdensome to *Rome*: as also the victory brought more honour and profit, for that the *Romans* became thereby, not only savers of their own, as in *Sardinia*, but Lords of the whole Country, by annexing the City and dominion of *Syracuse*, to that which they enjoyed before. Soon after the battle at *Cannæ*, the old King of *Syracuse* died; who had continued long a stedfast friend unto the *Romans*, and greatly relieved them in this present war. He left his Kingdom to *Hieronymus* his grand-child, that was about fifteen years of age; *Gelo* his Son, that should have been his heir, being dead before. To this young King his successor, *Hiero* appointed fifteen tutors; of which the principal were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themistius*; who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The rest were such, as he judged most likely to preserve the Kingdom, by the same Art, whereby himself had gotten, and so long kept it. But within a little while, *Andronodorus* waxing weary of so many coadjutors, began to commend the sufficiency of the young Prince, as extraordinary in one of his years; and said, that he was able to rule the Kingdom without help of any Protector. Thus by giving over his own charge, he caused others to do the like; hoping thereby to get the King wholly into his hands; which came to pass in a sort, as he desired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aside all care of government, gave himself wholly over to his pleasures: or, if he had any regard of his Royal dignity, it was only in matter of exterior shew; as wearing a Diadem, with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his people, that had never seen the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his Son. But much more he offended them, when by his insolent behaviour, suitable to his outward pomp, he gave proof, that in course of life, he would revive the memery of Tyrants dead long since, from whom he took the pattern of his habit. He grew proud, lustful, cruel, and dangerous to all that were about him; so that such of his late tutors as could escape him by flight, were glad to live in banishment: the

reſt, being moſt of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their own hands, to avoid the danger of his diſpleaſure, that ſeemed worſe than death it ſelf. Only *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thraſo*, continued in grace with him, and were his Counſellours, but not of his Cabinet. Theſe, howſoever they agreed in other points, were at ſome diſſention about the main point of adhering, either to the *Romans*, or to the *Carthaginians*. The two former of them were wholly for the Kings pleaſure, which was ſet on change: but *Thraſo*, having more regard of his honour and profit, was very earneſt to continue the amity with *Rome*. Whilſt as yet it remained ſomewhat doubtful which way the King would incline, a conſpiracy againſt his perſon was detected by a Groom of his; to whom one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the undertakers. Long it was ere he would ſpeak any thing: but yielding (as it ſeemed) in the end, unto the extremity of the torture, he confeſſed, that he had been ſet on by *Thraſo*; whom he appeached of the treaſon, together with many more, that were near in love or peace unto *Hieronymus*. All theſe therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeed the Conſpirators, walked boldly in the ſtreets, and never ſhrunk for the matter: aſſuring themſelves, that the reſolution of *Theodorus* would yield to no extremity. Thus they all eſcaped, and ſoon after found means to execute their purpoſe. The King himſelf, when *Thraſo* was taken out of the way, quickly reſolved upon ſiding with the *Carthaginians*, whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when firſt they grow Maſters of themſelves, love to ſeem wiſer than their Fathers, by taking different courſes. And the Liberality of *Hiero* to the *Romans*, in their great neceſſity, had of late been ſuch, as might have been termed exceſſive, were it not in regard of his providence; wherein he took order for his own eſtate, that depended upon theirs. But the young Nephew taking little heed of dangers far off, regarded only the things preſent; the weakneſs of *Rome*, the prevalent fortunes of *Carthage*, and the much money that his Grand-father had laid out in vain, to ſhoulder up a falling houſe. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*; who readily entred into good correſpondence with him, that was maintained by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, *Carthaginians* born, but Grand-children of a baniſhed *Syracuſian*. Theſe grew into ſuch favour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they liſted. So that when *App. Claudius* the *Roman* Prætor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacy, between the people of *Rome*, and the King of *Syracuſe*; his meſſengers were diſmiſſed with an open ſcoff. For *Hieronymus* would needs have them tell him the order of the fight at *Cannæ*, that he might thereby learn how to accommodate himſelf, ſaying, that he could hardly believe the *Carthaginians*; ſo wonderful was the victory, as they reported it. Having thus diſmiſſed the *Romans*, he ſent Embaſſadours to *Carthage*, where he concluded a league: with condition, at firſt, that a great part of the Iſland ſhould be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that he ſhould reign over all *Sicil*; and the *Carthaginians* reſt ſatisfied with what they could get in *Italy*. At theſe doings *Appius Claudius* did not greatly ſtir; partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoved not the *Romans* to entertain more quarrels than were enforced upon them by neceſſity; and partly (as may ſeem) for that the reputation, both of himſelf, and of his City, had received ſuch blemiſh, by that which happened unto him in his journey, as much diſcountenanced him when he came into *Sicil*, and forbade him to look big. The money that *Hiero* had beſtowed formerly upon the *Romans*, wherewith to relieve them in their neceſſity, this *Appius* was to carry back unto him; it being refuſed by the *Roman* Senate, with greater bravery than their preſent fortune would allow. But inſtead of returning the mony with thanks, as he had been directed, and as it had been noiſed abroad that he ſhould do; the war againſt *Philip* King of *Macedon* (whereof we have ſpoken before) compelled the *Romans* to lay aſide vain-glory, and ſend word after him, that he ſhould conſign that mony over to *Marcus Valerius*; of whoſe voyage into *Greece*, the City had not otherwiſe wherewith to bear the charge. This was done accordingly, and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Family is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious oſtentation of the *Roman* magnanimity, into ſuch a pitiful tune of thanks-giving, as muſt needs have bred ſorrow and commiſeration in ſo true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were delivered after his death, matter of paſtime and ſcorn, in *Hieronymus* the new King.

But whilſt *Hieronymus* was more deſirous of war, than well reſolved how to begin it;

it; his own death changed the form of things, and bred a great innovation in the State of *Syracuſe*; which thereby might have proſpered more than ever, had it been wiſely governed. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom we ſpake before, were ſent about the Country with two thouſand men, to ſolicite the Towns, and perſwade them to ſhake off their obedience to the *Romans*. The King himſelf with an Army of fifteen thouſand horſe and foot, went to *Leontium* a City of his own Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Iſland fall to him in all haſte; and accept him for Soveraign. There the Conſpirators took him on the ſudden, as he was paſſing thorow a narrow ſtreet: and ruſhing between him and his guard, ſtruck him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed; and the ſound of that word ſo joyfully anſwered by the *Leontines*, that the guard of *Hieronimus* had little courage to revenge their *Maſters* death. Yet, for fear of the worſt, a great largeſs was promiſed unto the Souldiers, with rewards unto their Captains; which wrought ſo effectually, that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned up, the Army as in deteſtation of his bad life, ſuffered his carkaſs to lye unburied. This news ran quickly to *Syracuſe*; whither ſome of the Conſpirators, taking alſo of the Kings horſes, poſted away; to ſignifie all that had paſſed, to ſtir up the people to liberty, and to prevent *Andronodorus*, if he or his followers would make offer to uſurp a tyranny. The *Syracuſians* hereupon preſently took arms, and made themſelves Maſters of their own City. *Andronodorus* on the other ſide fortified the Palace, and the Iſland; being yet uncertain what to do: between deſire of making himſelf a ſoveraign Lord, and fear of ſuffering puniſhment as a Tyrant, if his enterpriſe miſcarried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cheriſhed him in his hopes; putting him in mind of that well-known Proverb, which *Dionyſius* had uſed; *That a Tyrant ſhould keep his place, till he were haled out of it by the heels, and not ride away from it on horſe-back.* But fear, and better counſel, prevailed ſo far, that *Andronodorus*, having ſlept upon the matter, diſſembled his affections, and deferred his hope unto better opportunity. The next day he came forth, and made a ſpeech unto the people; telling them that he was glad to ſee, how prudently they behaved themſelves in ſo great a change; that he had ſtood in fear, leſt they would not have contianed themſelves within the bounds of diſcretion; but rather have ſought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that, ſince he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to raviſh their liberty perforce, but to wed it unto them for ever; he was willingly come to them forth of his ſtrength, and ſurrendered up the charge committed unto him, by one that had been an evil Maſter both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made, and Prætors choſen (as in former times) to govern the City, of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chief. But ſuch was his deſire of Soveraignty, and ſo vehement were the inſtigations of his wife, that ſhortly he began to practiſe with *Hippocrates*, *Epicides*, and other Captains of the Mercenaries; hoping to make himſelf ſtrong by their help, that were leaſt pleaſed with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* had been with the *Syracuſian* Prætors, and told them, that being ſent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronymus*, they, according to inſtructions of their Captain, had done him, whilſt he lived, what ſervice they could; and that now they were deſirous to return home. They requeſted therefore that they might be friendly diſmiſſed, and with a convoy, that might keep them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and ſet them ſafe at *Locri*. This was eaſily granted; both for that the *Syracuſian* Magiſtrates were well contented to earn thanks of *Hannibal*, with ſuch a little courteſie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Town quickly of this troubleſome couple, which were good Souldiers, and gracious with the Army, but otherwiſe lewd men. It was not the deſire of theſe two *Sicilians*, to be gone ſo haſtily as they made ſhew; they were more mindful of the buſineſs for which *Hannibal* had ſent them. Wherefore they inſinuated themſelves into the boſomes of ſuch as were moſt likely to fill the Army with tumult, eſpecially of the *Roman* fugitives, and thoſe that had cauſe to miſtruſt what ſhould become of themſelves, when the *Romans* and *Syracuſians* were come to agreement. Such inſtruments as theſe, *Andronodorus* had great need of: as alſo of many other, to help him in his dangerous attempt. He found *Themiſtius*, that had married *Harmonia*, the Siſter of *Hieronymus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like paſſions of his own, and of his wife. But ſeeking to increaſe the number of his adherents, he revealed the matter to one, that revealed all to the reſt of the Prætors. Hereupon it followed, that he, & *Themiſtius*, entring into the Senate, were ſlain out of hand: and afterward accuſed to the people, of all the evil

which they had done, whileſt *Hieronymus* lived, as by his authority; and now ſince attempted, in ſeeking to uſurp the tyranny themſelves. It was alſo declared, that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were acceſſary to this dangerous treaſon: and that the unquiet ſpirits of theſe women would never ceaſe to work, until they had recovered thoſe royal ornaments and Soveraign power, whereof their family was now diſpoſſeſſed. Theſe daughters therefore of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were alſo condemned to dye, and executioners preſently ſent by the enraged people, to take away their lives. *Demarata* and *Harmonia* had perhaps deſerved this heavy ſentence: but *Heraclea*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Soſippus*, being altogether innocent, was murdered, together with her two young daughters, in the haſty execution of this raſh judgment. Her huſband *Soſippus* was a lover of the Common-wealth; and in that reſpect ſo hated by *Hieromymus*, that being ſent Embaſſadour to King *Ptolomy*, &c. he durſt not return home, but ſtayed in *Egypt* as a baniſhed man. This conſideration when it was too late, together with ſome pitiful accidents accompanying the ſlaughter, ſo affected the multitude, that (pardoning themſelves) all cryed out upon the Authors of ſo foul a butchery. Being thus incenſed againſt the Senate; and knowing not otherwiſe how to ſatisfie their anger, they called for an election of new Prætors, in the room of *Andronodorus* and *Themiſtius*, that were lately ſlain: meaning to ſubſtitute ſuch in their places, as the Senators ſhould have little cauſe to like. At the election were preſent a great rout, not only of the poorer Citizens, but of ſouldiers that preſſed into the throng. One of theſe named *Epicides* Prætor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the leſs that the old Prætors and Senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a general cry forced them to be accepted. Theſe being made Prætors did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, between the *Syracuſians* and the *Romans*. But having ſtriven in vain, and ſeeing that the people ſtood in fear of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus* that was lately come into *Sicil*; they gave way unto the time, and ſuffered the old league of *Hiero* to be re-confirmed, which afterward they purpoſed to diſſolve by practice. The *Leontines* had ſome need of a garriſon; and to them was ſent *Hippocrates* the Prætor, attended by ſuch fugitives, and mercenary ſouldiers, as were moſt burdenſome to *Syracuſe*. Thither when he came, he began to do many acts of hoſtility againſt the *Romans*: firſt in ſecret, afterward more openly and boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly underſtanding the purpoſe of theſe two brethren, ſent word unto the *Syracuſians*, that they had already broken the league; and that the peace would never be kept ſincerely, untill this turbulent pair of brethren were expelled the Iſland. *Epicides*, fearing to ſuſtain the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more deſirous to ſet forward the war, than to excuſe any breach of peace; went himſelf unto the *Leontines*, whom he perſwaded to rebel againſt the *Syracuſians*. For he ſaid, that ſince they had all of late ſerved one Maſter, there was little reaſon why the *Leontines* ſhould not be enfranchiſed by his death, as well as the *Syracuſians*; yea or much rather, all things conſidered; ſince in their ſtreets the Tyrant was ſlain, and liberty firſt proclaimed. Wherefore, ſince they of *Syracuſe* were not contented to enjoy the Freedom purchaſed among the *Leontines*; but thought it good reaſon, that they ſhould bear Dominion over thoſe that had broken the Chain, wherewith both the one and the other were bound: his advice was, that ſuch their arrogancy ſhould be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by preſcription. Hereunto occaſion was given by one article of the League, made of late by the *Romans* and *Syracuſians*. For it was agreed, *That all which had been ſubject to* Hiero *and* Hieronymus, *ſhould henceforth be Vaſſals unto the State of Syracuſe.* Againſt this article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their own due; *Epicides* told them, that in this novelty of change, they had fit opportunity to recover the freedom, which their fathers had loſt not many ages before. Neither was it unreaſonable, which this crafty *Carthaginian* propounded; if the *Leontines* had been ſubdued by the ſame hand, which took liberty from the *Syracuſians*. But ſeeing they had long ſince yielded unto *Syracuſe*, and been ſubject unto that City, by what form ſoever it was grounded; this claim of liberty was rather ſeaſonable, than juſt. Nevertheleſs, the motion of *Epicides* was highly approved: inſomuch that when meſſengers came ſoon after from *Syracuſe*, to rebuke the *Leontines*, for that which they had done againſt the *Romans*; and to denounce unto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, that they ſhould get them gone, either to *Locri*, or whither elſe they liſted, ſo that they ſtayed not in *Sicil*: word was returned, That they of *Leontium* had not requeſted the *Syracuſians*, to make any bargains for them with the

Romans,

Romans, nor thought themſelves bound to obſerve the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptory anſwer was forthwith reported unto *Marcellus* by the *Syracuſians*; who offered him their aſſiſtance in doing juſtice upon the *Leontines* their Rebels; with condition, That when the Town was taken, it might be theirs again. *Marcellus* required no better ſatisfaction: but forth-with took the buſineſs in hand, which he diſpatched in one day. At the firſt aſſault *Leontium* was taken, all ſave the Caſtle; whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* fled: and ſtealing thence away by night, coveighed themſelves into the Town of *Herbeſus*. The firſt thing that *Marcellus* did, when he had won the Town, was the ſame, which other *Roman* Captains uſed after victory, to ſeek out the fugitive *Roman* ſlaves and renegado's, whom he cauſed all to die: the reſt both of the Townſmen and Souldiers, he took to mercy, forbearing alſo to ſtrip or ſpoyl them. But the fame of his doings was bruited after a contrary ſort. It was ſaid, that he had ſlain Man, Woman and Child, and put the Town to ſack. Theſe news met the *Syracuſian* Army upon the way, as it was going to joyn with *Marcellus*, who had ended his buſines before. About eight thouſand Mercenaries there were, that had been ſent forth of *Syracuſe*, under *Soſis* and *Dinomines*, two of the Prætors; to ſerve againſt the *Leontines* and other rebels. Theſe Captains were honeſt men, and well affected to their Country: but the Souldiers that followed them, had thoſe diſeaſes, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They took the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow ſouldiers (as now they termed thoſe againſt whom they went) had been ſo cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny; though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The Prætors therefore thought it beſt, to turn their unquiet thoughts another way, and ſet them awork in ſome place elſe: for as much as at *Leontium* there was no need of their ſervice. So towards *Herbeſus* they marched; where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, the architects of all this miſchief, deviſing what further harm they might do; but now ſo weakly accompanied, that they ſeemed unable to eſcape the puniſhments belonging to their offences paſt. Hereof the two brethren were no leſs well aware: and therefore adventured upon a remedy little leſs deſperate than their preſent caſe. They iſſued forth of *Herbeſus* unarmed, with Olive branches in their hands, in manner of Suppliants; and ſo preſented themſelves to the Army. Six hundred men of *Crete* were in the vantguard; that had been well uſed by *Hieronymus*: and ſome of them greatly bound unto *Hannibal*, who had taken them priſoners in the *Italian* war, and lovingly diſmiſſed them. Theſe *Cretians* therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good chear, ſaying, That no man ſhould do them harm, as long as they could uſe their weapons. Herewithall the Army was at a ſtand; and the rumour of this accident ran ſwiftly from man to man, with general approbation. The Prætors thought to help the matter by ſeverity, which would not ſerve. For when they commanded theſe two traitors to be laid in Irons, the exclamation was ſo violent againſt them, that fain they were to let all alone, and return, uncertain what courſe to take, unto *Megara*, where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* deviſed a trick, whereby to help himſelf, and better the uncertain caſe wherein he ſtood. He cauſed Letters of his own penning, to be intercepted by ſome of his moſt truſty *Cretans*, directed (as they made ſhew) from the *Syracuſian* Prætors to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the ſword among the *Leontines*: but that it further behoved him, to make the like diſpatch of all the mercenaries belonging to *Syracuſe*; which were offenſive, all of them in general, to the liberty of the City, and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfeit Epiſtle was openly rehearſed, the uproar was ſuch, that *Soſis* and his fellow Prætor, were glad to forſake the Camp, and fly for their lives. All the *Syracuſians* remaining behind, had been cut in pieces by the enraged Souldiers, if the two Artificers of the ſedition had not ſaved their lives; rather to keep them as pledges, and by them, to win their friends within the Town, than for any good will. They perſwaded alſo a miſchievous knave, that had ſerved amongſt the *Leontines*, to juſtifie the bruit of *Marcellus* cruelty, and to carry home the news to *Syracuſe*, as an eye-witneſs. This incenſed not only the multitude, but ſome of the Senate; and filled the whole Town with cauſeleſs indignation. In good time (ſaid ſome) was the avarice and cruelty of the *Romans* detected: who had they in like ſort gotten into *Syracuſe*, would have dealt much worſe, where their greedy appetites might have been tempted with a far greater booty. Whilſt they were thus diſcourſing, and deviſing how to keep out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates* with his Army came to the gates,

gates, exhorting the Citizens to let him in, unleſs for want of help, they would be betrayed to their enemies. The Prætors, with the beſt and wiſeſt of the Senate, would fain have kept him out: but the violence of the ſouldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-ſtrong fury of thoſe within the Town, that laboured to break it open. So he entred, and immediately fell upon the Prætors, whom (being forſaken by all men) he put to the ſword, and made ſlaughter of them and their followers till night. The next day he went openly to work: and, after the common example of Tyrants, gave liberty unto all ſlaves and priſoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worſt and baſeſt ſort, made himſelf and his brother Prætors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of *Syracuſe*.

When *Marcellus* was advertiſed of this great alteration, he thought it no time for him to ſit ſtill, and attend the further iſſue. He ſent Embaſſadors to *Syracuſe*, that were not admitted into the Haven, but chaſed out as enemies. Then drew he near with his Army: and lodging within a mile and a half of the Town, ſent before him, ſome to require a parlee. Theſe were entertained without the walls by the two new Prætors: to whom they declared, That the *Romans* were come thither, not with purpoſe to do hurt, but in favour of the *Syracuſians*, which were oppreſſed by Tyrants; and to puniſh thoſe that had murdered and baniſhed ſo many of the principal Citizens. Wherefore they required that thoſe worthy men, their Confederates, which were chaſed out of the Town, might be ſuffered to return and enjoy their own; as alſo that the Authors of the great ſlaughter lately committed, might be delivered up. Hereto *Epicides* briefly anſwered, that if their errand had been to him, he could have told what to ſay to them: but ſince it was directed unto others, they ſhould do well to return, when thoſe to whom they were ſent, had the government in their hands. As for the War which they threatned, he told them, they ſhould find by experience, That to beſiege *Syracuſe* was another manner of work, than to take *Leontium*. Thus he ſent them gone; and returned back into the City. Immediately began the ſiege, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected, the quick and eaſie winning of *Leontium*, did put *Marcellus* in hope, that ſo long a circuit of walls as compaſſed *Syracuſe*, being manned with no better kind of Souldiers, than thoſe with whom he had lately dealt, would in ſome part or other, be taken at the firſt aſſault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terrour in the very beginning; but did his beſt both by Land and Sea. Nevertheleſs all his labour was diſappointed, and his hope of prevailing by open force, taken from him by the ill ſucceſs of two or three of the firſt aſſaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any ſtrength of the City, that bred ſuch deſpair of haſty victory. But there lived at that time in *Syracuſe Archimedes* the noble Mathematician: who at the requeſt of *Hiero* the late King, that was his kinſman, had framed ſuch engines of war, as being in this extremity put in uſe, did more miſchief to the *Romans* than could have been wrought by the Canon, or any inſtruments of Gun-powder; had they in that age been known. This *Archimedes* diſcourſing once with *Hiero*, maintained that it were poſſible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were ſome other earth, or place of ſure footing, whereon a man might ſtand. For proof of this bold aſſertion, he performed ſome ſtrange works; which made the King entreat him to convert his ſtudy unto things of uſe: that might preſerve the City from danger of enemies. To ſuch Mechanical works, *Archimedes*, and the Philoſophers of thoſe times, had little affection. They held it an injury done unto the liberal ſciences, to ſubmit learned Propoſitions, unto the workmanſhip, and gain, of baſe handy-crafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an Authour: who greatly blamed ſome Geometricians, that ſeemed unto him to prophane their ſcience, by making it vulgar. Neither muſt we raſhly taſk a man ſo wiſe as *Plato*, with the imputation of ſupercillious auſterity, or affected ſingularity in his reprehenſion. For it hath been the unhappy fate of great inventions to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreams, before they were publiſhed: and being once made known, to be undervalued; as falling within compaſs of the meaneſt wit; and things that every one could well have performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of *Columbus* his diſcovery, with the much different ſorts of neglect, which he under-went before and after it) in a familiar and moſt homely example we may ſee moſt apparent proof. He that looks upon our *Engliſh Brewers*, and their ſervants, that are daily exerciſed in the Trade; will think it ridiculous to hear one ſay, that the making of *Malt* was an invention, proceeding from ſome of an extraordinary knowledge in natural Philoſophy. Yet is not the ſkill of the inventors any whit the leſs, for that the labour of workmanſhip grows to be the trade

trade of ignorant men. The like may be said of many handy-crafts: and particularly in the Printing of Books; which being devised and bettered by great scholars and wise men, grew afterward corrupted by those, to whom the practice fell; that is, by such as could slubber things easily over, and feed their workmen at the cheapest rate. In this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all others that have, or would seem to have any secret skill, whereof the publication might do good unto mankind; are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a kind of injustice, that the long travels of an understanding brain, beside the loss of time, and other expence, should be cast away upon men of no worth; yield less benefit unto the Author of a great work, than to meer strangers; and perhaps his enemies. And surely, if the passion of Envy have in it any thing allowable and natural, as having Anger, Fear, and other like Affections: it is in some such case as this; and serveth against those, which would usurp the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied to indue them. Nevertheless, if we have regard unto common charity, and the great affection that every one ought to bear unto the generallity of mankind, after the example of him *that suffereth his Sun to shine upon the just, and unjust*: it will appear more commendable in wise men, to enlarge themselves, and to publish unto the world, those good things that lay buried in their own bosoms. This ought speciall to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it some dangerous cunning, that may be perverted by evil men to a mischievous use. For if the secret of any rare *Antidote*, contained in it the skill of giving some deadly and irrecoverable poison: much better it were, that such a Jewel remain close in the hands of a wise and honest man, than being made common, bind all men to use the remedy, by teaching the worst men how to do mischief. But the works which *Archimedes* published, were such as tended unto very commendable ends. They were Engines, serving unto the defence of *Syracuse*; not fit for the *Syracusians* to carry abroad, to the hurt and oppression of others. Neither did he altogether publish the knowledge, how to use them, but reserved so much to his own direction; that after his death more of the same kind were not made, nor those of his own making were employed by the *Romans*. It sufficed unto this worthy man, that he had approved unto the vulgar, the dignity of his Science; and done especial benefit to his Country. For to enrich a Mechanical trade, or teach the Art of murdering men, it was besides his purpose.

Marcellus had caused certain of his *Quinquereme* Gallies to be fastened together, and Towers erected on them to beat the defendants from the wall. Against these *Archimedes* had sundry devices; of which any one sort might have repelled the assailants: but all of them together shewed the multiplicity of his great wit. He shot heavy stones, and long pieces of timber, like unto the yeards of ships; which brake some of the Gallies by their force and weight. These afflicted such as lay far off. They that were come nearer the walls, lay open to a continual volly of shot, which they could not endure. Some with an Iron grapple were taken by the prow, and hoysted up, shaking out all the men, and afterwards falling down into the water. Some by strange Engines were lifted up into the Air, where turning round a while, they were broken against the walls or cast upon the rocks: and all of them were so beaten, that they durst never come to any second assault. In the like sort was the Land-Army handled. Stones and timber, falling upon it like hail, did not only over-whelm the men, but brake down the *Roman* Engines of battery; and forced *Marcellus* to give over the assault. For the remedy hereof it was conceived, that if the *Romans* could early before day get near unto the walls, they should be (as it were) under the *point-blank*, and receive no hurt by these terrible Instruments; which were woond up hard to shoot a great compass. But this vain hope cost many of the assailants lives: For the shot came down right upon them; and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great slaughter of them, all the way as they fled (for they were unable to tarry by it) even till they were gotten very far off. This did so terrifie the *Romans*, that if they perceived any piece of timber, or a ropes end, upon the wall, they ran away, crying out, That *Archimedes* his Engines were ready to discharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to overcome these difficulties, or to take away from his men, that fear, against the cause whereof he knew no remedy. If the Engines had stood upon the walls, subject to firing, or any such annoyance from without; he might have holpen it by some device, to make them unserviceable. But all, or the most of them were out of sight, being erected in the streets behind the walls; where *Archimedes* gave directions how to use them. Wherefore the *Roman* had no other way left, than to cut off from the Town all provision of victuals, both by Land and by Sea.

This

This was a very desperate piece of work. For the enemies having so goodly an Haven; the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them: were not likely so soon to be consumed with famine, as the besiegers to be wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before so strong a City, having no probability to carry it. Yet, for want of better counsel to follow, this was thought the best, and most honourable course.

In the mean while, *Himilco*, Admiral of a *Carthaginian* Fleet, that had waited long about *Sicil*, being by *Hippocrates* advertised of these passages, went home to *Carthage*, and there so dealt with the Senate, that five and twenty thousand Foot, three thousand Horses and twelve Elephants, were committed unto his charge, wherewith to make war upon the *Romans* in *Sicil* by Land. He took many Towns; and many that had anciently belonged unto the *Carthaginians* did yield unto him. To remedy this mischief and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, began to turn unto the *Carthaginians*, *Marcellus* with a great part of his Army, rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place to place about the Island. He took *Felorus* and *Herbesus*, which yielded unto him. He took also *Megara* by force and sackt it: either to terrifie others that were obstinate, especially the *Syracusians*, or else because *Rome* was at this time poor, and his Army must have somewhat to keep it in heart. His especial desire was to have saved *Agrigentum*: whither he came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned back toward *Syracuse*; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for fear of the *Carthaginian* that was too strong for him. The circumspection that he used, in regard of *Himilco*, stood him in good stead against a danger that he had nor mistrusted. For *Hippocrates*, leaving the charge of *Syracuse* unto his brother, had lately issued out of the City, with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, intending to joyn his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell upon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an easie victory against the dispersed and half unarmed *Syracusians*. The reputation hereof helped a little to keep the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, joyning with *Hippocrates*, ran over all the Island at his pleasure, and presented battail to *Marcellus*, even at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wisely refused it. *Bomilcar* also a *Carthaginian*, entred with a great fleet into the Haven of *Syracuse*, and victualled the City. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed so again, that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which escaped from *Himilco*, and safely arrived at *Marcellus* his Camp: yet many places revolted unto the *Carthaginians*, and slew or betrayed the *Roman* Garrisons.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and *Marcellus*, leaving some of his Army before *Syracuse*, that he might not seem to have given over the siege, went unto *Leontium*, where he lay intentive to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious work of besieging *Syracuse*, or to turn all his forces to *Agrigentum*, against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly have impaired his reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuse*: as unable to prevail; and he himself was of an eager disposition, ever unwilling to give ground, or to quit, as not feisible, an enterprise that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to *Syracuse*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no likelihood to take the City by force or famine; yet was he not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfull his desire. Especially he assayed to prevail by treason; against which no place can hold out. And to this end he dealt with the *Syracusian* Gentlemen that were in his Camp [illegible]rting them to practice with their friend[illegible] remained in the City. This was not easi[illegible]r them to do, because the Town would hearken to no parlee. At length a slave unto one of these banished men, making shew to run away from his Master, got into *Syracuse*; where he talked in private with some few, as he had been instructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to have intelligence within the City; whence the Conspirators used to send him advertisement of their proceedings, by a fisher-boat that passed forth in the night: but when they were grown to the number of fourscore, and thought themselves able to effect somewhat of importance, all was discovered; and they like Traitors put to death. In the mean while, one *Damasippus* a *Lacedæmonian*, that had been sent out of the Town as an Embassador to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicides* was very desirous to ransome him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpose, not far from the walls. There, one of the *Romans* looking upon the wall, and wanting the more compendious Art of Geometry, fell to numbring

numbring the ſtones: and making an eſtimate of the height, judged it leſs than it had been formerly deemed. Herewith he acquainted *Marcellus*: who cauſing better notice to be taken of the place; and finding that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it, made all things ready, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakeſt part of the Town, and therefore the moſt ſtrongly guarded: neither was there hope to prevail by force againſt *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by ſurpriſe. But a fugitive out of the Town brought word, that a great feaſt was to be held unto *Diana*, which was to laſt three dayes: and that, becauſe other good chear was not ſo plentiful within the City, as in former times, *Epicides*, to gratifie the people, had made the more large diſtribution of wine. A better opportunity could not be wiſhed. Wherefore *Marcellus* in the dead of the Feſtival night, came unto the walls, which he took by *Scalado*. *Syracuſe* was divided into four parts (or five, if *Epipolæ* were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as diſtinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten ſome pieces, he had the commodity of a better and ſafe longing, with good ſtore of booty; and better opportunity than before, to deal with the reſt. For there were now a great many, as well of thoſe in *Acradinia* and the Iſland, inner parts of the Town, as of thoſe that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that began to hearken unto compoſition, as being much terrified by the loſs of thoſe parts, which the *Romans* had taken and ſackt. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harm, or none they did, unto thoſe that were ſheltred under ſtrong houſes: although it may ſeem, that the inner walls were not altogether unfurniſhed of his help; ſince they held out a good while, and were not taken by force. The *Roman* fugitives and Renegadoes, were more careful than ever to defend the reſt of the City: being ſure to be rewarded with cruel death, if *Marcellus* could prevail. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were daily expected; and *Bomilcar* was ſent away to *Carthage*, to bring help from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* came: who fell upon the old Camp of the *Romans*, whilſt *Epicides* ſallied out of *Acradinia* upon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made ſuch defence in each part, that the Aſſailants were repelled. Nevertheleſs they continued to beſet *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as ſtraightly beſieged, as he himſelf did beſiege the Town. But the peſtilence at length conſumed, together with the two Captains, a great part of the Army, and cauſed the reſt to diſlodge. The *Romans* were (though ſomewhat leſs) afflicted with the ſame peſtilence, inſomuch that *Bomilcar* did put the City of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were ſent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted no deſire to do his Country ſervice: but his courage was not anſwerable to his good will. He arrived at *Pachinus* with a ſtrong fleet: where he ſtayed; being loth to double the Cape; for that the winds did better ſerve the enemy than him. Thither ſailed *Epicides* out of *Syracuſe*: to acquaint him with the neceſſities of the City; and to draw him on. With much intreaty, at length he came forward: but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was ready for him, he ſtood off into the deep; and ſailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicil* farewell. Then durſt not *Epicides* return into *Syracuſe*, but went to *Agrigentum*: where he expected the iſſue; with a very faint hope of hearing any good news.

The *Sicilian* Souldiers that remained alive of *Hippocrates* his Army, lay as near as they could ſafely, unto *Marcellus*, and ſome of them, in a ſtrong Town three miles off. Theſe had done what good they could to *Syracuſe*, by doing what hurt they could unto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the State of *Sicil* was given as deſperate by the *Carthaginians*: they ſent Embaſſadours to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themſelves, and for the Town. Hereunto *Marcellus* willingly gave ear: for he had ſtayed there long enough; and had cauſe to fear, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither ſtrong again. He therefore agreed both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; that they ſhould be Maſters of their own, enjoying their liberty and proper laws; yet ſuffering the *Romans* to poſſeſs whatſoever had belonged unto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epicides* had left his charge, were put to death, new Prætors choſen; and the gates even ready to be opened unto *Marcellus*: when ſuddenly the *Roman* fugitives diſturbed all. Theſe perceiving their own condition to be deſperate, perſwading the other Mercenary Souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained only for themſelves, and betrayed the Army to the *Romans*. Wherefore they preſently took Arms, and fell upon the new choſen Prætors; whom they ſlew, and made election of ſix Captains that ſhould command over all. But ſhortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the Souldiers; excepting only the fugitives. The Treaty was therefore again ſet on foot, and wanted

little of concluſion: which yet was delayed; either by ſome fear of the Citizens, that had ſeen (as they thought) proof of the *Roman* avarice in the ſack of *Epipolæ Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, the parts already taken; or by ſome deſire of *Marcellus* to get the Town by force, that he might uſe the liberty of a Conqueror, and make it wholly ſubject to *Rome*. *Mericus* a *Spaniard* was one of the ſix Captains that had been choſen in the laſt commotion: a man of ſuch faith, as uſualy is found in Mercenaries; holding his own particular benefit above all other reſpects. With this Captain, *Marcellus* dealt ſecretly: having a fit inſtrument, of the ſame Nation, one *Belligenes*, that went in company with the *Roman* Embaſſadors, daily paſſing to and fro. This craſty Agent perſwaded *Mericus*, That the *Romans* had already gotten all *Spain*: and that if ever he purpoſed to make his own fortune good, either at home in *Spain*, or any where elſe; it was now the only time to do it; by conforming himſelf to the will of the *Roman* General. By ſuch hopes the *Spaniſh* Captain was eaſily won, and ſent forth his own brother among the *Syracuſian* Embaſſadours to ratifie the covenant with *Marcellus*.

This under-hand dealing of *Marcellus* againſt the *Syracuſians*, cannot well be commended as honeſt: neither was it afterwards throughly approved at his coming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had been ſuch, as deſerved not to be requited with the ruine of his Country: much leſs, that the miſeries of his people, oppreſſed (though partly through their own folly) by an Army of Mercenaries, ſhould miniſter unto the people of *Rome*, advantage againſt them. The poor Citizens could not make good their prrts againſt the hired Souldiers; and therefore were fain to yield unto the time, and obey thoſe Miniſters of *Hannibal*, that ruled the Army. But as long as they were free after the death *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicides*: it had been their chief care to maintain amity with the people of *Rome*. They had lately ſlain many the principal of *Epicides* his followers; and many of themſelves had alſo been ſlain, both lately and in former times, becauſe of this their deſire unto the peace. What though it were true, that the Raſcality, and ſome ill adviſed perſons; joyned with the ſouldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occaſion of the ſlaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterward beheld in thoſe parts of their own City which was taken? Ought therefore the Roman General, in a treaty of peace held with the *Syracuſians*, to make a bargain under-hand againſt them, with a Captain of the Mercenaries? Theſe things were objected againſt *Marcellus*, at his return home: but the Senators thought it a great deal better, to comfort the *Syracuſians* with gentle words, and promiſe of good uſage in time to come; than to reſtore the booty, and give over the Dominion of a City, ſo great, wealthy, ſtrong, and many wayes important. Nevertheleſs if we conſider the many inconvenienes and great miſchiefs whereunto *Syracuſe* was obnoxious; both by evil neighbours, and by that very form of policy, after which it was governed we may truly affirm, that it received no ſmall benefit, by becoming ſubject unto *Rome*. For thereby it was not only aſſured againſt all forraign enemies, domeſtical conſpiracies, and ſuch Tyrants as of old had reigned therein: but freed from the neceſſity of baniſhing, or murdering, the moſt worthy Citizens; as alſo from all factions, inteſtine ſeditions, and a thouſand the like miſeries, that were wont to grow out of the jealouſie, wherein they held their liberty in vain. Neither enjoyed that City, from her firſt foundotion, any ſuch long time of happineſs, as that wherein it flowriſhed, when it reſted ſecure under the protection of *Rome*; and was no more moleſted, by the diſeaſe of ambition; wherewith by *Marcellus* his victory it was throughly cured. But ſuch benefit, ariſing from wrongs done, ſerves not to make injuſtice the more excuſable: unleſs we ſhould approve the anſwer of that thief, who being found to have ſtollen a ſilver cup from ſick man, ſaid, *He never leaves drinking*.

By the reaſon of *Marcius*, the *Roman* Army was let into poſſeſſion of all *Syracuſe*: wherein, the booty that it found, was ſaid to have been no leſs, than could be hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it ſelf; that maintained war by Land and Sea againſt them. All the goodly works and Imageries, wherewith *Syracuſe* was marvellouſly adorned, were carried away to *Rome*; and nothing left untouched; ſave only the houſes of thoſe baniſhed men, that had eſcaped from *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, into the *Roman* Camp. Among other pitiful accidents; the death of *Archimedes* was greatly lamented, even by *Marcellus* himſelf. He was ſo buſie about his Geometry, in drawing figures, that he hearkened not to the noiſe, and uproar in the City; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* took heavily the death of him; and cauſed his body to be hourourably buried. Upon

on his Tomb (as he had ordained in his life-time) was placed a *Cylinder* and a *Sphere*, with an inſcription of the proportion between them; which he firſt found out. An invention of ſo little uſe, as this may ſeem, pleaſed that great Artiſt better, than the deviſing of all thoſe Engines, that made him ſo famous. Such difference is in the judgement of learned men, and of the vulgar ſort. For many an one would think the money loſt, that had been ſpent upon a Son, whoſe ſtudies in the Univerſity had brought forth ſuch fruit, as the proportion between a *Sphere* and a *Cylinder*.

After the taking of *Syracuſe*, all the Towns in *Sicil* yielded unto the *Romans*, except *Agrigentum* and a few places thereabout. At *Agrigentum* lay *Epicides* with one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines* an *African*, that was lately ſent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines* by many good pieces of ſervice, had added ſome credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* ſide; and withall made his own name great. By his perſwaſions, *Hanno* and *Epicides* adventured to meet *Marcellus* without the Town, and not behave themſelves as men expecting to be beſieged. Neither was he more valiant in counſel, than in execution. Once and again he ſet upon the *Romans*, where they lay encamped, and drove them fearfully into their Trenches. This bred envy in *Epicides* and *Hanno*; eſpecially in *Hanno*, that having been lately ſent from *Carthage*, with commiſſion and authority from the State, thought himſelf wronged greatly by *Hannibal*; in that he had ſent unto him this *Mutines*, to be his companion, and to take upon him, like as good a man as himſelf. The indignity ſeemed the greater, when *Mutines* being to ſtep aſide into *Heraclea*, for the pacifying ſome troubles there among the *Numidians*; adviſed (as directing *Hanno* and *Epicides*) not to meddle with the enemy, until his return. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight; and offered battel unto *Marcellus*, before he ſought it. It is like, that a great part of the *Roman* Army was left behind in *Syracuſe*, as need required; which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deal with thoſe that came againſt them. But whatſoever diſproportion was between the two Armies; far greater were the odds between the Captains. For howſoever the people of *Carthage* would give authority by favour; yet could they not give worth and ability, in matter of war. The *Numidians*, having before conceived ſome diſpleaſure againſt their Captains; and being therefore ſome of them gone away to *Heraclea*, were much more offended, when they ſaw that the vain-glorious envy of *Hanno* carried him unto the fight, upon a fooliſh deſire to get victory, without the help of *Mutines* their Country-man. Wherefore they ſent unto the *Roman* General, and bade him be confident; for that it was not their purpoſe to ſhew themſelves his enemies that day, but only look on, and ſee the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten by whom they had been miſuſed. They made good their promiſe, and had their deſire. For *Marcellus*, finding likelihood of truth in their meſſage, did ſo luſtily ſet upon the enemies, that he brake them at the firſt charge; and with the ſlaughter of many thouſands, drove them back into *Agrigentum*.

If *Hanno* could have been contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of War than himſelf, and not to have hazarded a battel without need; the *Romans* would ſhortly have been reduced into terms of great difficulty in their *Sicilian* War. For *Marcellus* was ſhortly after to leave the Province; and ſoon upon his departure, there landed in the Iſland a ſupply of eight thouſand foot, and three thouſand *Numidian* horſe, that were ſent from *Carthage*. The fame of this new Army drew many of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* Army conſiſting (for the moſt part) of the Legions of *Cannæ*, took it very hainouſly, that no good ſervice done, could bring them into the favour of the Senate; but that, as baniſhed men, they were ſent far from home, and not ſuffered to return back to *Rome* with their General. *Mutines* had pacified his Countrey-men the *Numidians*, and like an honeſt man, did what he could for thoſe whom he ſerved, without contending againſt the fooliſh pride of *Hanno*; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might have been, if the Army lately overthrown had been entire. *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Prætor, uſed all diligence, both to pacifie his own men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. He recovered thoſe Inland towns that had rebelled: and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from over-running all the Country; yet he hindred the Country from revolting unto *Mutines*. Above three-ſcore Towns, great and ſmall, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*: of which *Agrigentum* was the principal, and far bigger than any of the reſt. Thence iſſued *Mutines* as often as he pleaſed, in deſpight of the *Romans*: not only to the ſuccour of his own adherents, but to the great waſte of thoſe that followed the contrary part. But *Hanno*, inſtead of being pleaſed with all theſe good ſervices, was filled more and more with en-

vy, against the man that performed them. He had (belike) received instruction from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*, not to suffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to have a share in the honour of these *Sicilian* Wars: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whilst *Italy* was neglected, that should have been regarded more than all the rest. Wherefore to shew his authority, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint unto him an Assistant, or Director: He took away from *Mutines* his charge, and gave it to his own Son; thinking thereby to discountenance the man, and make him little esteemed, as one out of Office, among the *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrary: and this spightful dealing occasioned the loss of whatsoever the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*. For the *Numidians* were so incensed by the indignity offered unto their Country-man, being such a brave Commander, that they offered him their service to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth absolutely at his own disposition. *M. Valerius Lævinus*, the *Roman* Consul, was newly come into the Province, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brook these indignities; but being neither a *Carthaginian*, nor favoured by those that bore all the sway in *Carthage*: He thought it the wisest way, to play the best of his own game, and forsake that City, which was likely to perish by the evil counsel that governed it. He did not therefore, as his Country-men had lately done, content himself to see his Adversaries reap the bitter fruits of his own malicious over-weening: and to suffer that harm, in doing whereof he would not bear a part; but conspired against them to deliver up *Agrigentum*, and to help to expel them utterly out of *Sicil*. The Consul was glad of his friendship; and carefully followed his advertisements. Neither was there much cunning needful, to the performance of that which *Mutines* had undertaken: For he with his *Numidians* did forcibly seize upon a gate; whereat they let in some *Roman* Companies, that lay near in a readiness for the purpose. *Hanno*, when first he heard the noise, thought it had been no worse matter, than some such tumult of the *Numidians*, as he had been well acquainted with of late. But when, making haste to pacifie the trouble, he saw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed, among those discontented followers of *Mutines*, forthwith he betook himself to flight: and saving himself, with *Epicides*, in a small Bark, set sail for *Africk*; leaving all his Army and Adherents in *Sicil*, to the mercy of the *Romans*, that henceforward continued Masters of the whole Island.

Lævinus the Consul having taken *Agrigentum*, did sharp execution of justice upon all the Citizens. The principal of them he scourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans*: all the rest of them he sold for slaves, and confiscated their goods; sending home to *Rome* the mony that was raised of the booty. This was indeed a time, wherein *Rome* stood in no less necessity of gold, than of steel: which may have been the reason, why *Lævinus* dealt so cruelly with the *Agrigentines*. Nevertheless, the fame of such severity bred a terror among all the Dependants of the *Carthaginians*, so that in great haste they sought to make their peace. About forty Towns yielded themselves quickly unto the *Romans*; twenty were delivered up by Treason; and six only stayed to be wonn by force. These things done, *Lævinus* returned home to *Rome*; carrying with him about four thousand men from *Agatirna*; that were a company of out-laws, bankrouts, and banished men accustomed to live by spoil of others in these troublesome times. He bestowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they might exercise their own occupation against the *Brutians*; a thievish kind of people, that were enemies unto those of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where he lived in good accompt; accompanying the two *Scipio's* in their journey against *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is said) very especial service. So by this enterprise of *Sicil*, the *Carthaginians* wasted much of their forces, that with greater profit might have been employed in *Italy*: leaving yet unto the *Romans*, in the end of this war, the entire possession of this Island; which they wanted when it began.

§. XVI.

How the War passed between the Romans *and* Hannibal *in* Italy, *from the taking of* Capua *to the great victory of* Metaurus.

SHortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome*: where for his good services done in the Island of *Sicil*, he had granted unto him the honour of the lesser Triumph, which was called *Ovation*. The greater Triumph was denyed him: because he had not finished the war, but was fain to leave his Army behind him in the Province. He stayed not long in *Rome*, before he was again chosen Consul together with *M. Valerius Lævinus*, who succeeded

ceeded him in the Government of *Sicil*, and was, at the time of his election, making war against King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great Complaint was made against the Consul *Marcellus*, by the *Syracusians*, for that which he had done unto them: they alledging their great friendship to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their City did never willingly break the alliance; excepting when it was oppressed by such Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to *Rome*, than to all good men that lived in *Syracuse*. The Consul, on the other side; reckoned the labours & dangers whereunto they had put him: willing them to bemoan themselves to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their necessity; and not unto the *Romans*, whom they had kept out. Thus each part having some good matter to alledge, the Senate made such an end of the controversie, as best agreed with the benefit of their own Common-wealth: blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not restoring the booty that he had taken, nor making the *Syracusians* free from their subjection, but comforting them with gentle words, and hopeful promises, as hath been shewed before. The two new Consuls *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, were appointed to make war, as their lots should fall out; the one in *Italy*, the other in *Sicil*. The Isle of *Sicil* fell unto *Marcellus*; which Province he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the *Syracusians* (whose cause had not as yet been heard in the Senate) might not seem hindred by fear, from uttering their grievances freely. Afterwards, when his business with them was dispatcht, he gently undertook the patronage of them: which remained long in his Family, to the great benefit of their Country in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Consul, was sent into *Sicil*, whose doings there have been already rehearsed: but *Marcellus* was employed against *Hannibal*.

Before the Consuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with pressing of Souldiers to the war, and most of all, with getting Mariners for their Navy. They were all of the poorer sort, that used to be employed in Sea-services, especially in rowing. These could not live without present wages: neither was there mony enough in the Treasury to give them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they should be set out at the expence of private men; who in this necessity of the State, were driven to sustain all publick charges. Hereat the people murmured, and were ready to fall into sedition; had not the Consuls deferred the matter unto further consideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or do, in a case of such extremity. For manifest it was, that the multitude had already indured so much, as well it could undergo; and somewhat more, than could with honesty have been imposed upon it. Nevertheless it was impossible to maintain the war against the *Carthaginians*; or to keep the *Macedonian* out of *Italy* without a strong fleet. Wherefore, some were of opinion; That since the common Treasure was so empty, the people must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden upon them. At last the Consuls began to say, That no perswasions would be so effectual with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Consuls, like it was that the people also would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, that every one of them should bring forth, and put into the Treasury, all the mony that he had; and that no Senator should keep any vessel of gold, or plate whatsoever; excepting one Salt-seller, and a Bowl wherewith to make their offerings unto the gods; as also a Ring for himself, with such other tokens of ingenuity for his wife and children, as every one did use, and those of as small value as might be. This advice of the Consuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded, and hastily followed by the Gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the Commonalty refuse to do that, which their betters had openly done before them. For since the publick necessity could no otherwise be holpen; every one was contented, that his private estate should run the same fortune with the Common-wealth, which if it suffered wrack, in vain could any particular man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper substance. This magnanimity deserved well that greatness of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Convenient order being thus taken for an Army and Fleet: *Marcellus* went forth of the City against *Hannibal*; and *Lævinus* toward *Sicil*. The Army of *Hannibal* was greatly diminished, by long and hard service: neither did his *Carthaginians* seem to remember him, and think upon sending the promised supply, or any such proportion as he needed. His credit also among his *Italian* friends, was much wakened, by the loss of *Capua*: which gave them cause to look unto themselves; as if in his help there were little trust to be reposed, when they should stand in need. This he well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he must thrust Garrisons into

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to all the Towns that he ſuſpected, and thereby ſo diminiſh his Army, that he ſhould not be able to keep the field; or elſe he muſt leave them to their own fidelity, which now began to waver. At length his jealouſie grew ſo outragious, that he ſacked and waſted thoſe places that he was unable to defend: thinking that the beſt way to enrich himſelf; and make unprofitable to his enemies, the purchaſe from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him: and ſome of thoſe, whom before he had leaſt cauſe to doubt. The Town of *Salapia* yielded unto *Marcellus*; and betrayed unto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horſe, the beſt of all that ſerved under *Hannibal*; which was a greater loſs, than the Town it ſelf. *Blaſius* the author of this rebellion, could not bring his deſire to effect; without getting the conſent of one *Daſius*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Daſius* in private, and was by him accuſed unto *Hannibal*. But when he was convented and charged of Treaſon, he ſo ſtoutly denyed it, and by way of recrimination, ſo vehemently preſſed his accuſer with the ſame fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter deviſed out of meer malice; knowing wel what enemies they were; and ſeeing that neither of them could bring any proof of what he affirmed. This notwithſtanding, *Blaſius* did not ceaſe to preſs his adverſary anew, and urge him from time to time, with ſuch lively reaſon; that he who could not be believed by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to win the favour of *Marcellus*. Preſently after this, the Conſul took by force, *Maronæa* and *Meles*, Towns of the *Samnites*; wherein he ſlew above three thouſand of *Hannibal* his men.

Hannibal could not look to all at once; but was fain to catch advantages, where he might get them; the *Romans* now being grown ſtronger in the field than he. The beſt was, that his *Carthaginians*, having wearied themſelves with ill ſpeed in many petty enterpriſes, and laid aſide all this while the care of *Italy*, to follow buſineſs of far leſs importance; had now at length reſolved, to ſend preſently the great ſupply, that had been ſo long promiſed and expected. This, if they had done in better ſeaſon; *Rome* it ſelf might have been ſtrucken down, the next year after that great blow received at *Cannæ*. But ſince that which is paſt cannot be amended; *Hannibal* muſt force himſelf to make a good countenance; and tell his followers; that this mighty ſuccour would come time enough. For *Maſaniſſa* was at *Carthage* with five thouſand *Numidians*, ready to ſet ſail for *Spain*; whither, when he came, it was appointed that *Aſdrubal* ſhould forthwith take his journey into *Italy*, of which there had been ſo much talk. Theſe news did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than terrifie the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their beſt; and the *Romans*, to prevent the threatning miſchief, and win as much as they could upon *Hannibal*, before the coming of his Brother; *Hannibal*, on the contrary, to hold his own, and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* Prætor, lay near unto *Herdonea*, to get the Town by practice. It was not long ſince, near unto the ſame place, another *Cn. Fulvius* had loſt his Army. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward; and came to *Herdonea* ere *Fulvius* heard news of his approach. As ſoon as he came, he offered battel to the *Roman* Prætor; who accepted it with more haſte than good ſpeed. The *Roman* Legions made good reſiſtance a while, till they were compaſſed round with the *Carthaginian* horſe. Then fell they to rout, and great ſlaughter was made of them. *Fulvius* himſelf, with twelve *Tribunes* or *Coronels*, were loſt: of the common Souldiers, that were ſlain, the number is uncertain; ſome reporting ſeven, others thirteen thouſand. The Town of *Herdonea*, becauſe it was at point to have yielded unto *Fulvius*, *Hannibal* did ſet on fire: and putting thoſe to death that had practiſed with the Enemy, carried away the multitude; whom he beſtowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The Conſul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote unto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of good chear; for that he would ſhortly abate the enemies pride. He followed the *Carthaginian* apace; and overtaking him at *Numiſtro* in the Countrey of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battel: which beginning at nine of the clock in the morning, laſted until night, and ended, by reaſon of the darkneſs, with uncertain victory. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venuſia* they met, and had many ſkirmiſhes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* removed often; and ſought to bring the enemy within danger of ſome ambuſh. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battel, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light, and upon fair ground.

Thus paſſed the time away, until *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were choſen Conſuls. *Fabius* conſidering how much the *Roman* affairs were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purpoſed

purpoſed that year to beſiege *Tarantum*: which if he could win; like it was, that ſcarce one good City would afterwards remain true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus*, (to whom was continued them command of thoſe Legions that ſerved under him the year before) to preſs the *Carthaginian* ſo hard, as he might have no leiſure to help *Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no *Roman* fitter than himſelf, to deal with *Hannibal* in open field. He followed him therefore to *Cannuſium*, and thence from place to place: deſiring ever to come to battail, but upon equal terms. The *Carthaginian* had not mind to hazzard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertain his enemy with ſkirmiſh; as being deſirous to keep his Army ſtrong until the coming of *Aſdrubal*. Yet could he not avoid the importunity of *Marcellus*, nor brook the indignity of being daily braved. He therefore bade his men to be luſty, and to beat ſoundly this hot-ſpirited *Roman* Captain, that would never ſuffer them to be at quiet; until they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him blood. Hereupon followed a battail; wherein *Hannibal* had the victory; took ſix Enſigns; and ſlew of the *Romans* almoſt three thouſand, among which were ſome of mark. *Marcellus* was ſo impatient of his diſhonour, that he rated his men, as Peſants, and baſe cowards: telling them, that they were the firſt of the *Roman* Legions; which had been beaten by *Hannibal*, by plain force and manhood, without being circumvented by any ſtratagem. with theſe and many other the like words, which they were aſhamed to hear, he did ſo vex them; that thinking themſelves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than ſuch diſpleaſure of their General; they beſought him to pardon them, and lead them forth once again to fight. He did ſo: and placing thoſe Companies formoſt, that had loſt their Enſigns the day before, bade them be careful to win a victory; whereof the news might be at *Rome*, before the report of their ſhameful overthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to ſee that nothing could make this Enemy quite: and therefore was ready to fight again; ſince all other motives, continued the ſame, and his men had been heartned by the late victory. But the *Romans* were ſtirred up with deſire of revenge, and of repairing their honour loſt, which affections gave a ſharp edge unto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were grown dull, and weary by ſeeing themſelves diſappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithſtanding their late victory, as ready to moleſt them as before. In this ſecond battail *Marcellus* got the victory: which he purchaſed at ſo dear a rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cauſe to vaunt, the ſecond night. For if eight thouſand of the *Carthagians* were ſlain, and three thouſand of the *Roman* ſide, in this next battail, the difference was no greater, than even to recompence the late received overthrow: eſpecially ſince the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was ſo great, as diſabled *Marcellus* from purſuing *Hannibal*; who diſlodged by night. Nevertheleſs it ſufficed, that *Fabius* the Conſul hereby got leiſure, to follow his buſineſs at *Tarentum* without any diſturbance. *Q. Fulvius* the other Conſul about the ſame time, took in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*, and *Volcentes*, that willingly yielded themſelves, and betrayed the Garriſons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Towns: whom *Fulvius* entertained in loving ſort; gently rebuking them for their errours paſt, without puniſhing thoſe that had been authors, or buſide doers in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* thieves, which *Lævinus* had lately brought from *Agaterna*, was then alſo ſet on work to beſiege *Caulonia*, a Town of the *Brutians*: and nothing was omitted, that might ſerve to divert *Hannibal*, from the ſuccour of *Tarentum*.

Q. Fabius the Conſul, having taken *Manduria* a Town of the *Salentines*, ſate down before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that ſeemed needfull to carry it either by aſſault or long ſiege. Of the Garriſons in the Town, a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, under a Captain of their own Nation. This Captain fell in love with a *Tarentine* wench; whoſe brother ſerved under *Fabius*. Hereof ſhe gave notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* ſide; by telling him how rich, and of what great account her lover was. But her brother made the Conſul acquainted with theſe news: and ſaid, that if the *Brutian* were far in love, he might perhaps be won, by intreaty of his Miſtris, to do what ſhe would have him. The Conſul hearing this, and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his ſouldier to convey himſelf into the Town as a fugitive, and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his deſire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captain: and partly by his own perſwaſions, partly by the flattering intreaty of his ſiſter; wan him to betray the Town to the *Romans*. When they had agreed upon the buſineſs, and

and resolved how to order it; the same Souldier got out of the Town by night, and acquainted the Consul with his proceedings: telling him in which part that *Brutian* kept watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gave an alarm to the City; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Captains in the Town, prepared to make resistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himself with the choice of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captain, helped the *Romans* to get up, and break open the next gate, whereat the Army was let in. The *Tarentines* and *Carthaginian* Souldiers, made head against *Fabius* in the Market place: but (as hapneth in like cases, where the main confidence is already taken away) not very obstinately. *Nico*, *Democrates* and *Philomenes*, with those that before had let in *Hannibal*, used now the last of their courage in dying against the *Romans*. *Carthalo*, who commanded the Garrison within the Town, offered himself prisoner: hoping to be well used, because of his hospitality that had passed between his Father and the Consul. But he was slain by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the sword, in such sort, that they spared few of the *Brutians*. This slaughter of the *Brutian*, was thought to have been made by appointment of the Consul, to the end that he might seem to have won the Town by force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preserved his reputation of faithful dealing, and keeping his word. The booty found in *Tarentum* was very great: wherefore the *Roman* Treasury, whither it was carried, had great need. As for the Imageries, and other curiosities that were in the City, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and being told of some Idols that seemed worthy to be carried away, being very goodly pieces, in such habit and positure as if they were fighting: he said, Let us leave unto the *Tarentines* their angry gods.

Hannibal being gotten clear from *Marcellus*, fell upon those that besieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his coming: but he was so near, that they were fain to betake them to a hill, which served to no other purpose, than to bear off the first burnt. There they defended themselves a little while, and then they yielded. When this business was done, he hasted away to relieve *Tarentum*. But when he came within five miles of the City, he had news that it was lost, This grieved him: yet he said no more than this, *The* Romans *have also their* Hannibal; we have lost *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seem to turn back amazed, or in any fear of the victorious Consul; he incamped a few dayes together, so near as he was unto *Tarentum*: and thence departed to *Metapontum*, bethought himself how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chief of the *Metapontines* to write unto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgive them all offences past. These letters were sent by two young men of the same City; who did their errand so well, that the Consul wrote back by them unto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure made ready his ambushes for the wary *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the plot were given; or whether indeed (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious *Roman*; the journy to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were employed again: but being apprehended, and threatned with torture, they discovered all.

This year was happy to the *Romans*, in all their wars: for they got every where, save only at *Caulonia*; where they had lost a company of such lewd fellows, that it may seem good fortune, to have been so rid of them. But their common poverty, and disability to maintain their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italy*: of which, twelve refused to contribute any longer to the Wars. For it was considered; that the Legions of *Cannæ*, and those unhappy Companies that had been beaten under the one and the other *Cn. Fulvius*, were transported into *Sicil*; where they lived, in a sort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon up the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten years together they had been exhausted with levies of men, and impositions of money: in every of which years they had received some notable overthrow. In this case the least that they could fear; or rather the best that they could hope; was to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently send home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes, those that had escaped. It was there-

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fore likely to come to paſs within a while, that they ſhould be all conſumed: ſince new ſouldiers were daily preſſed forth of their Towns; and the old ones never returned. Such talk was frequent among thoſe of the Colonies: eſpecially where they that were tranſported into *Sicil*, had moſt compaſſionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Towns, to the number of twelve, That they ſhould boldly deny unto the *Romans* their farther help. This was thought the likelieſt way to obtain peace: whereof otherwiſe they ſaw little hope, as long as *Hannibal* lived. When the Conſuls heard the Embaſſadors of theſe Towns make ſuch declaration, and proteſt their diſability of giving any further help; they were much amazed. They willed the Embaſſadors to return home, and bring a better anſwer, foraſmuch as this was none other than treaſon: they bade them to conſider, that the people were not *Campans* or *Tarentines*, but the off-ſpring of the *Romans*; and no leſs partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-City. But all would not ſerve, the Embaſſadors continuing to proteſt, that they had already done what they could; and that they had remaining, neither men, nor mony. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other eighteen Colonies, did not imitate theſe twelve; but ſhewed themſelves willing to undergo whatſoever ſhould be laid upon them, without ſhrinking under the burden. This their offer was ſo highly pleaſing to the Conſuls; that the Embaſſadours of thoſe faithful Colonies, were brought unto the Senate, and produced into the Aſſembly of the people: where, with commemoration of all their former good ſervices, this their preſent love unto the State was magnified, and thanks accordingly beſtowed upon them; with promiſe, that it ſhould not be forgotten. As for the Embaſſadours of thoſe twelve Colonies, that refuſed to contribute; it was thought beſt, neither to detain them in the City, nor yet to diſmiſs them, nor take any notice of them at all; but leave them to their own conſideration of their ill deſerving.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of theſe twelve people would have wrought in thoſe that were ſo willing to help the State, if *Aſdrubal* had been then coming into *Italy*. For then muſt the *Romans* have betaken themſelves wholly to their own defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their ſubjects, they employed their forces in the conqueſt of *Italy*, with hopeful and fortunate ſucceſs. Nevertheleſs, they were fain to open their moſt privy treaſury; and thence take out the gold that had been laid up to ſerve them in caſes of greateſt extremity. Of the mony thus extracted, one quarter was delivered to *Fabius* the Conſul, to ſet him well out againſt the *Tarentines*; all the reſt was ſent into *Spain* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Army; and to provide that *Aſdrubal* might not paſs from thence into *Italy*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not ſpend all his mony; finding ſuch eaſie ſucceſs at *Tarentum*, as was ſhewed before. But to ſtop the journey of *Aſdrubal*; neither the mony ſent into *Spain*, nor any victories won by *Scipio* could ſuffice. Nevertheleſs, it fell out happily for the people of *Rome*, that this year, and the next were ſpent, before his coming; and they better prepared, than at leſs warning they could have been, to entertain him. Here it were not amiſs to note, that ſince the *Romans*, being in ſo great a neceſſity of mony, were driven to furniſh the Army in *Spain*, with the greateſt part of all their ſtock that was left: it muſt needs be, that either the booty taken in new *Carthage*, was far leſs than fame had reported it; or elſe that *Scipio* had not as yet won it: howſoever *Livie* rather inclines to thoſe, who ſay that he got it ſoon after his arrival.

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *T. Quintus Criſpinus*, were choſen Conſuls after *Fabius* and *Fulvius*. In their year it was, that *Aſdrubal* took his journey out of *Spain*, though he came not into *Italy* until the year following. after the great battle at *Cannæ*, *Hannibal* had loſt much time about *Cumæ* and *Naples*, in ſeeking to make himſelf Maſter of a good haven; for the landing of thoſe ſuccours that were promiſed from *Carthage*. The hope that he repoſed in *Philip*, cauſed him to turn his principal care to the Eaſtern parts of *Italy*; where he made ready a fair entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had been ready to come; but ſince his hope was vaniſhed, and the long promiſed ſuccour of *Aſdrubal* was (though far later than had been expedient) ready to arrive: he began to deal with the people of *Hetruria*, through whoſe Countries his Brother was to paſs, that therein he might make a party againſt the *Romans*. The loſs of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other Towns, might have terrified all other of the *Italian* Towns, from harkning to any ſolicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the poverty of the *Romans*, and the wearineſs of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Army coming than that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italy*; did imbolden many of the *Hetrurians*, eſpecially the *Are-*

tines, to take such counsel as they thought most expedient for themselves, without regard of their fidelity to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senate, hearing the rumour of this conspiracy, sent *Marcellus* the new chosen Consul into *Hetruria*: whose coming did so terrefie them, that they rested quiet for a while. All the year following they were devising how to break out: as contrarywise the *Roman* Propretors, partly by terrour of severe judgments and inquisitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they visited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wills, and took many Hostages for better assurance. The two Consuls had an earnest desire, to make strong War upon *Hannibal* without more temporising: perswading themselves, that in battel they should be too strong for him. *Crispinus* had further his particular desire, to make his Consulship notable by the winning of some good Town: as *Fulvius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the siege of *Locri*; one of the best Cities which the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italy*: and brought thither all sorts of Engines; sending for a Fleet out of *Sicil* to help him. But *Hannibal* was not slow to relieve the City: the fame of whose approach, made *Crispinus* desist from his enterprise, and retire unto his Colleague, that lay at *Venusia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*; to whom the Consuls daily offered battel. This great man of War had no need to stand upon his reputation: which was already so confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed unto fear; but rather deemed as part of his wisdom. He entertained the Consuls with many light skirmishes, and sought to take them at some advantage; reserving his own numbers as full as he could, unto a time of greater imployment. In this lingring manner of War, *Marcellus* took no pleasure: but sought to compell the Enemy to battel, whether he would or no. The Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet about *Sicil*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded again to assail the Town of *Locri*: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he began, to trifle away the time at *Venusia*. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay in *Tarentum*, was appointed to go by land to the assistance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behind him. He laid an ambush in the way, between *Tarentum* and *Locri*, whereinto the *Romans* fell: and having lost above three thousand of their Company, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprise, and save their own lives within *Tarentum*. As for the Consuls, it was the desire of *Hannibal* to waste their Army by little and little: which to do, he neglected no advantage. There lay between him and them an Hillock, overgrown with wood, that seemed fit to cover a number of men: who lying there undiscerned, might fall upon such as should straggle from the *Roman* camp; and cut them off. Therefore he sent thither by night some companies of *Numidians*: whom he willed to keep themselves close, and attend their best advantage. To this piece of ground the Consuls thought it fit to remove their camp: *Marcellus* thinking that he never lay near enough unto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the son of *Marcellus*, a few Colonels, and other principal men: and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinel gave warning of their approach to his fellows who discovered not themselves, until they had surrounded the Consuls and their train. The Consuls, as necessity compelled them, defended themselves: hoping to be quickly relieved from their camp that was near at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ran away from them, at the first: and left them in that great danger, to the weak assistance of no more than forty horsemen, that were of the Colonie of *Fregellæ*. These *Fregellans* abode by the Consuls, and did what they could to have brought them safe off. But when *Marcellus* was stricken thorow with a Lance, and fell down dead; then began every one to shift for himself, and escape as they might, *Crispinus* the other Consul, had his deaths wound, being stricken with two Darts; and young *Marcellus* was likewise wounded; yet these two recovered their camp: The rest of the Colonels and Officers, together with the Lictors that carried the bundle of Rods and Axes before the Consuls, were all slain or taken. To the dead body of the Consul *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gave honourable Funeral, according to the custom of those times: and bestowing his ashes in a silver pot, covered it with a crown of gold; and so sent them to young *Marcellus*, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Presently after this, *Crispinus* bethought himself, how that the signet Ring of *Marcellus* was faln into the custody of *Hannibal*; who might use it to his own purposes, ere that which had hapned were well known abroad. Wherefore he sent word unto all the Towns about; that his Colleague was slain, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring: wishing them in that regard, to give no credit unto any letters therewithal signed. This providence of *Crispinus* was not more than requisite.

requiſite. For his meſſenger was but a little before come to *Salapia*, when another Meſſenger arrived there ſent from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and ſealed with the captive Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpoſe to come the ſame night unto *Salapia*; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garriſon ſhould be in a readineſs, for ſuch imployment as he ſhould think needful. The device was plain, and no leſs plain was the revengeful mind which he bare againſt that City; becauſe of his brave *Numidian* companies that had therein been betrayed. The *Salapians* hereupon bethought themſelves, how to take their enemy in his own ſnare. They ſent back the Meſſenger, which was a *Roman* fugitive, without letting him perceive any ſign of diſtruſt in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readineſs, for the entertainment of ſuch a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troop of *Roman* fugitives armed *Roman*-like, leading the way. Theſe all talking Latine together, called unto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for the Conſul was there. The gate was opened fair and leiſurely, and the Port-cullis drawn up no higher than needs it muſt be, to let them enter. But when ſix hundred of them were gotten in, down fell the Port-cullis again: and they that thought to have taken others, were taken themſelves; being laid at on all hands by the *Salapines*, that quickly made an end with them.

Hannibal being thus over-reached with this ſtratagem, haſted away to *Locri*; whereunto *Cincius* the Admiral of the *Roman* fleet about *Cicil*, did lay hard ſiege. The firſt appearance of the *Numidians*, *Hannibal* his Vantcurrors, made the *Romans* in all confuſed haſte, run to their ſhips: leaving all their engines, and whatſoever was in ther Camp, to the enemies diſpoſition.

The *Roman* Senate hearing of theſe accidents, ſent unto *Criſpinus* the ſurviving Conſul, and requeſted him to name a Dictator that might take charge of the Commonwealth, and diſpatch the election of new Magiſtrates, with other buſineſs; whereunto himſelf was diſabled by his hurts. He did ſo: and ſoon after died. Then was it thought needful, that new Conſuls ſhould be choſen out of hand: foraſmuch as two *Roman* Armies lay ſo near unto the Enemy, without any General. Eſpecially it was deſired, that Election ſhould be made of ſuch men as were not only valiant, but well adviſed: ſince the beſt, and moſt fortunate of their great Darers, *M. Marcellus*, by loſing himſelf ſo ſtrangely, had given them a fair warning, not to commit their Army unto raſh heads. Among thoſe that ſtood for the Conſulſhip, *C. Claudius Nero*, was the moſt eminent. He was of great Nobility, a good Souldier, and one, whoſe many ſervices in this preſent War, did forcibly commend unto the place. Yet he ſeemed a little too violent; and one, whoſe temper needed the allay of a more ſtaid wit. The Fathers therefore endeavoured to joyn unto him in the Conſulſhip, *M. Livius*: one that had born the ſame office long before. This *M. Livius* had been Conſul with *L. Æmilius Paulus*, in the year foregoing the beginning of this War. After their Conſulſhip, wherein they did good ſervice, they had both of them been called into judgement by the people: and this *Livius* condemned; *Æmilius* hardly eſcaping. Though it hath been once already noted; yet I cannot forbear to remember it again: how it pleaſed God to upbraid the unthankful *Romans*, with the malicious judgement, given by their multitude upon honourable men. For in the battel at *Cannæ*, it was apparent what lamentable effects the memory of their injuſtice wrought: when *L. Æmilius* rather choſe to yield to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greateſt overthrow that ever fell upon the State of *Rome*, than by reſiſting the pernicious courſes of *Terentius Varro*, to caſt himſelf anew upon the danger of the popular fury. As for *M. Livius*, he is even now ready, and will ſo continue, to tell the people of their faults in a divers manner. Eight years together after his condemnation, had he been abſent out of the City, and lived in his Country Grange ſtill vexing himſelf with the indignity of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, being Conſuls two or three years ago, had brought him into *Rome*: where he lived private in diſcontented ſort, as might appear, both by his careleſneſs in apparel, and by the wearing of his long hair and beard; which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Cenſors, to poll his hair, and come into the Senate: where he uſed to ſit ſilent, and ſignifie his aſſent or diſlike to what was propoſed, either in ſhort formal words, or in paſſing from ſide to ſide, when the houſe was divided. At length it hapned, that in ſome buſineſs weightily concerning one that was his kinſman; he ſtood up and made a ſet ſpeech: whereby he drew all the Fathers to attention; and bade them enquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had been. The Senate was much altered ſince he had left it; many brave men were loſt;

new ones were choſen; ſuch as rather ſerved to fill up the number, than to anſwer to the dignity of the place: and they that were left of ancient ſtanding, had even ſpent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore all began to ſay; that it was great pitty, ſo worthy and able a man as this *Livius*, had been all this while forgotten; one of whom the Common-wealth ſtood in great need, yet had not uſed in this dangerous war. Now ſeeing that the Conſuls ought, one of them, to be choſen a *Patrician*, the other of neceſſity a *Plebeian*: and ſince neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Lævinus*, being both of them *Patricians*, could be joyned with *Claudius Nero*: every one was of opinion, that there could not be choſen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Livius*. But *Livie* would not endure to hear of this. He ſaid it was unreaſonable, that one condemned as a diſhoneſt man, ſhould afterwards be choſen Ruler of the City. If they had done ill to truſt him with one Conſulſhip, what meant they then to offer him another? With theſe and the like phraſes he reſiſted their deſires: till by perſwaſions and examples rehearſed, of ſuch as had patiently digeſted injuries done by the people, and repayed good for evil; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Emblem, with which *Themiſtocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians:* reſembling himſelf to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughs whereof men break in fair weather; but run under it for ſhelter in a ſtorm. Such unthankfulneſs to well deſerving men, is not rarely found in the outragious multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much unlike, of *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spain* his dealing with the Duke of *Alva*. For although he had committed the Duke to priſon, upon ſome ſmall offence conceived, without all regard of his former deſerts: yet when his intended Conqueſt of *Portugal*, required the ſervice of a man, more than ordinarily ſufficient; he ſtood no longer upon the ſcanning of late diſpleaſures; but employed the ſame Duke, whom he had newly diſgraced. This is wiſdom often taught by neceſſity.

It was a dangerous year toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Levius* were choſen Conſuls. *Aſdrubal* was already come into *France*, and waited only, to have the wayes of the Alps thawed by warm weather, for his paſſage into *Italy*. The *Romans* uſed at this time the ſervice of three and twenty Legions: and wanted not employment for many more, if they had known how to levy and maintain them. Of theſe which they had, four ſerved in *Spain*, two in *Sicil*, and two in *Sardinia*: the reſt were ſo diſpoſed, in ſeveral parts of *Italy*, where need ſeemed to require, that only two Legions were left to each of the Conſuls. But the Conſuls were men of execution; and would not be tyed to the punctual obſervance of what the Senate thought fit. *M. Livius* would not ſtir out of *Rome*, againſt ſo mighty a power as followed *Aſdrubal*, untill he had firſt obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could well be ſpared from other imployments; and thoſe, or the moſt of them, choſen Companies. It was true, that two Legions appointed to ſerve under *Lucius Portius* a Prætor of that year, among the *Ciſalpine Gauls*, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Livius*; to whom the War againſt *Aſdrubal* was allotted. So might alſo two other Legions, that were among the *Salentines*, near unto *Tarentum*, unto another of the Prætors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Army, thar was ſent againſt *Hannibal*. Nevertheleſs, the Conſuls, by the eſpecial inſtance of *Livie*, did obtain, that all might be left to their own diſcretion. For news came that *Aſdrubal* was already paſſing the Alps; the *Ligurians*, who dwelt in the Country about *Genua*, with their neighbour people, were in readineſs to joyn with him; and *L. Portius* ſent word, that he would adventure no further, than he ſafely might. When all was ordered as themſelves thought beſt, the two Conſuls went forth of the City; each his ſeveral way. The people of *Rome* were now quite otherwiſe affected, than they had been, when *L. Æmilius Paulus*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, were ſent againſt *Hannibal*. They did no longer take upon them, to direct their Generals, or bid them diſpatch, and win the victory betimes: but rather they ſtood in fear, leſt all diligence, wiſdom and valour ſhould prove too little. For ſince few years had paſſed, wherein ſome one of their Generals had not been ſlain; and ſince it was manifeſt, that if either of theſe preſent Conſuls were defeated, or put to the worſt; the two *Carthaginians* would forthwith joyn, and make ſhort work with the other: it ſeemed a greater happineſs than could be expected, that each of them ſhould return home Victor; and come off with honour, from ſuch mighty oppoſition, as he was like to find. With extream difficulty had *Rome* held up her head, ever ſince the battle of *Cannæ*: though it were ſo, that *Hannibal* alone, with little help from *Carthage*, had continued the War in *Italy*. But there was now arrived another Son of

Amilcar;

Amilcar; and one, that in his preſent Expedition, had ſeemed a man of more ſufficiency than *Hannibal* himſelf. For whereas in that long and dangerous march, thorow barbarous Nations, over great Rivers and Mountains, that were thought unpaſſable, *Hannibal* had loſt a great part of his Army: this *Aſdrubal* in the ſame places, had multiplied his numbers; and gathering the people, that he found in the way, deſcended from the Alps like a rowling Snow-ball, far greater than he came over the Pyrenees at his firſt ſetting out of *Spain*. Theſe conſiderations, and the like, of which fear preſented many unto them; cauſed the people of *Rome*, to wait upon their Conſuls out of the Town, like a penſive train of Mourners: thinking upon *Marcellus* and *Criſpinus*; upon whom in the like ſort they had given attendance the laſt year; but ſaw neither of them return alive, from a leſs dangerous War. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gave his accuſtomed advice to *M. Livius*, that he ſhould abſtain from giving or taking battel, untill he well underſtood the Enemies condition. But the Conſul made him a froward anſwer, and ſaid, that he would fight the very firſt day: for that he thought it long, till he ſhould either recover his honour by victory; or by ſeeing the overthrow of his own unjuſt Citizens, ſatisfie himſelf with the joy of a great, though not an honeſt revenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the overthrow that *Aſdrubal* received in *Spain* by *Scipio*, a little before he took his Journey into *Italy*; ſuch mention hath already been made, as agreed with the report of that noble Hiſtorian *Livie*. Yet I think it not amiſs to add in this place, what may be be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his Hiſtory concerning that accident: *Aſdrubal* had wreſtled with many difficulties in *Spain*; by reaſon of thoſe Captains that were ſent from the City of *Carthage*, to joyn with him in the adminiſtration of that Province: they being, as it may ſeem, of the *Hannonian* faction; which is to ſay, thus far forth Traytors, that they preferred the advantage of their own ſide, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy Son of *Amilcar*, and how they hindred his courſes undertaken, it cannot be known; ſince of thoſe Books, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled theſe matters, there are to us remaining only a few broken pieces. But by the ſpightful dealing of *Hanno* in *Sicil* with *Mutines*, a better man of War than himſelf, whom *Hannibal* had ſent into the Iſland: we may conceive, that againſt the Brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needful, by theſe miſchievous Partizans of *Hanno*, to uſe the violent oppoſition of more earneſt malice. Nevertheleſs, *Aſdrubal* was a good Patriot; and therefore endured patiently ſuch indignities, as *Mutines* could not long digeſt. His Journey into *Italy* being reſolved upon: he lay with part of the Army at *Betulâ*, not far from the Mines of Silver; whence he was to furniſh his Expeditions. Thither came *Scipio*; and drave him out of his Camp; though he were ſtrongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Captains could or would come to his aſſiſtance. The overthrow ſeems not to have been ſo great, as it muſt have been ſuppoſed, if no way lay open to thoſe that fled. Rather it appears, that *Aſdrubal* dealt like a provident man, and ſeeing that his Camp was likely to be forced, ſent away all his mony with the Elephants before him: but ſtayed behind himſelf to ſuſtain the *Romans* a while, until his carriages might be out of danger. Herein he had his deſire, afterwards he gathered his broken troops together; and retired in ſuch ſort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to purſue him, and ſo paſſed over *Tagus*. Then taking unto him the forces aſſigned for his expedition, he marched away toward the Pyrenees: leaving the care of *Spain* unto his Brother *Mago*, and to *Aſdrubal* the Son of *Geſco*; that thought himſelf the fitteſt man for the adminiſtration thereof. Fain would *Scipio* have ſtopped him in his Journey, by ſending to defend againſt him the ordinary way of the Mountains. But whether *Aſdrubal* took another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had ſent to keep the Pyrenees (as the defence of hard paſſages commonly ſorts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any ſuch impediment. Coming into *Gaul*, and following the ſteps of his Brother *Hannibal*: he found the Nations that lay in his way, ſo well affected, either to him or to his mony, that no paſſages were defended againſt him, nor any ſort of reſiſtance made; but he, and his Army well entertained, and their number much increaſed, by acceſs of ſuch as were deſirous to take his pay. Of theſe he had the better choice: for that he was driven to winter in their Country; whilſt that the paſſages of the Alps were cloſed up with Ice and Snow. The Mountainers likewiſe, that had ſo greatly moleſted *Hannibal* in his Journey over the Alps, were eaſily won to take part with *Aſdrubal*, when he travelled thorow their Country. For theſe poor men, at the firſt coming of *Hannibal*, were verily perſwaded, that it was his purpoſe to rob them of their

Excerpt. e Polyb. hiſt. l. 10, & 11.

their cattel; and to make ſpoil of that little wealth which they had painfully ſcraped together out of the deſolate rocks. But now in proceſs of time, they were better informed. Therefore, underſtanding that there were two mighty Cities, far diſ-joyned aſunder, which made War upon each other, by Land and Sea; and that the Alps did only lye in the way: they gladly condeſcended to take their part in the fortune of the invaders. The like affection upon greater cauſe, was afterward found in the *Ciſalpine Gauls*. The *Ligurians* alſo joyned with *Aſdrubal*: and ſo would the *Hetrurians* have done, if he had arrived in their Country. There was no other *Roman* Army near, than *L. Portius* with his two Legions; of whom there was no great fear. Therefore did *Aſdrubal*: ſet upon *Placentia*, a *Roman* Colony: in hope to make his coming the more terrible, by the deſtruction of that Town. But there he loſt a great deal of time, and finally was driven to quit the enterpriſe: by undertaking which, he gave the *Roman* Conſuls leaſure to make ready for him; and cauſed his Brother *Hannibal* (who upon the firſt bruit of *Aſdrubal* he ſo timely, and eaſily paſſing the Alps, was about to leave his wintring Camps, and go forth to meet with him) to ſit ſtill a while, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haſte.

C. Claudius Nero the *Roman* Conſul, made what ſpeed he could to meet with *Hannibal*, and ſtop him from joyning with his Brother. He had about forty thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe: with which he dayly offered battel to the *Carthaginians*; and had of him the better in many ſkirmiſhes. *Hannibal* was once driven to make a tedious march from the borders of the *Salentines* and *Apulians*, unto the Country of the *Brutians*, there to encreaſe his forces; which were otherwiſe too weak for the Journey intended. Afterward coming to *Grumentum*, a Town of the *Lucans*; he there fought unproſperouſly with *Nero* the Conſul. Nevertheleſs, he got off, and marched away to *Venuſia*. But *Nero* followed him, and had there again the better of him. Wherefore he was driven to return to *Metapontum*: where joyning with *Hanno*, that had made ready a good Army, he aſſayed again, to make way by force to his Brother. So he paſſed onward, and came again to *Venuſia*, having *Nero* ſtill at his heels. Thence went he over the River *Aufidus*, to *Canuſium*, where he ſate down, not far from the place, in which he had obtained his moſt memorable victory. There alſo did *Nero* ſit down by him: and both of them reſted, without making offer to fight. It ſeemed perhaps unto *Hannibal*, who knew the Country very well; that his Brother might with little impediment, overcome the way to *Canuſium*: where, if he could once again deal with both the Conſuls, and all the *Roman* forces together, he had reaſon to hope for ſuch another victory, as once he had gotten in the ſame open Country. If this had ſo faln out; *Rome* would have been undone for ever. But the *Carthaginians* ſhould not have need to wiſh any ſecond victory, in the naked *Campans* about *Cannæ*; If ſuch an Army as this which *Aſdrubal* now brings, had come to ſecond *Hannibal*, when he was in full ſtrength; and the *Romans* not able to keep the field. Wherefore this worthy General had good reaſon afterward to ſay that *Hanno* was the man, who by delaying the ſupply, did beat him out of *Italy*; which elſe no power of the *Romans* could have done.

Whilſt *Nero* waited upon the *Carthaginians*, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Army that was coming to their ſuccour: he was advertiſed of *Aſdrubal* his approach; by Letters and Meſſengers intercepted, as they were going to *Hannibal*. Theſe gave notice, that *Aſdrubal* had left the ſiege of *Placentia*, and drew onwards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his Brother; notwithſtanding all oppoſition that could be made by *Livie* the Conſul. Of theſe news *Claudius Nero* was nothing joyful. For if *Hannibal* could once be joyned as head, unto that great body of an Army, which *Aſdrubal* brought with him: it was moſt apparent, that howſoever the fortune of *Rome* ſhould avoid, for the preſent, any great calamity; yet the very continuance of ſo ſtrong a war at home, would enforce the *Latines*, and other faithful Aſſociates, to faint under the burden; as twelve of the thirty *Roman* Colonies had already done. Wherefore he reſolved, that it were better to make any deſperate adventure, than to ſuffer the conjunction of two ſuch malevolent Planets: whoſe peſtilent influence, if not on the ſudden, yet within few years, was like to work moſt lamentable effects. It ſeemed apparent, that his Colleague was unable to ſtay the progreſs of *Aſdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readineſs, that could do ſervice in ſuch a needful caſe; excepting thoſe, that were already imployed under the two Conſuls. Hereupon he concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tye himſelf to his own charge, which was the war againſt *Hannibal*: but rather that it behoved him, to help where

where more neceſſity required; and to carry part of his forces unto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet ſince the meeting of the two *Carthaginian* Brethren, was far more dangerous to the *Roman* Common-wealth: it ſeemed the beſt way to put Fortune in truſt, with that which was of the leſs importance. Six thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe he therefore took, that were the very choice of his Army: and making ſhew, as if he would only ſtep aſide, to do ſome ſmall piece of ſervice near at hand; away he poſted as faſt as he could, to aſſiſt his fellow-Conſul. His Meſſengers ran before him, to give warning to all Towns by which he was to paſs, that they ſhould be ready to meet him with victuals, and all other neceſſaries for his Army. *Livius* the other Conſul, at that time, lay encamped near unto *Sena Gallica*; and *Aſdrubal*, within half a mile of him. In ſix dayes *Nero* had finiſhed his Journey thither; and when he drew near, ſent Meſſengers before him, to give notice of his coming. *Livie* thought it fitteſt that he ſhould ſtay in ſome place of covert until dark night, and then enter ſecretly into the Camp: leſt the Enemy, perceiving this acceſs of ſtrength, ſhould accordingly frame his counſels. This was done; and a token given, that the Colonels, Captains, and all Souldiers, as well horſe as foot, that *Nero* had brought with him, ſhould be lodged and entertained by men of their own ſort. Their Company was ſomewhat increaſed by Voluntaries that joyned with him on the way. Nevertheleſs it was not needful that the Quarter which received them, ſhould be enlarged; ſince they had brought with them nothing but their arms. The next day they held a Counſel of war: wherein ſome were of opinion, that it were beſt for theſe new arrived Companies to refreſh themſelves a few days after their weary Journey, before they ſhould be drawn forth to battel. But againſt this, *Nero* was very earneſt: and beſought his Colleague, to make uſe of him out of hand; that he might betimes return to his own Camp, ere *Hannibal* ſhould have notice of his abſence. The Souldiers alſo of *Nero* were full of ſpirit; perceiving that the honour of the victory was like to be theirs: foraſmuch as the battel would not have been undertaken, without this their coming to help. Finally, it was agreed when the Counſel brake up, that the ſign of battel ſhould be hung out; which was commonly a Purple Coat over the Generals Pavilion.

Aſdrubal was no leſs willing than the *Romans* to come to battle, having long deſired it, and hitherto not found occaſion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Army, to behold the Enemies countenance: it ſeemed to him, that they were more than they had been; and ſome of their arms and horſes looked as though they had wanted dreſſing, after a long Journey. Hereupon he began to withdraw his Army back into the Camp: and gave order, that if no priſoners could be taken, by whom he might be certified of the truth; yet ſhould there good obſervation be made, whether the Enemies Camp were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might ſhew their forces to be encreaſed. The Camp, as hath been ſaid, was not extended: but the trumpet, that ſounded only once in the Quarter of *L. Portius* the Prætor, did now, contrary to former cuſtom, ſound twice in the Quarter of *Livius* the Conſul. Hereat *Aſdrubal* greatly muſed: and being well acquainted with the *Roman* orders, held this for a ſure token, that the other Conſul was there arrived. How this might be, if *Hannibal* were alive, and in good caſe, he was not able to conjecture: but thought it the beſt way, to go leiſurely to work, till he might be better informed. Upon confidence in his own forces, he had not cared hitherto, how near he lay to the *Romans*; nor troubled himſelf perhaps with over-ſtrongly fortifying his own Camp. Yet when he now perceived, that ſomewhat was fallen out beſide his expectation, he changed his reſolution; and held it no diſhonour to remove a little further off. So he diſlodged ſecretly by night, intending to get over the River *Metaurus*; whereby to keep himſelf as long as he could, from neceſſity of battel. But whether it were ſo, that his guides did ſteal away from him in the dark, ſo that he could not find the way to the Foords; or whether his carriages were too heavy, and hindred his ſpeed: far he had not gone, ere the Conſul *Nero* was at his heels with all the *Roman* horſe, and ſtayed him from paſſing any further. Soon after came *L. Portius* with the light armature: whom the other Conſul followed anon with all the Legions; in good order, and ready for battel. *Aſdrubal*, ſeeing himſelf overtaken with neceſſity to fight, omitted no care and circumſpection. His *Gauls*, in whom he repoſed leaſt confidence, he placed in his left wing upon a Hill, which the Enemy ſhould not, without much difficulty, be able to climb: in the right wing he ſtood himſelf with his *Africans* and *Spaniards*; his *Ligurians* he placed

placed in the midſt; and his Elephants he beſtowed in the front of his battels. On the *Roman* ſide, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing, *Livius* of the left, and *Porcius* of the battel. Both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* well underſtood, how much depended upon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of ſafety there was unto the vanquiſhed. Only the *Romans* herein ſeemed to have had the better in conceit and opinion; that they were to fight with men deſirous to have fled from them. And, according to this preſumption, came *Livius* the Conſul with a proud bravery, to give charge on the *Africans*, by whom he was ſo ſharply entertained, that the victory ſeemed very doubtful. The *Africans* and *Spaniards* were ſtout Souldiers, and well acquainted with the manner of the *Roman* fight. The *Ligurians* alſo were a hardy Nation, and not accuſtomed to give ground; which they needed the leſs, or were able now to do, being placed in the midſt. *Livius* therefore, and *Porcius* found ſtrong oppoſition: and with great ſlaughter on both ſides, prevailed little or nothing. Beſides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants that brake their firſt ranks; and put them in ſuch diſorder, as the *Roman* Enſigns were driven to fall back. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vain againſt a ſteep Hill, was unable to come to blowes with the *Gauls*, that ſtood oppoſite unto him, but out of danger. This made *Aſdrubal* the more confident; who, ſeeing his own left wing ſafe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impreſſion on the other ſide, upon the left wing of the *Romans*. But *Nero* perceiving that the place wherein he ſtood, was ſuch as would compel him to remain idle till the fight were ended; took a part of his forces and led them round behind the forces of *Porcius* and *Livius*: which having compaſſed, he fell upon *Aſdrubal*, and charged him in the flanck. Here began the victory to be manifeſt on the *Roman* ſide. For *Nero*, finding none to reſiſt him in front, ran all along the depth of *Aſdrubal* his battle: and falling upon the ſkirts thereof, diſordered the Enemies, and put all to rout. Of the *Spaniards* therefore and *Africans*, that were laid at on every ſide, the greateſt part was ſlain. The *Ligurians* and *Gauls* eſcaped as they could; and ſaved themſelves by timely flight. Of the Elephants, four were taken alive: the reſt were ſlain: ſome by the Enemies weapons, others by their own guides that rode them. For when any of them, being ſore wounded, began to wax unruly, and ruſh back upon their own battels following them, the guide had in readineſs a Mallet and a Chizzel, wherewith he gave them a ſtroke between the ears, in the joynt of the neck, next unto the head, wherewith he killed the beaſts upon a ſudden, This ſpeedy way of preventing ſuch harm as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to do to the ſquadrons following them, is ſaid to have been the device of *Aſdrubal* himſelf, who died in this battel.

Great commendations are given to *Aſdrubal*, both by *Polybius*, and by *Livie*. He is ſaid at all times to have ſhewed himſelf worthy of *Amilcar* his Father, and *Hannibal* his Brother; to have ſtriven with great patience againſt many difficulties, whereinto he fell by the means of thoſe Captains that were ſent from *Carthage* into *Spain*; to have performed in this laſt battel all duties of a worthy General; and finally, when he ſaw the loſs irrepairable, to have ridden manfully into the thickeſt of his Enemies; where, fighting bravely, he was ſlain. Of the number that died with him in this battel, the report of *Livie* and *Polybius* do very much diſagree. For *Livie* ſaith, that the *Carthaginians* had no leſs an overthrow, than was that which they gave to the *Roman* at *Cannæ*: that fifty ſix thouſand of them were ſlain, five thouſand and four hundred taken priſoners, and above four thouſand *Roman* Citizens, whom they had captives with them, delivered and ſet at liberty. He ſaith alſo, that of the *Romans* and their Aſſociates there were ſlain eight thouſand: and of the booty, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kinds, but in gold and ſilver. Concerning the booty, *Polybius* hath no mention of it. Likely it is to have been as rich as *Livie* reporteth it; for *Aſdrubal* came well ſtored with mony. But *Polybius* (who had no deſire to make this battel of *Metaurus*, a parallel unto that of *Cannæ*) reports no more than about ten thouſand of the *Carthaginian* ſide; and two thouſand of the *Roman*, to have been ſlain. The number of the priſoners he doth not mention: but only ſaith, That ſome of the *Carthaginian* Princes were taken alive; and that all the reſt died in the battell. Whereby it may ſeem that they were all *Barchines*: foraſmuch as they preferred the honour of themſelves, and of their Country, above their lives.

The joy of this victory was no leſs in *Rome*, than had been the fear of the event. For ever ſince it were known in what ſort *Nero* had left his Army, the whole City was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his coming thither. Men thought it ſtrange, that the Conſul ſhould make ſuch a great adven-

ture

ture, as thus to put the one half of all the *Roman* forces unto hazzard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* should chance to have notice of this his departure, and either pursue him, or set upon the Army that staid behind, much weakned, and without a General? Thus did they talk; yet reserving their censure unto the success; with liberty to approve or condemn, according to the issue. In the mean time the people filled the Market-place, the Women ran to the Tumples with Vows and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in councel, waiting still ready at hand upon the Magistrates; as if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would ask every ones help. In brief, they were all so full of melancholy, that when the first news of victory came, there were not many that would believe it. Afterwards, when Messengers arrived from the Consuls, with Letters contained all that had passed, there was not only great and joyful concourse of all sorts of men unto the Temples, but the very face of the City was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their private business; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborn to do) & attending their own affairs in such wise, as if *Hannibal* were already driven out of *Italy*.

Nero returning to his Camp, threw forth openly the head of *Asdrubal* before the *Carthaginians*: and producing his *African* prisoners bound, sent two of them loose to give *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. These two prisoners might have served well enough to certifie *Hannibal* of the misad venture, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Asdrubal*: especially since *Hannibal*, in honourable, and far different manner, had given burial to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea, to all the *Roman* Generals, whose carkasses fell into his hands. But it may seem, that howsoever the People of *Carthage* wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the *Romans*, in their love unto the Common-weal: yet in dealing with enemies, they were far more civil, and less prone to the insolency of revenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by *Nero*, is that he hoped much more by the sudden terrour of such a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that which passed, to make a deep impression of fear into the *Carthaginians*. It may also be said, That he forgot himself, being over-joyed with the greatness of his prosperity. For it was the battel of *Metaurus* that weighed down the ballance, and turned the Tide of the *Roman* fortune: which being then at the lowest Ebbe, ceased not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks. *Hannibal* having lost in this unhappy fight (besides the worthy Gentleman his brother) all the hope that so long sustained him in *Italy*, withdrew himself into the Country of the *Brutians*: and thither he caused all the *Lucans*, that were of his party, to remove; as likewise all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For he wanted men to defend so many places, as he held at the present, because they lay too far asunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a lesser compass, in the utmost corner of *Italy*, it being a country of much fastness, and the people exceedingly devoted to his service. In this business *Nero* gave him no memorable impediment: either because *Hannibal* was too strong for him, having all his forces united; or because it is likely that this remove of the *Lucans* and *Metapontines*, was not before the end of Summer, when their harvest was gathered in: at what time the Senate called him home to *Rome*. *M. Livius* the other Consul tarried among the *Cisalpine Gaules* untill the end of summer; there to set things in such order, as he thought requisite: which done, he wrote unto the Senate, that there was no more need of him and his Army in that Province, but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause he desired leave to return home; and that he might bring his Army with him. The Senate well understood his meaning: which was to have the honour of triumph as he well deserved. But forasmuch as it was well known, what interest *Nero* had in the late victory: order was so given, that not only *Livie* with his Army should come home; but likewise *Nero*, though leaving his Army behind him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pomp whereof, *Livie* made the greater shew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; because in his Province, and upon his day of command, the victory was gotten: his Army also being present at the triumph. But *Nero* that rode on horseback, and without such attendance, was the more extolled by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victory was in a manner wholly ascribed unto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cecilius Metellus*, Lieutenants to the Generals, the due acknowledgement of their good service. For they were commended unto the People, as men worthy to be chosen Consuls: and Consuls they were chosen for the year following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memory in their Consulship. Nei-

ther indeed from this year, which was the thirteenth of the preſent war, until the eighteenth year wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in *Italy*; ſave only the taking of *Locri* from the *Carthaginians* by ſurpriſe. For *Hannibal* wanted ſtrength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the *Romans* had little mind to provoke him; but thought it well that he was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived of him, that though all about him went to ruine, yet in him alone, they thought there was force enough to hold himſelf upright. And ſurely, very notable are the commendations given unto him by *Polybius*, whom *Livie* therein follows. That making war upon a People, of all other the moſt war-like, he obtained ſo many victories by his own good conduct: and that leading an Army, compounded of ſo many ſundry Nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians* and *Greeks*, which were neither in Language, Laws, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; he held them all in ſuch good order, that they never fell to ſedition among themſelves, or againſt their General. But that which *Livie* adds hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he ſuſtained his Army, without help from other places, from this time forward, upon the hungry ſoil of the *Brutians*: which when it was beſt manured in time of peace, could hardly ſuffice to nouriſh the Inhabitants. It's therefore apparent, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Army in ſuch order and obedience, rather than by any greatneſs of reward and booty; ſince after the death of *Aſdrubal*, he made no invaſion upon the wealthier parts of *Italy*; but held himſelf ſtill among the poor *Brutians*. Where we muſt leave him; until he be drawn into *Africk* by *Scipio*; whoſe doing will henceforth entertain, and lead us unto the end of this War.

§. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio *the* Roman *made entire conqueſt of* Spain.

†. I.

How the Carthaginians *were driven by* Scipio *from the Continent into the Iſle of* Gades.

MAgo and *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, took upon them the charge of *Spain*, when *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Amilcar* departed thence into *Italy*. Theſe agreed together, that *Mago* ſhould make a voyage to the *Baleares*; there to levy a ſupply of men; and *Aſdrubal* withdraw himſelf into *Luſitania* (which is now *Portugal*) whither the *Romans* had ill means to follow; being altogether unacquainted in thoſe parts. *Mago* had ſoon ended his buſineſs, and returned into *Spain*: where he met with one *Hanno*. (the ſame perhaps that had lately been imployed in *Sicil*) who brought new forces out of *Africk*; and came to ſucceed in place of *Aſdrubal* the *Barchine*. It is not unlikely that *Spain* was now the better, and more readily furniſhed with men and all things needfull from *Carthage*: when that ſon of *Amilcar*, whoſe authority had been greateſt, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old *Hanno* approve it ſelf, againſt that noble race of Warriors; when it ſhould appear, that things did proſper much the better by being left unto the handling of other men. Whether it were upon deſire to make good ſome ſuch opinion raiſed of him at home, or whether upon confidence in the forces that he brought over: *Hanno* took the field, and led *Mago* with him; as purpoſing afreſh to ſet upon the *Romans*. So he entered into the country of the *Celtiberians*, not very far from new *Carthage*: where, by money and over perſwaſions, he levied above nine thouſand men.

P. Scipio in the mean while contained himſelf in the Eaſtern parts of *Spain*: attentive, as it may ſeem to the proceedings of *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Amilcar*; againſt whom he is reported by ſome Writers to have ſent part of his forces into *Italy*, to the aſſiſtance of *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* the Conſuls. But hearing of the levy made by *Hanno* and *Mago* among the *Celtiberians*, he ſent *M. Syllanus* the Propretor, with ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. *Syllanus* got intelligence by ſome fugitive *Celtiberians*, who became his guides, that their Country-men incamped apart from the *Carthaginians* in great diſorder: as men fearing no danger, becauſe they were at home. Wherefore as cloſely as he was able, he drew neer to theſe *Celtiberians*: and falling upon them on the ſudden, gave them ſuch an overthrow, that *Hanno* and *Mago* coming to their ſuccour, inſtead of heartning and re-inforcing them, became partakers of the loſs. *Mago* ſaved himſelf with all the horſe, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thouſand: and in ten daies journey brought them ſafe to *Aſdrubal*. The reſt of the *Africans* were either ſlain or taken: among whom, *Hanno* had the ill luck to be taken priſoner; though he kept himſelf out of the fight until all was loſt. As for the *Celtiberians*, they knew better how to make ſhift;

and

and ſaved moſt of themſelves by running into the woods.

It could not otherwiſe be, but that *Scipio* was much troubled with the danger wherein *Italy* ſtood, by the coming thither of *Aſdrubal*. Ten thouſand foot, and eighteen hundred horſe he did therefore ſend out of *Spain* (as it is reported by ſome Authors to the defence of his own Country; or was perhaps, about to ſend them: and thereupon remained at new *Carthage*, intentive to the neceſſity and ſucceſs of his Country-men at home. But when he had word of the great victory at *Metaurus*, which fell out long before the end of the Summer, then might he well adventure, to take in hand the entire conqueſt of *Spain*; which muſt needs be much alienated from the *Carthagininas*, by the report of ſuch an overthrow. The *Spaniſh* Souldierds that ſerved under *Hannibal*, & thoſe that had been ſent over into *Africk*, were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Country was held obnoxious to the *Carthaginians*. But when it was noiſed abroad, that all which hath followed *Aſdrubal* into *Italy*, were fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and that *Hannibal* with his Army was cloſed up in a ſtraight, whence he could not get out: then did it greatly behove the *Spaniards* to conform themſelves unto the will of the Vectors. That it was the ſucceſs of things in *Italy*, which gave ſuch confidence unto *Scipio*; it was the more probable, becauſe he took not this great enterpriſe in hand, untill the Summer was almoſt ſpent. *Aſdrubal* therefore uſed the benefit of the ſeaſon; and by diſpoſing his Army into many garriſons, hindred the Enemy from doing any great exploit before winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the year, cauſed *Scipio* to return back: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother *L. Scipio* took by aſſault the Town of *Oringis*.

Againſt the next years danger, *Aſdrubal* prepared a great Army: and ſpared not coſt, nor travel, in ſtrengthening himſelf, for the tryal of his laſt fortune in *Spain*. With ſeventy thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and two and thirty Elephants, he took the field: which number I believe, that he could hardly have raiſed, without boldly denying the truth of thoſe reports that came from *Italy*. *Scipio* thought his *Roman* Legions too weak to encounter with ſuch a multitude. Wherefore he judged it needful to uſe the help of his *Spaniſh* friends. But the death of his Father and Uncle, that were caſt away by the treaſon of ſuch falſe Auxiliaries, made him on the other ſide very doubtful of relying upon thoſe, that might perhaps betray him in his greateſt need. Yet ſince one *Colchus*, that was Lord of eight and twenty Towns, had promiſed him the laſt Winter, to raiſe three thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe for his ſervice: he reſolved to make uſe of thoſe, and ſome few others, that might help to make a ſhew; and yet not be able to do any great harm, if they would revolt. So with five and forty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, he ſought out the Enemy; near unto whom he incamped. At his firſt coming, *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* fell upon him; with hope to take him unprepared, whilſt he was making his lodgings. But he laid certain troops of horſe in covert: which, breaking upon them unexpected, cauſed them to fall off. They made at firſt an orderly retreat: but being more hardly preſſed, they ſhortly betook themſelves to plain flight. After this incounter, which added ſome courage to the *Romans*, and abated the preſumption of the *Carthaginians*, there were daily ſkirmiſhes between the horſe and light armature, on both ſides; wherein was nothing done of importance. *Aſdrubal* drew forth his Army, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like did *Scipio*; each of them to ſhew that he durſt fight, yet not proceeding any farther. Thus they continued many dayes: *Aſdrubal* being ſtill the firſt that iſſued forth in the morning; and the firſt that, in the evening, withdrew himſelf into his Trenches. The *Spaniſh* Auxiliaries were placed on both ſides in the wings; the *Carthaginians* were in the midſt, with their Elephants before them; and oppoſite to theſe on the other ſide were the *Roman* Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at far diſtance, many dayes together: it grew to be the common opinion; that they ſhould ſhortly meet in the ſame form, and be matched on each part, with the enemies long before deſigned. But *Scipio*, when he purpoſed indeed to fight, altered the form of his Army; and withall, came forth earlier than he had been wont. He cauſed his men and horſes to be well fed betimes in the morning before day: and then ſent forth his horſe and light armature, to train out the *Carthaginians* with their bellies empty: uſing herein the ſame trick, whereby he might remember that *Hannibal* had beaten his Father in the battel of *Trebia*. His *Roman* Legions he beſtowed in the wings; his *Spaniards* in the battel. *Aſdrubal* ſent forth his horſe in all haſte, to entertain the *Romans*; whilſt he himſelf arranged his men, in their wonted order at the Hill foot, upon which he

incamped. In the skirmishes of the horse it could not be discerned which part had the better: since, being over-prested on either side, they had a safe retrait unto their foot; and one troop seconding another by course, returned to charge. This fight was protracted by *Scipio* to a great length: because his men, having well fed themselves, were like to hold out better than the enemy. But about noon he caused his wings to advance a good pace; leaving their battel of *Spaniards* far behind them, that came on leisurely, according to direction. The *Spanish* Mercenaries that stood in *Asdrubal* his wings, were no way comparable, save only in number, to the *Latine* and *Roman* Souldiers that came against them; for they were fresh Souldiers, levied in haste; and fighting only in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flank, at the same time, by the *Roman Velites*, and by some cohorts, that were appointed to wheel about for the same purpose, they were sorely pressed, and with much difficulty made resistance. The *Carthaginians* would fain have succoured them; but that they durst not stir out of their places, because of the *Spanish* battel which was coming against them; though it were as yet far off. Thus the best part of *Asdrubal* his Army stood idle, until the wings were broken. For, had he adventured to meet with the *Spaniards*, he must have cast himself into the open space that lay before him between the *Roman* wings: to the depth whereof when he had arrived, he should have found himself inclosed in such sort, as was the Consul *Paulus* at the battel of *Cannæ*. Wherefore he did only imploy his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harm to his Enemies, than to his friends. When they were chafed with wounds, they could no longer be ruled as their guides: but ran, as chance led them, and troubled both parts; or those perhaps the more, that were the more unwilling to kill them. In process of the fight, the Romans who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning, endured lusty; when the others began to faint with travel and heat of the day. Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they followed it the more hotly; and gave not over, till they had forc't the enemy to change his place, and run from him. *Asdrubal* did his best to have made an orderly retreat; and afterward again to have caused his men to turn head at the Hill foot. But the *Romans* would not suffer the victory to be so extorted from them: neither was it easie to put fresh courage into the vanquished, led by the obstinate passion of fear, which hearkens to no perswasion. The Camp of *Asdrubal* had that day been taken, if a storm of rain, which fell violently on the sudden, and bred some superstition in the *Romans*, had not caused them to give over.

The same night *Asdrubal* gave no rest to his men; but caused them, hungry, and over-laboured as they were, to take pains in fortifying the Camp; wherein he feared to be assaulted. But little assurance could he have in the strength of his Trenches, when he had lost the hearts of his *Spanish* souldiers. One *Attanes*, that was Lord of the *Turdetani*, fled from him to the *Romans*, with a great Band of his subjects: many followed this example; and soon after two strong Towns were yielded up to *Scipio*, and the Garrisons betrayed. It seems that the perverse fortune of this late battel, whereupon *Asdrubal* had set his rest, bred in the *Spaniards* a disposition, to believe the more easily those reports which they heard from *Italy*. For henceforward, they never did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Asdrubal*, perceiving this, withdrew himself, and marched away faster than ordinary pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning, and overtaking the *Carthagnians* with his horse, caused them so often to make stand, that they were at length attatched by the *Roman* Legions. Here began a cruel slaughter: for there was no resistance made, but all fell to rout, save only seven thousand that with *Asdrubal* himself recovered a very strong piece of ground, which they fortified in haste. The place he made shift a while to defend: but wanting there necessaries to sustain himself long, he was forsaken by some of those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he resolved to make shift for one; and stealing from his Company by night away to the Sea side, that was not far thence, he took shipping; and set sail for *Gades*. When *Scipio* understood that *Asdrubal* was thus gone, he left *Syllanus* with ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to besiege their (Camp, which was not taken in haste, for *Mago* and *Masaniſſa* staid in it) whilest he with the rest of the Army did what was needfull in the Country abroad. It was not long ere *Mago* and *Masaniſſa* followed *Asdrubal* to *Gades*: and their Army disperſed it self; some flying over to the *Romans*, others taking what way they like. So upon all the Continent of *Spain*, there were only three Towns left, *Illiturgi*, *Castulo*, and *Astapia*, that made continuance of war against the *Romans*: of which only *Castulo* had a *Carthaginian* Garrison, consisting

of

of ſuch as had ſaved themſelves by flight in the late overthrows. Hereby it ſeems that the report of thoſe Hiſtorians was ill grounded, who ſaid, that *Caſtulo* yielded long ſince unto the *Romans*; though *Hannibal* took a wife in that City. For this was one of the laſt three towns that held out on the *Carthaginian* ſide. *Illiturgi* had ſometimes been inclinable to the *Romans*; if not altogether at their devotion. Yet after the death of the two elder *Scipio's*, following too earneſtly the *Carthaginian* fortune, it not only rebelled, but with great cruelty betrayed and ſlew the poor men that eſcaped thither from the overthrows. *Aſtapa* was a Town that ſtill adhered to the *Carthaginians*; and, which was worſe, had thriven by the ſpoil of the *Romans* and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not until the next year) *Scipio* went againſt theſe, and took himſelf *Illiturgi*, and *Caſtulo*: *Illiturgi* by aſſault, and with a general ſlaughter of the Inhabitants; *Caſtulo*, by treaſon of one *Cerdubellus*. *Aſtapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcius*; or rather deſtroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raiſed in the Market-place: whereinto was thrown all the gold, and ſilver, with whatſoever elſe was precious; the women and children ſtanding by it under a ſure guard, that ſhould kill and burn them if the *Romans* got into the Town. This proviſion being made, all the Inhabitants that could bear Arms, ruſhed forth deſperately, and fell upon the *Roman* Camp; where ſtriving beyond their power, they were every one ſlain. Then was the Town forthwith ſet on fire, by thoſe that had taken charge to do it: and many of the *Romans* conſumed with the flame; whilſt they ruſhed over-haſtily to catch the gold and ſilver, which they ſaw lying on the pile ready to melt.

Aſdrubal being beaten into the Iſland of *Gades*, found no cauſe of long ſtay there: but returned home to *Carthage*, with ſeven Gallies: leaving *Mago* behind him, to wait upon occaſion, if any ſhould be offered. He viſited in his way home, *Syphax*, King of the *Maſæſili*, a people of the *Numidians*; hoping to win him to the friendſhip of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his evil Angel, in the Kings port: who landing at the ſame time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio* having driven the *Carthaginians* out of *Spain*, did forthwith bethink himſelf, how to finiſh the war, by putting them to the like diſtreſs in *Africk*. Hereunto it ſeemed that the help of *Syphax* would be much available: a King that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and ſuſtained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might eaſily be moved to ſeek revenge. He had alſo been beholding to *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, that ſent him over a Captain into *Africk*; who inſtructed him ſo well in marſhalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Upon theſe reaſons, the *Numidian* King ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, and made league with the City in time of great extremity. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceived hope of laying a good foundation to the War, which he intended in *Africk*, upon the friendſhip of this ill neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cauſe he ſent over *C. Lælius* his Embaſſador, to deal with *Syphax*: who declaring that the *Carthaginians* did very ill in *Italy*, and had nothing now at all to do in *Spain*, eaſily perſwaded the King to take part with thoſe that had the better, and were without queſtion his better friends. Only *Syphax* requeſted that the *Roman* General ſhould viſit him in perſon, to conclude the League; by which he was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treaty. Hereto *Scipio* condeſcended; thinking the friendſhip of ſo great a King, that was neighbour to *Carthage*, and not far diſtant from *Spain*, well worthy of the adventure. So with two *Quinquereme* Gallies he took Sea, and arrived in the Kings Port, at the ſame time with *Aſdrubal*. This would have been very dangerous unto him, had he been deſcryed by his enemies further at Sea: but in the Haven they forbear to make offer one upon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud; ſeeing at one time, two ſuch Captains of two moſt powerful Cities, came to deſire his friendſhip. He would have brought them to treat of peace: But the *Roman* excuſed himſelf, by want of ſuch Commiſſion from the Senate. He feaſted them together: and ſhortly diſmiſſed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entred into Covenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

†. II.

Funeral games held by Scipio. *A Duel between two Spaniſh Princes. A digreſſion concerning Duels.*

Scipio returning into *Spain*, and reſting that Winter, took vengeance the next year, upon thoſe of *Illiturgi*, *Caſtulo*, and *Aſtapa*, as hath been ſaid before. The conqueſt of the Country being then in a manner at an end; he performed at new *Carthage*, with great ſolemnity, ſome Vows that he had made, and honoured the memory of his Father and Uncle, with funeral games, eſpecially

ly of those that fought at sharp, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needful that he should trouble himself with preparing slaves for that spectacle, to hazard their lives, as was used in the City of *Rome*: for there were enow, that either offered, themselves as Voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes, to give proof in single combat, of the valour that was in their several Countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to deferr the decision of their Controversies, to tryal of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were *Corbis* and *Orsua*; Cosengermans: that contended for the principality of a Town called *Ibes*. *Corbis* was the elder, and the elder brothers son: wherefore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house, after the manner of our *Irish Tampstry*. But the father of *Orsua* stood lately seized of the principality: which though himself received by the death of his elder brother; yet this his Son would not let it go back, but claimed to hold it as heir unto his father, and old enough to rule. Fain would *Scipio* have compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, that all their friends and kindred had already laboured in vain, to take up their quarrel; and that neither God nor Man, but only *Mars*, their god of battel, should be Umpire between them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skilful at his weapon, easily vanquished the fool-hardiness of the younger.

Such combates have been very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kind of fight. We read of many performed before the War of *Troy*; by *Theseus*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others: as also of two more at the War of *Troy*, the one between *Paris* and *Menelaus*; the other between *Hector* and *Ajax*. Neither want their examples of them among the *Hebrews*: whereof that between *David* and *Goliah*; and others performed by some of *Davids* Worthies, against those that challenged them, are greatly celebrated. Unto the same kind appartains the fight between twelve of the Tribes of *Juda*, and as many of the *Benjamites*. The *Romans* had many of them: whereof that was principal, in which they ventured their Dominion upon the heads of three brethren the *Horatii*, against the three brethren, *Curatii*, that were *Albans*. The combat of *Manlius Torquatus*; and shortly after: of *Valerius Corvinus*, with two Champions of the *Gauls*, which challenged any *Roman*; were of less importance, as having only reference to bravery. In *England* there was a great Combat fought between *Edmond Ironside*, and *Canutus* the *Dane*, for no less matter than the Kingdom. The use of them was very frequent in the *Saxon* times; almost upon every occasion, great or small. In the reign of *Edward* the third, who sustained the party of *Mountfort*, against the Earl of *Bloys*, contending for the Dutchy of *Britain*; there was a fight for honour of the Nations, between thirty of the *Britons*, and thirty *English*: two of which *English*, were *Calverlie*, a brave Captain; and that Sir *Robert Knolles* is, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the *French* wars, and did highly honour his blood, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in *English*, *French* and *Italian* Histories. Most of them have been combats of bravery, and of *gayeté de cœur*, as the *French* term it; for honour of several Nations; for love of Mistresses; or whatsoever else gave occasion unto men, desirous to set out themselves. But besides those of this sort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either upon accusation for life, or upon trial of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of right*. And of this latter kind, was that, of which we speak even now, between *Corbis* and *Orsua*. Unto these (me thinks) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat upon Wager; such as were that between *David* and *Goliah*, or that between the *Horatii* and *Curatii*, in which without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one over the other, is adventured upon the head of Champions. Upon an accusation for life, there was a combat appointed between the Lord *Henry* of *Boulinbrook* Duke of *Hereford*, and *Monbray* Duke of *Norfolk*. There was a combat performed by Sir *John Ansley* and one *Cattrington*: whom *Ansley* charged with treason: and proved it upon him, by being victorious. The like was fought between *Robert* of *Mountfort*, and *Henry* of *Essex*. The like also, between a *Navarrois*, and one *Welsh* of *Grimsby*, whom the *Navarrois* accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that he had belyed him, and was therefore drawn and hanged. Whether our tryal by battel do determine, that the false accuser, if he be vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had been due to the offender, if the accusation had been proved; I cannot affirm. But we every where find, That if he which is accused of treason, or according to the customs of *Normandy*, of Murder, Rape, or burning of places (offences punish-

An. 21. R. c. 2.

An. 3. R. c. 2.

An. 9. Hen. 2.

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ed by death) be overcome, He shall suffer the pains appointed for those crimes. In combats for tryal of right, it is not so: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but he may try it by his Champion, as did *Paramour* and *Low*, or offered to do, in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. And in this case, he that is beaten or yieldeth, loseth only his cause, not his life. Neither are the combats upon accusation, or tryal of right, fought in open field, as are those of bravery; but in *Camp close*, that is, within rails. Now this trial by combat was so ordinary in *France*, before the time of *S. Lewis* and *Philip the fair* his grand-child, as every Lord of Fee, Ecclesiastical or Temporal, had power to grant it within his own Jurisdiction. And it seemeth, that the *French* Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the * *Memorials of the Chamber of Accounts*, is found an Article to this effect; That if a Combat were once accepted, and after, by consent of the Lord, were taken up, each of the parties should pay two shillings six pence; but if it were performed, then should the party vanquished forfeit an hundred and twelve shillings. And upon this custom grew the *French* Proverb, which they use when as any man hath had an hard and unjust judgement; saying, That *He was tryed by the Law of Loray, or Berne; ou le battu paye l' amende*, where he that is beaten gives the recompence. Of these frequent trials by battel that great learned man *Yvo*, Bishop of *Chartres* did often complain, and specially against the *French* Church-men: as appears by * his Letters to the Bishop of *Orleans*, to the Arch-deacon of *Paris*, to *Rembert* Archbishop of *Sens*, and to others; wherein he rebukes the judgement of their Churches, that had ratified such challenges of combat. But this liberty and kind of tryal, was retrencht by *S. Lewis*, and *Philip the fair*; so that no man could decree or grant it, save the King himself. It hath since been granted, though more sparingly, by the *French* King, as to the Lord of *Carogues*, against *Jaques le Gris*, and to *Julian Romero* the *Spaniard*, against *Moro* his countryman; wherein Sir *Henry Knevet*, Father to the Lord *Knevet* now living, was Patron to *Romero* that had the victory; and lastly to the Lord of *Chast*. Now in those challenges, upon accusation of Treason, Murder, or other offence deserving death (and in those only) the rule held, That *le defendeur estoit tenu de proposer ces deffences par un dementir*; *The defendant was bound to plead not guilty, by giving the accuser the Lye*: otherwise it was concluded, that the defendant did *taisiblement confesser le crime*; *silently confess the crime*. But after such time as *Francis* the *French* King, upon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the *Lye* unto the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, thereby to draw him to a personal combat; every petty companion in *France*, in imitation of their Master, made giving of the *Lye* mortality it self; holding it a matter of no small glory, to have it said, That the meanest Gentleman in *France* would not put up, what the great Emperor *Charles* the fifth had patiently endured.

From this beginning is derived a challenge of combat, grounded upon none of those occasions that were known to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, the Tryal of Right, the Wager upon Champions, or the Objection and Refutation of capital offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of half so many Duels, as are founded upon meer private Anger, yea, or upon matter *seeming* worthy of anger in the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these daies, wherein every man takes unto himself a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint personal combats, the giving of the *Lye*, which ought to be the Negation only in accusations for life, is become the most fruitful root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word so terrible, and a wrong so unpardonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the blood of him that gives it. Thus the fashion, taken up in hast by the *French* Gentlemen, after the pattern of their King, is grown to be a custome: whence we have derived a kind of Art and Philosophy of quarrel; with certain grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are reduced. Yea, there are (among many no less ridiculous) some so mystical curiosities herein, as that it is held a far greater dishonour, to receive from an enemy a slight touch with a Cane, than a sound blow with a Sword; the one having relation to a slave, the other to a souldier. I confess that the difference is pretty: though for my own part, if I had had any such Italianated enemy in former times, I should willingly have made with him such an exchange; and have given him the point of honour to boot,

But let us examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the *Lye*; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the most tender in receiving it. I say, that the most of these, who present death on the points of their swords to all that give it them; use nothing so much in their conversation and course of life, as to speak and swear falsly. Yea, it is thereby, that they shift and shuffle

* *Si homines de Loraco vadia Duelli tenere dederint, &c.*

* *Clerici vestri nuper ad nos reverentes, qui causæ Comitis Theobaldi Aurilianis interfuerint, retulerunt nobis, quod quidam milites Domini Rodulphi quendam militem Comitis ad Monomachiam provocaverit, & hanc provocationem Ecclesiæ vestræ judicio consimaverit, &c.*

ſhuffle in the World, and abuſe it. For how few are there among them, which, having aſſumed and ſworn to pay the moneys and other things they borrow, do not break their word and promiſe, as often as they ingage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not *Lyars by Record*, by being ſued in ſome Court or other of Juſtice, upon breach of word or bond? For he which hath promiſed that he will pay money by a day, or promiſed any thing elſe, wherein he faileth; hath directly lied to him to whom the promiſe hath been made. Nay, what is the profeſſion of love that men make now-adaies? What is the vowing of their ſervice, and of all they have, uſed in their ordinary complements, and (in effect) to every man whom they bid not good morrow, or ſalute, other than a courteous and Court-like kind of lying? It is (ſaith a wiſe *French* man, deriding therein the Apiſh cuſtome of his Country) *un marché & complot fait enſemble, ſe mocquer, mentir, & piper les un les autres*; *A kind of merchandiſe, and complot made among them, to mock, belye, and deride each other*: and ſo far now-adaies in faſhion, and in uſe; as he that uſeth it not, is accounted either dull or Cynical. True it is notwithſtanding (omitting the old diſtinction) that there is great difference between theſe mannerly and complemental lyes, with thoſe which are ſometime perſwaded by neceſſity upon breach of promiſe; and thoſe which men uſe out of cowardize and fear; the latter confeſſing themſelves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other ſtiled the moſt villanous. But now for the *Lye* it ſelf, as it is made the ſubject of all our deadly quarrels in effect, to it I ſay, That whoſoever giveth another man the *Lye*, when it is manifeſt that he hath lyed, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more hainouſly taken, than to tell him, he hath broken any promiſe which he hath otherwiſe made. For he that promiſeth any thing, tells him, to whom he hath promiſed, that he will perform it; and, in not performing it, he had made himſelf a Lyar. On the other ſide, He that gives any man the *Lye*, when he himſelf knowes that he, to whom it is given, hath not lyed; doth therein give the *Lye* directly to himſelf. And what cauſe have I, if I ſay that the Sun ſhines when it doth ſhine, and that another fellow tels me I lye, for it's midnight; to proſecute ſuch an one to death, for making himſelf a fooliſh Ruffian and a lyar in his own knowledge? For he that gives the *Lye* in any other diſpute, than in defence of his Loyalty, or Life; gives it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not deny but it is an extream rudeneſs to tax any man in publick with an untruth (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice againſt whom the untruth is uttered:) But all that is rude, ought not to be civillized with death. That were more to admire and imitate a *French* cuſtome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the councel of God. But you will ſay, that theſe diſcourſes ſavour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize to fear God or hell: whereas he that is truly wiſe, and truly valiant, knowes that there is nothing elſe to be feared. For againſt an Enemies ſword, we ſhall find ten thouſand ſeven-penny-men (waged at that price in the wars) that fear it as little, or perchance leſs, than any profeſt Sword-man in the world. *Diligentiſſima in tutela ſui Fortitudo*; *Fortitude is a diligent preſerver of it ſelf*. It is (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) a mediocrity between doubting and daring. *Sicut non Martyrem pœna*; *ſic nec fortem pugna, ſed cauſa: As it is not the puniſhment that makes the Martyr: ſo it is not fighting that declares a valiant man: but fighting in a good cauſe*. In which, whoſoever ſhall reſolvedly end his life, reſolvedly in reſpect of the cauſe, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Countrey: as he may juſtly be numbred among the Martyrs of God; ſo may thoſe that die with malicious hearts, in private combats, be called the Martyrs of the Devil. Neither do we indeed take our own revenge, or puniſh the injuries offered us, by the death of the injurious. For the true conqueſt of revenge is, to give him, of whom we would be revenged, cauſe to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death upon our own conſcences; *Animaſq; in vulnere ponere*; *And to drown our ſouls in the wounds and blood of our enemies*. Hereupon you will again aſk me, if I condemn, in generous and noble ſpirits, the defence of their honours, being preſt with injuries? I ſay that I do not, if the injuries be violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the Eternal Law: and the Laws of all Chriſtian Kings and States; do favour him that is aſſailed, in the ſlaughter of the aſſailant. You will ſecondly aſk me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentleman, being challenged by *Cartel* by one of like quality, be not bound in point of honour to ſatisfie the challenger in private combat? I anſwer, that he is not: becauſe (omitting the greateſt, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrary and oppoſite to that, which they call the point of honour; The Law which hath dominion over it, which

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can judge it, which can deſtroy it; except you will ſtile thoſe Acts honourable, where the Hang-man gives the Garland. For, ſeeing the Laws of this Land have appointed the Hang-man to ſecond the Conqueror, and the Laws of God appointed the Devil to ſecond the Conquered, dying in malice: I ſay, that he is both baſe and a fool, that accepts of any *Cartel* ſo accompanied. To this, perchance it will be anſwered, That the Kings of *England*, and other Chriſtian Kings, have ſeldome taken any ſuch advantage over men of quality, who upon even terms have ſlain their private enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combuſtion they have not often done it; ſo did our Noble-men and Gentlemen in former ages, in all important injuries, ſue unto the King, to approve themſelves by battel and publick combat. For as they dared not to brave the Law; ſo did they diſdain to ſubmit themſelves unto the ſhameful revenge thereof; the ſame revenge (becauſe it deteſteth murder) that hath declared againſt a common Cut-purſe or other Thieves: Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for ſuch offenders: yet it is not the man-ſlayer freed from his pardon. For theſe two remedies hath the party grieved notwithſtanding; that is, to require juſtice by Grand Aſſize, or by battel, upon his appeal, which (ſaith Sir *Thomas Smith*) is not denyed; and he further ſaith (for I uſe his own words) That if the Defendant (to wit, the man-ſlayer) be convinced either by great Aſſize or by Battel, upon that appeal; the man-ſlayer ſhall die notwithſtanding the Princes pardon. So favourable (ſaith the ſame learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the Law of our Realm, to juſtice & to the puniſhment of blood violently ſhed. It may further be demanded, how our Noblemen and Gentlemen ſhall be repaired in honour, where an enemy, taking the ſtart either in words or blows ſhall lay on them an infamy unſufferable: I ſay, that a Marſhals Court will eaſily give ſatisfaction in both. And if we hold it no diſgrace to ſubmit our ſelves for the recovery of our Debts, Goods, and Lands; and for all things elſe by which the lives of our ſelves our wives, and children, are ſuſtained; to the Judges of the Law; becauſe it may be felony to take by violence even that which is our own: why ſhould we not ſubmit our ſelves unto the Judges of honour in caſes of honour; becauſe to recover our reputation by ſtrong hand, may be murder? But yet again, it may be objected, that the loſs of honour ought to be much more fearful unto us, than either the loſs of our goods, of our lands, or of our lives; and I ſay ſo too. But what is this honour, I mean honour indeed, and that which ought to be ſo dear unto us: other than a kind of Hiſtory, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficulty or danger, and undertaken for the publick good? In theſe he that is imployed and truſted, if he fail in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other baſe affection; it is true that he loſeth his honour. But the acting of a private combat, for a private reſpect, and moſt commonly a frivolous one, is not an action of vertue, becauſe it is contrary to the Law of God, and of all Chriſtian Kings: neither is it difficult, becauſe even and equal in perſons and arms: neither for a publick good, but tending to the contrary; becauſe the loſs or mutilation of an able man, is alſo a loſs to the Common-weal.

Sir *Thomas Smith* in his Commwealth of *England*.

Now that a Marſhall of *England* hath power to ſave every mans fame and reputation, as far as reputation may ſuſtain injury by words, I think no man doubteth. For to repent us of any evil words that we have given, and to confeſs that we have done him wrong, unto whom we have given them, is a ſufficient ſatisfaction; and as may fall out, more than ſufficient. For he that gives ill words in choler, and ſuddenly denyes them, or repents himſelf of them upon adviſement hath the diſadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blows, which are indeed not to be given but to thoſe that are ſervile, whether ſufficient recompence will be made for them, it ſhall appear by a notable example of a moſt worthy Gentleman *Monſier de Pleſſis*, that was ſtricken in *France* not long ſince by a Baron of the ſame nation. The ſatisfaction which was given him by a judgement of the Conſtable and Marſhals of *France*, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Conſtable gave judgement, *M. de Pleſſis* was ſet in a chair under the degrees where the Conſtable and Marſhals ſate: the Baron, who had given him the blow, did kneel before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a ſword with the point towards himſelf, and in his left hand the like cudgel or baſtinado, wherewith he had ſtricken *M. de Pleſſis*, both which weapons he delivered into *Pleſſis* hands, ſubmitting himſelf to ſuch revenge, as it ſhould pleaſe him to take with either of thoſe weapons; the Conſtable and Marſhals having formerly left it to the will of *Pleſſis*, to uſe his own diſcretion in the revenge of his own wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reaſon to pleaſe himſelf, as one beforehand in point of honour, (who ſtruck *M. de Pleſſis*

like a Ruffian coming behind him, and having the advantage of company, and his horses ready, shifted himself away on the sudden; but being afterwards taken, was taught to repent himself in this shameful manner:) or whether *Monsier de Plessis* (of whose valour no man doubted) had not far juster cause to rest satisfied, since he might at his pleasure have beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgave him: let any wise man judge. To this if it be said, That the Baron was constrained to make his submission that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntary; and therefore no disgrace unto him: I answer, that one may say as well, that it is no disgrace to a Thief, when he is brought to the Gallows, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no grace in respect of a force, but in respect of the fact: which (but for our sins to God) makes all repentance shameful: because all forced repentance is inflicted upon us for somewhat unworthy of a Gentleman, and of an honest man. Nay, voluntary repentance it self, as it hath relation to men, ariseth either out of the fear of the ill that may befall us, or out of the acknowledgement of our own weakness. Certainly as wise men, and valiant men do rather deride petty injuries or sudden injuries, that are not offered from malice fore-thought, than revenge them: so men, apt to quarrel, do commonly suspect their own valour; and rather desire, that thereby the world should believe them to be of great daring, than know any such resolution in themselves. For he that knows himself indeed to be an honest man, scorns to hunt after opinion.

Now the same power which the Constable and Marshals of *France* have, hath also a Marshal of *England*, or his Deputies: by whose judgement in all disputes of honour, every mans reputation may be preserved; we may therefore as well submit our selves to the Judge of honour in all disputes of honor, as we do submit our selves in all controversies of livelihood and life, to the Judges of the Law. And, out of doubt, the institution of this Court of Chevalrie in *England*, in *France*, and elsewhere: was no less charitable than politick. For the blood of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth *hony bees* as that of Bulls doth, which sting but the fingers, or the face: but it produceth that monstrous beast, *Revenge*, which hath stung to death, and eaten up, of several nations, so many noble personages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatning the wrath of God upon supream Governours, than the permission.

His Majesty therefore (which *Henry* the IV. of *France* also endeavoured) hath done a most Kingly and Christian-like deed in *Scotland*, which the most renowned of all his Prædecessors could never do: in beating down and extinguishing that hereditary prosecution of malice, called *the deadly feud*; a conquest, which shall give him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power for evermore. And we have cause to hope, that his royal care shall be no less happy in præventing the like mischief, which threatens *England*, by the audacious, common, and brave, yet outragious vanity of Duelists.

Unto this that I have spoken of lying, and of man-slaughter, it must be added, That each of these are of great Latitude, and worthy of reproof and vengeance proportionably, more or less, in their several degrees. There is much difference between Lies of necessity upon breach of promise, or complemental lies; and such pernicious lies, as proceed from fear and cowardize, or are uttered by false witnesses: the former sort being excusable by weakness or levity; the latter being altogether detestable. No less, if not more, difference there is, between killing of a man in open field, with even weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile*, *dolo* or *per insidias*; though our Laws do not much distinguish them in punishment. For in the latter, God, forsaking his own priviledge, commandeth that the *guilful* murderer be drawn by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither Exod. 21. is every guilefull murder performed by the sword, nor by *overt* violence: but there is a guilfull murder also, by poysoning: and by the pen, or by practice. For such distinction is found, between coming presumptuously upon a man, *to slay him with guile*; and *lying in wait for blood, privily, for the innocent, without a cause*, upon hope of spoil, after such manner as *the net is spread before the eyes of the Birds*. *Francis* the first, Queen *Mary* of *England*, and the Kings Majesty now reigning, have given notable testimony of their justice, upon three Noble men, who committed *guilful murder*. Of the first kind, King *Francis* upon the Lord of *Talard*: who being (saith the *French* Historian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & support de plusieurs grandes alliances*; *who being of high and ancient linage, and supported by divers great alliances*, of which the Cardinal of *Bellay* (in especial favour with the King) was one; was notwithstanding delivered over into the hands of the Hangman. Q. *Mary*, upon a Noble

Exod. 21. 14. Prov. 1. 11.

Noble man of her own Religion, and in many other reſpects very dear unto her, *His Majeſty*, upon a Baron of *Scotland*; whoſe houſe was no leſs ancient and faithful, than himſelf valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilfully by poyſon, and of puniſhment following ſuch wicked Artiſans, every age hath had too many examples. Of killing guilfully by the pen (that I may not ſpeak of any *Engliſh* Judge) the Author of the *French Recherches* gives unto us two notable inſtances: the one of *des Eſhars*, who (ſaith *Paſquier*) *fit mourir Montaigu grand Maiſtre de France, pour contenter l'opinion celuy dont il eſtoit lors idolaſtre; & Dieu permit que depuis il fut pendu & eſtrangle; Who cauſed Montaigu great Maſter of* France *to die to content his mind* (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) *whom at that time* Eſhars *worſhipped as his Idol; but God permitted, that he himſelf was ſoon after hanged and ſtrangled.* The other was of the Great *Francis* the firſt, upon his Chancellor *Poyet*: who to ſatisfie the Kings paſſion, practiſed the deſtruction of the Admiral *Chabot*; a man moſt nobly deſcended, and of great ſervice. For as in other men, ſo in Kings the paſſion of love grows old, and wears out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admiral, he charged him with ſome offences, which he had formerly committed: The Admiral preſuming upon the great good ſervice which he had done the King in *Piemont*, and in the defence of *Marſeilles* againſt the Emperour, gave the King other language than became him; and deſired nothing ſo much, as a publick trial. Hereupon the King (it being eaſie to provoke an ill diſpoſition) gave commiſſion to the Chancellor, as Præſident, and other Judges, upon an information of the Kings Advocate, to queſtion the Admirals life; The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large conſcience, (which is not rare in men towards the law) hoping highly to content the King; wrought with ſome of the Judges with ſo great cunning; with others with ſo ſharp threats; and with the reſt, with ſo fair promiſes; as albeit nothing could be proved againſt the Admiral, worthy of the Kings diſpleaſure, yet the Chancellor ſubſcribed, and got others to ſubſcribe, to the forfeiture of his Eſtate, Offices, and Liberty, though not able to prevail againſt his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating falſhood in ſo great a Magiſtrate) other than his own degradation, arraignment and condemnation? *Belle les on certes* (ſaith *Paſquier*) *a tout Juge pur de-meurer touſiours en ſoy, & ne laiſſer fluctuer ſa conſcience debans les vagues d'une imaginare faveur, qui pour fin de jeu le ſubmerge; A fair leſſon to all Judges, to dwell alwayes in themſelves, and not to ſuffer their conſciences to float upon the waves of imaginary favour, which in the end overwhelms them.* And as for the Admiral, though it might have been anſwered unto his friends, if any bewail his calamity as undeſerved, That he was tryed, according to his own deſire, by the Laws of his Country, and by the Judges of Parliament; yet the Kings juſtice, ſurmounting all other his paſſions, gave back unto him his Honour, his Offices, his Liberty, and his Eſtate.

Lib. 5. c. 18. & cap. 11.

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†. III.

The laſt Acts of Scipio *in* Spain, *His return to* Rome, *where he is choſen Conſul.*

THe laſt buſineſs that troubled *Scipio* in *Spain*, grew by the rebellion of the people, and mutiny of his Souldiers. He fell dangerouſly ſick, in ſuch ſort that the rumour of his death ran current throughout *Spain*. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, petty Kings, that had forſaken the *Carthaginians*, and followed *Scipio* a while before, to take arms againſt the *Romans*. They were vainly perſwaded, that after the *Carthaginians* were driven out; they themſelves ſhould become the mightieſt in all *Spain*. But ſeeing now, that things were no way anſwerable to the greatneſs of their hopes; they thought it beſt, to take the preſent advantage, and hammer out their own fortunes. So they raſhly fell upon the *Sueſſetani* and *Sedetani*, confederates of the *Romans*; and waſted their Country. Part of the *Roman* Army lying at *Sucro*, inſtead of making head againſt theſe Rebels, grew to be affected with the like diſtemper. They had not reped ſuch profit of the *Roman* conqueſts, as might ſatisfie their deſires; or as they thought eaſie to be gotten if they might be their own Carvers. Wherefore, when the death of *Scipio* was reported, they thought that the time ſerved very well, to enrich themſelves with the ſpoil of the Country. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greateſt of all, driving away their Colonels, that ſhould have bridled their fury; they choſe out of their own number two baſe fellows, *Albinus Calenus*, and *Atrius Umber*, to their Commanders. Theſe took upon them all the Enſigns of Pro-conſuls, or Pro-pretors; as if this their election had been like to that, wherein *Lucius Marcius* was choſen by the Souldiers after the death of the two *Scipio*'s: But whileſt they were deviſing what ex-

ploits they might do, for the enriching of themſelves, in a time of ſuch combuſtion as was expected, there arrived more certain news, that *Scipio* was both alive, and in good health. There came alſo new Colonels, ſent unto them from their General: who mildly rebuking their want of conſideration, and ſeeming to be glad that they had no further over-ſhot themſelves; led them to *Carthagena*, there to receive their pay. Before their coming, *Scipio* had reſolved to do exemplary juſtice on the principal offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in fear of what they had deſerved. Therefore he cauſed *Syllanus* to make ready their Companies which lay before in the Town, as it were to make an Expedition againſt *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*: he cauſed *Albius* and *Atrius* with ſome thirty other of their Complices, to be ſecretly apprehended in their lodgings: he called the Mutiners to aſſembly; and having them unarmed as they were, encircled round by *Syllanus* and his companies, prepared for the purpoſe; he bitterly inveighed againſt them all as Traitors. This done, *Albius* and *Atrius*, with the other priſoners were haled to the ſtake, where they were whipt and beheaded, as was the *Roman* cuſtome toward ſuch offenders. The reſt of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thouſand, were cauſed to take their oath of obedience anew; and received every man his pay when he was ſworn.

Mandonius and *Indibilis* continued in arms: notwithſtanding that they had certain word of *Scipio* his life and health. Well they could have been contented to be quiet: but by the ſeverity uſed to the *Roman* Souldiers, they ſtood in fear, as being *Spaniards*, and greater offenders, of harder meaſure. *Scipio* went againſt them, and found them in a valley, that was ſcarce large enough to hold all their Army. In the entrance thereof he fought with them: and ſending *Lælius* with all his horſe, to fetch a compaſs about the hills, and charge them in rear, he overthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had after this, no hope remaining to preſerve themſelves and their eſtates, otherwiſe than by making ſubmiſſion. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*: and humbly craving pardon, both for himſelf and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his requeſt; yet ſo, that they were taught to acknowledge themſelves leſs free Princes than formerly they had been.

Afterwards *Scipio* went toward *Gades*: and was met on the way by *Maſaniſſa*; who ſecretly promiſed to do him all ſervice, if the people of *Rome* would ſend him to make war in *Africk*. Unto *Mago* that lay in *Gades*, came directions from *Carthage*, that letting all care of *Spain* alone, he ſhould thence depart from his fleet into *Italy*; and there wage an Army of *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, to joyn with *Hannibal*. For this purpoſe, was mony ſent unto him from *Carthage*; and he himſelf laid hold upon all that he could find in the Town of *Gades*; without ſparing either private men, the common treaſury, or the Temples. In this voyage thence, he landed at *Carthagena*; hoping to have taken it by ſurpriſe. But he failed in the attempt, and was ſo beaten to his ſhips, that he returned back to repoſe himſelf a while at *Gades*. The *Gaditanes*, offended with the robberies and ſpoil that he had made at his taking leave of them, would not ſuffer him again to enter into their City. By this he foreſaw, that it would not be long ere they became *Roman*. Wherefore ſending Meſſengers into the Town, to complain of this uncourteous dealing, he allured their Magiſtrates forth unto him; whom, notwithſtanding all the excuſe that they could make, he whipt and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voyage; bidding *Spain* farewell for ever.

The Iſle and City of *Gades*, was yielded to the *Romans*, preſently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliver up the Province, to thoſe that were ſent from *Rome* to ſucceed him therein: & himſelf with ten ſhips returned home. At his coming to *Rome*, he made ſuit for the honour of a triumph. But it was denied him: for that it had as yet been granted unto no Proconſul, excepting to ſuch, as received that dignity after a Conſulſhip, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulſe, the election of new Conſuls being then in hand, by general voice of the City, *P. Cornelius Scipio* was choſen Conſul, and *P. Licinius Craſſus* joyned with him. This *Craſſus*, being high-Prieſt, or Biſhop of the *Romans*, might not by the cuſtome of thoſe times, go far from the City; as being to intend the matters of their ſuperſtition: though *Cæſar*, and others, who in ages following held the ſame office, were ſtayed by no ſuch religious impediment, from being far and long abſent. Hereby it came to paſs, that *Scipio*, deſiring to have the war transferred into *Africk*, was in no danger to loſe that honourable charge, by any miſchance of lot, in the diviſion of Provinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of employment ſo far off.

§. XVIII.

§. XVIII.

Scipio *obtains leave to make war in Africk. His preparations. Of* Maſaniſſa *who was joyned with* Scipio. *The victories againſt* Aſdrubal *and* Syphax.

PUb: *Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Licinius Craſſus*, entring into their Conſulſhip, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: where it was decreed, that *Scipio* ſhould be allowed, to beſtow part of the money which he had brought out of *Spain* into the treaſury; upon the ſetting forth of ſolemn plays, that he had vowed to make whilſt he was buſied in his *Spaniſh* wars. This helped well to revive the memory of his victories already gotten; and to give hope unto the People of greater victories in the war, which he intended to make in *Africk*. To the ſame purpoſe, did the *Spaniſh* Embaſſages avail much in the Senate; eſpecially that of the *Saguntines*: who magnified his actions highly and deſervedly; ſaying, that they were the moſt happy of all their countrymen, ſince they being preſent, had ſeen him choſen Conſul, and ſhould carry home ſuch joyful news. The *Saguntine* Embaſſadors were lovingly entertained by the Senate: as their faith to *Rome* (though coſtly it were both to them and to the *Romans*) had well deſerved. Nevertheleſs, when *Scipio* propoſed, that *Africk* might be decreed unto him for his Province, there wanted not many, even of the principal men, that vehemently gainſaid him. Of theſe was *Q. Fabius Maximus* the chief: who ſeems to have been troubled with that diſeaſe, which too often cauſed men, renowned for long approved vertue, to look aſquint upon the actions of thoſe, that follow them in the ſame kind. He alledged many reaſons againſt the purpoſe of the Conſul; whereof the chief were, that the Treaſury was unable to ſuſtain the charges of a war in *Africk*; and that it was extreamly perilous to hazzard ſo great forces, where they could not at pleaſure be recalled unto the defence of *Rome* it ſelf, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein *Italy* ſtood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his brother, that was arming the *Ligurians*: as alſo concerning the honour of the Conſul; which would (he ſaid) be greater in ſetting *Italy* free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harm to *Africk*. Neither did he forget, both to elevate the *Spaniſh* wars, as of leſs moment than the intended voyage againſt *Carthage*, nor withall to lay great blame upon *Scipio*, for having ſuffered *Aſdrubal* to paſs into *Italy*: ſhewing, that it was greatly to be feared, leſt the like might happen again; and that a new Army, notwithſtanding the good ſucceſs of *Scipio*, (if it hapned to be good) might be ſent from *Carthage*, to the utter endangering of *Rome*, whileſt the *Roman* forces were employed abroad. But the main point which he urged, was, that neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, *Africk* to be that year a Province; which the Conſul nevertheleſs propounded in ſuch wiſe, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other ſide, inſiſted upon this one point; that it was better to make an offenſive, than a defenſive war, eſpecially againſt ſuch as the *Carthaginians*, who being ill provided of able men at home, did furniſh themſelves, by help of mony, with levies made abroad. As for the care of *Italy*, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague would be as well able to diſcharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promiſing to draw *Hannibal* into *Africk*, for defence of his own home; and taxing as civilly as he could, the envy of *Fabius*, which withſtood ſuch a gallant enterpriſe, he propoſed the matter again to the Senate. Much altercation there was about the manner of his proceeding: foraſmuch as it was noiſed abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his mind, he would carry it by the people. This offended many of the ancients: who reſented in this honourable man, a little ſpice of that arrogancy, which in following ages grew to be much hotter, in thoſe that had commanded long abroad. But in concluſion, *Scipio* referred himſelf wholly to the Senates good will and pleaſure; whereby he obtained thus much, That the Iſle of *Sicil* might be appointed unto him for his Province; with leave to paſs over into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

Want of money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the *Roman* Senate have little care to furniſh out *Scipio* to the war, by him intended upon *Africk*. Herewithall it fell out, that *Mago*, coming on the ſudden from the *Baleares* to *Genua*, and winning the Town, bred a fear of no leſs terrible invaſion upon *Italy*, than that which *Aſdrubal* had lately made. He could not indeed raiſe any great Army of the *Ligurians*; for that he found them diſtracted with civil wars. Therefore he was driven to make choice of his party; and to help thoſe whom he thought fitteſt for his turn, againſt the others. This troubleſome buſineſs, though it occupied more of his time than he could willingly have ſpared: yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the unſteady *Gauls* ready

dy to enter into his pay. Hereupon the disperſed Legions of the *Romans*, that under Proconſuls, and Prætors, lay ready to be employed where need ſhould require; were directed unto the borders of *Lombardy* and *Liguria*, there to make head againſt *Mago*. But all his menaces paſſed away in vapour. For a fleet, either coming to his aid from *Carthage*, or by him ſent thither (the report is uncertain) loaden with the booty that he had taken, fell into the hands of the *Roman* Prætor, that governed in *Sardinia*. This did much diſable him: and though after a while, there came letters from *Carthage*, together with ſtore of money, heartning him in his proceedings; yet ſome impediments which he found, and that fatal voyage of *Scipio* into *Africk*, diſturbed all; and made him be re-called home.

Againſt *Hannibal* was nothing done this year. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* Hiſtorians have been pleaſed to take notice. Only it is ſaid, that he ſpent his Summer by the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, where he raiſed an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, graven in *Punick* and *Greek* letters. Such account of winnings paſt, is commonly in Gameſters that are at the height of their fortune, a cauſe of remiſſion and careleſneſs; in thoſe that are upon the loſing hand, a cauſe both of the ſame for the preſent, and ſhortly after of dejection, when they find a notable change. A great peſtilence infeſting both the *Carthaginian* and the *Roman* Camp, is ſaid to have been the occaſion of this years idleneſs; which fell out not much amiſs for the City of *Rome*, that was marvelouſly impoveriſhed by this war; and had already tryed the utmoſt way to defray the charges, which grew inſupportable. To relieve the preſent neceſſity, it was well thought upon, that a great part of *Campania* (not many years ſince confiſcated) ſhould be ſold, or let out: in which bargain, that the City might receive no loſs, the tenth part of the fine was ordained, as a reward unto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other mony, none was given to *Scipio*. Neither was he allowed to make preſs of Souldiers for his *African* voyage; neither did he over-much labour to obtain it. That which the Senate refuſed, the people did for him: or rather they did it for themſelves; that were therein wiſer than the Senate. It is uſually found in Councels of eſtate, that the buſie, or obſtinate heads of a few do carry all the reſt. And many times men make a ſurrender of their own judgements, to the wiſdom, that hath gotten it ſelf a name, by giving happy direction in troubles forepaſt. Therefore, he that repoſeth himſelf upon the advice of many, ſhall often find himſelf deceived: the counſel of thoſe many being wholly directed by the Empire of a few, that over-ſway the reſt. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his wary nature ſorted well with the buſineſs, that fell out in the chief of his employment. Unto him therefore *Q. Fulvius* adhered; with other of the Senators, that were grown old in following one courſe; from which they could not ſhift, as the change of time required. But the People (who though they could not well adviſe, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needful reſolution of *Scipio*: in ſuch ſort, that beſides his *Roman* forces, he had from divers parts of *Italy* about ſeven thouſand Voluntaries. He had alſo proviſion from the ſeveral Towns: Corn, Iron, Canvas for ſails, Axes, Beed-hooks, Hand-mils, and the like implements; Firre for building of ſhips, many thouſands of Targets, Helmets and Spears of all kinds: every place furniſhed him with that commodity, which it beſt could afford.

Unto this willingneſs of the people, the diligence of *Scipio* was correſpondent. In the compaſs of five and forty dayes he had both fell'd his Timber, built, and lanched twenty *Trireme*, and ten *Quinquereme* Gallies; wherewith he tranſported his Army into *Sicil*. In *Sicil* he found, beſides other forces, two Legions, that had ſerved at *Cannæ*: which were old Souldiers, and (as he himſelf well knew) not guilty of the overthrow; for which they had long undergone a heavy cenſure. They had ſerved under *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, at the taking of many Cities and ſtrong pieces: in which regard, they were like to be of good uſe to him in *Africk*, where would be ſtore of ſuch employment. For increaſing the number of his horſe, he preſſed three hundred *Sicilians*, all wealthy young men, and ſuch as loved well their eaſe. Theſe he afterward diſcharged from the War, highly to their contentment: but with condition, that they ſhould deliver their Horſe and Arms, to as many *Roman* Gentlemen, which he brought over with him for the purpoſe. Whileſt he was providing to have things in a readineſs for *Africk*, the baniſhed *Locrians*, that followed the *Roman* ſide, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recover their City. Some handicrafts-men, that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the Citadels of *Locri*, (for there were two in the Town) being taken priſoners by the *Romans*, promiſed to betray the place, if they might be ranſomed and rewarded.

Scipio

Scipio being advertiſed of this gave order to have the attempt made by night: which happily ſucceeded, and that Citadel was ſurpriſed. The other Citadel was ſtrongly defended by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon, which ſent to *Hannibal* for aid. The *Romans* in like ſort, fearing leſt that their paucity ſhould make them too weak for *Hannibal*, craved help of the Conſul *Scipio*. The Townſ-men were doubtfully affected: but the beſt, and moſt of them inclining to the *Romans*, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the comming of *Scipio* cauſed thence to depart; and cauſed likewiſe the *Carthaginian* Garriſon to abandon the other Citadel. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in cuſtody of the Town. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Locrians* unto the *Roman* Senate; not only againſt thoſe of the Garriſon: but much more againſt *Pleminius* the Captain, who gave bad example, and was worſe than all the reſt. Beſides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other villanies, the Temple of *Proſerpina*, that had a great fame of ſanctity, was ſpoyled by theſe barbarous Thieves. The *Locrians* therefore adviſed the Senate to make preſent amends to the goddeſs for this ſacrilege: ſaying that the like had never been committed, without notorious revenge by her taken upon the Authors. The Senate gave good ear to this complaint, comforted the *Locrians*, and redreſſed the injuries done unto them; ſent for *Pleminius*, with other principal offenders; whom they caſt into priſon, and uſed according to their deſerts: as alſo they reſtored unto *Proſerpina* her money twice told. But old *Q. Fabius* was not herewithal contented. He laid much of the blame upon *Scipio*, that had placed ſuch a man in *Locri*; and had not carefully hearkned to the complaints made againſt him, but ſuffered him to run on in theſe his wicked courſes. By the ſharp invective that *Fabius* made, others took courage to ſpeak what they pleaſed, as well againſt the demeanour of *Scipio*, as againſt the diſſoluteneſs of his Army; which lay, as they ſaid, idle in *Sicil*, neither mindful of any ſervice toward, nor fit for it if need ſhould require. Finally, things were ſo far urged, that ten Legates were ſent over into *Sicil*, together with the Prætor appointed for that Iſland; two of the Tribunes, and one of the Ædiles; who ſhould examine theſe matters; and either cauſe the General to return into *Italy*, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was, they found him ſo well prepared againſt *Carthage*, as that they haſtened him on his journey, and gave him high commendations at their return.

Scipio had already employed *Lælius* in *Africk*; rather to make diſcovery, than to work any other great effect of war. He took a great booty: and ſtruck no little terror into the *Carthaginians*; who ſaw their affairs to be upon terms of change. But the greateſt fruit of his journey was, That ſpeaking with *Maſaniſſa*, he well informed himſelf of the ſtate of *Africk*; and knew what was to be expected of thoſe two Kings, that had promiſed to joyn with the *Romans* at their landing.

Concerning *Maſaniſſa* his revolt from the *Carthaginians*, and his compact made underhand with the *Romans*, *Livie* doth profeſs, That there was no ſuch evident cauſe thereof at the preſent; but that the long continuance of his faith and conſtancy, in following times, muſt help to prove, that this his change, was not without ſome good cauſe. But *Appianus* (an Hiſtorian far inferiour to *Livie*, both in worth and time) gives one reaſon ſo probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carryes with it a great appearance of neceſſary truth. Only the doubt is, How it could any way come to paſs, that the knowledge of ſuch a matter ſhould have eſcaped the diligence of *Livie*, if it had been true: unleſs we ſhould believe, that he wilfully forbear to rehearſe a Tragedy; the ſorrow whereof would cauſe men to think amiſs of *Scipio*. Howſoever it was thus * *Appian* tells it: and many circumſtances of things done, confirm it. *Aſdrubal*, the Son of *Geſco*, had a fair daughter, whom both King *Syphax* and *Maſaniſſa* loved. *Maſaniſſa*, being brought up at *Carthage*, and being withall a goodly Gentleman of perſon, and excellent in qualities, was choſen by *Aſdrubal* to be his ſon-in-law. When the Virgin was betrothed unto him, he went into *Spain*, and there did great ſervice. But afterwards, the *Carthaginian* Senate thought the marriage of *Aſdrubals* daughter to be a matter of State: and beſtowed her upon *Syphax*, without ſtanding to acquaint her father or *Maſaniſſa* therewithall: This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mighty Prince; and for that the indignity of the repulſe, had made him become their enemy. Hereof *Maſaniſſa* was advertiſed; and forthwith entred into intelligence with *Scipio*, ſecretly as he thought; yet not ſo ſecretly, but ſome notice was taken of it: which would have coſt him his life, had he not with great circumſpection conveighed himſelf home, into his fathers Kingdom. Thus far forth we may believe *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things paſt, and following.

Liv. lib. 28.

* *Appian. Alexan. de Bell. Punic.*

ing. Only it seems, that howsoever *Sophonisba*, the daughter of *Asdrubal*, was promised by the *Carthaginians* unto *Syphax*: yet since this their courtesie proceeded from fear, he thought it wisdom to continue and increase the same their fear, by making fair promises to the *Romans*, untill *Asdrubal had sent for his daughter from Carthage*, and the marriage was consummated. In other matters concerning the war it self, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Livie*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appears by the broken pieces of his works remaining) *Livie* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed unto his reports. *Liv. lib. 29.*

Masanissa was the son of *Gala*, a King of the *Numidians*: whose father dying, the Crown descended, by order of the Country, unto *Desalces* the brother, not unto *Masanissa* the son. But this Uncle of *Masanissa* shortly dyed: and his elder son, who took possession of the kingdom, was vanquished, and slain in battel by a Rebel, that made himself Protector over the younger which was a child. The Traitor fortified himself against *Masanissa*, whose return he feared, by Alliances with the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*. But all would not serve: He and his Pupill, were dispossessed of their Estates by *Masanissa*; that was a skilfull Warriour, and well beloved for the memory of his father *Gala*. The *Carthaginians* in reason would have been glad, that *Masanissa*, who had done them notable service, was thus confirmed in his Estate, had they not been guilty of the injury by them done unto him; whilest his Uncle or Cousin reigned, and he seemed unlikely to stand them in any stead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his own malice, towards his Corrival, warred upon him; and over-charging him with numbers, drave him out of his Kingdom. Nevertheless *Masanissa*, still retained the hearts of his people; and thereby remained strong enough, to infest both *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*; though he was often put in distress, by great forces that were sent against him. He therefore keeping much about the lesser *Syrtis*, between the borders of the *Carthaginians*, and the Nation of the *Garamants*, expected the coming of the *Romans*: yet so, as he made long roads over all the Country, even as far as *Hippo*; and when *Lælius* arrived thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to hasten on *Scipio* to the invasion of *Africk*.

But *Syphax*, in whose great aid and succour was reposed more hope of good success, than could be expected from the good will of poor *Masanissa*, sent an Embassage into *Sicil* about the same time, which was little pleasing unto *Scipio*. He excused himself of his promise lately made: and signified his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; adding, That he could not chuse but fight for the defence of *Africk*, wherein he was born and reigned; and for the defence of his beloved wives Country, if it were invaded. Nevertheless he promised to remain a Neuter, so long as the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* held war abroad, far enough from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done. This message hastened *Scipio* in his expedition, much more than any perswasion could have done. For, the promised assistance of *Syphax* had not a little advanced his enterprise; in procuring both the assent of the Senate, and the forwardness of many adventurers. Lest therefore the failing of this hope, should work too great a change in common opinion, He thought it the best way to prevent all discourse, and set the war undertaken immediately on foot. The Embassadors he dismissed in haste, with letters to their King: wherein he willed him to consider, that what he had promised, he had also sworn; and therefore should do well to make it good. Having sent them away, He called his Souldiers together; and bade them make ready for the voyage, which he intended no longer to defer. For, said he, *Masanissa* hath been with *Lælius*: and *Syphax* hath newly sent to me; greatly wondring upon what I should thus stay; and saying, That they will provide for themselves, if I fail their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale prevented all further inquisition, that might else have been made concerning the message of these Embassadors: whose followers had been seen walking up and down *Syracuse*. And lest any thing should afterwards break out, that might hinder the business, *Scipio* immediately sent about his fleet unto *Lylibæum*: and requesting by letters *M. Pomponius*, that was Prætor in *Sicil*, to meet him there; hasted thither with his Army. At *Lylibæum* he agreed with the Prætor, about the division of the Legions between them, which to leave behind for defence of the Island; and which to carry with him into *Africk*. What numbers he transported, it is not certain: some Historians reckoning only ten thousand foot, and two and twenty hundred horse; others increasing them to five and thirty thousand, horse and foot. Concerning his directions for embarquing, and other matters belonging to their course, I hold it needless to set them down: since they were points of ordinary care, and which it is like that neither he, when he took

took his voyage into *Spain*, nor others upon like occasions, have omitted; they being also word for word set down by an Historian, who borrowed them from *Livie*, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

This *Roman* Army landed in *Africk*, near to a fore-land then called the *fair Promontorie*: which how far it was from *Carthage*, or toward what point of the Compass, I cannot precisely affirm; because it is uncertain, whether it were that Cape or Head-land which bore the name of *Mercury*, and lay to the North-east of *Carthage*; or whether that of *Apollo*, which lay Northerly from *Carthage*, and by West. The coming of *Masanissa* unto *Scipio* at his first arrival, helpt to confirm the opinion of *Xylander*, who thinks the *fair Promontory* to have been the same, that was also called *Mercuries Cape*, since with little difficulty *Masanissa* might come thither from the lesser *Syrtis*, whereabout was his common abiding. But forasmuch as without any memorable impediment soon after his arrival, *Scipio* encamped before *Utica*, that stood Westward from *Carthage* beyond the River *Bagradas*: it may rather seem, that he landed within the Promontory of *Apollo*; whence the way to *Utica* was not long. This is also strongly proved; for that out of *Carthage* were sent, the next day, five hundred horse to trouble him in his dis-embarking, Neither was it so hard for *Masanissa*, that roved about the Contry with a troop of horse, to find out the *Romans*, though they landed far from the place to the which he usually resorted, like as before he had met with *Lælius* at *Hippo* that was farther off; as it would have been for *Scipio*, with his Army & Carriages, to overcome the trouble of a long journey, and fetch a great compass to *Utica*, by Land; when he might have disembarqued nearer unto it. Nevertheless it may pass as a conjecture, That *Scipio* came first of all to *Emporia*, a plentiful Region about the lesser *Syrtis*; since he gave charge to the Masters of his ships, at the setting forth from *Lilybæum*, to shape their course for that coast. The Countrey thereabout was very rich, and fit for sustenance of an Army: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well provided to make resistance. Thus much perhaps *Masanissa* had signified unto *Lælius*, when he spake with him at *Hippo*: thinking that the *Romans*, howsoever they made brave promises, would not come strong enough to fight *at head*. But when he saw their Fleet and Army to be such, as not only served to invade the lands of *Carthage*, but threatned a conquest of the City and whole Estate: then might he better advise them to set sail for *Utica*, and make war upon the Enemies at their own doors.

The *Carthaginians* had at time neither any Captain of great worth at home, nor better Army than of raw Souldiers; that were levied, or to be levied in haste. *Asdrubal* the of son *Gesco*, the same that had lately been chased out of *Spain* by *Scipio*, was their best man of war. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno* and his fellows, of whose faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobility, together with the affinity of King *Syphax*, made him passable. He was then with the King his son-in-law, working him no doubt against the *Romans*: when letters were brought from *Carthage* both to *Syphax* and to him, informing them of the Invasion: entreating the one of them to give assistance, and commanding the other to make his repair unto the City, where he was chosen General. But ere these could be ready, *Scipio* had beaten the troop of *Carthaginian* horse, that were sent out of the City to disturb his landing; and slain *Hanno* a young Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Town of the *Carthaginians*: wherein, besides other booty, he took eight thousand prisoners; all which he conveighed aboord his Hulks or Ships of burden, and sent them back loaden into *Sicil*. He took likewise a Town called *Salera*, which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with four thousand *Numidian* horse: whose service being fitter, for the field, than [illegible] defence of walled places, made *Scipio* to perceive the unskilfulness of their Leader, that had thus housed them. Wherefore he sent *Masanissa* before him: who rode up to the gates; and, by making a bravado, trained out the improvident *Hanno* so far, that he drew him unto a place, where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victory was easily gotten, and *Hanno* either taken or slain. With those that fled, the *Romans* entered *pell-mell* into the Town, which presently they made their own. Thence went *Scipio* to *Utica*, a City of great importance, of which mention hath been formerly made, and sate down before it. Forty dayes he spent about it, assailing it both by Land and Sea, and using all his engines of battery, whereof he had plenty, yet was in no likelihood of prevailing. And now the Summer was quite spent: so that it was time for him to choose a place, and fortifie his Winter-Camp, which must be well stored against the year following. Whilest thus necessity urged him to leave *Utica*: and

ſh ame of taking the repulſe in his firſt great enterpriſe, rather than any hope of better ſucceſs, cauſed him to ſtay there; *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* gave him the honour of a fair pretence to leave the ſiege. *Aſdrubal* had made a levy of thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe: yet adventured not with this ill-trained Army to draw near unto the *Romans*, before the coming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him unto *Carthage* fifty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe: which joyning unto the forces of *Aſdrubal*, they marched bravely toward *Scipio*; who thereby took occaſion to diſlodge. He choſe for his Winter-Camp the banks of an In-let, that had good harbour for his Navy. His foot-men he lodged on a Promontory, joyning to the Continent by an arm of Land: his horſe-men he beſtowed upon lower ground, on the other ſhoar: in the bottom of the *Creek* he mored his ſhips; and there he quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged unto the Fleet. The whole camp he ſtrongly fortified, and ſo attended the ſeaſon of the year, when it ſhould ſerve him again to fight. Of cattel and other booty *Maſaniſſa* had brought in great ſtore, by driving the Country, before the coming of *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax*. Corn alſo he had gotten ſome: and great ſtore was ſent him from *Scicil* and *Sardinia*. Likewiſe apparel for his Souldiers, was ſent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though ſcarce enough to ſerve turn, for that it was a matter of more coſt. The ſhips that brought theſe things, he [illegible]nted homewards with ſuch part of his [illegible]ooty, as he could beſt ſpare: eſpecially with captives to be ſold for ſlaves. *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped near unto *Scipio*: not ſo ſtrongly fortifying themſelves, as did the *Romans*, either for that they wanted the ſeverer inſtitution, which the *Romans* uſed in the diſcipline of war, or for that they preſumed upon their multitude, againſt which they found in *Scipio* no diſpoſition to iſſue forth of his ſtrength, and fight. So the Winter paſſed without action.

When Spring drew near, *Scipio* thought it good to aſſay his old friend the *Numidian* King, if perhaps he might be won by perſwaſions to forſake the *Carthaginians*. It was conſidered, that thoſe *Barbarians* were naturally unconſtant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had given proof before this of his much levity. It might therefore be hoped, that having wearied himſelf by lodging a whole Winter in the Camp: and being peradventure no leſs weary with ſatiety of his wife, who had cauſed him to enter into this war: he might be moved with a little entreaty to withdraw himſelf home into his Kingdom, and reſt a *Neuter*. But it is not unlikely, that ſuch a friend as this King, had been highly entertained and honoured in the City of *Carthage*, which was near at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleaſed him, or as he had been invited, to make a ſtep thither and repoſe himſelf a while: his wife Queen *Sophonisba* lying alſo there at the ſame time, to cheriſh him in his reſolution. Howſoever it were, *Syphax* did only make an overture of peace; propounding it as reaſonable, That *Hannibal* ſhould be recalled out of *Italy* by the *Carthaginians*: and that the *Romans* in like ſort ſhould quietly depart out of *Africk*, and ſo make an end of the war: wherewith now both *Africk* and *Europe* were diſquieted. Unto this would not *Scipio* at the firſt give ear: yet being preſſed earneſtly by many meſſages from *Syphax*, and deſiring to continue the intercourſe of Embaſſadors; he began to make ſhew, as if he would conſider of the motion. He was given to underſtand by thoſe whom he had ſent unto the King, that the Enemies had their camps without any great defence of earth, full of wooden Cabins, and covered with boughs: and that the *Numidians*, ſuch of them as came firſt with *Syphax*, uſed coverings of Mats and Reeds; others that came later, had thatched their lodgings with dry boughs and leaves: under which they lay careleſly without their Trenches. Upon this advertiſement he bethought himſelf, That it would not be hard for him to ſet their camps on fire, and thereby give them a notable overthrow. Without help of ſome ſuch ſtratagem, he foreſaw that it would be a work of great difficulty for him, to proceed in his wars when time ſhould ſerve. It was a plain open Country wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great advantage of him in number, eſpecially in horſe; which, upon ſuch ground, could not be reſiſted by the *Roman* Legions. The longer therefore that he thought upon the matter; the more needful he found it for himſelf, to make ſome ſudden attempt upon their Camp. To this end he ſent many Embaſſadours, under pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeed of purpoſe to diſcover all that might concern the intended ſurpriſe. With theſe Embaſſadours he ſent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers, diſguiſed like ſlaves; that wandring (as it were) idle up and down the Camp, might obſerve the wayes and entrances, with whatſoever elſe was needful. When he had learned as much as he deſired: upon the

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ſudden he ſent word to *Syphax*, that it was vain to hold any longer treaty, foraſmuch as he could not get the conſent of his Council of war; whithout whoſe approbation, all that himſelf could do, was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to the end that, without any breach of faith, he might put his deſign in execution. The Truce being thus cut off, *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* were very penſive: as having lately perſwaded themſelves, that their trouble was almoſt at an end. But ſince it could be no better, they began to deviſe, by what art they might draw *Scipio* out of his Camp, and provoke him to battel in thoſe Plains. This if they could do, they hoped to make his Council of war repent as greatly the refuſal of peace, as did *Marcus Atilius* after the like preſumption. But if he ſhould refuſe to come forth of his Trenches, what elſe remained than to beſiege him? Which they themſelves were well able to do by land; and the *Carthaginian* Fleet ſhould do by Sea, that was making ready for the purpoſe. By ſuch diſcourſes theſe two comforted themſelves; recompencing (in conceipt) the loſs of their hopes paſt, with that victory to come. But herein they were extreamly and worthily diſappointed: for that conſulting about the future, they provided not againſt preſent danger, but continued in the ſame negligence, which was grown upon them by the long diſcourſe of peace. As for *Scipio*, he was not idle; but made preparation out of hand, as it were to do ſomewhat againſt *Utica*. Two thouſand Souldiers he had made ready, and appointed to take the ſame piece of ground, whereon he lay againſt *Utica* before. This he did, partly to keep ſecret that which he had in hand, leſt being ſuſpected by his own Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to have notice of it; partly to hinder thoſe of *Utica* from ſetting upon the few, that he purpoſed to leave behind him in his Camp. He cauſed his men that night to ſup well, and betimes that they might be ready for the journey. After ſupper, he appointed ſuch Companies as he thought fit, to the defence of his Camp; all the reſt of the Army he led forth, about nine of the clock at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him ſeven miles and an half: whom he purpoſed to undertake himſelf with the one half of his Army; the other half he committed to *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, whom he ſent before him to ſet upon the camp of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the camp of *Syphax* ſhould be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For the fire might ſeem to have taken by caſualty upon the *Numidians* that lay farther off, whereas if it firſt appeared in the camp of *Aſdrubal*, it would be ſuſpected as the doing of enemies, and give *Syphax* warning to look to himſelf. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched fair and ſoftly; that *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, who had a longer journey, and were to fetch a compaſs about for fear of being diſcovered, might have time to get before him, and do their feat. It was about two or three a clock in the morning, when the camp of *Syphax* began to blaze: which not only the *Numidians*, but their King himſelf, imputed unto caſualty; as thinking themſelves ſafe enough from enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interpoſed between them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to do, ſome ſtarting half aſleep; and others that had ſitten up late at drinking, ran out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But ſo great was the tumult, that they neither could rightly underſtand in what caſe they were, nor give any remedy to the miſchance as it was ſuppoſed. Many were ſmothered and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for fear of the ſudden miſchief, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that eſcaped the fire fell upon the enemies ſword, which was ready to receive them. Eſpecially *Maſaniſſa*, that beſt knew the Country, did great execution upon them: having laid all the wayes, by which he foreſaw that they would ſeek to eſcape. The *Carthaginians* perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pitriful miſchance: ſo that ſome ran out to help the poor *Numidians*; carrying only what would ſerve to quench the fire. Others ran up to the Rampart: where fearleſs of any danger toward themſelves, they ſtood beholding the greatneſs of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as *Scipio* would have it. He therefore loſt no time: but ſetting upon thoſe that were running towards the *Numidians*, he killed ſome, and purſued the reſt back into their camp, which in a little while he made to burn as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Aſdrubal* ſeeing this, and knowing that the *Romans* were there, did not ſtand to make reſiſtance, but ſhifted only for himſelf, and eſcaped with a few of his horſe about him. If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barchine* faction, had been taken in ſuch a manner: it is more than probable that old *Hanno* would have judged him worthy to be crucified. It would then have been ſaid, that with leſs than one half of 30000. men, he might at

least have given some bad recompence, to them that were taking pains in kindling these fires, had he not been only careful how to save his own fearful head. Nevertheless *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is most likely to have been true, That if *Asdrubal*, or any of those about him, would have stricken to shew valour, when the Camp was once on fire: He should not thereby have done any manner of good, because of the tumult and consternation. I shall not need to tell what a fearful thing it was, to hear the cries of so many thousands that perished by fire and sword, or to behold the cruel flame that consumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirms) none *that hath being* is able to describe. It is enough to say, That of those many thousands, very few did escape; which accompanied *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* in their several wayes of flight. Besides these also there were some scatterers, especially of the *Numidians*, that saved themselves in the dark: but they were not many, as after shall appear. Surely it must needs have been very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwise made away, and what numbers escaped in the dark of night. Wherefore *Livie*, who in the rest of this relation, as often elsewhere, doth follow *Polybius*, may seem to have followed some less worthy Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in casting up the summ. For he reckons only two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to have escaped; forty thousand to have perished by sword or fire: and above six thousand to have been taken prisoners: the whole number of all which together, is far short of fourscore and thirteen thousand, which were in these two Camps.

exc. p. è Polyb. l. 14.

Asdrubal, putting himself into the next Town that was very strongly fortified, thought there to find the *Romans* work, until the *Carthaginians* at good leisure might repair their Army. He had with him no more than two thousand foot, and five hundred horse: which he thought sufficient to defend the Town; if the Towns-men would not be wanting to themselves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yield. Unto this disputation, he well foresaw, that the arrival of *Scipio* would soon give an end. Wherefore, lest they should lay hold upon him, and seek the Victors favour by delivering him up: he shrunk away betimes and made all haste to *Carthage*. As for the town which he left; it opened the gates to *Scipio*, at his first coming: and thereby preserved it self from all manner of loss. The two next Towns adjoyning would needs be valiant, and make countenance of war: but their strength not being answerable, they were soon taken by *Scipio*, who abandoned them to the pleasure of his Souldiers. This being done, he returned to the siege of *Utica*.

The *Carthaginians* were sore troubled, as they had good reason, when instead of either Peace or Victory, which they lately hoped for, they heard news of such a lamentable overthrow. Necessity enforced them to make hasty provision for the future: but how to do it, few of them saw any means. Some gave advice to crave peace of *Scipio*: others to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*; but the most, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion, That notwithstanding the loss of this Army, they might well defend themselves against the *Romans*, by raising new forces: especially, if *Syphax* would not leave them. It was therefore concluded, that they should bend all their care this way, levying in all haste another Army; and sending Embassadours to deal with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Town called *Abba*, not passing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the same their unfortunate Commander, *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, was employed to make new levies of men: and Queen *Sophonisba* went forth with Embassadours to her husband *Syphax*, who having gathered together as many as he could of his subjects that had escaped from the late slaughter, was thinking to return into his own Kingdom. *Sophonisba* laboured so with her husband, that at length she won him to her own desire. And it fell out at the same time, that four thousand *Spaniards*, waged by the *Carthaginians*, were brought over to serve in *Africk*. Of these were made such brave reports, as if their courage, and the Arms which they used, were not to be resisted. Even the multitude within *Carthage* believed these tales, and were more glad than they had cause to be; which is great wonder, since in one age, the whole country of *Spain* had been twice conquered; first, by the *Carthaginians* themselves, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* these tales prevailed much: which the *Carthaginian* Embassadors helped with a lye; saying, That there were come ten thousand of these terrible *Spaniards*. Upon this confidence, the people of *Carthage* and their friends gathered such spirit, that in thirty dayes they made up an Army, consisting well-near of thirty thousand men, reckoning the *Spaniards* and *Syphax* with his *Numidians* in the number. So they incamped in a Region called,

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The great Fields, about five dayes journey from *Utica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Utica* thither, to visit them: leaving behind him his impediments, with some part of his Army, to make a shew of continuing the siege. Two or three dayes, after the meeting of both Armies, passed away in skirmish, without any great thing done. It had now been time for *Asdrubal* to follow the example of the *Roman Fabius*, and seek to weary out the Enemy by delayes. But either (which is likely) he was a far worse Commander, or else it was not in his power, to give such directions as best pleased himself. The fourth day the Armies met in battel: wherein the *Romans* were marshalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner, having their *Italian* horse in the right wing; and *Masaniſſa* with his *Numidians* in the left. On the contrary side, *Asdrubal* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing; *Syphax* the left; and the *Spaniards*, the battel. The victory was gotten without many blows: for the untrained followers of *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*, could not sustain the first charge of the *Italians*, or of *Masaniſſa*. Only the *Spaniards* fought a long time, even untill they were all in a manner slain: rather as men desperate, and not hoping for mercy, since they were thus come over to fight against *Scipio*, who had otherwise deserved of them, than upon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obstinacy was beneficial to those that fled; for that it hindred the *Romans* from making any great pursuit. Hereby *Asdrubal*, and *Syphax* escaped: *Asdrubal*, to *Carthage*; and *Syphax* home to his own Kingdom: whither his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

Scipio, having thus gotten the mastery of the field, took counsel about the prosecution of the war. It was resolved upon as the best course, That he himself, with part of the Army, should attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Masaniſſa*, with his *Numidians*, and *Lælius*, with some of the *Roman* Legions, should follow after *Syphax*; not permitting him to take rest within his own Kingdom, where easily else he might repair his forces, and put them to new trouble. This advice, it seems that *Masaniſſa* gave: who knew best the quality of the *Numidians*; and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a victory. The least that could be expected, was his restitution into his own Kingdom, usurped by *Syphax*: which to accompliſh, it no less concerned the *Romans* at the present, than it did himself. According to this order concluded, *Lælius* was sent away with *Masaniſſa*: and *Scipio* stayed behind, carrying the war from town to town. Many places yielded for fear; many were taken by force; and all the subjects of *Carthage* wavered in their fidelity, as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of those unreasonable burdens, which their proud Masters had laid upon them, for maintenance of the war in *Spain* and *Italy*. What to do in this case, the *Carthaginians* could hardly resolve. Fortune was their enemy; they had lost their Armies and many of their Towns: neither durst they make bold to trouble their own subjects with any violent exaction of men or money; who nevertheless of their own free will were likely to give little help. Very much it grieved them to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*: yet since there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Army; it was decreed, That Embassadors should be forthwith sent to call him home. Some there were that gave advice, to set out a fleet against that of *Scipio*, and rode before *Utica*, weakly manned, that easie to be taken, whilest *Scipio* himself was busied in the Island Countrys. Some were of opinion, that it should be their principal care, to fortifie by all means the City of *Carthage*: upon the safety whereof they said all depended: adding, that whilest they were true, and at unity among themselves, they might well enough subsist, and expect those opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtless) would present them. These counsels were not rejected; but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning the defence of the City, and for the attempt upon the *Roman* fleet at *Utica*. Nevertheless, it was considered, that thereby they should only protract the war; without any advancing their own affairs towards likelihood of victory, no, though it should fall out, that all the ships at *Utica* might be taken, or destroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, that he should immediately come over into *Africk*, as the last refuge of *Carthage*. The Council was no sooner broken up, than all the Senators betook themselves to the execution of that which was decreed: some, to the fortification of the Town: some, to make ready the Fleet; and some, appointed thereunto, forthwith to embarque themselves for *Italy*.

In this their trepidation *Scipio* came to *Tunes*, a City in those dayes very strong, and standing in prospect almost of every part of *Carthage*. This place, or rather some defensible piece adjoyning, he easily took; the garrisons forsaking it, and running away, as soon as he drew near. But whilest he

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was about there to incamp, and fortifie himself againſt the City, he might perceive the *Carthaginian* Fleet ſetting forth, and making towards *Utica*: What this meant, he readily conceived; and ſtood in great fear, leſt his own ſhips that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being heavily loaden with engines of battery, and wholly diſpoſed in ſuch order, as was moſt convenient for aſſaulting the town) ſhould make bad reſiſtance, againſt a fleet appointed for that ſpecial ſervice. Wherefore he haſted away towards *Utica*, to aſſiſt with his preſence in this needful caſe. It fell out well, that he had ſent his carriages, and all the great booty which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not he now made great expedition, he ſhould have come too late. Neither could he indeed have been there in due time, if the *Carthaginians* had uſed ſuch diligence as was convenient. But they reſted one night in harbour by the way: and at their coming to *Utica*, they tarryed a while to make a bravado; preſenting themſelves in order of battel, as if the *Romans* would have put forth to Sea againſt them. But *Scipio* had no ſuch intent: he thought it would be ſufficient, if he could preſerve his Gallies. As for the pleaſure of their bravery at Sea; it ſhould little avail the *Carthaginians*, if they got nothing by it, and loſt their whole eſtate by Land. Wherefore he took his ſhips of burden, and faſtning them together with cables, in four ranks, one behind another, made a four-fold bridge over the channel of the Haven; whereon he placed a thouſand of his choiſe men, with ſtore of Darts, and other caſting weapons, to make defence. Some other ſpaces he left, whereat his Frigots, and other ſmall Veſſels, might run out and back again upon any advantage or need: but theſe he covered with planks, uſing the maſts and yards of his ſhips inſtead of rafters, to joyn all together, that his men might help one another, and the bridge it ſelf not be torn aſunder. Scarce was this work finiſhed, when the *Carthaginians*, ſeeing none iſſue forth againſt them, came into the Haven. The fight between them and the *Romans* that were in the Hulks, was rather like to the aſſaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that ſtood upon the bridge, had ſure footing, and threw their weapons downwards, with their whole ſtrength and violence; which the *Carthaginians* out of their Gallies, that were lower and unſteady, could not do, but the *Roman* Frigots and long boats, adventuring forth from behind the bridge, were greatly overborn by the force of the Gallies; and were one occaſion of that ſmall loſs that followed. They that ſtood upon the Bridge, were neither able to relieve them, nor yet could freely beſtow their weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before; for fear of hurting theſe their friends, that were intangled and mixed among the enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grappling hooks, hanging at Iron chains. Theſe they threw upon the maſts & yards, which ſerved as arches to joyn the bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all aſunder; in ſuch ſort, that one ſhip followed another, and all the firſt rank was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to ſave themſelves as haſtily as they could, by ſhifting into the next rank of ſhips, that lay behind them untouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themſelves any further in this laborious work: but having haled away ſix ſhips of burden, and towed them out of the Haven, returned home to *Carthage*. Their welcome was greater than their victory; becauſe among ſo many grievous loſſes, only this exploit had ſucceeded well, though it were of ſmall importance.

Whileſt things thus paſſed about *Carthage*, *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, in their journey againſt *Syphax*, found as good ſucceſs as could be deſired. The fame of the victories already gotten reſtored *Maſaniſſa* to his Kingdom, without farther contention: the *Maſæſyli*, his ſubjects, joyfully receiving him, and forſaking the uſurpers. But here they ſtayed not: neither indeed would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. He had ſuch abundance of men and horſes, that he felt not greatly the loſſes paſt: and therefore being ſolicited by *Aſdrubal* and *Sophonisba*, he prepared again for war. But beſide the inſtigation of his beloved wife; the loſs of the *Maſæſyli* would let him take no reſt: neither was it the purpoſe of *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, to give him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no leſs unwillingly from that which they have gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance; but to think all alike their own, whereof they are in poſſeſſion, be the title unto ſome part never ſo unjuſt. Hereunto alludes the fable of the young Kite; which thought that ſhe had vomitted up her own guts, when it was only the garbage of ſome other fowl, that ſhe had haſtily ſwallowed, and was not able to digeſt. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young Kite, believed the Kingdom of the *Maſæſyli* to be part of his entrails: *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa* will ſhortly give him ſomewhat that ſhall make him caſt his gorge. For to this purpoſe chiefly are they come

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ſo far. It concerned the *Romans* to diſpoſſeſs (if it might be) the King, whoſe falſe and hollow friendſhip towards them, had been converted into ſtrong enmity; as alſo to ſet in his place another, who might do them ſuch good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done unto the *Carthaginians*. How eaſily this might be effected, *Maſaniſſa* knew beſt, as being well acquainted with the nature of thoſe Countries; wherein, even to this day though there be many ſtrong Towns, yet the fortune of a battle is enough, to tranſlate the Kingdom from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*, who came againſt them with no leſs an Army, than his former, and marſhalled in the *Roman* order, according to the ſkill, which he had learned of the *Roman Centurion*, long ago ſent unto him out of *Spain* from *Cn. Scipio*. But though he could teach his men how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight couragiouſly. They were a rabble of all ſorts, gathered up in haſte: and few of them had ſeen war before. Encamping neer unto the *Romans*, it fell out, as commonly, that ſome ſmall troops of horſe on both ſides, encountered one another in the midway: and they that had the worſt, were ſeconded by other of their fellows. By continuance of the ſkirmiſh, more and more were drawn out from either Camp: ſo that at length *Syphax*, unwilling to diſ-hearten his men by taking any foil at their firſt meeting with the Enemy, came up with all his horſe, which were the beſt part of his forces, and therewith over-charged *Maſaniſſa*, whoſe numbers were far leſs. But whileſt he was proſecuting his hope of victory: ſome *Roman* ſquadrons of Foot came againſt him through their own troops of horſe; which fell to the ſides, and made a lane for them. So their battel ſtanding now more firm, than a little before; *Syphax* was unable, though he laboured much in vain, to make them give ground. *Maſaniſſa* likewiſe, and his troops grew confident upon this aſſiſtance: and charging afreſh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, cauſed him to give back. Herewithal the Legions came in ſight: which terrified ſo the *Numidian* horſe, that they began preſently to diſ-band. Fain would *Syphax* have ſtayed them from flight: and to that end made head in perſon againſt the *Romans*; with hope, that his men would be aſhamed to leave him. But it fell out unhappily, that he was caſt from his horſe, which received a wound, and ſo taken priſoner. Of others that were ſlain or taken: the multitude was not great. It ſufficed, that they forſook the place, and fled, and that their King, upon whom all depended, was in the *Romans* hand. *Maſaniſſa* told *Lælius*, that this victory ſhould make an end of the *Numidian* war, if preſently they haſted away to *Cirta* the chief City of the Kingdom; whither he himſelf deſired to be ſent before with the Horſe, carrying *Syphax* along with him. Hereunto *Lælius* agreed. *Maſaniſſa* coming to *Cirta*, before any news of the Kings miſchance was there arrived, called out the chief of the City to parlee: wherein by many fair promiſes and threats, but eſpecially by ſhewing unto them *Syphax* bound, he prevailed ſo far, that the gates were forthwith opened unto him; and every one ſtrove to get his favour: that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the reſt, Queen *Sophonisba* yielded her ſelf into his hands, and vehemently beſought him, that ſhe might not be delivered up unto the *Romans*. Her youth, and excellent beauty, ſo commended her ſuit, that *Maſaniſſa* forthwith granted it; and to make good his promiſe, marryed her himſelf that very day; thereby to prevent *Lælius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwiſe of her, ſince ſhe was his wife. But *Lælius*, when he came thither, took the matter haiouſly, ſo that at firſt he would have haled her away, together with *Syphax* and other priſoners, and have ſent her unto *Scipio*. But being over intreated by *Maſaniſſa*, he ſuffered the matter to reſt a while as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio*'s diſcretion; to whom he ſent away *Syphax* and other captives immediately; following ſhortly after himſelf with *Maſaniſſa*, when they had done what was needful in the Kingdom.

At the coming of *Syphax*, there was great joy in the *Roman* Camp: the mighty Armies which he had lately brought into the field; and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Aſdrubal*, both at one time, when *Rome* and *Carthage* together ſought his friendſhip; with ſuch other commemoration of his paſt and preſent fortune, miniſtring to every one a large argument of diſcourſe. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moved him, not only to forſake the *Roman* friendſhip, but to make war upon them, unprovoked. He briefly anſwered, That his wife had moved him ſo to do; calling her a Fury, and a peſtilent creature: and ſaying, that *Maſaniſſa* was no wiſer than himſelf, ſince he had now taken the ſame woman to his wife, who would ſhortly draw him to the ſame courſes. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and ſtood in great doubt, leſt this perilous woman ſhould deprive him of *Maſaniſſa*, as ſhe had done of *Syphax*. It was not long,

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ere *Maſaniſſa* and *Lælius* came unto him: both of whom together he lovingly welcomed; and highly commended in publick, for their notable ſervice in this Expedition. Then taking *Maſaniſſa* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*: letting him underſtand, that the *Romans* had title to her head, and that ſhe was a miſchievous enemy of theirs. Wherefore he intreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface the memory of his great ſervices already done (for which he ſhould be highly rewarded to his own contentment) by committing a great offence upon little reaſon. *Maſaniſſa* bluſht, and wept: and finally promiſed to be governed by *Scipio*, whom he nevertheleſs intreated, to think upon his faith given to *Sophonisba*, that ſhe ſhould not be delivered into the *Romans* power. So he departed to his own Tent, where, after ſome time ſpent in agony, he called unto him a ſervant of his that had the cuſtody of his poyſon (which Princes uſed then to have in a readineſs, againſt all miſchances that might make them unwilling to live:) and tempering a potion for *Sophonisba*, ſent it unto her with this meſſage; that gladly he would have had her to live with him as his wife: but ſince they who had power to hinder him of his deſire, would not yield thereto, he ſent her a cup, that ſhould preſerve her from falling alive into the hands of the *Romans*; willing her to remember her birth and eſtate, and accordingly to take order for her ſelf.

At the receit of this Meſſage and Preſent, ſhe only ſaid; That if her husband had no better token to ſend unto his new wife, ſhe muſt accept of this; adding, that ſhe might have dyed more honourably, if ſhe had not wedded ſo lately before her funeral. And herewithall ſhe boldly drank off the poiſon. Thus *Livie* reporteth. But *Appian* varies from this; and ſets it down agreeably to that which hath been ſpoken before, concerning the præcontract between *Maſaniſſa*, and *Sophonisba*. He ſaith, that after the taking of *Syphax*, Embaſſadours from *Cirta* met with *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa* upon their way thither, yielding up their City, and the Kings Palace: and that *Sophonisba*, for her own private, ſent meſſengers to excuſe her marriage with *Syphax*, as made againſt her will, by compulſion of thoſe in whoſe power ſhe was. *Maſaniſſa* readily admitted this excuſe; and accepted her to wife. But when *Scipio* had received information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perſwaſion *Sophonisba* was: and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Carthage*; he fell out about her with *Maſaniſſa* at his return, and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the *Romans*, *Maſaniſſa* ſaid, ſhe was his own wife, and unto him betrothed many years before. But *Scipio* would not hear of this: or if it were true, yet he ſaid it was no reaſon, that *Maſaniſſa* ſhould keep her in poſſeſſion, as long as it was diſputable, unto whom ſhe might appertain. Wherefore he willed him firſt of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claim unto her, wherein he ſhould have no wrong. Herewithall he ſent to fetch her away: and *Maſaniſſa* accompanied the meſſengers, as it were to deliver her: but making her acquainted with the neceſſity, gave unto her a cup of poiſon, wherewith ſhe ended her life, before they came that ſhould have apprehended her. So he ſhewed unto the *Romans* her dead body, which he royally interred. The ſudden violence of *Maſaniſſa* his love, and the ready conſent of *Sophonisba* to marry with him, add not ſo much credit unto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other evident cauſe (which *Livie* notes) of the ſudden falling out between him and the *Carthaginians*, under whom he had been trained up, and done them great ſervice. Howſoever it were; *Scipio*, hearing of this tragical accident, ſent for *Maſaniſſa*, and comforted him as well as he could, leſt his melancholy ſhould lead him to ſome inconvenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his raſhneſs, he brought him forth in preſence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and ſhewing how highly he had deſerved of the City of *Rome*, he proclaimed him King, and gave unto him a Crown of gold, with other Royal ornaments. This was indeed the ready way to divert his thoughts from the ſad remembrance of that which was paſt, unto the more chearful contemplation of good fortune, that began to ſmile upon him. *Lib. 28.*

This was the firſt time that the *Romans* took upon them to create or proclaim a King. Which honour though *Maſaniſſa* well deſerved: yet would not the Title have redounded unto his great benefit: neither ſhould he have been much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their means recovered poſſeſſion of his Country, together with the greateſt part of *Syphax* his Dominions. It ſeemeth not unlikely, that had he remained a *Neuter* in theſe wars, and ſuſtained himſelf with his troop of horſe, in ſuch ſort as he did before the coming of the *Romans*; he might nevertheleſs have recovered his proper inheritance, by the love of his own ſubjects without other help, when *Syphax* had once or twice been vanquiſhed.

vanquished. As for the inlargement of his Kingdome, it was not more than he deserved: neither were the *Romans* then in case, to make a conquest of *Numidia* for themselves; neither could they have wished a fitter opportunity, than of such a man upon whom to bestow it, that was their assured friend, & passable withall among the *Numidians* as being (for the *Massæsyli* were a *Numidian* Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberality of the *Romans*, was noised abroad as very glorious: and the *Romans* themselves, in a politick sort of gravity, took highly upon them; as if even their saluting him by the name of *King*, had been a matter of great consequence. He thrived indeed well after it: & by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, incroaching upon his neighbours on all sides; but most of all upon the State of *Carthage*, whereat they were little displeased. Hence it grew that *Vermina* the son of *Syphax* (of whom we shall shortly speak more) which held some pieces of his fathers Kingdome, desiring friendship of the *Romans*, and promising by all means to deserve their love, requested therewithall; that they would call him *King*. But though it were so, that never any before him had made this a matter of suit: yet the *Roman* Senate was *Puntilious* herein, and answered very bravely, That it was not their custome to give the honour of that appellation, save only unto such Kings, as had greatly deserved of their City. Thus they made it a matter of State; and in process of time grew so proud of this their imaginary prerogative, that they imputed as a singular benefit unto Kings that no way depended upon them, the salutation by **that name*, though it were not accompanied with any other favour or profit thence redounding.

Liv. Lib. 31.

** Cæsar. Comm. l. 1.*

§. XIX.

The Carthaginians *desired Truce, and break it.*

THe *Carthaginians* were extreamly dismayed, when they heard of the great calamity, that was befallen their good friend *Syphax*, and understood that *Masanissa* their mortal enemy, had got possession of his Kingdome. To increase their fear, *Scipio* returned again to *Tunes* in view of their City: where he made an end of that Fortification, which he had begun at his last being there. The *Carthaginians* had neither forces, nor courage, to withstand him: but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth unto them thirty Embassadours, Princes of the City, which were their Privy Councel, to make suit for peace. These being admitted into the presence of *Scipio*, did not only prostrate themselves on the ground; but kissed the * feet of him and of those that sat in Councel with him.

** Excerpt. Polyb. l. 15. Liv. l. 30.*

Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They confessed themselves to have unjustly broken the Peace between them and *Rome*; and to have deserved whatsoever punishment it should please the *Romans* to inflict upon them. Yet they humbly besought *Scipio* and the rest, that in common regard of those misfortunes whereto all men are subject, they would shew mercy unto the City of *Carthage*, and let it remain, as a monument of their clemency; which, by the folly of her Citizens, had now twice deserved to be overthrown. Herewithall they did not forget, to lay the blame upon *Hannibal*: who without their appointment had begun the War; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole City. By this it appears, that these Embassadours were no *Barchines*: but rather, that they were *Hanno*, and the choice of his company; who had now their long desired work in hand, of suing unto the *Romans* for peace. Whatsoever they were, it must needs be that they were most insolent men over those that were subject unto their power, for they would not have made such adoration to the *Romans* in their own necessity, unless they themselves had expected the like, wherein they had the advantage.

It was not unknown to *Scipio*, or to his assistants, in what poor case the City of *Rome* then was; and how unable to defray the charges of continuing the War. Neither were the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the loss of so many Armies, in such ill case, as the *Romans* themselves had very lately been. For they had money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a City far stronger than *Rome*; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the *Roman* resolution: and therefore distrusted the walls of *Carthage*; though *Utica*, a weaker City, had all this while held out against *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Army, though so often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their submission, and told them, That though he came into *Africk*, to make a conquest, and not peace: yet having the Conquest as it were in his hand, he would not deny to grant them the Peace which they desired; for thereby should all Nations understand, that the people of *Rome* did follow the rule of Justice, both in making war, and in concluding it. The Conditions

which he impoſed upon them, were theſe; That they ſhould render up unto him all the priſoners that they had taken, together with all *Renegadoes* and fugitive ſlaves: That they ſhould withdraw their Armies out of *Italy* and *Gaule*: That they ſhould not meddle in *Spain*, nor yet in any Iſland between *Italy* and *Africk*: That they ſhould deliver up all their ſhips of war, ſave twenty; and that they ſhould pay a great ſumm of mony, with certain hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat and barley. To conſider of theſe Articles, he gave them three daies: and when they had approved them, he granted a Truce; that they might ſend Embaſſadors unto the *Roman Senate*.

This done, *Maſaniſſa* was diſmiſſed, and went home into his Kingdome, as if the war had been already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before ſent with *Lælius* unto *Rome*: where the fame of theſe victories filled men with joy, and gave hope, that the long endured miſeries would be ſhortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were ſet open, and an holy day appointed for thankſgiving and ſupplication to their Gods. *Lælius* was accompanied with Embaſſadors from King *Maſaniſſa*: who gratulating the happy ſucceſs of the *Romans* in their *African* war, and giving thanks unto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* unto their Maſter, made requeſt for the *Numidians*, ſuch as were now his Subjects and priſoners in *Rome*, that they might be beſtowed upon him, who by rendring them to liberty, ſhould do an act very plauſible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reign. The *Roman* Senate were not behind with *Maſaniſſa* in complement: but ſhewing themſelves to be highly pleaſed with all that *Scipio* had done, and ſhould do for him, they called him King again; releaſed his *Numidians* that were captives; and ſent him two purple Caſſocks, that had each of them one gold button, with ſuch other preſents, as in time of their poverty might ſerve to teſtifie their good will. Scarcely were theſe and *Lælius* gone from *Rome*, when the news came, that Embaſſadors from *Carthage* were arrived to deſire peace. Theſe Embaſſadors were not admitted into the City, but were lodged without: untill *Lælius* being ſent for, came back from *Oſtia*, to be preſent when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience given them in the Temple of *Bellona*; that ſtood in the Suburbs, The errand of theſe Embaſſadors, was peace, but the meaning of them and of their City was only to win time, and get reſpite for war; until *Hannibal* and *Mago* ſhould come out of *Italy*, either to chaſe the *Romans* out of *Africk*, or to obtain peace for *Carthage*, by terror of their great Names and Armies, upon more eaſie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle diſcourſe of the League, that was concluded between them and *Luctatius Catulus*, at the end of the former war. This League they ſaid, all things well conſidered, did ſtill remain in force: neither had there ſince been any war at all, between the people of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*. For it was only *Hannibal*, that without any leave from *Carthage*, had of his own head beſieged and razed the Town of *Saguntum*: and after that adventured in like ſort, without Commiſſion, to paſs the *Alpes*, and trouble (as he had done (the quiet of *Italy*. This being ſo, their Meſſage was none other than to deſire, that the League before ſpoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter ſtand in force; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to do. The Senators had cauſe to wonder at this tale, hearing theſe Embaſſadors make (as it were) a jeſt of war, that had been ſo terrible. Wherefore they aſked them a great many queſtions, concerning that peace made by *Luctatius*, and other paſſages following between the two Cities. But they excuſed themſelves, by their age: (for they were all young men) and ſaid, That thoſe things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but colluſion, and that they ſought no other than to gain time, untill they might repair the war. Wherefore they were ſent home, in company of *Lælius*, without any concluſion at all of peace, and in effect, without anſwer. This notwithſtanding, we find in *Polybius*, That the Senate received dvertiſement from *Scipio*, of that which had paſſed between him and the *Carthaginians* in this Treaty of peace: approved the Conditions by him propounded, and gave him licence thereupon, to proceed unto Concluſion. This may with good reaſon be believed, ſince it was not unknown that if the war continued, all theſe goodly hopes muſt reſt upon the moſt uncertain iſſue of one battel between *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune ſhould be averſe to them, their forces in *Africk* were no better than quite loſt.

Matters thus hanging in ſuſpence, before the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours came back from *Rome*, a Fleet out of *Sicil*, wherein were two hundred ſhips of burden, and thirty Gallies, being bound for *Africk*, to victual the *Roman* Camp, was over-taken by foul weather at Sea, and hardly eſcaping wrack,

wrak, was dispersed, and driven aground in divers parts of the Bay of *Carthage*, even in view, and under command of the City. There was at that time, as we find in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of victuals in *Carthage*, which caused the people to cry out upon their Magistrates, that they should not let such a booty escape them, saying, that the danger of famine was greater and worse, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were so, that hunger urged them, or that they yielded to their own greedy desires: the multitude in *Carthage* understood (as it seems) that all this discourse of Peace in hand, was no better than meer mockery, and therefore cared not for observation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in *Carthage*, as likewise in *Alexandria*, for all the *rascality*, together with women and boys, to be medling in uproars: the clamors of the boyes being in such tumults no less violent than of the men. Wherefore it is no marvel, if little regard were had of reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. A Fleet was sent out under *Asdrubal*, to gather up the dispersed *Roman* ships of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oars, recovered the station whereto their camp adjoyned) and bring them into *Carthage*; which was done. *Scipio* was hereat much offended: not only for the loss; and for that the Town was thereby relieved: but for that by this breach of Truce, he foresaw the intention of the *Carthaginians* to renew the war, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he sent Embassadors unto them, both to require satisfaction for the injurie done; and to deterr them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had so much desired. These gave the *Carthaginians* to understand, that Letters were come from *Rome* unto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the Peace; upon those conditions which he had propounded. But (say they) *we hold it strange, That ye, who so lately have cast your selves to the ground before us, and kissed our feet after an unusual manner of humility, confessing your selves to have perfidiously broken the League that was between us, and thereby to have deserved such punishment as is due unto Rebels; should so soon forget what ye then uttered, and run headlong again into the same crimes for which ye acknowledged your selves worthy to be destroyed, having only recourse unto our mercy. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repose in* Hannibal, *that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amiss, that ye should consider, how long he hath been pent up in a corner of* Italy, *among the* Brutians; *where he is in a manner besieged, and unable to stir: so that ye are like to find his help wanting in your greatest need. Or let it be supposed that he were now in* Africk, *and ready to give us battel: yet should it well agree with your wisdome to doubt what might befal, remembring that he is a man, and not invincible. Now if it should happen that he were overcome, what refuge have ye left unto your selves against hereafter? What gods will ye either swear by, to be believed, or call upon in your misery? What words, and lamentable gesture will ye henceforth use, to move compassion? Surely ye have already wasted all your force of perswasion, and shall not again deceive us, if ye refuse the grace, whereof at this present ye are capable.* It is no marvel though the *Carthaginians* were angry, when they heard themselves upbraided with the base demeanour of their Embassadours. For it was not the general opinion of the City, that the Truce was broken by themselves: though it had pleased *Hanno*, or such as were of his faction, to gratifie the *Romans* with all manner of submission; and to renounce not only their hope of the future, but all justification of matters past. And indeed it seems, that the *Roman* Embassadors were very much delighted, in the rehearsal of that point which was yielded unto them, as knowing that thereon depended the justice of the quarrel. But the *Carthaginians* took this in so ill part, that hardly they could refrain from doing violence unto the men, who had used unto them such insolent speeches. Yet the fury of the multitude was in some sort appeased; either by *Hanno*, whom *Appian*, (I know not why) calls *Hanno the Great:* or by the very reverence, due unto the place of those that had uttered such liberal words. So they were dismissed in friendly sort, although it were without answer to their Proposition. There were also two gallies appointed for their safe convoy home; though with little intent of good unto their persons. *Asdrubal* was then in the mid-way, as men sailed from *Carthage* towards *Utica*. He, whether only desirous to please the multitude, of whose disposition he was informed, or whether directed by publick order to cut off these Embassadours in their way homeward, lay waiting for them behind a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the River *Bagradas*. Their Convoy having brought them on the way, as far as to the mouth of *Bagradas*, wished them a good voyage; and so took leave of them, as if they had been then in safety, since the *Roman* Camp was even in sight. The Embassadors took this in ill part; not as fearing any dan-

Ap. de bello Pun. co.

Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 15.

ger toward, but thinking themſelves too much neglected, foraſmuch as their attendants did ſo abruptly leave them. But no ſooner had they doubled the Cape, than *Aſdrubal* fell upon them, in ſuch manner, as they might well diſcern his purpoſe: which was to have ſtemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a *Quinquereme*, that had more banks of Oars, than had any Gallye of *Aſdrubal*, they ſlipt away, and made him over-ſhoot himſelf. Yet he gave them chaſe, and had well-near ſurpriſed them. But they diſcovered ſome *Roman* Companies on the ſhoar over againſt them, and therefore adventured to run their Veſſel aground: whereby they ſaved their own lives, though a great part of their company were ſlain, or hurt. This practice of the *Carthaginians* was inexcuſable: and for the ſame cauſe perhaps were the Citizens heartned in ſuch a diſhonourable attempt, by thoſe that were deſirous to continue the war; that thereby they might be driven to ſtudy nothing elſe, than how to get the victory, as having none other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the ſame fear, which had cauſed them to make ſuch earneſt ſuit for peace, would alſo have cauſed them to be better adviſed, than thus to abandon all hope of Treaty; had they not been given to underſtand, that *Hannibal* was already landed in *Africk*, in whom they repoſed no ſmall confidence, but verily perſwaded themſelves, that he would change their fortune, and teach the *Romans* to hold themſelves contented with more eaſie conditions, than were thoſe that *Scipio*, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

§. XX.

In what ſort Hannibal *ſpent the time after the Battle of* Metaurus: *The doings of* Mago *in* Italy. Hannibal *and* Mago *called out of* Italy. *How the* Romans *were diverſly affected by* Hannibals *departure.*

EVer ſince the loſs of that battel at *Metaurus*, *Hannibal* remaining in the Country of the *Brutians*, waiting for another ſupply from *Carthage*. The *Roman* Conſuls that ſucceded unto *Claudius* and *Livius*, by whom *Aſdrubal* was overcome and ſlain, were contented to be quiet all their year. Neither did *Licinius* the Colleague of *Scipio*, ought worthy of remembrance againſt *Hannibal*, being hindred by the Peſtilence that was in his Army. *Sempronius* the Conſul, who followed *Licinius*; and *Cn. Servilius Capio*, who followed *Sempronius*, were earneſtly bent to have done ſomewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitleſs. In ſome ſkirmiſhes with *Hannibal*, they had the better; in ſome the worſe: and a few poor Towns they got from him, as it were by ſtealth; his care being more to preſerve his Army, than to keep thoſe places that were weak.

The *Romans* had at this time ſo many great pieces of work in hand, that their chief enemy was become not the chief part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent upon *Africk*, wherein they were at no ſmall charges to maintain the Army, which (as was hoped) ſhould bring the War to a ſhort and happy concluſion. They ſtood nevertheleſs in much fear of *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*: who took exceeding pains among the *Ligurians* and *Gauls* to raiſe an Army, wherewith to kindle anew the War in *Italy*, that began to wax cold. *Mago* ſolicited alſo the *Hetrurians*, and found them ſo ready to ſtir in his behalf, that if he could have entred their Country ſtrong, it might have proved no leſs needful for *Scipio* to return home out of *Africk*, than ſhortly it was for *Hannibal* to make ſpeed unto the defence of *Carthage*. Theſe dangers cauſed the *Romans* to imploy one of their Conſuls or Pro-conſuls, with an Army, among the *Hetrurians*; another among the *Gauls*; and a third among the *Ligurians*: foraſmuch as it was uncertain, upon which ſide *Mago* would break out: Being thus buſied, it is no wonder though they forbore to overcharge *Hannibal* with any great power.

As for *Mago*, when things were in ſome readineſs for his ſetting forwards, he met in the Country of the *Inſubrians*, which is about *Milan*, with *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Proconſul, and *P. Quintilius Varrus* one of the Prætors. With theſe he fought a battel, wherein though his vertue ſhewed it ſelf worthy of his Father and Brethren: yet his fortune was *Carthaginian*. The fight continued a long while doubtful; in ſuch ſort that the *Roman* Commanders began to diſtruſt the iſſue. Wherefore *Quintilius* the Prætor taking unto him all the *Roman* Horſe, thought to have ſhaken the Enemies to pieces. The Legions at the ſame time gave a loud ſhout: and ſtrained themſelves hard, as if at that brunt the victory ſhould have been carried before them. But *Mago* oppoſed his Elephants to the Horſe: the ſervice of thoſe beaſts being fitter for ſuch uſe, than againſt the ſquadrons of Foot. The figure, ſent, and braying of theſe Elephans, did ſo affright the Horſe, that they ſtarted aſide, and were

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ſcattered over the field; their Riders being unable to manage them. Hereby the *Numidians* got advantage upon them: whoſe manner of fight was more available againſt thoſe that were looſe, than againſt the troops that were cloſe and thick. Then fell the Elephants upon the Legions: which entertained them after the accuſtomed manner, with a ſhour of darts, and killed four of them; cauſing all the reſt to give back. This notwithſtanding the ſame Legions were ſo vehemently preſſed by the Enemy; that more for ſhame of running away, than by any great force to make reſiſtance, they held their ground. The Proconſul therefore brought up thoſe forces, which he had kept unto the laſt, to ſuccour where need ſhould moſt require. Againſt theſe, *Mago* imployed ſome of his *Gauls*, whom he had in readineſs for the like occaſion. But the *Gauls* diſcharged their parts very ill. They were ſoon beaten off, and recoiled ſo haſtily, that they brought fear upon all the reſt. When *Mago* ſaw that his men began to ſhrink, he put himſelf in the head of his Army; and held them ſo well to it, that keeping their order, they made a fair Retrait, with their faces toward the Enemy. But at length he received a grievous wound in his thigh; whereof ſhortly after he dyed. He was taken up, and carried out of danger by ſome of his own men: the reſt of them, after little further reſiſtance, provided every one for himſelf: So the *Romans* obtained victory, not without great coſt: as purchaſing the death of about five thouſand enemies, with the loſs of two thouſand and three hundred of the Prætors Army, beſides thoſe that dyed of the Proconſuls Legions; alſo beſides divers Colonels, Captains, and Gentlemen of mark that fell in this hot piece of ſervice. Neither were there any priſoners taken; whereby it may ſeem that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered ſome ground that might aſſure them from purſuit. However it were, this victory would have much imported for the aſſurance of *Italy*, if the State of *Carthage* could longer have permitted theſe valiant ſons of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with-drawing himſelf (by eaſie journeys, becauſe of his wound) into *Liguria*, found there Embaſſadours from *Carthage* attending him: who gave him to underſtand the pleaſure of their City, which was, That both he and *Hannibal* ſhould preſently repair home with all their forces; not ſtaying any longer to think upon the conqueſt of *Italy*, ſince *Carthage* it ſelf was ready to be loſt. He obeyed this Commandment, and imbarqued ſhortly his Army; but dyed of his wound about *Sardinia*, in the way homewards.

About the ſame time *Hannibal* received the like command from *Carthage*, to return into *Africk*. He heard it with great impatience; gnaſhing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the tears, that were ready to burſt out, whileſt the Embaſſadours were delivering their errand. When their meſſage was done: He told them, that *this was yet plain dealing. For*, ſaid He, *They that now directly bid me come home, have long ago done their beſt to hale me out of* Italy; *though more cloſely and crookedly they went to work, by ſtopping the ſupply that ſhould have enabled me to manage the War here.* Scipio *therefore ſhall not need to brag, that he hath drawn me home by the heels: it is* Hanno *that hath wrought this noble feat; and overwhelmed the houſe of the* Barchines, *for lack of other means to do it, with the ruine of* Carthage. He had before prepared a Fleet in readineſs, doubting that which after came to paſs: wherein he imbarqued, beſides his own men, as many of the *Italians* as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were that ſhrunk back from him, and refuſed to do ſervice in this expedition: of whom, ſuch as he could take, he ſlew; not ſparing thoſe that fled into the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, which had been held an inviolable Sactuary unto that day. He was indeed then wholly tranſported with rage; and departed out of *Italy* no leſs paſſionate, than men are wont to be, when they leave their own Countreys to go into exile. He looked back unto the ſhoar accuſing both gods and men; and curſing his own dulneſs, in that he had not led his Army from *Cannæ*, hot and bloodyed as it was, directly unto the walls of *Rome*. With ſuch vexation of ſpirit He quitted the poſſeſſion of *Italy*; wherein he had lived almoſt half his time.

If it could have been foretold unto the *Romans*; in the firſt beginning of this War, with what exceeding joy in times following they ſhould entertain the news of *Hannibal* his departure out of *Italy*: they would (I think) leſs earneſtly have preſſed the *Carthaginians* to ſend him over thither. When ſure advertiſement was brought unto the City, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Army: an Holy-day was appointed for thanksgiving unto their gods; and extraordinary great ſacrifices publickly made, for joy of ſuch happy tydings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did ſtill remain the ſame, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal* at his coming into

Africk,

Africk, would find *P. Scipio* other manner of work, than he had been troubled with at any time before; and would do greater matters in his own Country, than ever he was able to perform abroad in a land of ſtrangers. The remove of the War from their own doors, and the conceit of that victory for which they hoped; was enough to make them preſume further, than at other times they would have done. When therefore the *Saguntine* Embaſſadors brought unto them a great maſs of Gold and Silver, together with ſome Agents of the *Carthaginians* taken by them in *Spain*: only the *Carthaginian* priſoners were excepted, the treaſure was rendred back unto the *Saguntines* that had ſurpriſed it. Upon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of thoſe monys that had been borrowed in time of more neceſſity from private men. Hence alſo proceeded the ſevere chaſtiſement laid upon thoſe 12. Colonies, that for want either of means, or of good will, had refuſed to give aid to the *Romans*. They were commanded, and inforced to give double the number of Foot to that which they had been wont to ſet out for the Wars, with a proportion of Horſe anſwerable to the very moſt of their ability. So confident were the *Romans* grown (though their wealth were not as yet ſuitable to the greatneſs of their ſpirit) upon the good ſucceſs of the battel at *Metaurus*, and the hopes which they repoſed in *Scipio*. All this notwithſtanding, when they conſidered more nearly of that which might happen: and were informed that the terrible Army, whereof *Italy* had been few dayes ſince diſcharged, was landed ſafe in *Africk*: they began to revolve a thouſand fearful matters in their heads, and to ſtand in doubt, leſt *Q. Fabius* (who died about the ſame time) would be found a true Prophet. For, bethinking themſelves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories againſt *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal* no ſpecialty of ſo great worth, as might promiſe the like ſucceſs againſt another manner of General, followed by other manner of men, than were either of thoſe two. The *Numidian* King had been wont to bring into the field a raſcal multitude of half ſkullions, that were good for nothing; being himſelf a fit Captain for ſuch Souldiers. Likewiſe *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco* was a Commander well thought of by the *Carthaginian* Senate, but otherwiſe, one, that in the field was only good at ſaving himſelf by a ſwift retrait. But now there came an Army of men, hardened from their childhood with incredible patience, fleſhed many hundred times in *Roman* blood, and wearing the ſpoils, not only of good Souldiers, but of brave Captains, by them ſlain. Such talk uſed the people of *Rome*, ſaying, That *Scipio* was like to meet in battel with many that had ſlain *Roman* Prætors, yea, and Conſuls with their own hands: with many that had been firſt in getting over the Trenches of ſeveral *Roman* Camps, or in winning the tops of walls at the ſiege of towns; briefly, that he ſhould now be oppoſed by an Army, as good as ever had ſerved in war, and following the dreadful name of *Hannibal*.

§. XXI.

Hannibal *in Africk prepares to fight with* Scipio; *treats with him about peace in vain: loſeth a battel at Nedagra, and perſwades the Carthaginians to ſue for peace. Of the peace garnted from* Rome *to* Carthage.

HAnnibal diſembarqued his Army at *Leptis*, almoſt an hundred miles from *Carthage*, Eaſtward from the Headland of *Mercury*, and ſomewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horſe; which it was not eaſie for him to tranſport out of *Italy*. Therefore it behoved him to land, as he did, ſomewhat far from the enemy; that he might furniſh himſelf of theſe and the like needful helps againſt the day of battel. From *Leptis* he paſſed on to *Adrumetum*, and ſo along through the Inland Country gathering friends unto him by the way. *Tychæus* a *Numidian* Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was ſaid to have in thoſe dayes the beſt Horſes of ſervice, that were to be found in *Africk*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure unto his party: making him underſtand, that if the *Romans* got the victory, it ſhould be eaſie for *Maſaniſſa*, by their countenance and help to oppreſs both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes, as hindred his proſpect. This argument, and the fame of him that uſed it, prevailed with *Tychæus*; who ſhortly after brought unto the *Carthaginian* two thouſand Horſe. *Appian* further adds, That *Mezetullus*, (the ſame who had made himſelf Protector over *Maſaniſſa* his Couſins; and was Head of a Family, and adverſe to the *Numidian* Kings of that race) brought to *Hannibal* another thouſand Horſe: as likewiſe, that *Vermina* the Son of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdom, began at the ſame time to aſſail the places that yielded obedience to *Maſaniſſa*. This *Vermina*, as we find in *Livie*, came with more than 16. thouſand men (for he loſt more than

than ſo many) to ſuccour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The *Carthaginians* were at this time [illegible]uch hard eſtate, or (at leaſt) ſo impatie[illegible]the ſtate wherein they were; that they could not attend the leiſure of thoſe preparations, which would have made the victory aſſured. When they conſidered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatneſs of his Acts: it offended them to think, that they had been ſo baſe as to make humble ſuit unto the *Romans* for peace; whileſt they had ſuch a brave Champion alive, to maintain their cauſe by War. But when as they bethought themſelves of their own ſufferings, which, for want of *Roman* magnanimity to endure them, appeared greater than indeed they were: then cried they out earneſtly that it was no time to linger, but preſently to fight; that ſo they might ſee an end of theſe troubles, either good or bad; and to this purpoſe they ſent their Mandates to *Hannibal*: requiring him without any further protraction, to do what he could do out of hand. *Hannibal* made anſwer, That they were his good Lords, and had power to diſpoſe of him and his Army; but ſince he was General of their forces, He thought it reaſonable that they ſhould ſuffer him to do as a General ought to do; and to chooſe his own times. Nevertheleſs, to give them ſatisfaction, He made great marches to *Zama*; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce made by the *Carthaginians*: the violence done to his Embaſſadours: and the news of *Hannibal* his being landed in *Africk*, made *Scipio* to underſtand the reſolution of the *Carthaginians*, which was, not to yield unto any conditions unprofitable for themſelves, as long as they were able to make reſiſtance. Wherefore he ſent unto *Maſaniſſa*: and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying him to come away with ſpeed, and lay all other buſineſs apart. Ten *Roman* Companies, of Horſe and Foot together, *Maſaniſſa* had with him; that were lent unto him by *Scipio*, to do him ſervice in the eſtabliſhing and inlarging of his Kingdom. But he well underſtood, that thoſe and many more beſides all his own forces, would but little avail him; if *Hannibal* ſhould drive the *Romans* out of *Africk*. Wherefore taking ſuch order as he could upon the ſudden, for the ſafety of his own Kingdome; with four thouſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot, he made all haſte unto *Scipio*.

Soon after the beginning of theſe new troubles, the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours that had been at *Rome*, returned back under the conduct of *Lælius* and *Fulvius*, who brought them ſave into the *Roman* Camp. There when they arrived and underſtood what had lately paſſed, eſpecially how their Citizens had behaved themſelves towards the *Roman* Embaſſadours: they made little doubt, how their own heads ſhould anſwer for ſuch notorious outrage. To confirm them in this opinion,

M. Bæbius one of the late Embaſſadours that had been in *Carthage*, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Camp, laid hands upon them and detained them; ſending word unto his General, who was gone abroad to make War in the Country, that he had them in his power, and that now the *Carthaginians* might be repaid in their own Coyn, for the iujury by them lately done. *Scipio* was very glad to hear of this; and commanded *Bæbius* to uſe them with all poſſible courteſie, and ſend them ſafe home. By thus doing, He brake the hearts of his enemies; and cauſed them to acknowledge themſelves (which was a great victory) far leſs honourable than the *Romans*. This notwithſtanding, he made more cruel War upon them than before: taking their Towns by force; and putting them to ſack, without hearkning to any Compoſition. It was the manner of the *Romans*, as often as they took a Town by aſſault, to put all that came in their way to the ſword, whatſoever they were, without regard. This they did, to make themſelves terrible: and the better to work ſuch impreſſion in the minds of thoſe, with whom they had to do; they uſed oftentimes to kill the very Dogs and other Beaſts, that ran athwart them in the ſtreets: hewing their bodies aſunder: as men delighted in ſhedding of blood. This being their practice at other times; it is likely that now they omitted no piece of cruelty; when they meant to give proof of their vehement indignation, and revengful minds, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the *Carthaginians* were ſo earneſt in preſſing *Hannibal* to fight. *Excerpt. Polyb. lib. 10.*

Hannibal being incamped at *Zama*, ſent forth his Scouts and Spies, to diſcover where the *Romans* lay, what they were adoing, and as much as might be, of their demeanour. Some of theſe were taken, and brought unto *Scipio*: who inſtead of truſſing them up, gave them free leave to view his Camp at pleaſure, appointing one to conduct them up and down, and ſhew them whatſoever they deſired. This done, He gave them leave to depart; and ſent them away ſafe unto their General. *Hannibal* underſtanding this, admired the bravery and courage

rage of his enemy: with whom on the ſudden he grew ſo deſirous to have an Enterview, and perſonal conference; and ſignified ſo much unto him by a meſſenger ſent of purpoſe. Of this motion the *Roman* liked well: and returned anſwer, that He would meet him ſhortly in a place convenient. The next day *Maſaniſſa* came with his Army: whom *Scipio* taking with him, removed unto a Town callad *Nedagara*; near unto which he ſat down, in a place otherwiſe commodious, & cloſe by a water that might opportunely ſerve his Camp. Thence he ſent word unto the *Carthaginian*, That the time and place did fitly ſerve, if he had ought to ſay to him. *Hannibal* thereupon removed from *Zama*, and came within four miles of the enemy; where he incamped well to his own good liking in all things elſe; excepting that his men were driven to take much pains, in fetching their water ſomewhat far off. Then was order taken for their meeting: aud the two Generals each of them with a troop of Horſe, rode forth of their Camps, till they came unto a piece of ground; which was before well ſearched for fear of ambuſh. There they will their followers to ſtand off: and themſelves with each of them one Interpreter, encountred each other in the mid-way between their Companies. They remained a while ſilent, viewing one the other with mutual admiration. Then began the *Carthaginian*, ſaluting the *Roman*, to deliver his mind to this effect: That it had been better both for *Carthage*, and *Rome*, if they could have limited and contained their ambition within the ſhores of *Africk* and of *Italy*; for that the Countreys of *Sicil* and *Spain*, about which their fathers and themſelves had ſtriven, were no ſufficient recompence for ſo many Fleets as had been loſt, and of ſo much blood as had been ſhed, in making thoſe coſtly purchaſes. But ſince things paſt could not be recalled: He ſaid, That it was meet for them to conſider, unto what extream dangers their own Cities had been expoſed, by the greedy deſire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was even time for them now at length to make an end of their obſtinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wiſdom hereafter. And to ſuch peacable diſpoſition, He affirmed that his own years, and long tryal of Fortune, both good and evil, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience, might rather fix his mind upon uncertain hopes, than upon a contemplation of that mutability, whereto all humane affairs are ſubject. *Yet* (ſaid he) *mine own example may peradventure ſuffice to teach thee moderation. For* [redacted] *that ſame* Hannibal, *who after my victo*[redacted] Cannæ, *won the greateſt part of* Italy, *and deviſed with my ſelf, what I ſhould do with your City of* Rome, *which I hoped verily to have taken. Once I brought mine Army to your walls, as thou haſt ſince brought thine to ours of* Carthage: *but now, ſee the change! I ſtand here intreating thee to grant us peace. This may ſerve as a document of Fortunes inſtability. I have fought with thy Father* Scipio; *He was the firſt of the* Roman *Generals that ever met me in the field. I did then little think, that the time would come, that I ſhould have ſuch buſineſs, as now at the preſent, with his ſon. But this is even one of Fortunes pageants, whereof ſhe hath many. And thou maiſt have experience of the like in thy ſelf, who knows how ſoon? Think upon* M. Atilius: *If he would have hearkned unto ſuch perſwaſions, as I now uſe to thee, he might have returned home to* Rome *an happy man, and ſo maiſt thou do now, if any reaſonable offer will give thee ſatisfaction. How ſaiſt thou? Canſt thou be contented, that all* Spain, Sicil, Sardinia, *and whatſoever Iſlands elſe are ſcituate between* Italy *and* Africk *be abandoned by the* Carthaginians *for ever, and left unto the* Romans, *to bear dominion therein? Thou ſhalt have glory enough by effecting thus much: and the* Romans *may well be glad of ſuch a bargain. As for us, our own quiet ſhall henceforth give us contentment. And the ſame contentment of ours, ſhall make us faithfully obſerve the peace with you. But if thou thinkeſt all too little, I muſt deſire thee to ponder well how great an hazzard thou muſt undergo for obtaining a very little more, than that which thou maiſt have without contention. It is now in thine own power to lay hold upon good fortune, if it pleaſe thee: ſtay but untill to morrow night, and thou maiſt take ſuch fortune as it pleaſe the Gods. The iſſue of battel is uncertain, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and ſteel we ſhall each of us bring into the field; but of the victory neither of us have aſſurance. Let us therefore without more ado make peace. And do not tell me that ſome falſ-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudently of late in the like treaty: It is I* Hannibal *that now deſire peace with thee, which I would never do, if I thought it not expedient for my Countrey. And thinking it expedient, I will alwaies maintain it, like as I have maintained, unto my power, as long as the Gods did not envy me, the war by me begun.*

Hereunto *Scipio* made anſwer, That it was no ambitious deſire of ruling in *Sicil* and

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in *Spain* which had moved the *Romans* to enter into this or the former War: but that the defence of the *Mamertines*, and afterwards of the *Saguntines*, their confederates, had caused them to put on those arms; which the gods by the final issue of the Wars had approved, and would approve to be most just. As for the mutability of Fortune, he said, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that without any note of insolence or overweening, he might well refuse the conditions offered. *For was it not plain that all these Countreys, with which the* Carthaginians *now so willingly departed, were already won from the* Romans? *If*, said he, *these conditions had been propounded whilest as yet ye detained some part of* Italy, *they might peradventure not have been rejected. But as the case now stands, I see no reason why I should remit unto you any one piece of these my former demands to which the* Carthaginians *have yielded already, and thought me to be gracious in dealing so moderately. Rather I say, that the injuries which they have done me since, have made them unworthy of obtaining peace upon so friendly terms. But I cannot blame thee,* Hannibal, *though thou wouldst be glad to make thy Citizens understand, from how much of their burden they are by thy means eased. Only thou must think, that in like sort it concerns me in honour not to let them be gainers or savers by the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou knowest well, that besides those offers which thou here hast made, they were well contented to restore unto us ransome-free, all prisoners that they have of ours, to pay us five thousand talents, to deliver up their Gallies, and to deliver hostages for assurance of fair dealing, And must they now be discharged of all this by their breach of truce, their spoiling of our fleet, and their violating our Embassadours? Not so. But if they can be contented, besides all this, to make such amends as I shall require, for these injuries newly done; then will I take advice with my counsel what answer to give you; otherwise you may even prepare for war, and blame your own selves for that I have denied you peace.*

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his own Camp, with no other news than war; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a battel, wherein should be decided the quarrel between *Rome* and *Carthage*. The next morning at break of day they issued into the field: a notable march, and such as hath very seldom been found: whether we regard the Generals, their Armies, the two Cities that contended, or the great importance of the battel at hand. *Scipio* ordered his men after the *Roman* manner: placing first the *Hastati*, divided into their Maniples, or small Battalions, with a reasonable distance between them: Not far behind these followed the *Principes*, likewise divided; and so after them the *Triarii*. But herein *Scipio* altered a little the ordinary custome of the *Romans*: He placed not the Maniples of his *Principes* opposite unto the void spaces between the *Hastati*, that so the *Hastati*, as was usual, might fall back between the *Principes*; but he placed them directly one behind another, as it were, in File. This he did, because of the Elephants, whereof *Hannibal* had many. For of those beasts the danger was less whilest there was open way to let them through. Therefore he took such order, that when they had passed through the spaces between the first Battalions, they should not come upon the *Principes* in Front. Unto his *Velites*, or those of the light armature that were to begin the fight he gave direction, that when they found themselves to be overcharged, either by the Enemies; or (which was most to be feared) by the Elephants, they should run back through those lanes that were between the Maniples; and that those which were swiftest, or otherwise best able, should continue on their flight, until they were got behind all their own Army; thereby leaving room enough unto those that were wounded, or cast behind, to save themselves on the void ground, that was betwixt the first and second, or the second and third battels, without cloying up the way between the Maniples, which he desired to keep open. His *Italian* horse he placed in the left wing, under *C. Lælius*. In the right wing was *Masanissa* with his *Numidians*. He himself riding up and down, exhorted his men to do valiantly; using words, not many, but forcible. He bad them remember what they had atchieved, since their coming into *Africk*. He told them, that if this day were theirs, the War was at an end: and that their victory in this War, should make them Lords of all the World, for that afterwards, none would be found able to resist them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would flie. They were far from home, yea, and far from their own standing Camp: neither was there any place in *Africk*, that would give them shelter: if they fell into the *Carthaginians* hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but death or victory: unless they would live like wretched slaves under most mercilesse Enemies. In such necessity he said, that they which consider themselves to be, and

take reſolution anſwerable thereunto, have never been known to fail of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other ſide placed his Elephants, that were more than fourſcore in Front of his Battle. Next behind theſe he made his Vant-guard all of Mercenaries, *Ligurians*, *Gaules*, *Balcares* and *Moors*. Then followed his Battel; which was of *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, more intereſſed in the quarrel than were thoſe Mercenaries; though not ſo good ſouldiers: but to help (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them four thouſand *Macedonians*, lately ſent from King *Philip*. More than the ſpace of a furlong, behind theſe came his Rereward, conſiſting of thoſe brave Souldiers which had ſerved him in his *Italian* wars; and were the only men, in whom he repoſed any confidence. Oppoſite to *Lælius*, in his own right wing he beſtowed the *Carthaginian* Horſe. *Tychæus* and the *Numidians* he placed in his left wing againſt *Maſaniſſa*. He was indeed far too weak for the Enemy in Horſe, both in number and in goodneſs. For *Tychæus* and *Mezetullus* had no more than three thouſand; and thoſe not ſo well exerciſed, as were the four thouſand of *Maſaniſſa*. The *Carthaginians* alſo were no more, nor none other, than ſuch as could be levied in the haſte of a few dayes; and the remainder of thoſe, that had of late been often vanquiſhed, and accuſtomed to flye. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neither had he perhaps authority, to make theſe his companions alight and ſerve on foot, ſetting better men in their ſaddles. All that he could have done, was to ſtay a little longer, and expect more help. Had *Vermina* the ſon of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in a few dayes after, with ſixteen thouſand and upwards, the moſt of them Horſe, the advantage of number might have ſerved well to ſupply all other defect. Yet ſince the Lords of *Carthage* would brook no delay, *Hannibal* muſt be fain to comfort himſelf with the hope that he repoſed in his old *Italian* ſouldiers; whoſe vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more ſtrongly oppoſed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their ſeveral conditions: promiſing unto the Mercenaries bountiful rewards; threatning the *Carthaginians* with inevitable ſervitude if they loſt that day: but eſpecially animating his old fellow-ſouldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained againſt far greater numbers. He bad them to look upon the Enemies and make an eſtimate, whether they were any thing like ſo many, as that huge Army which they had ſlaughtered at *Cannæ*. He willed them to remember, That it was one *P. Scipio*, even the father of this man, whom they had firſt of all compelled to run away. He told them, that theſe Legions, which they yonder beheld, were for the moſt part of them, the very worſt of the *Roman* ſouldiers; even ſuch, as for their daſtardly flight out of ſundry battels, could no longer be truſted to bear Arms in their own Country. As for the reſt, they were young men, the ſons of Cowards, and bred up in the continual fear of thoſe weapons, by which their fathers were daily ſlain or chaſed. Wherefore he intreated theſe his old companions, upon whoſe vertue he meant wholly to repoſe himſelf, that they would this day ſtrive to make good their honour, and to purchaſe the fame of *men invincible*.

Such exhortations uſed the two Generals before the fight. When they drew near together, the *Numidian* horſemen on both ſides began to ſkirmiſh. The Trumpets and other inſtruments of war, ſounded to battel: and *Hannibal* commanded his Elephants to break upon the *Romans*. Of theſe Elephants (as they were alwayes an uncertain kind of help) thoſe that ſtood near unto the point of the left wing, turned back for fear: and ran upon their own *Numidian* horſe; which they affrighted and diſordered. *Maſaniſſa* eſpying this, gave charge upon the ſame *Numidians*; and not ſuffering them to rally themſelves, drave them quite out of the field. The reſt of thoſe beaſts made a great ſpoil of the *Roman Velites*, whom they followed into the ſpaces between the Maniples: but without any harm to the Battalions themſelves; which gave them open way, accordingly as *Scipio* had well provided. Divers of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be governed, but ran back upon the right point of their own battel, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithal they diſordered the *Carthaginian* Horſe, which were in that wing: againſt whom they gave to *Lælius* the ſame advantage that *Maſaniſſa* had againſt the *Numidians*; which he uſed in like ſort. In the mean while, the battels of foot advanced, and drew near together with a ſlow and ſtately pace, till they were almoſt within a weapons caſt: at what time they gave a ſhout and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time ſeemed both in audacity, and in quickneſs to have the better of the *Romans*; wounding many, and doing more harm, than they took. But the *Roman* diſcipline after a while prevailed againſt the boiſterous violence of theſe untrained *Barbarians*.

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Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battel of the *Principes*, following somewhat near after the *Hastati*, encouraged their fellows & shewed themselvs ready, if need were, to relieve them. Contrariwise, the Mercenaries, received no manner of help or comfort, from those that should have seconded them. For the new-levied *Carthagians* and *Africans*, when they saw their hired souldiers give back, did also themselves retire. This caused the *Ligurians*, *Gaules*, and the rest, to think themselves betrayed: whereupon they enclined unto flight. The *Carthaginian* Battel was herewith more terrified than before, so as it refused to give way unto the Mercenaries for their fase retreat; and yet withal forbore to make head against the Enemies, that pursued them. It was no time to ask them what they meant by this: Fear and Indignation caused those that were at once chased by the *Romans*, and betrayed, as they thought, by their own fellows, to turn their arms with an heedless fury against both the one and the other. Thus were many of the *Carthaginians* beaten down and slain, through their own indiscretion, by their own Mercenaries. The *Roman Hastati* in like sort, fighting with desperate men in a throng, had their hands so full of work, that the *Principes* were fain to come up unto them, and help to over-bear this great medley of enemies, that were together by the ears among themselves. In this place was made a great slaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the *Carthaginians*: which hindering one another, could neither fight, nor easily flye. Such of them as escaped, ran towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not stir one foot, to help or save these Run-awayes. He caused his men to bend their Pikes at those of his own side, that would have rushed upon him: whom he thereby compelled to turn aside beyond his battel, and save themselves in the open field. The ground over which, the *Romans* were now to march, ere they could meet with *Hannibal*, was covered with heaps of dead bodies and weapons; and so slippery with blood, that *Scipio* began to stand in great doubt, lest the orders of his Battalions should be dissolved in passing that way. In such case, if he should fight with that warlike Army, which he saw before him, remaining yet entire, and without fear expecting him; He might be well assured to receive a notable overthrow. He caused therefore the *Hastati* to make a stand there where they were, opposite to the main battel of the *Hannibalians*. Then drawing up his *Principes* and *Triarii*, he placed them, when they had overcome the bad way, all in one Front with the *Hastati*, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he advanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than ever he had been received in his life before. All the days work till now, seemed to have been a matter of pastime, in regard of the sharp Conflict, that was maintained between these notable Souldiers. The *Romans* were encouraged by their having prevailed all the day before: they were also far the more in number. But these old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were fresh; (and perhaps the better men.) They fought with such obstinate resolution, that no man gave back one foot; but rather chose to die on the ground whereon he stood. So that, after a long time it was uncertain which part had the worse: unless it may seem, that the *Romans* were beginning to shrink; forasmuch as the return of *Massanissa* and *Lælius* from pursuit of the Enemies Horse, is said to have been *most happy*, and in a *needful time*. These upon a sudden charged the *Hannibalians* in the Rear; and over-bearing them by meer violence, compelled them to fall to Rout. * Excerpt. e Polyb. l. 15.

In this battel there dyed of the *Romans* fifteen hundred and upwards: on the *Carthaginian* side, above twenty thousand; besides as many that were taken; of whom, *Sopater* Captain of the *Macedonians* was one. The singular skill that *Hannibal* shewed in this his last fight, is highly commended by *Polybius*; and was acknowledged, as *Livie* reports, by *Scipio* himself. But the Enemies were too strong for him in Horse: and being enjoyned, as he was, by the State of *Carthage*, to take battel with such disadvantage, he could work no marvels. He saved himself with a few horse; and stayed not in his journey, till he came *Adrumetum*. Thence he was sent for to *Carthage*; from which he had been absent six and thirty years. At his coming into the Senate, He said plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take such peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the *Carthaginians* not knowing what other course to take, resolved to send Embassadors again, and try the favour of *Scipio*, whose Arms they could not now resist.

Scipio having spoiled the Enemies Camp, returned back to *Utica*: where he found *P. Lentulus* newly arrived, with fifty Gallies and an hundred Ships of burden. With this Fleet, and that which he had before, He thought it best to make towards *Carthage*: rather of purpose to terrifie the City, than with any hope to take it. His Legions he com-

committed unto *Cn. Octavius*; whom he willed to meet him there by land. Then sending *Lælius* away to *Rome* with news of the victory, set sail from *Utica* towards *Carthage*. He was encountred on the way by ten Embassadors from the City: who bearing up with the Admiral Gally, began to use the pittiful gesture of suppliants. But they received none other answer, than that they should meet him at *Tunes*, where he would give them audience. So rowing along before the City, and viewing it more in bravery, than with meaning to attempt it; he returned back to *Utica*, and called back *Octavius* thither, with whom in person he set forwards to *Tunes*. As they were in their journy thither, they heard the news, that *Vermina* the son of *Syphax*, was coming with an Army of more horse than foot, to the succour of those that were already vanquished. This *Vermina* seems to have been both careless of getting intelligence how things passed, and very defective in all other duties requisite in the Commander of an Army. Part of the *Roman* foot, with all their power of Horse, was sent against him: which did not only beat him, but so compass him in, that he hardly escaped himself with a few; leaving fifteen thousand of his followers dead behind him, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. If this good company had been with *Hannibal* at *Nadagara*, they should have been far better conducted, and might well have changed the Fortune of the day; which the *Carthaginian* lost by default of Horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to be doubted, that this victory, though it were no great access unto the former; yet served well to daunt the *Carthaginians*, and imprint in them the greater fear of *Scipio*. When he came to *Tunes*, there met him thirty Embassadors from *Carthage*: whose behaviour, though it was more pittiful than it had been before, yet procured it less commiseration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like sort humbled themselves. Nevertheless it was considered, what a long and laborious work it would prove, to besiege the mighty City of *Carthage*. And particularly, *Scipio* stood in great doubt, lest the honour of this war, if it were protracted, should be taken out of his hands, and given to one of the Consuls. *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, that Consul who had charge of the war against *Hannibal* at such time as he departed out of *Italy*: was bold to pass over into the Isle of *Sicil* (as it were in chase of *Hannibal* by him terrified and driven away) with a purpose thence to have proceeded into *Africk*, and taken from *Scipio* the command of the Army there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose, to restrain the ambition of this Consul *Servilius*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made suit for the same Province of *Africk*: and was therein so earnest, that though neither the Senate, nor People, would grant him his desire; yet he needs would be going, procuring only leave of the Senate, that be being Consul might join with *Scipio*, were it with no more than equal authority. But ere he could have his Fleet, and all things in a readiness for the journy, wherein no man cared to further him, Winter came on, and he was only tost at Sea with foul weather; first upon the Coast of *Hetruria*, and afterwards by *Sardinia*; where his Consulship expired, and so he returned home a private man. Then came the joyful news to *Rome*, of the victory obtained against *Hannibal*, and that the war was now even at an end. Yet was *Lentulus* the new Consul so passionate, in desiring *Africk* for his Province, that he said he would suffer nothing to pass in the Senate, until he had first his will. Much ado there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the people, at last it was ordered, That if peace were granted, it should be granted by *Scipio*; if the war continued, *Scipio* should have command therein by Land, and the Consul at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused *Scipio* to give the more favourable answer unto the *Carthaginian* Embassadors. He willed them to consider what they had deserved: and in regard thereof, to think themselves well dealt withal; in that he was contented to leave unto them their liberty and their own Laws, without appointing any Governour over them, or Garrison to hold them in subjection; leaving also unto them their possessions in *Africk*, such as they were at the beginning of this war. As touching the rest he was at a point, that, before he either granted them peace or truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilst the late Treaty was in dependance. Hereunto if they would yield, then required, He, *That immediately they should deliver up to the* Romans *all prisoners, fugitives, and renegado's, that they had of theirs: likewise all their Gallies, excepting ten: and all their Elephants. That they should make no war at all thenceforth out of* Africk, *neither yet within* Africk, *without licence of the* Romans: *That the Countrys, Towns, goods whatsoever, belonging any wise unto* Masanissa, *or to any of his Ancestors, which were in their possession, should be all by them restored unto him: That they should find corn for the* Roman *Army, and wages for their*

Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, untill the Peace were fully concluded; that they should pay ten thousand Talents of Silver, in the term of fifty years, by two hundred Talents a year, and that for observance of Conditions, they should give an hundred hostages: such as Scipio *would choose, being none of them under fourteen years of age, nor above thirty.*

With these conditions the Embassadours returned home, and reported them unto the City. They were very unpleasing; and therefore one *Gesco* stood up to speak against them: and exhorted the people, who gave good attention, that they should not condescend unto such intolerable demands. But *Hannibal* perceiving this, and noting withal what favourable audience was given to this vain Oratour, by the unquiet, yet unwarlike multitude, was bold to pull him down from his standing, by plain force. Hereat all the people murmured, as if their common liberty were too much wronged, by such insolence of this presumptuous Captain. Which *Hannibal* perceiving, rose up and spake unto them, saying; That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwise than the customes of the City would allow; forasmuch as he had been thence absent ever since he was a Boy of nine years old, until he was now a man of five and forty. Having thus excused himself of the disorder, he discoursed unto them concerning the Peace: and perswaded them to accept it, as wanting ability to defend themselves, had the Demands of the Enemy been yet more rigorous. Finally, upon good advice they resolved to yield unto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio:* to whom they paid out of hand five and twenty thousand pounds weight in Silver, in recompence of damages, and injuries by them done to his Fleet and Embassadours. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three moneths, in which time they might negotiate with the State of *Rome*, about confirmation of the League. But herewithal he gave injunction, that they should neither in the mean while send Embassadours any whither else, nor yet dismiss any Embassadours to them sent, without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his Faction, were become wise and honourable men, by the miseries whereinto *Carthage* was fallen, through their malicious counsels. *Asdrubal*, surnamed *the Kid*, a venerable man, and a great friend of *Hanno*, was chief of the Embassages which they sent to *Rome* for obtaining peace. They went thither in company of *Scipio* his Embassadours, who related unto the Senate and People these joyful news. About the same time arrived at *Rome* Embassadours from *Philip* King of *Macedon*: who, together with the *Carthaginians*, were fain to wait a while for audience, till the election of new Consuls, then in hand was finished; and order taken, for the Provinces of them, and the new Prætors. Then were the *Macedonian* Embassadours called into the Senate: who first answering unto some points, wherein the *Romans* had lately signified unto their King, that they found themselves grieved; returned the blame upon those *Greeks* themselves, that had made their complaint at *Rome*. Then accused they *Marcus Aurelius*: who being one of the three Embassadours, that had lately been sent from *Rome* unto King *Philip*, tarried in *Greece* behind his fellows, and there levying men, made war upon the King, without any regard at all of the league, that was between him and the *Romans*. Further they desired of the Senate, That one *Sopater*, a *Macedonian* Gentleman, with other of their Countrymen, that had lately served *Hannibal* for Pay; and being taken prisoners in *Africk*, were kept in bonds by *Scipio*, might be released and delivered unto them. Unto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had sent to *Rome* for that purpose, made a sharp answer. He said, that the *Greeks*, which were confederate with *Rome*, enduring so many injuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was fain to stay behind, to help them as he might; which else were like to be brought under the Kings subjection. As for *Sopater*, he affirmed him to be one of the Kings Counsel, and very inward with him: one that served not for money, but carryed money with him, and four thousand men, sent from the King to the aid of *Hannibal*. About these points, when the *Macedonian* Embassadours could make unto the Senate no good answer, they were willed to return, and tell their Master, That war he sought, and war he should find, if he proceeded as he had begun. For in two main points He had broken the League, that was between him and the *Romans*: first, in that he had wronged their Confederates; and secondly, in that he had aided their Enemies against them, with men and money.

These quarrels with *Philip*, that promised to open a way into *Greece* and the Eastern Countreys, helped well the *Carthaginian* Embassadours in their solicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reverend company, when they entred into the Senate: and *Asdrubal* above the rest was much respected, as one,

one, whose good offices had kept the *Romans* from necessity of sending Embassadours to *Carthage*, upon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the justice of the quarrel had been wholly on the *Romans* side; saying, that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuse the City, that had been too vehement in the prosecution of bad counsel. But if *Hanno*, and himself might have had their wills, the *Carthaginians*, even at the best of their Fortune, should have granted the peace, which they now desired. Herewithal he commended the moderation of the *Romans*, as no small argument of their valour; by which alwayes they had been victorious. To the same effect spake the rest of the Embassadours: all of them entreating to have the peace ratified; though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the diversity of their stile. They had patience enough to endure such reproof of Perjury, as they themselves might have laid upon the *Romans*, if their diligence and fortune had been such as the *Romans* was. Among the rest, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would swear to keep the peace hereafter: *Asdrubal* made answer; *Even by the same gods, that are so severe unto those that violate their Leagues.*

Lentulus the Consul, interposing the authority of his office, would have hindred the Senate from proceeding unto conclusion of peace; for that hereby he was like to lose the honour, which he purposed to get by making war in *Africk*. But the matter was propounded unto the people, in whom rested the Soveraign Command of *Rome*; and by them referred wholly unto the pleasure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio*, with ten Delegates, sent unto him from *Rome* of purpose, should make a League with the *Carthaginians*, upon such Conditions as seemed best: which were none other, than the same which he had already propounded. For this favour the *Carthaginian* Embassadours humbly thanked the Senate; and craved licence, that they might visit their Countrymen, which were prisoners in *Rome*: afterwards, that they might ransome and carry home with them some that were their especial friends; of whom they gave in writing almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of those Prisoners, which the Embassadours would choose, should be sent over into *Africk*, and be freely restored to liberty by *Scipio*, when the peace was fully concluded. So they took leave, and returned home, in company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to joyn with *Scipio* in commission.

At their coming into *Africk*, the peace was given, and accepted, without any controversie or disputation. The Prisoners, Fugitives, and Renegado's, were delivered up to *Scipio*: likewise the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* took more vengeance upon the Renegado's than upon the Fugitives; and upon those of the *Romans*, than upon the *Latines*, or other *Italians*. The *Latines* he beheaded: the *Romans* he crucified. About the first payment of their money, the *Carthaginians* were somewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treasury could have spared two hundred Talents for the present; yet since the pension was annual, and to continue fifty years: it was thought meet to lay the burden upon the Citizens. At the collection of the sum there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Roman* yoke had begun to pinch them; so as many, even of the Senators, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwise, *Hannibal* could not refrain from laughter. For which, when he was checked by *Asdrubal Hædus*, and told, That it worst of all beseemed him to laugh, since he had been the cause why all others did weep; He answered, *That laughter did not alwayes proceed from joy; but sometimes from extreamity of indignation: Yet*, said He, *My laughter is more seasonable, and less absurd, than your tears. For ye should have wept when ye gave up your Ships and Elephants, and when ye bound your own hands from the use of arms, without the good leave of the* Romans *first obtained. This miserable condition keeps us under, and holds us in assured servitude. But of these matters ye had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your private purses, ye have thereof some sense. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein ye shall acknowledge, that it was the very least part of your misery for which ye have shed these tears.* Thus discoursed *Hannibal* unto those, who tasting the bitter fruits of their own malicious counsel, repented when it was too late; and instead of cursing their own disorders, which had bred this grievous disease, accused the Physician, whose noble endevours had been employed in procuring the remedy.

Scipio being to take leave of *Africk*, produced *Masanissa*, and magnified him in presence of the Army, with high commendations not undeservedly. To him also he consigned over those towns of King *Syphax*, which the *Romans* at that present held; wherein, to say truth, he gave him but his due; and that

that which otherwise he knew not well how to bestow. But the love of the *Romans*, and friendship of *Scipio*, was fully answerable, now and hereafter, to all the deservings of this *Numidian* King. About *Carthage* there rested no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romans* embarqued themselves for *Sicil:* where when they arrived at *Lylibæum*, *Scipio* with some part of his Army took his way home to *Rome* by Land; and sent the rest before him thither by Sea. His journey through *Italy* was no less glorious than any triumph: all the people thronging out of the Towns and Villages, to do him honour as he passed along. He entred the City in Triumph: neither was there ever before, or after, any triumph celebrated with so great joy of the people, as was this of *Scipio*; though, in bravery of the pomp, there were others in time shortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carried through the City in this Triumph, and dying soon after in prison; or whether he were dead a while before: it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be avowed, that it was a barbarous custome of the *Romans*, to insult over the calamities of mighty Princes, by leading them contumeliously in Triumph; yea, though they were such, as had alwayes made fair and courteous war. But hereof we shall have better example ere the same age pass. It was neither the person of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the spectacle, that so much beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*; as did the contemplation of that grievous war past, whereof the *Romans* had been in a manner *without hope that ever they should set* Italy *free.* This made them look chearfully upon the Author of so great a conversion; and filled them with more joy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gave to *Scipio* the Title of the *African:* stiling him by the name of that Province, which he had subdued. This honourable kind of surname, taken from a conquered Province, grew afterwards more common, and was usurped by men of less desert: especially by many of the *Cæsars*, who sometimes arrogated unto themselves the title of Countreys, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if such glorious Attributes could have made them like in vertue unto *Scipio* the *African.*

Excerpt. è Polyb. Lib. 16.

CHAP. IV.

Of Philip *the father of* Perseus *King of* Macedon; *his first Acts and War with the* Romans, *by whom he was subdued.*

§. I.

How the Romans *grew acquainted in the East-Countreys, and desirous of War there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Wars, at one time. The* Ætolians *over-run* Peloponnesus. Philip *and his Associates make War against the* Ætolians. *Alteration of the state in* Sparta. *The* Ætolians *invade* Greece *and* Macedon, *and are invaded at home by* Philip.

Plut. in vita Sertorii.

OF the great similitude found in worldly events, the limitation of *matter* hath been assigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined unto a subject that is not unbounded; the works of Nature must needs be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seem to have their whole dependance upon the will of man, we are less to wonder, if we find less variety: since it is no great portion of things which are obnoxious unto humane power; and since they are the same affections, by which the wills of sundry men are over-ruled, in managing the affairs of our daily life. It may be observed in the change of Empires, before those times whereof we now write, how the *Assyrians* or *Chaldeans* invaded the kingdom of the *Medes*, with two hundred thousand Foot, and threescore thousand Horse; but failing in their intended conquest, they became subject within a while themselves unto the *Medes* and *Persians.* In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell upon the *Greeks* with such number of men, as might have seemed resistless. But after that the *Persians* were beaten home again, their Empire was never secure of the *Greeks:* who at all times of leisure from intestine War, devised upon that conquest thereof, which finally they made under the great *Alexander.*

If

If *Nabuchodonoſor* with his rough old Souldiers, had undetaken the *Medes*: or *Cyrus* with his well-trained Army, had made attempt upon *Greece*; the iſſue might, in humane reaſon, have been far different. Yet would it then have been expedient for them, to employ the travel and vertue of their men, rather than the greatneſs of their names againſt thoſe people; that were no leſs valiant, though leſs renowned, than their own. For the menacing words uſed by *Cyrus*, and ſome ſmall diſpleaſures done to the *Greeks* (in which kind it may be, that *Nabuchodonoſor* likewiſe offended the *Medes* and *Perſians*) were not ſo available to victory, as to draw on revenge in the future. Great Kingdoms, when they decay in ſtrength, ſuffer as did the old Lion, for the oppreſſion done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolf, gored by the Bull, yea and kickt by the Aſs. But Princes are often carryed away from reaſon, by miſ-underſtanding the language of Fame: and deſpiſing the vertue that makes little noiſe, adventure to provoke it againſt themſelves; as if it were not poſſible that their own glory ſhould be foiled by any of leſs-noted excellence. Againſt the ſame ſtone, whereat *Xerxes*, and before him (as I take it) *Evilmerodach*, had ſtumbled, *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* had daſht his foot. He was not indeed the King of all *Greece*; though moſt of mark, and a better Souldier than any other *Greekiſh* King, when he entred into the war againſt the *Romans*. This war he undertook as it were for his minds ſake; having received no injury; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the *Greeks* that ſerved under him, to prevail ſo eaſily againſt the barbarous *Romans*, that they ſhould only ſerve as a ſtep to his further intended conqueſts, of *Sicil* and *Africk*. But when the *Romans* by their victory againſt *Pyrrhus* had found their own vertue to be of richer metal, than was the more ſhining valour of the *Greeks*: than did all the bravery of the *Epirot* (his Elephants, and whatſoever elſe had ſerved to make him terrible) ſerve only to make the *Romans*, in time following, to think more highly of themſelves. *For ſince they had overcome the beſt Warrior in *Greece*, even Him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a year after make himſelf Lord of *Greece* and *Macedon*: what ſhould hinder them from the conqueſt of all thoſe unwarlike Provinces, which in compaſs of 12. years a *Macedonian* King of late memory had won? Certainly there was hereunto requiſite no more: than to bring to their own devotion by ſome good means, the whole Country of *Greece*: all the reſt, this done, would follow it ſelf. How to deal with the *Greeks*, *Philip* and *Alexander* had ſhewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learn, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

When therefore the firſt Punick war was ended, which followed ſoon after the wars of *Pyrrhus* and of the *Tarentines*: then were the *Romans* at good leaſure to hearken after news in *Greece*; and to entertain any good occaſion, that ſhould be on that ſide preſented. They had alſo then a ſtrong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwiſe very ſkilfull Marriners; yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wiſhed, that the *Illyrian* Queen *Teuta* made at the ſame time cruel war upon the *Greeks*: waſting their Countrey, and ſacking their Towns, only becauſe they were unable to reſiſt, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrel, if the *Romans* were deſirous to enter; the Queen was not ſlow to give them cauſe. And their happy accompliſhing of that war, which they made with Her, was, in their own opinion, a matter not unworthy to make their Patronage to be deſired by the *Greeks*. But no ſuch thing hapned: though they ſent Embaſſadours, as it were to offer themſelves; by ſignifying, that for the love of *Greece* they had undertaken this *Illyrian* war. Thus began the firſt acquaintance betwixt the *Greeks* and *Romans*: which afterwards encreaſed very haſtily, through the indiſcretion of King *Philip* the *Macedonian*; whoſe buſineſs with them, now being the ſubject of our ſtory, it is meet that we ſhould relate (though ſomewhat briefly) the beginning of his reign, and his firſt Actions. It was like to prove a buſie time in the world, when, within the ſpace of 4. years, new Kings began to reign in the moſt of all Countreys known; and 3. of them young boyes, in 3. of the greateſt kingdoms. This hapned from the third year of the hundred thirty ninth Olympiad, unto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of *Aſia* and *Syria*, in whoſe room ſucceeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called *the Great*. *Ptolomy Philopater* ſucceeded in the Kingdom of *Egypt* unto his father *Energetes*. And *Philip* the ſon of *Demetrius*, being 16. or 17. years old, received the Kingdom of *Macedon*, together with the Patronage of the *Achæans* and moſt of the *Greeks*, by the deceaſe of his Uncle *Antigonus Doſon*, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the ſame time alſo was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Lacedæmon*, and the Countreys about Mount

Lib. 5. c. 2. ſect. 7.

* The King of *Spain* pretended invincible Navy, being beaten out of the Britiſh Seas, invited us to thoſe of *Spain*; and having broken the greateſt Fleet that ever the *Spaniards* gathered together, we never made account of any of his preparations after that time.

Mount *Taurus*. For *Ariarathes* then began his reign in *Cappadocia*. *Lycurgus* found means to make himself King over the *Lacedæmonians*, whose Common-weal, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headless; and *Achæus*, a kinsman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebel unto him, occupied the Regions near unto Mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the State of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third years of the one hundred and fortieth Olympiad it was, that open war brake out between *Rome* and *Carthage*; and that *Hannibal* began his great Invasion upon *Italy*. Those troubles of the Western world, which were indeed the greatest, we have already followed unto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolomy*, and the rest; we shall speak hereafter, when the *Romans* find them out.

Philip, soon after the beginning of his reign, came into *Peloponnesus*; greatly desired of the *Achæans*, and many other his dependants. That Countrey, having freed it self by the help of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an easie subjection unto *Cleomenes*; was now become no less obnoxious to the *Macedonian*, than it should have been to the *Spartan*; and therewithal it lay open unto the violence of the *Ætolians*; who despised even the *Macedonian* Kings, that were Patrons thereof. The *Ætolians* were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted unto any other Art than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell upon the *Messenians* that were their own Clients, and (excepting the *Eleans*, that were anciently of their consanguinity) the only good friends which they had at the present in *Peloponnesus*. Their invasion was no less unexpected, than it was unjust: whereby with greater ease they made spoil of the Countrey; finding none prepared to make resistance. The *Achæans*, were called by the *Messenians* to help: which they did the more willingly: because the *Ætolians* passing without leave through their Territory, had (as was their manner) done what harm they listed. Old *Aratus* could hardly abide these *Ætolians*; as both knowing well their nature, and remembring the injuries, wherewith most ingratefully they had requited no small benefits done to them by the *Achæans*. He was therefore so hasty to fall upon this their Army, that he could hardly endure to stay few dayes until the time of his own Office came; being chosen Prætor of the *Achæans* for the year following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himself a man fitter (as hath been already noted of him) for any other service, than leading of Army. He suffered them to pass quietly along with their booty, through a part of the Country, wherein he might very easily have distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so near, when they had recovered ground of advantage, that they easily defeated all his Army. So they departed home rich, and well animated to return again. As for the *Achæans*, they got hereby only the friendship of the *Messenians*: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made Confederacy. Shortly after, the *Ætolians* invaded *Peloponnesus* again: having no more to do, than to pass over the narrow Straights of the *Corinthian* Bay, called now the Gulph of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Countrey of the *Eleans*. There joyned with them, in this their second invasion, a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that Condition imposed upon them by the *Romans*, of setting out no Ships of war unto the Coast of *Greece*: made bold to seek adventures again, and did great mischief. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of these *Illyrians*: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingdom, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, and fell upon the Islands of the *Cyclades* in the *Ægean* sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip*, or his friends. The rest of the *Illyrians* under *Scerdilaidas*, or *Scerdiletus*, having gotten what they could elsewhere by roving at Sea, accompanied the *Ætolians* into *Peloponnesus*: who made greater havock in the Country now, than in their former Expedition, and returned home without finding any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made unto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*. And because men were desirous to satifie themselves with some speedy revenge: there were that urged to have some grievous punishment laid upon the *Lacedæmonians*; who were thought underhand to have favoured the *Ætolians*, in meer despight of the *Achæans* and *Macedonians*, by whom themselves had lately been subdued. It is true, that the *Lacedæmonians* had been so affected: and (which was worse) at the arrival of *Philip*, they slew such friends of his, as having checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselves to judgement: but intreated the King, that he would abstain from coming to them with an Army: since their Town was lately much disquieted with civil discord, which they hoped soon to appease, and meant always to

remain at his devotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly governed him) did mis-understand the *Lacedæmonians*: but for that a greater work was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth* in presence of the King, the Embassadors of the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*: all complaining upon the *Ætolians*: and desiring to have War decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters unto the *Ætolians*, requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time: if they could alledge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at *Rhium* for that purpose: whither if it pleased him to come, or send, he should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to have been there at the day. But when the *Ætolians* understood this for certain, they adjourned the Councel unto a further time: saying, That such weighty matters ought not to be handled, save in the great Parliament of all *Ætolia*. This trick of Law notwithstanding, open War was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were, to shew how well they had deserved it, made election of *Scopas* to be their Prætor, that was Author of these Invasions made on *Peloponnesus*; and the only man, in a sort, upon whom they must have laid the blame of these actions, if they would have shifted it from the publick.

After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon*, where he prepared busily for the War against the year following. He also assayed the *Illyrian*, *Scerdilaidas*, with fair words and promises; whom he easily won from the *Ætolian* side, forasmuch as the *Ætolians* had couzened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the *Achæans*, who had first of all others proclaimed the War in their own Countrey, sent unto the *Acarnanians*, *Epirots*, *Messenians*, and *Lacedæmonians*: requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, and to denounce war unto the *Ætolians*; without staying (as it were) to await the event. Hereunto they received divers answers according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The *Acarnanians*, a free-hearted and valiant, though a small Nation, and bordering upon the *Ætolians*, of whom they stood in continual danger; said, that they could not honestly refuse to shew their faithful meaning in that War, which was concluded by general assent. The *Epirots* that were more mighty, were nevertheless more cunning and reserved: so that they stood upon a needless point, and desired to be held excused, until *Philip* (of whose meaning they needed not to have made any doubt) should first proclaim the war. The *Messenians*, for whose cause the war was undertaken, excused themselves, by reason of a Town which the *Ætolians* held upon their borders, and said, that they durst not be over-bold, until that bridle were taken out of their mouths. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, the chief of them studied only, how to manage the treason for which their City had been so lately pardoned: and therefore dismissed the Embassadors of the Confederates, without any answer at all. They had three years together continued subject against their wils to the *Macedonians*, expecting still when *Cleomenes* should return out of *Egypt* to reign over them again, and maintain, as he was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they chose not any Kings, but were contented with the rule of *Ephori*. Of these there were some, that thought the publick safety to consist, in holding their faith with the *Macedonian* that had preserved them. And hereto they referred all their counsels: being perhaps a little moved with respect of the benefit, which might redound unto themselves, by adhering firmly to those which at the present bore rule over them. Others, and those the greater part were still devising, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* against his return; and sought to joyn with the *Ætolians*, which were the most likely to give him strong assistance. The *Macedonian* faction had the more authority, and durst more freely speak their minds: but the contrary side was the more passionate, and spared not by murders or any other violent courses, to set forward their desire. Neither did it suffice, that about these times there came certain report of *Cleomenes* his death. For it was the liberty and honour of *Sparta*, which these intended; fancying unto themselves the glory of their Ancestors in such Ages past, as it were not like to come again. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the most able man to restore them unto their greatness & lustre; which once he had in a manner performed: But since he was dead, and that, without injury to his well-deserving vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would have, and those of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without such helps, they must continue little better than subjects unto the *Macedonian*, and far less by him respected, than were the *Achæans*. Thus were they transported by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among

among them, procured the *Ætolians* to send an Embassie to *Sparta*: which propounded the matter openly unto the people, whereof no one of the Citizens durst have made himself the Author. Much disputation, and hot, there was, between those of the *Macedonian* party, and these their opposites: in such wise that nothing could be concluded; until by massacre or banishment of all, or the chief, that spake against the *Ætolians*: the diversity of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ætolians*: without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Achæans*, who had spared the City, when they might have destroyed it. Then also they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was so nice, and so regardful of their ancient Laws, as touching the choosing of the one King, that we may justly wonder, how they grew so careless in making choice of the other. In the one of their Royal Families they found *Agesipolis*, the son of *Agesipolis*, the son of King *Cleombrotus*: and him they admitted to reign over them, as heir apparent to his grandfather. This *Agesipolis* was a young Boy, standing in need of a Guardian; and had an Uncle, his Fathers Brother, that was fit for the Government. Yet becaus the Law required, that the son, how youngsoever, should have his fathers whole right and Title: the *Lacedæmonians*, though standing in need of a man, were so punctual in observation of the Law, that they made this child their King, and appointed his Uncle *Cleomenes* to be his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royal Family, though there was no want of heirs: yet would not the people trouble themselves about any of them, to examine the goodness of his Claim; but made election of one *Lycurgus*, who having no manner of title to the Kingdom, bestowed upon each of the *Ephori*, a Talent, and thereby made himself be saluted King of *Sparta*, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycurgus* to gratifie his Partisans, and to approve his worth by action, invaded the Country of the *Argives*: which lay open and unguarded, as in a time of peace. There he did great spoil, and won divers Towns; whereof two he retained, and annexed unto the State of *Lacedæmon*. After such open hostility, the *Lacedæmonians* declared themselves on the *Ætolian* side; and proclaimed War against the *Achæans*.

Thus the beginnings of the War fell out much otherwise, than the *Achæans* and their Confederates had expected, when they first made preparation. *Philip* was not ready: the *Epirots* gave uncertain answer: the *Messenians* would not stir: all the burden must lye upon themselves and the poor *Acarnanians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by favour of the *Eleans*, could invade at pleasure, as they were like to do; and by help of the *Lacedæmonians*, could assail on all parts at once. It was not long ere the *Ætolians*, passing over the Bay of *Corinth*, surprised the Town of *Ægira*: which if they could have held, they should thereby grievously have molested the *Achæans*, for that it stood in the mid-way between *Ægium* and *Sycion*, two of their principal Cities, and gave open way into the heart of all their Country. But as *Ægira* was taken by surprise: so was it presently lost again, through greedines of spoil; whilest they that should have made it their first care, to assure the place unto themselves, by occupying the citadel and other pieces of strength, fell heedlesly to ransack private houses, and thereby gave the Citizens leave to make head, by whom they were driven with great slaughter back unto their Fleet. About the same time, another *Ætolian* Army landing among the *Eleans*, fell upon the Western Coast of *Achaia*; wasting all the Territory of the *Dymæans* and other people, that were first beginners of the *Achæan* Confederacy. The *Dymæans* and their neighbours made head against these Invaders; but were so well beaten, that the enemy grew bolder with them than before. They sent for help unto their Prætor, and to all the Towns of their Society in vain. For the *Achæans* having lately been much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to do little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of Mercenaries; forasmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his war they had covetously with-held part of their due from those that served them therein. So through this disability of the *Achæans*, and insufficiency of their Prætor; the *Dymæans*, with others, were driven to with-hold their contribution heretofore made for the publick service, and to convert the money to their own defence. *Lycurgus* also with his *Lacedæmonians*, began to win upon the *Arcadians*, that were confederate with *Philip* and the *Achæans*.

Philip came to the borders of the *Ætolians*, whilst their Army was thus employed a far off in *Peloponnesus*. The *Epirots* joined all their forces with him: and by such their willing readines, drew him to the siege of a Frontier piece, which they desired to get into their own hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped shortly to make

themſelves Maſters of *Ambracia*. There he ſpent forty dayes, ere he could end the buſineſs; which tended only to the benefit of the *Epirots*. Had he entred into the heart of *Ætolia* at his firſt coming in; it is thought that he might have had an end of the War. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken upon ſmall Towns or Forts: and not ſeldom, that the importunity of Aſſociates, to have their own deſires fulfilled, converts the preparations of great Kings to thoſe uſes for which they never were intended; thereby hindering the proſecution of their main deſigns. Thus was our King *Henry* the eighth led aſide, and quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperour to the ſiege of *Tournay*: at ſuch time as the *French* King *Lewis* the twelfth, hearing that the ſtrong City of *Terwin* was loſt, and that his Cavallery, wherein reſted his chief confidence, two thouſand were beaten by the Earl of *Eſſex* with ſeven hundred *Engliſh*; was thinking to withdraw himſelf into *Britain*, in fear that *Henry* would have come to *Paris*.

The ſtay that *Philip* made at *Ambrachus*, did wondrouſly embolden the *Ætolians*: in ſuch ſort, as their Prætor *Scopas* adventured to lead all their forces out of the Country; and therewith not only to over-run *Theſſalie*, but to make impreſſion into *Macedon*. He ran as far as to *Dium*, a City of *Macedon*, upon the *Ægean* Sea: which, being forſaken by the Inhabitants at his coming, he took, and razed to the ground. He ſpared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but overturned all: and among the reſt, he threw down the Statua's that were there erected, of the *Macedonian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Country-men at his return; foraſmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be grown terrible, not only (as before) unto *Peloponneſus*, but even to *Macedon* it ſelf. But this their pride was ſoon abated; and they rewarded ſhortly at home in their own Country, for their pains taken at *Dium*. *Philip* having diſpatched his work at *Ambracus*, made a ſtrong invaſion upon *Ætolia*. He took *Phœtiæ*, *Metropolis*, *Oeniade*, *Pæanium*, *Elæus*, and divers other Towns and Caſtles of theirs: of which he burnt ſome, and fortified others. He alſo beat the *Ætolians* in ſundry ſkirmiſhes: and waſted all the Countrey over, without receiving any harm. This done, while he was about to make a cut over the Straights into *Peloponneſus*, and to do the like ſpoil in the Country of the *Eleans*, whereto he was vehemently ſolicited by the *Achæan* Embaſſadors; news came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardanians* were ready with a great Army to fall upon the Country. Theſe *Dardanians* were a barbarous people, divided by Mount *Hæmus* from the Northern part of *Macedon*, and were accuſtomed to ſeek booty in that wealthy Kingdom, when they found their own times. Having therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a journey into *Peloponneſus*; they purpoſed in his abſence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themſelves in his Countrey: as had been their manner upon the like advantages. This made the King to diſmiſs the *Achæan* Embaſſadors, (whom he ſhould have accompanied home with his Army) and to bid them have patience until another year. So he took his way home-wards: and as he was paſſing out of *Acarnania* into *Epirus*, there repaired unto him *Demetrius Pharius*, with no more than one Ship; that was newly chaſed out of his Kingdom by the *Romans*. This *Demetrius* had lately ſhewed himſelf a friend to *Antigonus Doſon* in the wars of *Cleomenes*: and returning in his laſt Voyage from the *Cyclades*, was ready at their firſt requeſt, to take part with *Philips* Captains. Theſe, or the like conſiderations, made him welcome unto the *Macedonian* King: whoſe Counſellor he was ever after. The *Dardanians* hearing of the Kings return, brake up their Army, and gave over for the preſent their invaſion of *Macedon*, towards which they were already on their way.

All that ſummer following the King reſted at *Lariſſa* in *Theſſaly*, whileſt his people gathered in their Harveſt. But the *Ætolians* reſted not. They avenged themſelves upon the *Epirots*: whom for the harms by them and *Philip* done in *Ætolia*, they requited with all extremities of War, among which, the moſt notable was the ruine of the moſt famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, and all thought of War, until another year, was laid aſide: *Philip* ſtole a journy into *Peloponneſus*, with 5000. Foot, & about 400. Horſe. As ſoon as he was within *Corinth*; He commanded the gates to be ſhut, that no word ſhould be carryed forth of his arrival. He ſent privily for old *Aratus* to come thither unto him: with whom he took order, when, and in what places, he would have the *Achæan* Souldiers ready to meet him. The enemies were then abroad in the Country, without ſomewhat more than two thouſand Foot, and an hundred Horſe;

Horſe; little thinking to meet with oppoſition. Indeed they had little cauſe to fear: ſince the *Achæans* themſelves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his *Macedonians*; until they heard, that theſe two thouſand *Eleans*, *Ætolians*, and their fellows, were by him ſurprized, and all made priſoners, or ſlain. By this exploit which he did at his firſt coming, *Philip* got very much reputation, and likewiſe he purchaſed both reputation and love, by divers actions immediately following. He won *Pſophis*, an exceeding ſtrong Town, in the borders of *Arcadia*, which the *Eleans* and *Ætolians* then held. He won it by aſſault at his firſt coming: wherein it much availed him, that the Enemy, not believing that he would undertake ſuch a piece of work at ſuch an unſeaſonable time of the year, was careleſs of providing even ſuch ſtore of weapons, as might have ſerved to defend it. The Town was preſerved by the King from ſack; and given to the *Achæans* of his meer motion, before they requeſted it. Thence went he to *Laſion*, which yielded for very fear; hearing how eaſily he had taken *Pſophis*. This Town alſo he gave to the *Achæans*. The like liberality he uſed towards others, that had ancient title unto places by him recovered. Then fell he upon the Country of *Elis*, where was much wealth to be gotten: for that the people were addicted to huſbandry, and lived abroad in Villages; even ſu[illegible]s were of the wealthier ſort among them. So he came to the City of *Olympia*: where having done ſacrifice to *Jupiter*, feaſted his Captains, and refreſhed his Army three days; He proceeded on to the ſpoil of thoſe, that had taken pleaſure to ſhare with the *Ætolians*, in the ſpoils of their otherwiſe-deſerving neighbours. Great abundance of Cattel he took, with great numbers of ſlaves, and much wealth of all ſorts, ſuch as could be found in rich villages. Then he fell in hand with the Towns, whereinto a great multitude of the Country people were fled. Some of theſe were taken at the firſt aſſault. Some yielded for fear. Some prevented the labour of his journey, by ſending Embaſſadors to yield before he came. And ſome that were held with Garriſons againſt their wils, took courage to ſet themſelves at liberty, by ſeeing the King ſo near: to whoſe Patronage thenceforth they betook themſelves. And many places were ſpoiled by the *Ætolians* Captains; becauſe they diſtruſted their ability to hold them. So the King won more Towns in the Country, than the ſharpneſs of winter would ſuffer him to ſtay there days. Fain he would have fought with the *Ætolians*: but they made ſuch haſte from him, that he could not overtake them, till they had covered themſelves within the Town of *Samicum*; where they thought to have been ſafe. But *Philip* aſſaulted them therein ſo forcibly, that he made them glad to yield the place; obtaining licenſe to depart with their lives and arms. Having performed ſo much in this expedition, the King repoſed himſelf a while in *Megalopolis*, and then removed to *Argos*, where he ſpent all the reſt of the winter.

Before the Kings arrival in *Peloponneſus*, the *Lacedæmonians*, with *Lycurgus* their new King, had gotten ſomewhat in *Arcadia*; and threatned to do great matters. But when they were admoniſhed, by the calamity that fell upon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging over their own heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themſelves home. This *Lycurgus*, as he had no other right to the Kingdom of *Sparta*, than that which he could buy with mony, ſo was he neither free from danger of conſpiracies made againſt him: nor from thoſe jealouſies, with which Uſurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royal blood, that thinking himſelf to have beſt right unto the Kingdom, purpoſed to make way thereunto by maſſacre of his oppoſites; and afterwards to confirm himſelf, by propounding unto the multitude ſuch reformation of the State as was moſt popular: namely, by making an equal diſtribution of all the lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient inſtitution of that Commonwealth. He won to his party ſome two hundred men; with whom he fell upon the *Ephori*, as they were together at ſupper, & ſlew them all. Then went he to *Lycurgus* his houſe: who perceiving the danger, ſtole away and fled. It remained that he ſhould give account of theſe doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds not being hereto prediſpoſed; they ſo little regarded his goodly offers, as even whilſt he was uſing his beſt perſwaſions, they were conſulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceived whereabout they went, and ſhifted preſently away. So he lived afterwards among the *Achæans* a baniſhed man, and hated of his own people. As for *Lycurgus* he returned home: & ſuſpecting thenceforth all thoſe of *Hercules* his race, found means to drive out his fellow-King young *Ageſipolis* whereby he made himſelf Lord alone. His doings grew to be ſuſpected, in ſuch ſort, as once he ſhould have been apprehended by the *Ephori*. But though his actions hitherto might have been defended; yet rather than

than to adventure himself into judgment, he chose to flie for a time, and sojourn among his friends the *Ætolians*. His well-known vehemency in opposition to the *Macedonians*, had procured unto him such good liking among the people, that in his absence they began to consider the weakness of their own surmises against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, he took better heed unto himself: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was so acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not be in the power of the Citizens to expel him when they listed. By what actions he got the name of a Tyrant; or at what time it was, that he chased *Agesipolis* out of the City; I do not certainly find. Like enough it is, That his being the first of three usurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to be placed in the rank of Tyrants; which the last of the three very justly deserved. Whatsoever he was toward some private Citizens, in the war against *Philip*, he behaved himself as a provident man, and careful of his Countreys good.

§. II.

How Philip *was misadvised by ill Counsellors: who afterwards wrought treason against him; and were justly punished. He invadeth the* Ætolians *a second time: and forceth them to sue for peace: which is granted unto them.*

WHilest the King lay at *Argos* devising upon his business for the year following, some ambitious men that were about him, studied so diligently for their own greatness, as they were like to have spoiled all that he took in hand. *Antigonus Doson* had left unto *Philip* such Counsellors, as to him did seem the fittest men for governing of his youth. The chief of these was *Apelles*; that had the charge of his person, and also the ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himself a great Politician, thought that he should do a notable piece of service to his Prince, if he could reduce the *Achæans* unto the same degree of subjection, wherein the *Macedonians* lived. To bring this to pass; during the late Expedition he had caused some of the *Macedonians* to thrust the *Achæans* out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the booty that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out; he was bold to chastise some of that Nation; causing his Ministers to take and whip them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refrain) to help their fellows; them he laid by the heels, and punished as Mutiners. Hereby he thought to bring it to pass by little and little, that they should be qualified with an habit of blind obedience; and think nothing unjust that pleased the King. But these *Achæans* were tenderly sensible in matters of liberty: whereof if they could have been contented to suffer any little diminution, they needed not have troubled the *Macedonians* to help them in the war against *Cleomenes*. They bemoaned themselves unto old *Aratus*: and besought him to think upon some good order, that they might not be oppressed by degrees. *Aratus* forthwith dealt earnestly with the King; as in a matter more weighty than at first it might seem. The King bestowed gracious words upon those that had been wronged, and forbade *Apelles* to follow the course begun. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he dissembled his choler for a time. He thought so well of his own Project, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps unable to do the King any valuable service, in business of other nature. He purposed therefore hereafter to begin at the head: since, in biting at the tail, the fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise be than that among the *Achæans* there were some, who bare no hearty affection to *Aratus*. These he enquired out, and sending for them, entertained them with words of Court: promising to become their especial friend, and commend them unto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himself: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of *Aratus*, he must be fain to deal precisely with the *Achæans*, and as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased, to give countenance unto those others whom he himself commended, then should the *Achæans*, and all other *Peloponnesians*, be quickly brought to conform themselves unto the duty of obedient Subjects. By such perswasions, he drew the King to be present at *Ægium*, where the *Achæans* were to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would have been needful in a business of more importance, the King by fair words and threatnings together, obtained so much, That *Eperatus*, a very insufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new favourites, was chosen Prætor, instead of one more worthy, for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good

good introduction unto greater matters that ſhould follow. The King from thence paſſed along by *Patræ* and *Dyma*, to a very ſtrong Caſtle held by the *Eleans*, which was called *Tichos*. The garriſon yielded it up for fear, at his firſt coming: whereof he was glad, for that he had an earneſt deſire to beſtow it upon the *Dymæans*, as he preſently did.

The King thought it ſtrange, that all this while he heard of no meſſengers from the *Eleans*, to ſue for peace. For at his departure out of their Country the laſt Winter, he had let looſe one *Amphidamus* a Captain of theirs, that was his priſoner; becauſe he found him an intelligent man, and one that undertook to make them forſake their alliance with the *Ætolians*, and joyn with him upon reaſonable terms. This if they could be contented to do, he willed *Amphidamus* to let them underſtand, That he would render unto them freely all priſoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forrain invaſion; and that they ſhould hold their liberty entire, living after their own Laws, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept under by any garriſon. Theſe conditions were not to be deſpiſed, if they had found credit, as they might have done. But when *Philip* came to the Caſtle of *Tichos*, and made a new invaſion upon their Country: then began the *Eleans*, (that were not before over-haſty to believe ſuch fair promiſes) to ſuſpect *Amphidamus* as a Traitor, and one that was ſet on work for no other end, than to breed a mutual diffidence between them and the *Ætolians*. Wherefore they purpoſed to lay hands upon him, and ſend him priſoner into *Ætolia*. But he perceived their intent, and got away to *Dyma*: in good time for himſelf; in better for *Aratus*. For the King (as was ſaid) marvailing what ſhould be the cauſe, that he heard no news from the *Eleans*, concerning the offers which he had made unto them by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles* his Counſellor, thereby took occaſion to ſupplant *Aratus*. He ſaid that old *Aratus*, and his ſon together, had ſuch devices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good: And long of them he ſaid it was, that the *Eleans* did thus hold out. For when *Amphidamus* was diſmiſſed home, the two *Arati*, (the father and the ſon) had taken him aſide and given him to underſtand, that it would be very prejudicial to all *Peloponneſus*, if the *Eleans* once became at the devotion of the *Macedonian*: And this was the true cauſe, why neither *Amphidamus* was ver ycareful in doing this meſſage; nor the *Eleans* in hearkning to the Kings offers. All this was a falſe lye, diviſed by *Apelles* himſelf, upon no other ground than his own malice. *Philip* had no ſooner heard this tale, but in a great rage he ſent for the two *Arati*, and bade *Apelles* rehearſe it over again to their faces. *Apelles* did ſo, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men already convicted. And when he had ſaid all the reſt, ere either *Philip* or they ſpake any word; He added this clauſe, as it were, in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you ſuch ungrateful wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the *Achæans*; and therein having made it known what ye are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leave you to your ſelves. Old *Aratus* gravely admoniſhed the King; That whenſoever he heard any accuſation, eſpecially againſt a friend of his own, or a man of worth, He ſhould forbear a while to give credit, untill he had diligently examined the buſineſs. For ſuch deliberation was Kingly, and he ſhould never thereof repent him. At the preſent he ſaid there needed no more, than to call in thoſe that had heard his talk with *Amphidamus*, and eſpecially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very abſurd thing, That the King ſhould make himſelf the Author of a report in the open Parliament of *Achaia*, whereof there was none other evidence, than one mans *yea*, and anothers *no*. Hereof the King liked well; and ſaid that he would make ſufficient inquiry. So paſſed a few dayes: wherein whileſt *Apelles* delayed to bring in the proof, which indeed he wanted, *Amphidamus* came from *Elis*, and told what had befaln him there. The King was not forgetful, to examine him about the conſpiracy of the *Arati*: which, when he found no better than a meer device againſt his honourable friends; he entertained them in loving manner as before. As for his love to *Apelles*, though it was hereby ſomewhat cooled; yet by means of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remiſſion therein could be diſcerned.

The unreſtful temper of *Apelles*, having with much vehemency brought nothing to paſs, began (as commonly Ambition uſeth) to ſwell and grow venemous for want of his free motion. He betakes himſelf to his cunning again: and as before, being checkt in his doings with thoſe of the vulgar, he had prepared a ſnare for the *Arati*: ſo failing of them, he thinks it wiſdom to lay for the King himſelf, and for all at once which were about him. In ſuch manner ſometime, the Spider thought to have taken the Swallow which drave away flyes out of the chimny; but

but was carryed (net and all) into the Air by the bird, that was too ſtrong to be caught, and held by the ſubtle workmanſhip of a Cob-web. Of the four that next unto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chief place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lieutenant in *Peloponneſus*, and *Alexander* Captain of the Guard, were faithful men, and ſuch as would not be corrupted, The other two, *Leontius* Captain of the *Targettiers*, and *Megaleas* chief of the Secretaries, were eaſily won to be at *Apelles* his diſpoſition. This politician therefore ſtudied how to remove the other two from their places, and put ſome Creatures of his own into their rooms. Againſt *Alexander* he went to work the ordinary way, by calumniation and privy detraction. But for the ſupplanting of *Taurion* he uſed more fineneſs; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of war, and one, whom for his many vertues the King might ill ſpare from being alwayes in his preſence. By ſuch Art he thought to have removed him, as we ſay, *Out of Gods bleſſing into a warm Sun.* In the mean ſeaſon *Aratus* retired himſelf: and ſought to avoid the dangerous friendſhip of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affairs of State. As for the new Prætor of *Achaia*, lately choſen by ſuch vehement inſtance of the King; He was a man of no diſpatch, and one that had no grace with the people. Wherefore a great deal of time was loſt, whileſt *Philip* wanted both the money and the Corn, wherewith he ſhould have been furniſhed by the *Achæans*. This made the King underſtand his own errour: which he wiſely ſought to reform betimes. He perſwaded the *Achæans* to rejourn their Parliament from *Ægium*, to *Sycion*, the Town of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his ſon, perſwading them to forget what was paſt; and laying all the blame upon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth he intended to keep a more diligent eye. So by the travel of theſe worthy men, he eaſily obtained what he would of the *Achæans*. Fifty talents they gave him out of hand; with great ſtore of Corn; and further decreed, That ſo long as he himſelf in perſon followed the wars in *Peleponneſus*, he ſhould receive ten talents a moneth. Being thus enabled, he began to provide ſhipping, that ſo he might invade the *Ætolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, that were maritime people, at his pleaſure, and hinder their excurſions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond meaſure, to ſee things go forward ſo well without his help; even by the miniſtry of thoſe whom he moſt hated. Wherefore he entred into conſpiracy with *Leontius* and *Megaleas*: binding himſelf and them by Oath, to croſs and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King ſhould take in hand. By ſo doing, they thought to bring it to paſs, that very want of ability to do any thing without them; ſhould make him ſpeak them fair, and be glad to ſubmit himſelf to their directions. The King it is like had ſtood in ſome awe of them whileſt he was a child; and therefore theſe wiſe men perſwaded themſelves, that by looking big upon him; and imputing unto him all that fell out ill through their own miſgovernment of his affairs, they might rule him as a child ſtill. *Apelles* would needs go to *Chalcis*, there to take order for the proviſions, which were to come that way out of *Macedon*: The other two ſtaid behind with the King, to play their parts; all more mindful of their wicked oath, than of their duty.

His Fleet and Army being in a readineſs: *Philip* made countenance, as if he would have bent all his forces againſt the *Eleans*; to whoſe aid therefore the *Ætolians* ſent men, little fearing that the miſchief would have fallen, as ſoon after it did, upon themſelves. But againſt the *Eleans* and thoſe that came to help them, *Philip* thought it enough to leave the *Achæans*, with ſome part of his and their Mercenaries. He himſelf with the body of his Army putting to Sea, landed in the Iſle of *Cephalenia*: whence the *Ætolians*, dwelling over againſt it, uſed to furniſh themſelves of ſhipping, when they went to rove abroad. There he beſieged the Town of *Palæa*, that had been very ſerviceable to the Enemy againſt him and his Confederates; and might be very uſeful to him, if he could get it. Whileſt he lay before this Town, there came unto him fifteen ſhips of war from *Scerdilaidas*; and many good Souldiers, from the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and *Meſſenians*. But the Town was obſtinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts ſave one, on which ſide *Philip* carryed a Mine to the wall, wherewith he overthrew two hundred foot thereof. *Leontius* Captain of the *Targettiers*, was appointed by the King to make the aſſault. But he, remembring his covenant with *Apelles*, did both wilfully forbear to do his beſt: and cauſed others to do the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foile, and many ſlain, not of the worſt Souldiers: but ſuch as had gotten over the breach, and would have carried the Town, if the Treaſon of their Captain, and ſome by him corrupted, had not hindred the victory. The King was angry with this, but

but there was no remedy: and therefore he thought upon breaking up the siege. For it was easier unto the Towns-men to make up the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilest he stood thus perplexed and uncertain what course to take: the *Messenians* and *Acarnanians* lay hard upon him, each of them desirous to draw him into their own Countrey. The *Messenians* alledged, that *Lycurgus* was busie in wasting their Countrey: upon whom the King might come unawares in one day; the *Etesian* winds which then blew, serving fitly for his Navigation. Hereto also *Leontius* perswaded; who considered that those winds, as they would easily carry him thither, so would they detain him there perforce (blowing all the Dog-dayes) and make him spend the Summer to small or no purpose. But *Aratus* gave better counsel, and prevailed: he shewed how unfitting it were, to let the *Ætolians* over-run all *Thessaly* again, and some part of *Macedon*, whilest the King withdrew his Army far off to seek small adventures. Rather, he said that the time now served well to carry the war into *Ætolia*: since the Prætor was gone thence abroad on roving, with the one half of their strength. As for *Lycurgus*, he was not strong enough to do much harm in *Peloponnesus*: and it might suffice, if the *Achæans* were appointed to make head against them. According to this advice, the King set sail for *Ætolia*, and enters the Bay of *Ambracia*, which divided the *Ætolians* from *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* were glad to see him on their borders; and joyned with him as many of them as could bear arms, to help in taking vengeance upon their bad neighbours. He marched up into the inland Countrey: and taking some places by the way, which he filled with Garrisons to assure his Retreat; He passed on to *Thermum*, which was the Receptacle of the *Ætolians*, and surest place of defence in all extremities. The Countrey round about was a great fastness, environed with rocky Mountains of very narrow steep, and difficult ascent. There did the *Ætolians* use to hold all their chief meetings, their Fairs, their election of Magistrates, and their solemn Games. There also they used to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of greatest security. This opinion of the natural strength, had made them careless in looking unto it. When *Philip* therefore had overcome the bad way, there was nothing else to do than to take spoil: whereof he found such plenty, that he thought the pains of his journy well recompenced. So he loaded his Army: and consuming all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chief of all belonging unto the *Ætolians*; in remembrance of their like courtesie, shewed upon the Temples of *Dium* and *Dodana*. This burning of the Temple, might (questionless) more for the Kings honour have been forborn. But perhaps he thought, as *Monsieur du Gourgues* the French Captain told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his return from *Thermum*, the *Ætolians* laid for him: which that they would do, he believed before, and therefore was not taken unawares. Three thousand of them there were that lying in ambush, fell upon his skirts: but he laid a Counter-ambush for them, of his *Illyrians*; who staying behind the rest, did set upon the backs of the *Ætolians*, whilest they were busily charging in Rear the Army that went before. So with slaughter of the enemy, he returned the same way that he came: and burning down those places that he had taken before, as also wasting the Country round about him, He safely carried all that he had gotten aboard his fleet. Once the *Ætolians* made countenance of fight, issuing out of *Stratus* in great bravery. But they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The joy of this victorious expedition being every way compleat, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any sinister accident; it pleased the King to make a great feast unto all his friends and Captains. Thither were invited among the rest *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megaleas*. They came because they could not choose: but their heavy looks argued, what little pleasure they took in the Kings prosperity. It grieved them to think, that they should be able to give no better account unto *Apelles*, of their hindering the Kings business; since *Apelles* himself, as will be shewed anon, had played his own part with a most mischievous dexterity. Finding *Aratus* on the way home to his Tent: they fell to reviling him, throwing stones at him, so that they caused a great uprore: many running in (as happens in such cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King sending to enquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had passed: Which made him send for *Leontius* and his fellows. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megaleas*, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their disorder: and they, to give him froward answers: insomuch, as they said at length, That they would never give over, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a mischief as he deser-

ved. Hereupon the King committed them to ward. *Leontius* hearing of this comes boldly to the King, with his *Targettiers* at his heels: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands upon *Megaleas*, yea, and to caſt him into priſon? Why ſaid the King, it was even I. This reſolute anſwer, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both ſad and angry; ſeeing himſelf out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedy the matter. Shortly after *Megaleas* was called forth to his anſwer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hinderance of the Kings victory at *Palea*, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no leſs touching *Leontius*, that ſtood by as a looker on, than *Megaleas* that was accuſed. In concluſion, the preſumptions againſt him were ſo ſtrong, and his anſwers thereto ſo weak; that he, and *Crinon* one of his fellows, were condemned in twenty Talents: *Crinon* being remanded back to priſon; and *Leontius* becoming Bail for *Megaleas*. This was done upon the way home-wards, as the King was returning to *Corinth*.

Philip diſpatched well a great deal of buſineſs of this year. For as ſoon as he was at *Corinth*, he took in hand an Expedition againſt the *Lacedæmonians*. Theſe and the *Eleans* had done what harm they could in *Peloponneſus*, whileſt the King was abſent. The *Achæans* had oppoſed them as well as they could; with ill ſucceſs, yet ſo, as they hindred them from doing ſuch harm as elſe they would have done. But when *Philip* came, he over-ran the Country about *Lacedæmon*: and was in a manner at the Gates of *Sparta*, ere men could well believe that he was returned out of *Ætolia*. He took not in this Expedition any Cities, but made great waſt in the fields: and having beaten the enemy in ſome ſkirmiſhes, carried back with him to *Corinth* a rich booty of cattel, ſlaves, and other Country ſpoil. At *Corinth* he found attending him, Embaſſadors from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*, that requeſted him to ſet *Greece* at quiet, by granting peace unto the *Ætolians*. They had gracious audience: and he willed them to deal firſt with the *Ætolians*, who if they would make the ſame requeſt, ſhould not find him unreaſonable. The *Ætolians* had ſped ill that year: neither ſaw they any likely hopes for the years following. The Army that they had ſent forth to waſte *Theſſaly* and *Macedon*, found ſuch oppoſition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the mean ſeaſon they had been grievouſly afflicted, as before is ſhewed, by *Philip* in the centre of their own Countrey. All *Greece* and *Macedon* was up in arms againſt them, and their weak Allies the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*. Neither was it certain, how long the one or other of theſe their *Peloponneſian* friends ſhould be able to hold out, ſince they were not ſtrong enough to keep the field, but had already ſuffered thoſe miſeries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each to ſeek their own peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the *Ætolians* readily entertain'd this negotiation of peace: and taking truce for thirty dayes with the King, dealt with him by interceſſion of the ſame Embaſſadours, to intreat his preſence at a Diet of the Nation, that ſhould be held at *Rhium*; whither if he would vouchſafe to come, they promiſed that he ſhould find them conformable to any good reaſon.

Whileſt theſe things were in hand, *Leontius* and *Megaleas* thought to have terrified the King, by raiſing ſedition againſt him in the Army. But this device ſorted to no good effect. The Souldiers were eaſily and quickly incenſed againſt many of the Kings friends, who were ſaid to be the cauſe, why they were not rewarded with ſo much of the booty, as they thought to belong of right unto them. But their anger ſpent it ſelf in a noiſe, and breaking open of doors, without further harm done. This was enough to inform the King (who eaſily pacified his men with gentle words) that ſome about him were very falſe. Yea, the Souldiers themſelves repenting of their inſolence, deſired to have the Authors of the tumult ſought out, and puniſhed according to their deſerts. The King made ſhew as if he had not cared to make ſuch inquiſition. But *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were afraid, leſt the matter would ſoon come out of it ſelf to their extream danger. Wherefore they ſent unto *Apelles*, the Head and Architect of their treaſon, requeſting him ſpeedily to repair unto *Corinth*, where he might ſtand between them and the Kings diſpleaſure. *Apelles* had not all this while been wanting to the buſineſs, undertaken by him and his treacherous companions. He had taken upon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his own hand: and thereby was he grown into ſuch credit, that all the Kings Officers in *Macedon* and *Theſſaly* addreſſed themſelves unto him, and received from him their diſpatch in every buſineſs. Likewiſe the *Greeks* in all their flattering Decrees, took occaſion to magnifie the vertue of *Apelles*, making ſlight mention (only for faſhion ſake) of the King: who ſeemed no better

better than the Minister and Executioner of *Apelles* his will and pleasure. Such was the arrogancy of this great man, in setting himself out unto the people: but in managing the Kings affairs, he made it his special care, that money and all things needful for the publick service, should be wanting. Yea, he enforced the King for very need, to sell his own Plate and houshold vessels: thinking to resolve these and all other difficulties, by only saying, *Sir, be ruled wholly by me, and all shall be as you would wish.* Hereto if the King would give assent, then had this Politician obtained his hearts desire. Now taking his journey from *Chalcis* in the Isle of *Eubœa*, to the City of *Corinth* where *Philip* then lay: he was fetcht in with great pomp and royalty, by a great number of the Captains and Souldiers; which *Leontius* and *Megaleas* drew forth to meet him on the way. So entring the City with a goodly train, he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride, and had vehement suspition of his falshood. Wherefore one was sent to tell him, that he should wait a while, or come another time, for the King was not now at leisure to be spoken with. It was a pretty thing, that such a check at his made all his attendants forsake him, as a man in disgrace; in such sort, that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him save his own Pages. After this, the King vouchsafed him now and then some slender graces: but in consultations, or other matters of privacy, he used him not at all. This taught *Megaleas* to look to himself, and run away betimes. Hereupon the King sent forth *Taurion* his Lieutenant of *Peloponnesus*, with all the *Targettiers*, as it were to do some piece of service, but indeed of purpose to apprehend *Leontius* in the absence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, dispatched away a messenger presently to his *Targettiers*, to signifie what was befaln him: and they forthwith sent unto the King in his behalf. They made request, That if any other thing were objected against him, he might not be called forth to trial before their return: as for the debt of *Megaleas*, if that were all the matter, they said they were ready to make a purse for his discharge. This affection of the Souldiers made *Philip* more hasty than else he would have been, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters of *Megaleas* were intercepted, which he wrote unto the *Ætolians*; vilifying the King with opprobrious words, and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was even ready to sink under the burden of his own poverty. By this the King understood more perfectly the falshood, not only of *Megaleas*, but of *Apelles*; whose cunning head had laboured all this while to keep him so poor. Wherefore he sent one to pursue *Megaleas* that was fled to *Thebes*. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his son, and another that was inward with him, to prison; wherein all of them shortly ended their lives. *Megaleas* also, neither daring to stand to trial, nor knowing whither to flie, was weary of his own life, and slew himself about the same time.

The *Ætolians*, as they had begun this war upon hope of accomplishing what they listed in the Nonage of *Philip*: so finding that the vigour of this young Prince tempered with the cold advice of *Aratus*, wrought very effectually toward their overthrow; they grew very desirous to make an end of it. Nevertheless, being a turbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold upon all advantages, when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megaleas*, together with some indignation thereupon conceived by some of the Kings Targettiers, they began to hope anew, that these troubles would be long lasting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhium*. Of this was *Philip* nothing sorry. For being in good hope throughly to tame this unquiet Nation; he thought it much to concern his own honour, that all the blame of the beginning and continuing the War should rest upon themselves. Wherefore he willed his Confederates to lay aside all thought of peace, and to prepare for War against the year following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his *Macedonian* Souldiers, by yielding to let them winter in their own Country. In his return homeward, he called into judgement one *Ptolomy*, a companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their Treasons: who was therefore condemned by the *Macedonians*; and suffered death. These were the same *Macedonians*, that lately could not endure to hear of *Leontius* his imprisonment; yet now they think the man worthy to die that was but his adherent. So vain is the confidence, on which Rebels use to build, in their favour with the Multitude.

During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* won some bordering Towns, from which the *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make rodes into his Kingdom: when he had thus provided for safety of his own; the *Ætolians*

might well know what they were to expect. But there came again Embaſſadors from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*, with others from *Ptolomy* King of *Ægypt*, and from the City of *Bizantium*, recontinuing the former ſolicitation about the peace. This faſhion had been taken up in matters of *Greece*, ever ſince the Kings that reigned after *Alexander*, had taken upon them to ſet the whole Country at liberty: No ſooner was any Province or City in danger to be oppreſſed and ſubdued by force of war, but preſently there were found Interceſſors, who pittying the effuſion of *Greekiſh* blood, would importune the ſtronger to relinquiſh his advantage. By doing ſuch friendly offices in time of need, the Princes and States abroad ſought to bind unto them thoſe people, that were howſoever weak in numbers, yet very good Souldiers. But hereby it came to paſs, that the more froward ſort, eſpecially the *Ætolians*, whoſe whole Nation was addicted to falſhood and robbery, durſt enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighbours: being well aſſured that if they had the worſt, *The love of Greece* would be ſufficient for to redeem their quiet. They had, ſince the late Treaty of Peace, done what harm they could in *Peloponneſus*: but being beaten by the *Achæans*, and ſtanding in fear to be more ſoundly beaten at home, they deſired now, more earneſtly than before, to make an end of the War as ſoon as they might. *Philip* made ſuch anſwer unto the Embaſſadours, as he had done the former year; That he gave not occaſion to the beginning of this War, nor was at the preſent afraid to continue it, or unwilling to end it: But that the *Ætolians*, if they had a deſire to live in reſt, muſt firſt be dealt withal, to ſignifie plainly their determination, whereto himſelf would return ſuch anſwer as he ſhould think fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking unto the Peace, being a young Prince, and in hope to increaſe the honour which he daily got by the War. But it happened in the middeſt of this Negotiation, that he was advertiſed by letters out of *Macedon*, what a notable victory *Hannibal* had obtained againſt the *Romans* in the battel at *Thraſymene*. Theſe letters he communicated unto *Demetrius Pharius*: who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*: and not to ſit ſtill, as an idle beholder of the *Italian* War. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before unto Peace with the *Ætolians*: which was concluded ſhortly in a meeting at *Nupactus*. There did *Agelaus* an *Ætolian* make a great Oration: telling, how happy it was for the *Greeks*, that they might at their own pleaſure diſpute about finiſhing War between themſelves, without being moleſted by the *Barbarians*. For when once either the *Romans* or *Carthaginians* had ſubdued one the other; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith look Eaſtward, and ſeek by all means to ſet footing in *Greece*. For this cauſe he ſaid it were good, that their Country ſhould be at peace within it ſelf: and that *Philip*, if he were deſirous of War, ſhould lay hold on the opportunity, now fitly ſerving to enlarge his Dominion, by winning ſomewhat in *Italy*.

Such advice could the *Ætolians* then give, when they ſtood in fear of danger threatning them at hand: but being ſoon after weary of reſt, as being accuſtomed to enrich themſelves by pillage, they were ſo far from obſerving and following their own good counſel, that they invited the *Romans* into *Greece*, whereby they brought themſelves and the whole Countrey (but themſelves before any other part of the Country) under ſervitude of ſtrangers. The Condition of this Peace was ſimple, That every one ſhould keep what they held at the preſent, without making reſtitution, or any amends for dammages paſt.

§. III.

Philip, *at the perſwaſion of* Demetrius Pharius, *enters into League with* Hannibal *againſt the* Romans. *The tenour of the League between* Hannibal *and* Philip.

THis being agreed upon: the *Greeks* betook themſelves to quiet courſes of life; and *Philip* to prepare for the buſineſs of *Italy*, about which he conſulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus paſſed the time away, till the great battel of *Cannæ*, after which he joyned in league with *Hannibal*, as hath been ſhewed before. *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice unto the *Romans*; and knew no other way to be avenged upon them, or to recover his own loſt Kingdom, than by procuring the *Macedonians*, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counſel, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwiſe been far more expedient for *Philip*, to have ſupported the weaker of thoſe two great Cities againſt the more mighty. For by ſo doing, he ſhould perhaps have brought them to peace upon ſome equal terms; and thereby, as did *Hiero*, ſo far

weaker

weaker Prince, have both secured his own Estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of chief place in his friendship. The issue of the counsel which he followed, will appear soon after this. His first quarrel with the *Romans*; the trouble which they and the *Ætolians* did put him to in *Greece*; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, upon such Conditions that might easily be broken, have been related in another place, as belonging unto the second Punick War. Wherefore I will only here set down the tenour of the League between him and *Carthage*, which may seem not unworthy to be read, if only in regard of the form it self then used: though it had been overlong to have been inserted into a more busie piece.

The Oath and Covenants between HANNIBAL General of the *Carthaginians*, and XENOPHANES, Embassadour of PHILIP King of *Macedon*.

THis is the Leagure ratified by Oath, which Hannibal *the General, and with him* Mago, Myrcal, *and* Barmocal, *as also the Senators of* Carthage *that are present, and all the* Carthaginians *that are in his Army, have made with* Xenophanes *the son of* Cleomachus Athenian, *whom King* Philip *the son of* Demetrius *hath sent unto us, for himself and the* Macedonians, *and his Associates: Before* Jupiter, *and* Juno, *and* Apollo, *before* * *the* God *of the Carthaginians*, Hercules *and* Iolaus: *before* Mars, Triton, Neptune: *before the* Gods *accompanying Arms*, the Sun, *the* Moon, *and the* Earth: *before* Rivers *and* Meadows, *and* Waters: *before all the* Gods *that have power over* Carthage: *before all the* Gods *that rule over* Macedon, *and the rest of* Greece: *before all the* Gods *that are Presidents of War, and present at the making of this League.* Hannibal *the General hath said, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the* Carthaginians, *in his Army:* Be *it agreed between You and Us, that this Oath stand for friendship and loving affection, that We become friends, familiar, and brethren, upon Covenant, that the safety of the Lords the* Carthaginians, *and of* Hannibal *the General, and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the* Carthaginians, *using the same Laws, and of the* Uticans, *and as many Cities and Nations as obey the* Carthaginians; *and of the Soldiers and Associates, and of all Towns and Nations with which we hold friendship in* Italy, Gaule, *and* Liguria, *and with whom we shall hold friendship, or make alliance hereafter in this Region; be preserved by King* Philip *and the* Macedonians, *and such of the* Greeks *as are their Associates.* In like manner, *shall King* Philip *and the* Macedonians, *and other the* Greeks *his Associates, be saved and preserved by the* Carthaginian *Armies, and by the* Uticans, *and by all Cities and Nations that obey the* Carthaginians, *and by their Associates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in* Italy, Gaule, *and* Liguria, *that are of our Alliance, or shall hereafter joyn with Us in* Italy. We *shall not take Counsel one against the other, nor deal fraudulently one with the other. With all readiness and good will, without deceit or subtlety, We shall be enemies unto the enemies of the* Carthaginians, *excepting those Kings, Towns, and Havens, with which We have already league and friendship. We also shall be enemies to the enemies of King* Philip, *excepting those Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which we have already league and friendship. The War that We have with the* Romans, *have ye also with them, until the* Gods *shall give Us a new and happy end. Ye shall aid Us with those things whereof we have need, and shall do according to the Covenants between Us. But if the* Gods *shall not give unto You and Us their help in this War against the* Romans *and their Associates; then if the* Romans *offer friendship, We shall make friendship in such wise, that ye shall be partakers of the same friendship, With Condition, That they shall not have power to make War upon You: Neither shall the* Romans *be Lords over the* Corcyræans, *nor over those of* Apollonia, *nor* Dyrrhachium, *nor over* Pharus, *nor* Dimalæ, *nor the* Parthini, *nor* Atintania. *They shall also render unto* Demetrius Pharius *all that belong unto him, as many as are within the* Romans *Dominions. But if the* Romans *(after such peace made) shall make War upon You or Us; We will succour one another in that War, as either shall have need. The same shall be observed in War made by any other, excepting those Kings, Cities, and States, with whom we hold already league and friendship.* To this league, *if We or Ye shall think fit to add or detract, such addition or detraction shall be made by our common consent.*

* Demom.

§. IV.

§. IV.

How Philip *yielded to his natural vices, being therein soothed by* Demetrius Pharius. *His desire to tyrannize upon the free States his Associates: With the troubles into which he thereby fell, whilest he bore a part in the second Punick War. He poisoneth* Aratus: *and grows hateful to the* Achæans.

HItherto *Philip* had carried himself as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wisdom, he might have offered his friendship to the *Romans*, that were like to be oppressed, than to the *Carthaginians*, who had the better hand: yet this his medling in the Punick War, proceeded from a royal greatness of mind, with a desire to secure and increase his own estate, adding therewithal reputation to his Country. But in this business he was guided (as hath been said) by *Demetrius Pharius*: who looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himself to his desires: and thereby shortly governed him as he listed. For the vertues of *Philip* were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lustful, bloody, and tyrannical: desirous of power to do what he listed, and not otherwise listing to do what he ought, than so far forth, as by making a fair shew he might breed in men such good opinion of him, as should help to serve his turn in all that he took in hand. Before he should busie himself in *Italy*, he thought it requisite in good policy, to bring the *Greeks* that were his Associates, under a more absolute form of subjection. Hereunto *Apelles* had advised him before: and he had liked reasonably well of the course. But *Apelles* was a boysterous Counsellor, and one that referring all to his own glory, thought himself deeply wronged, if he might not wholly have his own way, but were driven to await the Kings opportunity at other times. *Demetrius Pharius* could well be contented to observe the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coach-man, with the reins in his hand, those affections which himself did only seem to follow. Therefore he grew daily more and more in credit: so as, without any manner of contention, he supplanted *Aratus*; which the violence of *Apelles* could never do.

There arose about these times a very hot Faction among the *Messenians*, between the Nobility and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diverted (as happens often after a forreign War) unto domestical objects, than allayed and reduced unto a more quiet temper. In process of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that *Philip* was intreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: resolving so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strive any more about their Government: for that he would assume it wholly to himself. At his coming thither, he found *Aratus* busie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his own secret purpose. Wherefore he consulted not with this reverend old man: but talked in private with such of the *Messenians* as repaired unto him. He asked the Governours, what they meant to stand thus disputing: and whether they had not Laws to bridle the insolence of the unruly Rabble: Contrariwise, in talking with the heads of the popular Faction, he said it was strange, that they being so many would suffer themselves to be opposed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselves from Tyrants. Thus whilest each of them presumed on the Kings assistance; they thought it best to go roundly to work, ere that he were gone, that should countenance their doings. The Governours therefore would have apprehended some seditious Orators, that were, they said, the stirrers up of the multitude unto sedition. Upon this occasion, the people took Arms: and running upon the Nobility and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage, almost two hundred. *Philip* thought, it seems, that it would be easie to worry the Sheep, when the Dogs their Guardians were slain. But his falshood and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger *Aratus* forbear to tell him of it in publick, with very bitter and disgraceful words. The King was angry at this. But having already done more than was commendable, or excusable; and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein he should need the help and countenance of his best friends; he was content to smother his displeasure, and make as fair weather as he could. He led old *Aratus* aside by the hand; and went up into the Castle of *Ithome*, that was over *Messene*. There he pretended to do sacrifice: and sacrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keep the place to his own use: for that it was of notable strength, and would serve to command the further parts of *Peloponnesus*, as the Citadel of *Corinth*, which he had already, commanded the entrance into that Country. Whilest he was therefore sacrificing, and had the entrails of the beast delivered into his hands, as was the manner; he shewed them to *Aratus*, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he

he saw therein did signifie, That being now in possession of this place, he should quietly go out of it, or rather keep it to himself. He thought perhaps, that the old man would have soothed him a little; were it only for desire for to make amends for the angry words newly spoken by his son. But as *Aratus* stood doubtful what to answer, *Demetrius Pharius* gave this verdict: *If thou be a Soothsayer, thou maist go thy way, and let slip this good advantage; if thou be a King, thou must not neglect the opportunity, but hold the Oxe by both his horns.* Thus he spake; resembling *Ithome* and *Acrocorinthus* unto the two horns of *Peloponnesus*. Yet would *Philip* needs hear the opinion of *Aratus*: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keep the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith unto the *Messenians*: But if, by seizing upon *Ithome*, he must lose all the other Castles that he held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left unto him by *Antigonus*, which was his credit; then were it far better to depart with his Souldiers, and keep men in duty, as he had done hitherto, by their own good wills, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his friends become his enemies.

To this good advice, *Philip* yielded at the present: but not without some dislike thenceforth growing between him and the *Aratī*: whom he thought more froward than beseemed them, in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man desirous at all, to deal any longer in the Kings affairs, or be inward with him. For, as he plainly discovered his tyrannous purposes; so likewise he perceived, that in resorting to his house, he had been dishonest with his sons wife. He therefore staid at home: where at good leasure he might repent, that in despight of *Cleomenes*, his own Countrey-man, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*.

Philip made a Voyage out of *Peloponnesus* into *Epirus*, wherein *Aratus* refused to bear him company. In this journey he found by experience what *Aratus* had lately told him, That unhonest counsels are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The *Epirots* were his followers and dependants; and so they purposed to continue. But he would needs have them so to remain, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxius unto his will, he seized upon their Town of *Oricum*, and laid siege to *Apollonia*; having no good colour of these doings: but thinking himself strong enough to do what he listed, and not seeing whence they should procure friends to help them. Thus instead of setling the Country, as his intended Voyage into *Italy* required: he kindled a fire in it which he could never quench, until it had laid hold on his own Palace. Whilest he was thus labouring to bind the hands that should have fought for him in *Italy*, *M. Valerius* the *Roman* came into those parts; who not only maintained the *Epirots* against him, but procured the *Ætolians* to break the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that War; the occurrents whereof we have related before, in the place whereto it belonged. In managing whereof, though *Philip* did the offices of a good Captain: yet when leisure served, he made it apparent that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former desire, of oppressing the liberty of the *Messenians*; but made another journey into their Countrey, with hope to deceive them as before. They understood him better now than before; and therefore were not hasty to trust him too far. When he saw that his cunning would not serve, he went to work by force; and calling them his enemies, invaded them with open War. But in that War he could do little good; perhaps, because none of his Confederates were desirous to help him in such an enterprise. In this attempt upon *Messene*, he lost *Demetrius Pharius*; that was his Counsellor and Flatterer, not his Perverter; as appears by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worse that he sped, the more angry he waxed against those that seemed not to favour his injurious doings. Wherefore, by the ministery of *Taurion*, his Lieutenant, he poisoned old *Aratus*; and shortly after that, he poysoned also the younger *Aratus*: hoping that these things would never have been known; because they were done secretly, and the poysons themselves were more sure than manifest in operation. The *Sicyonians*, and all the people of *Achaia*, decreed unto *Aratus* more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymns, and Processions, to be celebrated every year twice, with a Priest ordained unto him for that purpose; as was accustomed unto the *Heroes*, or men, whom they thought to be translated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are said to have been encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollo*: which is like enough to have been true, since the help of the Devil is never failing to the increase of Idolatry.

The living memory of *Aratus* their Patron, and singular Benefactor, could not but work

work in the *Achæans* a marvellous diſlike of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He ſhall therefore hear of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counſel for themſelves. At the preſent, the murder was not generally known or believed: neither were they in caſe to ſubſiſt, without his help that had committed it. The *Ætolians* were a moſt outragious people, great darers, and ſhameleſs robbers. With theſe the *Romans* made a league: whereof the Conditions were ſoon divulged, eſpecially that main point, concerning the diviſion of the purchaſe which they ſhould make, namely, That the *Ætolians* ſhould have the Countrey and Towns; but the *Romans* the ſpoil, and carry away the people to ſell for ſlaves. The *Achæans*, who in times of greater quiet, could not endure to make ſtrait alliance with the *Ætolians*, as knowing their uncivil diſpoſition; were much the more averſe from them, when they perceived how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for ſuch did the *Greeks* account all other Nations except their own) to make havock of the Country. The ſame conſideration moved alſo the *Lacedæmonians* to ſtand off a while, before they would declare themſelves for the *Ætolians*, whoſe friendſhip they had embraced in the late war. The induſtry therefore of *Philip*, and the great care which he ſeemed to take of the *Achæans* his Confederates, ſufficed to retain them: eſpecially, at ſuch time, as their own neceſſity was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged unto himſelf the *Dymæans* by an ineſtimable benefit: recovering their Town, after it had been taken by the *Romans* and *Ætolians*; and redeeming their people whereſoever they might be found, that had been carried away captive, and ſold abroad for ſlaves. Thus might he have blotted out the memory of offences paſt: if the malignity of his natural condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and given men to underſtand, that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which cauſed him to make ſuch a ſhew of goodneſs. Among other foul acts, whereof he was not aſhamed, he took *Polycratia* the wife of the younger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might ſerve to confirm in the people their opinion, that he was guilty of the old mans death. But of ſuch faults he ſhall be told, when the *Romans* make War upon him the ſecond time: for, of that which happened in this their firſt Invaſion, I hold it ſuperfluous to make repetition.

§. V.

Of Philopœmen *General of the* Achæans: *and* Machanidas, *Tyrant of* Lacedæmon. *A battel between them, wherein* Machanidas *is ſlain.*

IT happens often, that the deceaſe of one eminent man diſcovers the vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there ſtood up *Philopœmen*: whoſe notable valour, and great ſkill in Arms, made the Nation of the *Achæans* redoubtable among all the *Greeks*, and careleſs of ſuch protection, as in former times they had needed againſt the violence of their neighbours. This is that *Philopœmen*, who being then a young man, and having no command, did eſpecial ſervice to *Antigonus* at the battel of *Sellaſia* againſt *Cleomenes*. Thence forward untill now he had ſpent the moſt part of his time in the Iſle of *Crete*: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and ſeldom or never at peace between themſelves; he bettered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of War. At his return home, he had charge of the Horſe: wherein he carried himſelf ſo ſtrictly, travelling with all the Cities of the Confederacy to have his followers well mounted, & armed at all pieces; as alſo he ſo diligently trained them up in all exerciſe of ſervice, that he made the *Achæans* very ſtrong in that part of their forces. Being afterward choſen Prætor or General of the Nation, he had no leſs care to reform their military diſcipline throughout, whereby his Countrey might be ſtrong enough to defend it ſelf, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend upon the help of others. He perſwaded the *Achæans* to cut off their vain expence of bravery, in apparel, houſhold-ſtuff, and curious fare, and to beſtow that coſt upon their Arms: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by ſo much were they like to prove the better Souldiers, and ſutable in behaviour, unto the pride of their furniture. They had ſerved hitherto with little light Bucklers, and ſlender Darts, to caſt afar off; that were uſeful in ſkirmiſhing at ſome diſtance, or for ſurpriſes, or ſudden and haſty Expeditions, whereto *Aratus* had been moſt accuſtomed. But when they came to handy-ſtrokes, they were good for nothing, ſo long as they were wholly driven to rely upon the courage of their Mercenaries. *Philopœmen* altered this: cauſing them to arm themſelves more weightily, to uſe a larger kind of ſhield, with good ſwords, and ſtrong pikes, fit for ſervice at hand. He taught them alſo to fight in cloſe order,

order, and altered the form of their embattelling: not making the Files so deep as had been accustomed, but extending the Front, that he might use the service of many hands.

Eight moneths were spent of that year, in which he first was *Prætor* of the *Achæans*, when *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon* caused him to make trial, how his Souldiers had profited by his discipline. This *Machanidas* was the successor unto *Lycurgus*, a man more violent than his fore-goer. He kept in pay a strong Army of Mercenaries: and he kept them not only to fight for *Sparta*, but to hold the City in obedience to himself perforce. Wherefore it behoved him not to take part with the *Achæans*, that were favorers of liberty; but to strengthen himself by friendship of the *Ætolians*: who, in making Alliances, took no further notice of vice or vertue, than as it had reference to their own profit. The people also of *Lacedæmon*, through their inveterate hatred unto the *Argives*, *Achæans*, and *Macedonians*, were in like sort (all or most of them) inclinable to the *Ætolian* Faction. Very unwisely. For in seeking to take revenge upon those, that had lately hindered them from getting the Lordship of *Peloponnesus*; they hindered themselves thereby from recovering the Mastery of their own City. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his own security, and no small hope of good that would follow, suffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but alwayes made him ready to fall upon his neighbours backs, and take of theirs what he could, whilest they were enforced, by greater necessity, to turn face another way. Thus had he often done, especially in the absence of *Philip*: whose sudden coming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had usually made him fail of his attempts. At the present he was stronger in men, than were the *Achæans*, and thought his own men better Souldiers than were theirs.

Whilest *Philip* therefore was busied elsewhere, he entered the Country of the *Mantineans*: being not without hope to do as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea and perhaps to get the * *Lordship of Peloponnesus*, as having stronger friends and weaker opposition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopœmen* was ready to entertain him at *Mantinea*; where was fought between them a great battel. The Tyrant had brought into the field upon Carts a great many of engines, wherewith to beat upon the Squadrons of his enemies, and put them in disorder. To prevent this danger, *Philopœmen* sent forth his light armature a good way before him; so as *Machanidas* was fain to do the like. To second these, from the one and the other side came in continual supply; till at length all the Mercenaries, both of the *Achæans* and of *Machanidas*, were drawn up to the fight: being so far advanced, each before their own Phalanx, that it could no otherwise be discerned which pressed forward, or which recoyled, than by rising of the dust. Thus were *Machanidas* his engines made unserviceable, by the interposition of his own men; in such manner as the Cannon is hindered from doing execution, in most of the battels fought in these our times. The mercenaries of the Tyrant prevailed at length; not only by their advantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well observeth) by surmounting their opposites in degree of courage; wherein usually the hired Souldiers of Tyrants exceed those that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant than they which live oppressed by Tyranny, since the one, by doing their best in fight, have hope to acquire somewhat beneficial to themselves, whereas the other do fight (as it were) to assure their own servitude: so the Mercenaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruits of his prosperity, have as good cause to maintain his quarrel as their own; whereas they that serve under a free State, have no other motive to do manfully, than their bare stipend. Further than this, when a free State hath gotten the Victory, many companies (if not all) of forreign Auxiliaries are presently cast; and therefore such good fellows will not take much pains to bring the War to an end. But the Victory of a Tyrant, makes him stand in need of more such helpers; because that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more subjects; and therefore stands in fear of more, that should seek to take revenge upon him. The stipendiaries of the *Achæans*, being forced to give ground, were urged so violently in their retreat by those of *Machanidas*; that shortly they betook themselves to flight: and could not be staid by any perswasions of *Philopœmen*, but ran away quite beyond the battel of the *Achæans*. This disaster had been sufficient to take from *Philopœmen* the honour of the day; had he not wisely observed the demeanour of *Machanidas*, and found in him that error which might restore the Victory. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries gave chace unto those that fled: leaving behind him in good order of battel his *Lacedæmonians*; whom he thought sufficient to deal with the *Achæans*, that were already disheartned

*Excerpt. e. Pol. l. 11. Plut. in vita Philopœmen.

a Polyb. ibid.

by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashness had carried him out of sight, *Philopœmen* advanced towards the *Lacedæmonians* that stood before him. There lay between them athwart the Country a long ditch, without watter at that time, and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficulty, especially for Foot. The *Lacedæmonians* adventured over it, as thinking themselves better Souldiers than the *Achæans*; who had in a manner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their own Battel; and had no sooner the foremost of them recovered the further bank, than they were stoutly charged by the *Achæans*, who drave them headlong into the ditch again. Their first ranks being broken, all the rest began to shrink: so as *Philopœmen* getting over the ditch, easily chaced them out of the Field. *Philopœmen* knew better how to use his advantage, than *Machanidas* had done. He suffered not all his Army to disband and follow the chace, but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custody of a bridge that was over the ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant must come back. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries returning from the chace, looked very heavily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet, with a lusty troop of Horse about him, he made towards the bridge: hoping to find the *Achæans* in disorder; and to set upon their backs, as they were carelessly pursuing their Victory. But when he and his Company saw *Philopœmen* ready to make good the bridge against them; then began every one to look, which way he might shift for himself. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his company, rode along the ditch side; and searched for an easie passage over. He was easily discovered by his purple Cassock, and the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopœmen* therefore leaving the charge of the bridge unto another, coasted him all the way as he rode, and falling upon him at length in the ditch it self, as he was getting over it, slew him there with his own hand. There died in this Battel on the *Lacedæmonians* side about four thousand: and more than four thousand were taken prisoners. Of the *Achæan* Mercenaries, probable it is, that the loss was not greatly cared for; since that War was at an end, and for their money they might hire more when they should have need.

§. VI.

Philip *having peace with* Rome, *and with all* Greece, *prepares against* Asia. *Of the Kings of* Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, *and their Lineages. Of the* Galatians.

BY this Victory the *Achæans* learned to think well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed after a while (such was their discipline and continual exercise) to account themselves in matter of War inferiour to any, that should have brought against them no great odds of number. As for the *Macedonian*, he made no great use of them. But when he had once concluded peace with the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, he studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his friends the *Carthaginians* declined in the West. He took in hand many matters together, or very neerly together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the *Achæans* would have done him service, they must by helping him to oppress others that never had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deal with themselves. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had joyned with the *Romans* and *Ætolians* in War against him.

This *Attalus*, though a King, was scarce yet a Nobleman, otherwise than as he was ennobled by his own, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune began in *Philetærus* his Uncle: who being guelded, by reason of a mishap which he had when he was a child, grew afterwards thereby to be the more esteemed: as great men in those times reposed much confidence in Eunuchs, whose affections could not be obliged unto wives or children. He was entertained into the family of *Docimus*, a Captain following *Antigonus the first*; and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his Master, that betook himself to *Lysimachus* King of *Thrace*. *Lysimachus* had a good opinion of him; and put him in trust with his money and accounts. But when at length he stood in fear of this King, that grew a bloody Tyrant; he fled into *Asia*, where he seized upon the Town of *Pergamus*, and nine thousand talents belonging to *Lysimachus*. The Town and money, together with his own service, he offered unto *Seleucus the first*, that then was ready to give *Lysimachus* battel. His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that *Seleucus*, having slain *Lysimachus*, died shortly after himself, before he made use of *Philetærus* or his money. So this Eunuch still retained *Pergamus*, with the Country round about it; and reigned therein twenty years as an absolute King. He had

had two brethren: of which the elder is ſaid to have been a poor Carter; and the younger perhaps not much better, before ſuch time, they were raiſed by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Philetærus* left his Kingdom to the elder of theſe, or to the ſon of the elder, called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his Kingdom; making his advantage of the diſſention between *Seleucus Calinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the ſons of the *ſecond Antiochus*. He fought a battel with *Hierax*, neer unto *Sardis*, and won the Victory. At which time, to animate his men againſt the *Gaules* that ſerved under his Enemy, he uſed a pretty device. He wrote the word * *Victory* upon the hand of his Soothſayer, in ſuch colours as would eaſily come off: and when the hot liver of the beaſt that was ſacrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, He publiſhed this unto his Army as a Miracle, plainly foreſhewing that the gods would be aſſiſtant in that Battel.

* *Jul. Front. Strat. l. 1. c. 11.*

After this Victory, he grew a dreadful enemy to *Seleucus*; who never durſt attempt to recover from him, by War, the Territory that he had gotten and held. Finally, when he had reigned two and twenty years, he died by a ſurfeit of over-much drink, and left his Kingdom to *Attalus*, of whom we now entreat, that was ſon unto *Attalus* the youngeſt brother of *Philetærus*. *Attalus* was an undertaking Prince, very bountiful, and no leſs valiant. By his own proper forces he reſtored his friend *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian* into his Kingdom, whence he had been expelled. He was grievouſly moleſted by *Achæus*; who ſetting up himſelf as King againſt *Antiochus the Great*, reigned in the leſſer *Aſia*. He was beſieged in his own City of *Pergamus*: but by the help of the *Tectoſiaga*, a Nation of the *Gauls*, whom he called over out of *Thrace*, he recovered all that he had loſt. When theſe *Gauls* had once gotten footing in *Aſia*, they never wanted employment, but were either entertained by ſome of the Princes reigning in thoſe quarters, or interpoſed themſelves without invitation, and found themſelves work in quarrels of their own making. They cauſed *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia* to ceaſe from his War againſt *Byzantium*. Whereunto when he had condeſcended; they nevertheleſs within a while after invaded his Kingdom. He obtained againſt them a great Victory; and uſed it with great cruelty, ſparing neither age nor ſex. But the ſwarm of them increaſing, they occupied the Region about *Helleſpont* where, in ſeating themſelves, they were much beholding unto *Attalus*. Nevertheleſs, preſuming afterwards upon their ſtrength, they forced their Neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute: in the ſharp exaction whereof, they had no more reſpect unto *Attalus*, than to any that had worſe deſerved of them. By this they compelled him to fight againſt them: and he being victorious, compelled them to contain themſelves within the bounds of that Province, which took name from them in time following, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they ſtill to oppreſs the weakeſt of their neighbours, and to fill up the Armies of thoſe that could beſt hire them.

The Kings reigning in thoſe parts, were the poſterity of ſuch, as had ſaved themſelves and their Provinces, in the ſlothful reign of the *Perſians*; or in the buſie times of *Alexander*, and his *Macedonian* followers. The *Cappadocians* were very ancient. For the firſt of their line had married with *Atoſſa*, ſiſter unto the great King *Cyrus*. Their Country was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is ſhewed before. But the ſon of that King, whom *Perdiccas* crucified, eſpying his time while the *Macedonians* were at civil wars among themſelves; recovered his Dominion, and paſſed it over to his off-ſpring. The Kings of *Pontus* had alſo their beginning from the *Perſian* Empire; and are ſaid to have iſſued from the royal houſe of *Achæmenes*. The *Paphlagonians* derived themſelves from *Pylemenes*, a King that aſſiſted *Priamus* at the war of *Troy*. Theſe, applying themſelves unto the times, were alwayes conformable unto the ſtrongeſt. The Anceſtors of *Pruſias* had begun to reign in *Bythinia*, ſome few generations before that of *the great Alexander*. They lay ſomewhat out of the *Macedonians* way: by whom therefore, having other employment, they were the leſs moleſted. *Calantus*, one of *Alexanders* Captains, made an expedition into their Country, where he was vanquiſhed. They had afterwards to do with a Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, that made them ſomewhat more humble. And thus they ſhuffled, as did the reſt, until the reign of *Pruſias*, whom we have already ſometimes mentioned.

§. VII.

The Town of Chios *taken by* Philip, *at the inſtance of* Pruſias, *King of* Bithynia, *and cruelly deſtroyed. By this and the like actions,* Philip *grows hateful to many of the* Greeks: *and is warred upon by* Attalus *King of* Pergamus, *and by the* Rhodians.

PRuſias as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whoſe greatneſs

he ſuſpected. He therefore ſtrengthened himſelf, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrary ſide, entred into a ſtrict Confederacy with the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other of the *Greeks*. But when *Philip* had ended his *Ætolian* war, and was deviſing with *Antiochus* about ſharing between them two the Kingdom of *Egypt*, wherein *Ptolomy Philopater*, a friend unto them both, was newly dead; and had left his ſon *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a young child, his heir: the *Bythinian* entreated this his Father-in-law to come over into *Aſia*, thereto win the Town of the *Ciani*, and beſtow it upon him. *Pruſias* had no right unto the Town, nor juſt matter of quatrel againſt it: but it was fitly ſeated for him, and therewithal rich. *Philip* came, as one that could not well deny to help his Son-in-law. But hereby he mightily offended no ſmall part of *Greece*. Embaſſadours came to him whilſt he lay at the ſiege, from the *Rhodians*, and divers other States: intreating him to forſake the enterpriſe. He gave dilatory, but otherwiſe gentle anſwers: making ſhew as if he would condeſcend to their requeſt, when he intended nothing leſs. At length he got the Town: where, even in preſence of the Embaſſadours, of whoſe ſolicitation he had ſeemed ſo regardful, he omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby he rendred himſelf odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruel Prince. Eſpecially his fact was deteſted of the *Rhodians*, who had made vehement interceſſion for the poor *Ciani*: and were advertiſed by Embaſſadours of purpoſe ſent unto them from *Philip*, That howſoever it were in his power to win the Town as ſoon as he liſted, yet in regard of his love to the *Rhodians*, he was contented to give it over. And by this his clemency, the Embaſſadours ſaid, that he would manifeſt unto the world what ſlanderous tongues they were, which noiſed abroad ſuch reports, as went of his falſhood and oppreſſion. Whileſt the Embaſſadours were declaming at *Rhodes* in the Theater to this effect; there came ſome that made a true relation of what had hapned: ſhewing that *Philip* had ſacked and deſtroyed the Town of *Cios*, and, after a cruel ſlaughter of the Inhabitants, had made ſlaves of all that eſcaped the ſword. If the *Rhodians* took this in great deſpight, no leſs were the *Ætolians* inflamed againſt him: ſince they had ſent a Captain to take charge of the Town; being warned before by his doings at *Lyſimachia* and *Chalcedon* (which he had withdrawn from their Confederacy to his own) what little truſt was to be repoſed in the faith of this King. But moſt of all others was *Attalus* moved with conſideration of the *Macedonians* violent ambition, and of his own eſtate. He had much to loſe; and was not without hope of getting much, if he could make a ſtrong party in *Greece*. He had already, as a new King, followed the example of *Alexanders* Captains, in purchaſing with much liberality the love of the *Athenians*; which were notable Trumpeters of other mens vertue, having loſt their own. On the friendſhip of the *Ætolians* he had cauſe to preſume; having bound them unto him by good offices, many & great, in their late war with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that were mighty at Sea, and held very good intelligence with the *Egyptians*; *Syrians*; and many other Princes and States, he eaſily drew into a ſtreight alliance with him, by their hatred newly conceived againſt *Philip*.

Upon confidence in theſe his friends, but moſt of all, in the ready aſſiſtance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deal with the *Macedonian* by open war. It had been unſeaſonable to procraſtinate, and expect whereto the doings of the enemy tended; ſince his deſire to faſten upon *Aſia* was manifeſt, and his falſhood no leſs manifeſt, than was ſuch his deſire. They met with him ſhortly not far from *Chios*, and fought with him a battel at Sea: wherein though *Attalus* was driven to run his own Ship on ground, hardly eſcaping to land: though the Admiral of the *Rhodians* took his deaths wound: and though *Philip* after the battel took harbour under a Promontory, by which they had fought, ſo that he had the gathering of the wracks upon the ſhore: Yet foraſmuch as he had ſuffered far greater loſs of Ships, and men, than had the enemy; and ſince he durſt not in few dayes after put forth to Sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to brave him in his Port; the honour of the victory was adjudged to his enemies. This notwithſtanding, *Philip* afterwards beſieged and won ſome Towns in *Caria*: whether only in a bravery, and to deſpight his oppoſites: or whether upon any hopeful deſire of conqueſt, it is uncertain. The ſtratagem, by which he won *Prinaſſus*, is worthy of noting. He attempted it by a mine: and finding the earth ſo ſtony, that it reſiſted his work; he nevertheleſs commanded the Pioners to make a noiſe under ground; and ſecretly in the night time he raiſed great mounts about the entrance of the mine, to breed an opinion in the beſieged, that the work went marvellouſly forward. At length he ſent word to the Towns-men, that by his undermining, two acres of their wall ſtood only upon wooden

wooden props, to which if he gave fire, and entred by a Breach, they should expect no mercy! The *Prinassians* little thought, that he had fetcht all his earth and rubbish by night a great way off, to raise up those heaps which they saw; but rather that all had been extracted out of the mine. Wherefore they suffered themselves to be out-faced, and gave up the Town as lost, which the enemy had no hope to win by force. But *Philip* could not stay to settle himself in those parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too strong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haste back into *Macedon*; whither they followed him all the way in manner of pursuit.

§. VIII.

The Romans, *after their* Carthaginian *War, seek matter of quarrel against* Philip. *The* Athenians *upon slight cause, proclaim War against* Philip; *moved thereto by* Attalus; *whom they flatter.* Philip *wins divers Towns; and makes peremptory answer to the* Roman *Embassadour. The furious resolution of the* Abydeni.

THese *Asiatique* matters, which no way concerned the *Romans*, yet served well to make a noise in *Rome*; and fill the peoples heads, if not with a desire of making war in *Macedon*, at least with a conceit that it were expedient so to do. The *Roman* Senate was perfectly informed of the state of those Eastern Countries; and knew, that there was none other Nation than the *Greeks*, which lay between them and the Lordship of *Asia*. These *Greeks* were factious, and seldom or never at peace. As for the *Macedonian*; though length of time, and continual dealings in *Greece* ever since the reigns of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference between him and the Naturals: yet most of them abhorred his Dominion, because he was originally forsooth a *Barbarian*: many of them hated him upon ancient quarrels: and they that had been most beholding unto him, were nevertheless weary of him, by reason of his personal faults. All this gave hope, that the affairs of *Greece* would not long detain the *Roman* Armies: especially since the divisions of the Country were such, that every petty Estate was apt to take Counsel apart for it self; without much regarding the generality. But the poor Commonalty of *Rome* had no great affection to such a chargeable enterprise. They were already quite exhausted, by that grievous war with *Hannibal*: wherein they had given by Loan to the Republick, all their mony: neither had they as yet received, neither did they receive until fifteen or sixteen years after this, their whole sum back again. That part of payment also which was already made, being not in present mony, but much of it in Land: it behoved them to rest a while; and bestow the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the less able to bestow cost. Wherefore they took no pleasure to hear, that *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had sent Embassadours to solicite them against *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in *Asia*: or that *M. Aurelius*, their Agent in *Greece*, had sent letters of the same tenour to the Senate, and maghified his intelligence, by setting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that solicited not only the Towns upon the Continent, but all the Islands in those Seas, visiting them in person, or sending Embassadours, as one that meant shortly to hold war with the *Romans* upon their own ground. *Philip* had indeed no such intent: neither was he much too strong, either of himself, or by his alliance in *Greece*, to be resisted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*; especially with the help of the *Ætolians* their good friends, and (in a manner) his own professed enemies. But such things must be published abroad, if only to predispose men unto the war, and give it the more honest colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermedling in the affairs of those that were more mighty than himself. He was too unskilful, or otherwise too unapt, to retain his old friends: yet would he needs be seeking new enemies. And he found them such, as he deserved to have them: for he offered his help to their destruction, when they were in misery, and had done him no harm. It behoved him therefore, either to have strained his forces to the utmost in making war upon them; or in desisting from that injurious course, to have made amends for the wrongs past, by doing friendly offices of his own accord. But he, having broken that League of peace, which is of all other the most natural, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, unless they think themselves justly provoked; was afterwards too fondly perswaded, that he might well be secure of the *Romans*, because of the *written* Covenants of peace between him and them. There is not any form of Oath, whereby such Articles of peace can be held inviolable, save only * *by the water of Styx*, that is, by *Necessity*: which whilest it binds one party, or both

* Sir Francis Bacon de sap. Veterum.

both unto performance, making it apparent, that he shall be a loser who starts from the Conditions; it may so long (and so long only) be presumed, that there shall be no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquished, the *Romans* never hearkened after *Philip*: for necessity made them let him alone. But when once they had a peace with *Carthage*; then was the River of *Styx* dryed up: and then could they swear as * *Mercury* did in the Comedy, by their own selves, even by their good swords, that they had good reason to make war upon him. The voyage of *Sopater* into *Africk*, and the present war against *Attalus*, were matter of quarrel as much as needed: or if this were not enough; the *Athenians* helped to furnish them with more.

* *Plaut. Amphitr.*

The *Athenians*, being at this time Lords of no more than their own barren Territory, took state upon them nevertheless, as in their ancient fortune. Two young Gentlemen of *Acarnania* entring into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the dayes of Initiation (wherein were delivered the mysteries of Religion, or rather of idolatrous superstition, vainly said to be available unto felicity after this life) discovered themselves by some impertinent questions, to be none of those that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the officers; and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by meer error, not thinking to have therein done amiss; yet, as it had been for some hainous crime, they were put to death. All their Countrey-men at home took this in ill part; and sought to revenge it as a publick injury, by war upon the *Athenians*. Procuring therefore of *Philip* some *Macedonians* to help them, they entred into *Attica*: who wasted it with fire and sword; and carried thence a great booty. This indignity stirred up the high-minded *Athenians*; and made them think upon doing more, than they had ability to perform. All which at the present they could do, was to send Embassadors to King *Attalus*; gratulating his happy success against *Philip*, and intreating him to visit their City. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing, because he understood that the *Roman* Embassadors, hovering about *Greece* for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to be there at the same time. So he went thither, accompanied, besides his own followers, with some of the *Rhodians*. Landing in the *Piræus*, he found the *Romans* there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoycing that he continued enemy to *Philip*; and he being no less glad, when he heard of their purpose to renew the war. The *Athenians* came out of their City, all the Magistrates, Priests, and Citizens, with their wives and children, in as solemn a pomp as they could devise, to meet and honour the King. They entertained the *Romans* that were with him, in very loving manner: but towards *Attalus* himself they omitted no point of observance which their flattery could suggest. At his first coming into the City, they called the people to Assembly: where they desired him to honour them with his presence, and let them hear him speak. But he excused himself; saying, That with an evil grace he should recount unto them those many benefits, by which he studied to make them know what love he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that he should deliver in writing, what he would have to be propounded. He did so. The points of his Declaration were; first, what he had willingly done for their sake: then, what had lately passed between him and *Philip*: lastly, an exhortation unto them, to declare themselves against the *Macedonians*, whilest he with the *Rhodians* and the *Romans*, were willing and ready to take their part: which if they now refused to do, he protested, that afterwards it would be vain to crave his help. There needed little intreaty: for they were as willing to proclaim the war, as he to desire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours: and obtained, That unto the ten Tribes, whereof the body of their Citizens consisted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if he were in part one of their Founders. To the *Rhodians* they also decreed a Crown of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the *Rhodians* free Citizens of *Athens*.

Thus began a great noise of war, wherein little was left unto the *Romans* for their part; *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* taking all upon them. But while these were vainly misspending the time, in seeking to draw the *Ætolians* to their party: that contrary to their old manner were glad to be at quiet: *Philip* won the Towns of *Maronea* and *Ænus*, with many other strong places about the *Hellespont*. Likewise passing over the *Hellespont*, he laid siege unto *Abydus*; and won it, though he was fain to stay there long. The Town held out, rather upon an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour from *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, than any great ability to defend it self against so mighty an Enemy. But the *Rhodians* sent thither only one *Quadrireme* Gallie: and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men, far too weak an aid to make good the place. The

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Roman Embassadors wondred much at this great negligence of them that had taken so much upon them.

These Embassadors, *C. Claudius*, *M. Æmylius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were sent unto *Ptolomy Epiphanes* King of *Egypt*, to acquaint him with their Victory against *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; as also to thank him for his favour unto them shewed in that War; and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should need it against *Philip*. This *Egyptian* King was now in the third or fourth year of his reign, which (as his father *Philopater* had done before him) he began a very young boy. The courtesie for which the *Romans* were to thank him, was that out of *Egypt* they had lately been supplied with corn, in a time of extream Dearth; when the miseries of War had made all their own Provinces unable to relieve them. This message could not but be welcome to the *Egyptian*: since it was well known, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themselves against him, conspiring to take away his Kingdom. And therefore it might in reason be hoped, that he, or his Councel for him, should offer to supply the *Romans* with corn: since this their *Macedonian* Expedition concerned his Estate no less than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complemental; so had the Embassadors both leisure and direction from the Senate, to look unto the things of *Greece* by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Æmylius* the youngest of them should step aside, and visit *Philip*, to trie if he could make him leave the siege of *Abydus*; which else he was like to carry. *Emylius*, coming to *Philip*, tells him that his doings are contrary to the League that he had made with the *Romans*. For *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, upon whom he made War, were Confederate with *Rome*: and the Town of *Abydus*, which he was now besieging, had a kind of dependancy upon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* answered, That *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had made War upon him: and that he did only requite them with the like. *Do you also* (said *Æmylius*) *requite these poor Abydeni with such terrible War, for any the like Invasion by them first made upon you?* The King was angry to hear himself thus taken short: and therefore he roundly made answer to *Æmylius*: *It is your youth, Sir, and your beauty, and* (*above all*) *your being a* Roman, *that makes you thus presumptuous. But I would wish ye to remember the League that ye have made with me, and to keep it: If ye do otherwise, I will make ye understand, that the Kingdom, and Name of* Macedon *is in matter of War, no less noble than the* Roman. So he dismissed the Embassador; and had the Town immediately yielded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to have died every one of them, and set their Town on fire; binding themselves hereto by a fearful oath when *Philip* denied to accept them upon reasonable conditions. But having in desperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, lost the greatest number of their Youth; it was thought meet by the Governours and Ancients of the City to change this resolution; and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Silver to *Philip*: about which, whilest they were busie, the memory of their oath wrought so effectually in the younger sort; that, by exhortation of the Priests, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselves. Hereof the King had so little compassion, that he said, he would grant the *Abydeni* three dayes leisure to die: and to that end forbade his men to enter the Town; or hazzard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad fools.

§. IX.

The Romans *decree War against* Philip, *and send one of their Consuls into* Greece, *as it were in defence of the* Athenians *their Confederates. How poor the* Athenians *were at this time both in quality and estate.*

THis calamity of the *Abydeni*, was likened by the *Romans* unto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it neerly resembled: though *Rome* was not alike interessed in the quarrel. But to help themselves with pretence for the War, they had found out another *Saguntum*, even the City of *Athens*: which if the *Macedonian* should win, then rested there no more to do, than that he should presently embarque himself for *Italy*, whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum*, in five moneths, but in the short space of five days sayling. Thus *P. Sulpitius* the Consul told the multitude, when he exhorted them to make War upon *Philip*; which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alledged; to shew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater Kingdom, might dare to undertake: as also the fortunate voyage of *Scipio* into *Africk*; to shew the difference of making War abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their own Country. By such arguments was the Commonalty of *Rome* indeed to believe, that this War with the *Macedonian* was both just and necessary. So it was decreed: and

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immediately the ſame Conſul haſted away towards *Macedon*, having that Province allotted unto him before, and all things in a readineſs, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motives than the people muſt be acquainted with. Great thanks were given to the *Athenian* Embaſſadors, of their conſtancy (as was ſaid) in not changing their faith at ſuch times as they ſtood in danger of being beſieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them, though not upon the ſame occaſion. For the people of *Rome* had no cauſe to think it a benefit unto themſelves; that any *Greek* Town, refuſing to ſue unto the *Macedonian* for peace, requeſted their help againſt him. But the Senate, intending to take in hand the Conqueſt of the Eaſtern parts, had reaſon to give thanks unto thoſe, that miniſtred the occaſion. Since therefore it was an untrue ſuggeſtion, That *Philip* was making ready for *Italy*: and ſince neither *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, nor any other State in thoſe quarters, deſired the *Romans* to give them protection: theſe buſie-headed *Athenians*, who falling out with the *Acarnanians*, and conſequently with *Philip*, a matter of Maygame, (as was ſhewed before) ſent Embaſſadors into all parts of the World, even to *Ptolomy* of *Egypt*, and to the *Romans*, as well as to *Attalus* and others their neighbours; muſt be accepted as cauſe of the War, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Nevertheleſs as it loves to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence; the doings of *P. Sulpitius* the Conſul were ſuch, as might have argued *Athens* to be the leaſt part of his care. He ſailed not about *Peloponneſus*, but took the ready way to *Macedon*, and landing about the River of *Apſus*, between *Dyrrhachium* and *Apollonia*, there began the War. Soon upon his coming, the *Athenian* Embaſſadours were with him and craved his help: whereof they could make no benefit whileſt he was far from them. They bemoaned themſelves as men beſieged, and intreated him to deliver them. For which cauſe he ſent unto them *C. Claudius* with twenty Gallies, and a competent number of men: but the main of his forces he retained with him, for the proſecution of a greater deſign. The *Athenians* were not indeed beſieged: only ſome Rovers from *Chalcis*, in the Iſle of *Eubœa*, and ſome bands of adventures out of *Corinth* uſed to take their Ships, and ſpoil their fields, becauſe they had declared themſelves againſt King *Philip*, that was Lord of theſe two Towns. The robberies done by theſe Pyrats and Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than war-like *Athenians*, *in this declining Age of their* Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From ſuch detriment the arrival of *Claudius*, and ſhortly after of three *Rhodian* Gallies, eaſily preſerved them. As for the *Athenians* themſelves, they that had been wont, in ancient times to undertake the conqueſts of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and *Cicil*; to make War upon the great *Perſian* King, and to hold ſo much of *Greece* in ſubjection, as made them redoubtable unto all the reſt; had now no more than three Ships, and thoſe open ones, not much better than long boats. Yet thought they not themſelves a whit the worſe men, but ſtood as highly upon the glory and vertue of their Anceſtors, as if it had been ſtill their own.

§. X.

The Town of Chalcis *in* Eubœa *taken and ſackt by the* Romans *& their Aſſociater, that lay in Garriſon at* Athens. Philip *attempteth to take* Athens *by ſurpriſe: waſteth the Countrey about, and makes a journy into* Peloponneſus. *Of* Nabis *the Tyrant of* Lacedæmon, *and his wife.* Philip *offers to make War againſt* Nabis *for the* Achæans. *He returneth home through* Attica, *which he ſpoileth again: and provides againſt the Enemies. Some exploits of the* Romans. *Divers Princes joyn with them. Great labouring to draw the* Ætolians *into the War.*

PHilip returning home from *Abydus*, heard news of the *Roman* Conſul his being about *Apollonia*. But ere he ſtirred forth to give him entertainment, or perhaps before he had well reſolved, whether it were beſt a while to ſit ſtill, and try what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make oppoſition, and reſiſt theſe Invaders with all his forces: he received advertiſement from *Chalcis* of a grievous miſhap there befallen him, by procurement of the *Athenians*. For *C. Claudius* with his *Romans*, finding no ſuch work at *Athens* as they had expected, or was anſwerable to the fame that went abroad, purpoſed to do ſomewhat that might quicken the War, and make his own imployment better. He grew ſoon weary of ſitting as a Scar-crow, to ſave the *Athenians* grounds from ſpoil; and therefore gladly took in hand a buſineſs of more importance. The Town of *Chalcis* was very negligently guarded by the *Macedonian* Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enemy at hand: and more negligently by the Towns-men, who repoſed themſelves upon their Garriſon. Hereof *Claudian* having ad-

advertiſement, ſailed thither by night, for fear of being deſcried: and arriving there a little before break of day, took it by Scalado. He uſed no mercy, but ſlew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keep it, (unleſs he ſhould have left the heartleſs *Athenians* to their own defence) he ſet it on fire; conſuming the Kings Magazines of Corn, and all proviſions for War, which were plenteouſly filled. Neither were he and his Aſſociates contented with the great abundance of ſpoil which they carried aboard their Ships, and with inlarging all thoſe, whom *Philip*, as in a place of moſt ſecurity, kept there impriſoned: but to ſhew their deſpight and hatred unto the King, they overthrew and brake in pieces the Statues to him there erected. This done, they haſted away towards *Athens*: where the news of their exploit was like to be joyfully welcomed. The King lay then at *Demetrias*, about ſome 20. miles thence; whither then theſe tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he ſaw that it was too late to remedy the matter; yet he made all haſte to take revenge. He thought to have taken the *Athenians*, with their truſty friends, buſie at work in ranſacking the Town, and loading themſelves with ſpoil: but they were gone before his coming. Five thouſand light-armed foot he had with him, and three hundred horſe: whereof leaving at *Chalcis* only a few to bury the dead, he marched from thence away ſpeedily toward *Athens*: thinking it not inpoſſible to take his enemies in the joy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken *Chalcis*. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-poſt that ſtood Scout for the City upon the borders, had not deſcried him afar off, and ſwiftly carried word of his approach to *Athens*. It was mid-night when this Poſt came thither: who found all the Town aſleep, as fearleſs of any danger. But the Magiſtrates, hearing this report, cauſed a Trumpet out of their Citadel to ſound the Alarm, and with all ſpeed made ready for defence. Within a few hours *Philip* was there; who ſeeing the many lights, and other ſigns of buſie preparation uſual in ſuch a caſe, underſtood that they had news of his coming; and therefore willed his men to repoſe themſelves till it were day. It is like, that the paucity of his followers did help well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though *Claudius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compaſs about by Sea, and had no cauſe of haſte) yet having in the Town ſome mercenary Souldiers, which they kept of their own, beſides the great multitude of Citizens; they adventured to iſſue forth at a gate, whereto they ſaw *Philip* make approach. The King was glad of this; reckoning all thoſe his own, that were thus hardy. He therefore only willed his men to follow his example; and preſently gave charge upon them. In that fight he gave ſingular proof of his valour: and beating down many of the Enemies with his own hands, drave them with great ſlaughter back into the City. The heat of his courage tranſported him further than diſcretion would have allowed, even to the very gate. But he retired without harm taking; for that they which were upon the Towers over the gate, could not uſe their caſting weapons againſt him, without much indangering their own people that were thronging before him into the City. There was a temple of *Hercules*, a place of exerciſe, with a Grove, and many goodly Monuments beſides, neer adjoyning unto *Athens*: of which he ſpared none; but ſuffered the rage of his anger to extend, even unto the ſepulchres of the dead. The next day came the *Romans*, and ſome Companies of *Attalus* his men from *Ægina*; too late in regard of what was already paſt: but in good time to prevent him of ſatisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed from thence to *Corinth*, and hearing that the *Achæans* held a Parliament at *Argos*, he came thither to them unexpected.

The *Achæans* were deviſing upon War: which they intended to make againſt *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*: who being ſtarted up in the room of *Machanidas*, did greater miſchief than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly upon his mercenaries: and of his ſubjects had no regard. He was a cruel oppreſſor, a greedy extortioner upon thoſe that lived under him; and one that in his natural condition ſmelt rankly of the Hangman. In theſe qualities, his wife *Apega* was very fitly matched with him, ſince his dexterity was no greater in ſpoiling the men, then hers in fleecing their wives; whom ſhe would never ſuffer to be at quiet, till they had preſented her with all their *jewels* and *apparel*. Her huſband was *Liv. l.32.* ſo delighted with her property, that he cauſed an Image to be made, lively repreſenting her; and apparelled it with ſuch coſtly garments as ſhe uſed to wear. But it *Excerp. & Polyb. l.13.* was indeed an Engine, ſerving to torment men. Hereof he made uſe, when he meant to try the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling unto him ſome rich man, of whoſe money he was deſirous; he would bring him into the

room where this counterfeit *Apega* ſtood, and there uſe all his art of perſwaſion, to get what he deſired, as it were by good will. If he could not ſo ſpeed, but was anſwered with excuſes; then took he the refractory denyer by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife *Apega* (who ſate by in a Chair) could perſwade more effectually. So he led him to the Image, that roſe up and opened the arms, as it were for imbracement. Thoſe arms were full of ſharp iron nails, the like whereof was alſo ſticking in the breaſts, though hidden with her clothes: and herewith ſhe griped the poor wretch, to the pleaſure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruel death. Such, and worſe (for it were long to tell all here that is ſpoken of him) was *Nabis* in his government. In his dealings abroad he combined with the *Ætolians*, as *Machanidas* and *Lycurgus* had done before him. By theſe he grew into acquaintance with the *Romans*; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former War. Of *Philopœmens* vertue he ſtood in fear: and therefore durſt not provoke the *Achæans*, as long as they had ſuch an able Commander. But when *Cycliades*, a far worſe Captain, was their Prætor, and all, or the greateſt part of their Mercenaries were diſcharged; *Philopœmen* being alſo gone into *Crete*, to follow his beloved occupation of War; then did *Nabis* fall upon their Territory; and waſting all the fields, made them diſtruſt their own ſafety in the Towns.

Againſt this Tyrant the *Achæans* were preparing for War, when *Philip* came among them, and had ſet down what proportion of Souldiers every City of their Corporation ſhould furniſh out. But *Philip* willed them not to trouble themſelves with the care of this buſineſs; foraſmuch as he alone would eaſe them of this War, and take the burden upon himſelf. With exceeding joy and thanks they accepted of this kind offer. But then he told them, That whileſt he made War upon *Lacedæmon*, he ought not to leave his own Towns unguarded. In which reſpect he thought they would be pleaſed to ſend a few men to *Corinth*, and ſome Companies into the Iſle of *Eubœa*; that ſo he might ſecurely purſue the War againſt *Nabis*. Immediately they found out his device; which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his War againſt the *Romans*. Wherefore their Prætor *Cycliades* made him anſwer, That their Laws forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than thoſe for which it was aſſembled. So paſſing the Decree, upon which they had agreed before, for preparing War againſt *Nabis*, he brake up the Aſſembly, with every mans good liking; whereas in former times, he had been thought no better than one of the Kings Paraſites.

It grieved the King to have thus failed in his purpoſe with the *Achæans*. Nevertheleſs he gathered up among them a few Voluntaries; and ſo returned by *Corinth* back into *Attica*. There he met with *Philocles* one of his Captains, that with two thouſand men had been doing what harm he might unto the Country. With this adition of ſtrength, he attempted the Caſtle of *Eleuſine*, the haven of *Pyreus*, and even the City of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made ſuch haſte after him by Sea, thruſting themſelves into every of theſe places; that he could no more than wreak his anger upon thoſe goodly Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time ſingularly beautified. So he deſtroyed all the works of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; which they had in plenty of their own: or having long ago been Maſters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where beſt choice was found. Neither did he only pull all down: but cauſed his men to break the very ſtones, that they might be unſerviceable to their reparation. His loſs at *Chalcis* being thus revenged upon *Athens*, he went home into *Macedon*: and there made proviſion, both againſt the *Roman* Conſul that lay about *Apollonia*; and againſt the *Dardanians*, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to infeſt him. Among his other cares, he forgot not the *Ætolians*: to whoſe Parliament, ſhortly to be held at *Naupactus*, he ſent an Embaſſage, requeſting them to continue in his friendſhip. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

Sulpitius the *Roman* Conſul encamped upon the River of *Apſus*. Thence he ſent forth *Apuſtius* his Lieutenant, with part of the Army to waſte the borders of *Macedon*. *Apuſtius* took ſundry Caſtles and Towns; uſing ſuch extremity of ſword and fire at *Antipatria*, the firſt good Town which he won by force, that none durſt afterwards make reſiſtance, unleſs they knew themſelves able to hold out. Returning towards the Conſul with his ſpoil, he was charged in the Reer, upon the paſſage of a brook, by *Athenagoras* a *Macedonian* Captain: but the *Romans* had the better, and killing many of theſe enemies, took priſoners many more, to the increaſe of their booty, with which they arrived in ſafety at their Camp. The ſucceſs of this Expedition, though

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it were not great, yet ſerved to draw into the *Roman* friendſhip thoſe that had formerly no good inclination to the *Macedonian*. Theſe were *Pleuratus*, the ſon of *Scerdilaidas* the *Illyrian*: *Aminander* King of the *Athamanians*, and *Bato* the ſon of *Longarus*, Prince of the *Dardanians*. They offered their aſſiſtance unto the Conſul, who thanked them: and ſaid, That he would ſhortly make uſe of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when he entred into *Macedon*: but that the friendſhip of *Aminander*, whoſe Country lay between the *Ætolians* and *Theſſaly*, might be perhaps available with the *Ætolians*, to ſtir them up againſt *Philip*.

So the preſent care was wholly ſet upon the *Ætolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embaſſadors from the *Macedonian*, *Romans*, and *Athenians*. Of which, the *Macedonian* ſpake firſt, and ſaid: That as there was nothing fallen out, which ſhould occaſion the breach of peace between his Maſter and the *Ætolians*; ſo was it to be hoped, that they would not ſuffer themſelves, without good cauſe to be carried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to conſider, how the *Romans* heretofore, had made ſhew, as if their War in *Greece* tended only to the defence of the *Ætolians*, and yet notwithſtanding had been angry, that the *Ætolians*, by making peace with *Philip*, had no longer need of ſuch their Patronage. What might it be that made them ſo buſie, in obtruding their protection upon thoſe that needed it not? Surely it was even the general hatred, which theſe *Barbarians* bore unto the *Greeks*. For even after the ſame ſort had they lent their help to the *Mamertines*: and afterwards delivered *Syracuſe*, when it was oppreſſed by *Carthaginian* Tyrants; but now both *Syracuſe* and *Meſſana*, were ſubject unto the Rods and Axes of the *Romans*. To the ſame effect he alledged many examples, adding, That in like ſort it would happen to the *Ætolians*: who if they drew ſuch maſters into *Greece*, muſt not look hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their own, wherein to conſult about War and Peace: the *Romans* would eaſe them of this care, and ſend them ſuch a Moderator, as went every year from *Rome* to *Syracuſe*. Wherefore he concluded, that it was beſt for them, whilſt as yet they might, and whilſt one of them as yet could help the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, upon light occaſion, they hapned to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three years ago made the peace which ſtill continued; although that the very ſame *Romans* were then againſt it, who ſought to break it now. It would have troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good anſwer to theſe objections. For the *Macedonian* had ſpoken the very truth, in ſhewing whereunto this their Patronage, which they offered with ſuch importunity, did tend. Wherefore the *Athenians* were ſet on by them to ſpeak next: who had ſtore of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make *Philip* odious. Theſe affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the *Macedonian* Embaſſador, to call the *Romans* by the name of *Barbarians*; knowing in what barbarous manner his own King had, in few dayes paſt, made War upon the gods themſelves, by deſtroying all their Temples in *Attica*. Herewithal they made a pittiful reherſal of their own calamities: and ſaid, that if *Philip* might have his will, *Ætolia*, and all the reſt of *Greece*, ſhould feel the ſame that *Attica* had felt; yea, that *Athens* it ſelf, together with *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to have felt, if the Walls and the *Roman* arms had not defended them.

Then ſpake the *Romans*: who excuſing, as well as they could, their own oppreſſion of all thoſe, in whoſe defence they had heretofore taken Arms, went roundly to the point in hand. They ſaid, that they had of late made War in the *Ætolians* behalf, and that the *Ætolians* had without their conſent made peace: whereof ſince the *Ætolians* muſt excuſe themſelves, by alledging that the *Romans*, being buſied with *Carthage*, wanted leiſure to give them aid convenient; ſo this excuſe being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent againſt their common Enemy, it concerned the *Ætolians* to take part with them in their war and victory, unleſs they had rather periſh with *Philip*.

It might eaſily be perceived, that they which were ſo vehement, in offering their help ere it was deſired, were themſelves carried unto the War by more earneſt motives, than a ſimple deſire to help thoſe friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have been the cauſe, why *Dorymachus* the *Ætolian* Prætor ſhifted them off a while with a dilatory anſwer: though he told his Country-men, That by reſerving themſelves, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with thoſe that had the better fortune. His anſwer was, firſt, in general terms; That over-much haſte was an enemy to good counſel: for which cauſe they muſt further deliberate, ere they concluded. But coming nearer to the matter in hand, he paſſed a Decree, *That the*

Prætor *might at any time call an Assembly of the States, and therein conclude upon this business; any Law to the contrary notwithstanding:* whereas otherwise it was unlawful to treat of such affairs, excepting two of their great Parliaments, that were held at set times.

§. XI.

The meeting of Philip *with the* Romans, *and skirmishing with them on his borders. The* Ætolians *invade his Dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of* Attalus *and the* Roman *Fleet.*

PHilip was glad to hear, that the *Romans* had sped no better in their solicitation of the *Ætolians.* He thought them hereby disappointed in the very beginning, of one great help; and meant himself to disappoint them of another. His son *Perseus*, a very boy, was sent to keep the Streights of *Felagonia* against the *Dardanians*; having with him some of the Kings Councel, to govern both him and his Army. It was judged, as may seem, that the presence of the Kings son; how young soever, would both encourage his Followers, and terrifie the Enemies, by making them at least believe, that he was not weakly attended. And this may have been the reason, why the same *Perseus*, a few years before this, was in like manner left upon the borders of *Ætolia* by his father; whom earnest business called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand; it was thought that the *Macedonian* Fleet under *Heraclides*, would serve to keep *Attalus*, with the *Rhodians* and *Romans*, from doing harm by Sea, when the Kings back was turned: who took his journey Westward against *Sulpicius* the Consul.

The Armies met in the Country of the *Dessaretii*, a people in the utmost borders of *Macedon* towards *Illyria*, about the Mountains of *Candavia*; that running along from *Hemus* in the North, until they joyn in the South with *Pindus*, inclose the Western parts of *Macedon.* Two or three dayes they lay in sight the one of the other, without making offer of battel. The Consul was the first that issued forth of his Camp into the open field. But *Philip* was not confident in the strength which he had then about him; and therefore thought it better to send forth some of his light-armed Mercenaries, and some part of horse, to entertain them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the *Romans*, and driven back into their Camp. Now although it was so, that the King was unwilling to hazzard all at first upon a Cast, and therefore sent for *Perseus* with his Companies, to increase his own forces: yet being no less unwilling to lose too much in reputation; he made shew a day after, as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein he bestowed as many as he thought meet of his Targettiers: and so gave charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captains, to provoke out the *Romans* to fight; instructing both him and his Targettiers, how to behave themselves respectively, as opportunity should fall out. The *Romans* had no mistrust of any ambush, having fought upon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might have sustained some notable detriment, if the Kings directions had been well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall back, they charged him so hotly, that they drave him to an hasty flight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the Captains of the Targettiers, not staying to let them run into the danger, discovered themselves before it was time; and thereby made frustrate the work to which they were appointed. The Consul hereby gathered, that the King had some desire to try the fortune of a battel: which he therefore presented the second time: leading forth his Army, and setting it in order, with Elephants in the front: a kind of help which the *Romans* had never used before, but had taken these of late from the *Carthaginians.* Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was scarce above fourscore years ere this, that *Pyrrhus* carried Elephants out of *Greece* into *Italy*, to affright the *Romans*, who had never seen any of those beasts before. But now the same *Romans* (whilst possibly some were yet alive, which had known that Expedition of *Pyrrhus*) came into *Macedon*, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* have none. *Philip* had patience to let the Consul brave him at his Trenches: wherein he did wisely; for the *Roman* had greater need to fight, than he. *Sulpicius* was unwilling to lose time: neither could he without great danger, lying so near the Enemy, that was strong in horse, send his men to fetch in corn out of the fields. Wherefore he removed 8. miles off: presuming that *Philip* would not adventure to meet him on even ground: and so the more boldly he suffered his Forragers to over-run the Country. The King was nothing sorry of this: but permitted the *Romans* to take their good pleasure: even till their presumption, and his

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own ſuppoſed fear, ſhould make them careleſs. When this was come to paſs, he took all his horſe, and light-armed foot, with which he occupied a place in the mid-way, between the Forragers and their Camp. There he ſtayed in covert with part of his forces, to keep the paſſages that none ſhould eſcape. The reſt he ſent abroad the Countrey, to fall upon the ſtragglers: willing them to put all to the ſword, and let none run home with news to the Camp. The ſlaughter was great: and thoſe which eſcaped the hands of them that were ſent abroad to ſcowre the fields, lighted all or moſt of them upon the King and his companies in their flight: ſo as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Camp had news of this. But in the end there eſcaped ſome: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went: yet by telling what had hapned to themſelves, raiſed a great multitude. *Sulpicius* hereupon ſends forth all his horſe, and bids them help their fellows where they ſaw it needful: He himſelf with the Legions followed. The companies of horſe divided themſelves, accordingly as they met with advertiſements upon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was moſt of the danger. Such of them as lighted upon *Philips* Troops, that were canvaſſing the field, took their taſk where they found it: But the main bulk of them fell upon the King himſelf. They had the diſadvantage; as coming fewer, and unprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away; as their fellows alſo might have been, if the King had well bethought himſelf, and given over in time. But while, not contented with ſuch an harveſt, he was too greedy about a poor gleaning; the *Roman* Legions appeared in ſight: which emboldened their horſe to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparent, enforced the *Macedonians* to look to their own ſafety. They ran which way they could: and (as men that lie in wait for others, are ſeldom heedful of that which may befal themſelves) to eſcape the Enemy, they declined the faireſt way; ſo as they were plunged in Mariſhes and Bogs, wherein many of them were loſt. The Kings horſe was ſlain under him: and there had been caſt away, if a loving ſubject of his he had not alighted, mounted him upon his own horſe, and delivered him out of peril, at the expence of his own life, that running on foot was overtaken and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improvident raſhneſs; and the Conſul with as much dulneſs, for his dayes ſervice. A little longer ſtay would have delivered the King from theſe enemies without any blow: ſince when all the fields about them were waſted, they muſt needs have retired back to the Sea. On the other ſide, it was not thought unlikely, That if the *Romans* following the King, had ſet upon his Camp, at ſuch time as he fled thither, half amazed with either being ſlain or taken, they might have won it. But that noble Hiſtorian, *Livie*, (as is commonly his manner) hath judiciouſly obſerved, That neither the one, nor the other, were much too blame in this days work. For the main body of the Kings Army lay ſafe in his Camp; and could not be ſo aſtoniſhed with the loſs of two or three hundred horſe, that it ſhould therefore have abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himſelf, he was advertiſed, that *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian*, and the *Dardanians*, were fallen upon his Country; when they found the paſſage thereinto open, after *Perſeus* was called away from cuſtody of the Streights. This was it which made him adventure to do ſomewhat betimes; that he might ſet the *Romans* going the ſooner, and afterwards look unto his troubleſome neighbours. In conſideration of this, *Philip* was deſirous to clear himſelf of the *Romans*, as ſoon as he might. And to that purpoſe he ſent unto the Conſul; requeſting a day of truce for burial of the dead. But inſtead of ſo doing, he marched away by night, and left fires in his Camp to beguile the enemy, as if he had not ſtirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not ſlow to follow him. He overtook the *Macedonians* in a place of ſtrength, which they had fenced (for it was a woody ground) by cutting down trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was moſt open. In making of ſuch places good, the *Macedonian Phalanx* was of little uſe; being a ſquare battel of pikes, not fit for every ground. The Archers of *Crete* were judged, and were indeed, more ſerviceable in that caſe, But they were few; and their arrows were of ſmall force againſt the *Roman* ſhields. The *Macedonians* therefore helped them by flinging of ſtones. But to no purpoſe. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This Victory (ſuch as it was) laid open unto the Conſul ſome poor Towns thereabout; which partly were taken by ſtrong hand, partly yielded for fear. But the ſpoil of theſe, and of the fields adjoyning, was not ſufficient to maintain his Army; and therefore he returned back to *Apollonia*.

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The *Dardanians*, hearing that *Philip* was come back, withdrew themselves a pace out of the Country. The King sent *Athenagoras* to wait upon them home; whilest he himself went against the *Ætolians*. For *Damocritus* the Prætor of the *Ætolians*, who had reserved himself and his Nation unto the event of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once and again: as also that *Pleuratus* and the *Dardanians* were fallen upon *Macedon*; grew no less busie on the sudden, than before he had been wise. He perswaded his Nation to take their time: and so, not staying to proclaim War, joyned his forces with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*; and made invasion upon *Thessaly*. They took, and cruelly sacked a few Towns: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might do what they listed. But *Philip* came upon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay dispersed, was like to have taken their Camp, if *Aminander* more warie than the *Ætolians*, had not helped at need, and made the Retrait through his own mountainous Country.

About the same time the *Roman* Fleet, assisted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, had taken some small Islands in the *Ægean* Sea. They took likewise the Town of *Oreum* in the Isle of *Eubœa*: and some other places thereabout. The Towns were given unto *Attalus*, after the same Compact that had formerly been made with the *Ætolians*: the goods therein found were given unto the *Romans*: and the people, for slaves. Other attempts on that side were hindred: either by foul weather at Sea: or by want of daring, and of means.

§. XII.

Villius *the Roman Consul wastes a yeer to no effect. War of the Gaules in Italy. An Embassadour of the Romans to Carthage*, Masaniſſa, *and* Vermina. *The Macedonian prepares for defence of his Kingdom: and* T. Quintius Flaminius *is sent against him.*

THus the time ran away: and *P. Villius* a new Consul, took charge of the War in *Macedon*. He was troubled with a mutiny of his oldest Souldiers: whereof two thousand, having served long in *Sicil* and *Africk*, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not be suffered to look unto their own estates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had served at *Cannæ*: as may seem by their complaint, of having been long absent from *Italy*: whither fain they would have returned, when by their Colonels they were shipped for *Macedon*. How *Villius* dealt with them, it is uncertain. For the History of his year is lost: whereof the miss is not great, since he did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antius*, as we finde in *Livie*, hath adorned this *Villius* with a great exploit against *Philip*. Yet since *Livie* himself, an Historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could finde no such thing recorded in any good Author: we may reasonably believe, that *Villius* his year was idle.

In the beginning of this *Macedonian* War, the *Romans* found more trouble than could have been expected with the *Gauls*. Their Colony of *Placentia*, a goodly and strong Town, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Asdrubal*, had been able to force: was taken by these *Barbarians*, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like sort *Cremona* was attempted: but saved her self, taking warning by her neighbours calamity. *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, that stayed behind *Asdrubal*, or *Mago* in those parts: was now become Captain of the *Gaules*, in these their enterprises. This when the *Romans* heard, they sent Embassadours to the *Carthaginians*: giving them to understand, That if they were not weary of the peace, it behoved them to call home, and deliver up, this their Citizen *Amilcar*; who made War in *Italy*. Hereunto it was added (perhaps lest the message might seem otherwise to have savoured a little of some fear) That of the fugitive slaves belonging to the *Romans*, there were some reported to walk up and down in *Carthage*: which if it were so, then ought they to be restored back to their Masters: as was conditioned in the late peace. The Embassadours that were sent on this errand, had further charge to treat with *Masaniſſa*, as also with *Vermina* the son of *Syphax*. Unto *Masaniſſa*, besides matter of complement, they were to signifie what pleasure he might do them, by lending them some of his *Numidian* Horse, to serve in their War against the *Macedonian*. *Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe unto him the name of King: and promised thereafter to deserve it, by his readiness in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter, and said, That having been, and being still (as they took it) their Enemy, He ought first of all to desire peace; for that the name of King, was an honour which they used not to confer upon any, save only upon such as had royally deserved it at their hands. The

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authority to make peace with him; was wholly committed unto these Embassadors, upon such termes as they should think fit; without further relation to the Senate and People: For they were then busied with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed *Amilcar*: banishing him, and confiscating his good. As for the Fugitives, they had restored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as far as was requisite, give satisfaction to the Senate. Herewithal they sent a great proportion of Corn to *Rome*; and the like unto the Army that was in *Macedon*. King *Masanissa* would have lent unto the *Romans* two thousand of his *Numidian* horse: but they were contented with half the number; and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the Embassadours, to give them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdom; and without any disputation, agreed with them upon terms of peace.

Thus were the *Romans* busied in taking order for their *Macedonian* War, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his *Gaules*, they laid siege unto *Cremona*; where *L. Furius* a *Roman* Prætor came upon them, fought a battel with them, and overcame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this battel: and the fruit of the Victory was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the work easie to those, that afterwards should have the managing of War among those *Gaules*. So was there good leisure to think upon the business of *Macedon*: where *Philip* was carefully providing to give contentment unto his Subjects, by punishing a bad Counseller whom they hated: as also to assure unto himself the *Achæans*, by rendring unto them some Towns that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdom, not only by exercising and training his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of *Epirus*. This was in doing when *Villius*, having unprofitably laboured to finde way into *Macedon*, taking a journey (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came advertisement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was chosen Consul; and had *Macedon* allotted him for his Province; whose coming was expected; and he very shortly arrived at the Army.

§. XIII.

The Romans begin to make War by negotiation. T. Quintius *with a passage against* Philip. *Thessaly wasted by* Philip, *the Romans, and Ætolians. The Achæans forsaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treaty of peace, that war vain.* Philip *delivers Argos to* Nabis *the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the Romans.*

THe *Romans* had not been wont in former times, to make War after such a trifling manner. It was their use, to give battel to the enemie, as soon a they met with him. If he refused it, they besieged his Towns: and so forced him to try the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborn it (as it would be interpreted) upon knowledge of his own weakness. But in this their War with *Philip*, they began to learn of the subtle *Greeks*, the art of Negotiation: wherein hitherto they were not grown so fine, as within a little while they proved. Their Treasury was poor, and stood indebted, * many years after this unto private men, for part of those moneys that had been borrowed in the second Punick War. This had made the Commonalty averse from the *Macedonian* War; and had thereby driven the Senators, greedy of the enterprize, to make use of their cunning. Yet being weary of the slow pace wherewith their business went forward, they determined to increase their Army, that they might have the less need to relie upon their Confederates. So they levied eight thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse (the greater part of them of the *Latines*) which they sent with *T. Quintius Flaminius*, the new Consul, into *Macedon*. Their Navie, and other means could well have served, for the setting forth and transportation of a greater Army; but by straining themselves to the most of their ability, they should (besides other difficulties incident unto the sustenance of those that are too many and too far from home) have bred some jealousie in their friends of *Greece*, and thereby have lost some friends, yea, perhaps have increased the number of their enemies, more than of their own Souldiers. This present augmentation of the forces was very requisite; for that *Attalus*, about the same time, excused himself unto them by his Embassadour; requesting that either they would undertake the defence of his Kingdom against *Antiochus*, who invaded it; or else that they would not take it uncourteously;

* *Liv. lib.* 34.

courteously, that he quitted the War with *Philip*, and returned home, to look unto that which most concerned him. Their answer was remarkable. They said, That it was not their manner to use the aid of their friends, longer then their friends had good opportunity, and could also be well contented to afford it; That they could not honestly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend, though he were against *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deal with *Antiochus* by Embassadors, and (as common friends unto both of the Kings) do their best to perswade an atonement between them. In such loving fashion did they now carry themselves, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*; who reciprocally at their intreaty, withdrew his Army from the Kingdom of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded these terms of friendship, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very soon appear.

T. Quintius hasting away from *Rome*, came betimes into his Province, with the supply decreed unto him; which consisted for the most part, of old Souldiers, that had served in *Spain* and *Africk*. He found *Villius* the old Consul, (whom at his coming he presently discharged) and King *Philip* of *Macedon*, encamped one against the other, in the Streights of *Epirus*, by the river of *Apsus*, or *Aous*. It was manifest, that either the *Romans* must fetch a compass about, and seek their way into *Macedon*, through the poor Country of the *Dassaretians*; or else win, by force, that passage which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had already two years together mis-spent their time, and been forced to return back without profit, for want of victuals: whereof they could neither carry with them store sufficient, nor find it on the way. But if they could once get over these Mountains, which divided the South of *Epirus* from *Thessaly*, then should they enter into a plentiful Country; and, which by long dependance on the *Macedonian*, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdom, whereof it made the South border. Nevertheless, the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelihood. For the river of *Apsus* running along through that valley which alone was open between the Mountains, made it all a deep *Marish* and unpassable Bogge: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the main rock by mans hand. Wherefore *Quintius* assailed to climb in the Mountains: but finding himself disappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his enemy, who neglected not the guard of them that was very easie; he was compelled to sit still, without doing any thing for the space of forty dayes.

This long time of rest gave hope unto *Philip*, that the War might be ended by composition, upon some reasonable terms. He therefore so dealt with some of the *Epirots*, (among whom he had many friends) that He and the Consul had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Consul would have him to set all Towns of *Greece* at liberty; and make amends for the injuries, which he had done to many people in his late Wars. *Philip* was contented to give liberty to those whom he had subdued of late: but unto such, as had been long subject unto him and his Ancestors, He thought it against all reason, that he should relinquish his claim and dominion over them. He also said, That as far forth as it should appear that he had done wrong unto any Town or people whatsoever, He could well be pleased to make such amends, as might seem convenient in the judgement of some free State, that had not been interessed in those quarrels. But herewithal *Quintius* was not satisfied. There needed (he said) no judgement or compromise; forasmuch as it was apparent, that *Philip* had alwayes been the invader; and had not made War, as one provoked, in his own defence. After this altercation, when they should come to particulars: and when the Consul was required to name those Towns, that he would have to be set at liberty; the first that he named were the *Thessalians*: These had been subjects (though conditional) unto the *Macedonian* Kings, ever since the dayes of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore, as soon as *Flaminius* had named the *Thessalians*; the King in a rage demanded what sharper condition He would have laid upon him, had he been but vanquished. And herewithal abruptly he flang away: refusing to hear any more of such discourse.

After this the Consul strove in vain two or three dayes together, to have prevailed against the difficulties of that passage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himself, and could not resolve what course to take: there came to him an Heards-man sent from *Charopus* a Prince of the *Epirots* that favoured the *Romans*, who having long kept beasts in those Mountains, was throughly acquainted with all by-paths, and therefore undertook to guide the *Romans*, without any danger, to a place where they should have advantage of the Enemy. This guide,

guide, for fear of treacherous dealing, was fast bound: and being promised a great reward, in case he made good his word, had such Companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They travelled by night (it being then about the full of the Moon) and rested in the day-time, for fear of being discovered. When they had recovered the hill-tops, and were above the *Macedonians*, (though undiscovered by them, because at their banks) they raised a great smoke, whereby they gave notice of their success unto the Consul. Some skirmishes, whilst these were on their journy, *T. Quintius* had held with the *Macedonian*; thereby to avert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he saw the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained unto the place whither they were sent, he pressed as near as he could unto the Enemies Camp, and assailed them in their strength. He prevailed as little as in former times, until the shoutings of those that ran down the hill, and charged *Philip* on the back, astonished so the *Macedonians*, that they betook themselves unto flight. The King, upon first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to save himself. Yet anon considering, that the difficulty of the passage must needs hinder the *Romans* from pursuing him: he made a stand at the end of five miles, and gathered there together his broken troops, of whom he found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest loss was of his Camp and provisions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation: for that now the *Macedonians* began to stand in fear, lest being driven from a place of such advantage, they should hardly make good their party against the Enemy, upon equal ground. Neither was *Philip* himself much better perswaded. Wherefore he caused the *Thessalians*, as many of them as in his hasty retrait he could visit, to forsake their Towns and Country, carrying away with them as much as they were able, and spoiling all the rest. But all of them could not be perswaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their King) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him; which they might the better do, for that he could not stay to use any great compulsion. He also himself took it very grievously, that he was driven to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitful Country, which had ever been well affected unto him: so that a little hindrance did serve, to make him break off his purpose, and withdraw himself home into his Kingdom of *Macedon*.

The *Ætolians* and *Athamanians*, when this fell out, were even in a readiness to invade *Thessaly*; whereinto the ways lay more open, out of their several Contries. When therefore they heard for certainty, that *Philip* was beaten by the *Romans*: they foreslowed not the occasion, but made all speed, each of them to lay hold upon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten so much before his coming, that he, in gleaning after their harvest, could not find enough to maintain his Army. Thus were the poor *Thessalians*, of whose liberty the *Romans* a few days since had made shew to be very desirous, wasted by the same *Romans* and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turn themselves, or whom to avoid. *T. Quintius* won *Phaleria* by assault: *Metropolis* and *Piera* yielded unto him. *Rhage* he besieged: and having made a fair breach, yet was unable to force it: so stoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a *Macedonian* garrison therein. *Philip* also at the same time, having somewhat recollected his spirits, hovered about *Tempe* with his Army, thrusting men into all places, that were like to be distressed. So the Consul, having well near spent his victuals, and seeing no hope to prevail at *Rhage*: brake up his siege, and departed out of *Thessaly*. He had appointed his Ships of burden to meet him at *Anticyra*, an Haven Town of *Phocis*, on the Gulph of *Corinth*: which Country being friend to the *Macedonian*, he presently invaded; not so much for hatred unto the people, as because it lay conveniently seated between *Thessaly* and other regions, wherein he had business, or was shortly like to have. Many Towns in *Phocis* he won by assault: many were yielded up unto him for fear; and within short space he had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the mean time *L. Quintius* the Consuls brother, being then Admiral for the *Romans* in this War, joyned with King *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* Fleet. They won two Cities in *Eubœa*; and afterward laid siege unto *Cenchree*, an Haven and Arcenal of the *Corinthians* on their Eastern Sea. This enterprise did somewhat help forward the *Achæans*, in their desire to leave the part of *Philip*; since it might come to pass, that *Corinth* it self, ere long time were spent; and that *Cenchree*, with other places appertaining to *Corinth*, now very shortly should be rendered unto their Nation, by favour of the *Romans*.

But there were other motives, inducing the *Achæans* to preferr the friendſhip of the *Romans*, before the patronage of *Philip*; whereto they had been long accuſtomed. For this King had ſo many ways offended them in time of peace, that they thought it beſt courſe to rid their hands of him, whilſt being intangled in a dangerous War, he wanted means to hinder the execution of ſuch counſel as they ſhould hold the ſafeſt. His tyrannous practiſes to make himſelf their abſolute Lord: his poyſoning of *Aratus* their old Governour: his falſe dealing with the *Meſſenians*, *Epirots*, and other people their Confederates, and his own dependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed: cauſed them long ſince to hold him as a *neceſſary evill*, even whilſt they were unable to be without his aſſiſtance. But ſince by the vertue of *Philopœmen*, they were grown ſomewhat confident in their own ſtrength: ſo as without the *Macedonians* help they could as well ſubſiſt, as having him to friend: then did they only think how *evil* he was; and thereupon rejoyce the more, in that he was become no longer *neceſſary*. It angred him to perceive how they ſtood affected: and therefore he ſent murderers to take away the life of * *Philopœmen*. But failing in this enterpriſe; and being detected, he did thereby only ſet fire to the Wood, which was throughly dry before, and prepared to burn. *Philopœmen* wrought ſo with the *Achæans*, that no diſcourſe was more familiar with them, than what great cauſe they had to withdraw themſelves from the *Macedonian*. *Cycliadus*, a principal man among them: and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for ſhewing himſelf paſſionate in the cauſe of *Philip*; and *Ariſtænus* choſen Prætor, who laboured to joyn them in ſociety with the *Romans*.

* *Plut. in v. Philopœm. Juſt. l. 29.*

Theſe news were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embaſſadors were ſent from the *Romans* and their Confederates, King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians* and *Athenians*, to treat with the *Achæans*, making promiſe, that they ſhould have *Corinth* reſtored unto them, if they would forſake the *Macedonian*. A Parliament of the *Achæans* was held at *Sycion*, to deliberate and reſolve in this weighty caſe. Therein the *Romans* and their adherents deſired the *Achæans* to joyn with them in making War upon *Philip*. Contrariwiſe, the Embaſſadors of *Philip*, whom he had alſo ſent for this buſineſs, admoniſhing the *Achæans* of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due unto him; requeſted them, that they would be contented to remain as Neuters. This moderate requeſt of *Philips* Embaſſadors did no way advance their Maſters cauſe. Rather it gave the *Achæans* to underſtand, That he, who could be ſatisfied with ſo little at their hands, knew himſelf unable to gratifie them in any reciprocal demand. Yet were there many in that great Councel, who remembring the benefits of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earneſtly for the preſervation of the ancient League. But in fine, the ſenſe of late injuries, and expectation of like or worſe from him in the future; prevailed againſt the memory of thoſe old good turns, which he (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly ſold unto them, and partly had uſed as baits, whereby to allure them into abſolute ſubjection. Neither was it perhaps of the leaſt importance; That the *Romans* were ſtrong, and likely to prevail in the end. So after much altercation, the Decree paſſed, That they ſhould thence-forward renounce, the *Macedonian*, and take part with his enemies in this War. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* they forthwith entred into ſociety; with the *Romans* (becauſe no League would be of force, until the Senate and people had approved it) they forbore to decree any ſociety at the preſent, until the return of thoſe Embaſſadors from *Rome*, which they determined to ſend thither of purpoſe. The *Megalopolitans*, *Dymeans*, and *Argives*, having done their beſt for the *Macedonean*, as by many reſpects they were bound, roſe up out of the Councel, and departed before the paſſing of the Decree; which they could not reſiſt, nor yet with honeſty thereto give aſſent. For this their good will, and greater, which they ſhortly manifeſted, the *Argives* had ſo little thank, that all the reſt of the *Achæans* may be the better held excuſed, for eſcaping how they might, out of the hands of ſo fell a Prince.

Soon after this, upon a ſolemn day at *Argos*, the affection of the Citizens diſcovered it ſelf ſo plainly, in the behalf of *Philip*, that they which were his Partiſans within the Town, made no doubt of putting the City into his hands, if they might have any ſmall aſſiſtance. *Philocles* a Lieutenant of the Kings, lay then in *Corinth*, which he had manfully defended againſt the *Romans* and *Attalus*. Him the Conſpirators drew to *Argos*; whither coming on a ſudden, and finding the multitude ready to joyn with him, he eaſily compelled the *Achæan* Garriſon to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Corinth*, and ſome other Towns, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation, ſo they gave him hope to obtain

ſome

some good end by Treaty, whilest as yet with his honour he might seek it: and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Consul would shortly be chosen; who should take the work out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the sooner. *Titus* had the like respect unto himself; and therefore thought it best, since more could not be done, to pre-dispose things unto a Conclusion, for his own reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-shore, in the *Bay* then called the *Malian*, or *Lamian Bay*, now (as is supposed) the *Gulf of Ziton*; in the *Ægean Sea*, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus* with *Animander* the *Athamanian*; an Embassador of *Attalus*; the Admiral *Rhodes*; and some Agents for the *Ætolians* and *Achæans*. *Philip* had with him some few of his own Captains, and *Cycliadas*, lately banished for his sake out of *Achaia*. He refused to come on shore: though fearing (as he said none but *the immortal Gods*: yet misdoubting some treachery in the *Ætolians*. The demands of *Titus* in behalf of the *Romans*, were, That he should set all Cities of *Greece* at liberty; deliver up to the *Romans* and their Confederates, all prisoners which he had of theirs, and Renegadoes; likewise whatsoever he held of theirs in *Illyria*: and whatsoever about *Greece* or *Asia* he had gotten from *Ptolomy* then King of *Egypt*, after his fathers death. *Attalus* demanded restitution to be made, entire of Ships, Towns, and Temples by him taken and spoiled in the late War between them. The *Rhodians* would have again the Country of *Perea*, lying over against their Island; as also that he should withdraw his garrisons out of divers Towns about the *Hellespont*, and other Havens of their friends. The *Achæans* desired restitution of *Argos* and *Corinth*: about the one of which they might, not unjustly, quarrel with him; the other had been long his own by their consent. The *Ætolians* took upon them angerly, as Patrons of *Greece*: willing him to depart out of it, even out of the whole Country, leaving it free; and withal to deliver up unto them, whatsoever he held that had at any time been theirs. Neither were they herewithal content: but insolently declaimed against him, for that which he had lately done in *Thessaly*; corrupting (as they said) the rewards of the Victors, by destroying, when he was vanquished, those Towns, which else they might have gotten. To answer these malapart *Ætolians*, *Philip* commanded his Gally to be rowed nearer the shore. But they began to plie him afresh: telling him that he must obey his betters, unless he were able to defend himself by force of Arms. He answered them (as he was much given to gybing) with sundry scoffs; and especially with one, which made the *Roman* Consul understand what manner of companions these *Ætolians* were. For he said, That he had often dealt with them; as likewise the best of the *Greeks*; desiring them to abrogate a wicked law, which permitted them *to take spoil from spoil*: yet could he get no better an answer, than that *they would sooner take* Ætolia *out of* Ætolia. *Titus* wondred what might be the meaning of this strange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable custome, as often as War happened between their friends, to hold up the quarrel, by sending Voluntaries to serve on both sides, that should spoil both the one and the other. As for the liberty of *Greece*, he said it was strange, that the *Ætolians* should be so careful thereof, since divers Tribes of their own, which he there named, were indeed no *Græcians*: wherefore he would fain know, whether the *Romans* would give him leave to make slaves of those *Ætolians*, which were no *Greeks*. *Titus* hereat smiled, and was no whit offended, to hear the *Ætolians* well ratled up; touching whom he began to understand, how odious they were in all the Country. As for that general demand of setting all *Greece* at liberty, *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well beseem that greatness of the *Romans*; though he would also consider, what might beseem his own dignity. But that the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other petty Estates, should thus presume, under countenance of the *Romans*, to take upon them, as if by their great might he should be thereunto compelled: it was, he said, a strange and ridiculous insolence. The *Achæans* he charged with much ingratude; reciting against them some Decrees of their own; wherein they had loaden both *Antigonus* and him, with more than humane honours. Nevertheless, he said, that he would render *Argos* unto them: but as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberate with *Titus* himself. Thus he addressed himself wholly to the *Roman* General; unto whom if he could give satisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, his late War (he said) was only defensive; they having been the offerers: or if he gave them any occasion, it was only in helping *Prusias*, his son-in-law; neither did he see why they should rather seek amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, that spoiling a Temple of *Venus*, he had cut down the Grove, and pleasant walks

Excerp. è Polyb. l. 17.

thereabouts: what could he do more, than ſend Gardners thither with young plants; if one King of another would ſtand to aſk ſuch recompence? Thus he jeſted the matter out: but offered nevertheleſs, in honour of the *Romans*, to give back the Region of *Peræa* to the *Rhodians*; as likewiſe to *Attalus*, the Ships and Priſoners of his, whereof he had then poſſeſſion. Thus ended that dayes conference, becauſe it was late: *Philip* requiring a nights leiſure to think upon the Articles, which were many, and he ill provided of Counſel, wherewith to adviſe about them. *For your being ſo ill provided of Counſel* (ſaid *Titus*) *you may even thank your ſelf; as having murdered all your friends, that were wont to adviſe you faithfully.* The next day *Philip* came not, until it was late at night; excuſing his long ſtay by the weightineſs of the things propounded, whereon he could not ſuddenly tell how to reſolve. But it was believed, that he thereby ſought to abridge the *Ætolians* of leiſure to rail at him. And this was the more likely, for that he deſired conference in private with the *Roman* General. The ſum of his diſcourſe, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That he would give the *Achæans* both *Argos* and *Corinth*; as alſo that he would render unto *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* what he had promiſed the day before; likewiſe to the *Ætolians*, that he would grant ſome part of their demands; and to the *Romans*, whatſoever they did challenge. This when *Titus* his aſſociates heard, they exclaimed againſt it, ſaying, That if the King were ſuffered to retain any thing in *Greece*, he would ſhortly get poſſeſſion of all which he now rendred up. The noiſe that they made came to *Philips* ear: who thereupon deſired a third day of meeting; and proteſted, that if he could not perſwade them, he would ſuffer himſelf to be perſwaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning: at what time the King intreated them all, that they would with ſincere affection hearken unto good offers of peace; and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of thoſe Conditions which he had already tendred; or otherwiſe, that they would make truce with him for the preſent, and let him ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, where he would referr himſelf to the courteſie of the Senate.

This was even as *Quintius* would have it: who ſtood in doubt, leſt a new Conſul might happen to defraud him of the honour, which he expected by ending of the War. So he eaſily prevailed with the reſt to aſſent hereunto: foraſmuch as it was Winter, a time unfit for ſervice in the War; and ſince, without authority of the Senate, he ſhould be unable to proceed reſolvedly either in War or Peace. Further, he willed them to end their ſeveral Embaſſadors to *Rome*, which intimating unto the Senate what each of them required, ſhould eaſily hinder *Philip* from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the reſt, he perſwaded King *Aminander* to make a journey to *Rome* in perſon: knowing well, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of ſo many Embaſſadors, would ſerve to make his own actions more glorious in the City. All this tended to procure that his own command of the Army in *Greece* might be prorogued. And to the ſame end had he dealt with ſome of the Tribunes of the people at *Rome*: who had already (though as yet he knew not ſo much) obtained it for him, partly by their authority, partly by good reaſons which they alledged unto the Senate.

The Embaſſadors of the *Greeks*, when they had audience at *Rome*, ſpake bitterly againſt the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more deſirous of Victory, than of ſatisfaction. They mangified the honourable purpoſe of the *Romans*, in undertaking to ſet *Greece* at liberty. But this (they ſaid) could never be effected: unleſs eſpecial care were taken, that the King ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. In this point they were ſo vehement, producing a Map of the Country, and making demonſtration how thoſe places held all the reſt in ſervility; that the Senate agreed to have it even ſo as they deſired. When therefore the Embaſſadors of *Philip* were brought in, and began to have made a long Oration; they were briefly cut off in the middeſt of their Preface, with this one demand: *Whether their Maſter would yeild up Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias.* Hereto they made anſwer, That concerning thoſe places, the King had given them no direction or commiſſion what to ſay or do. This was enough. The Senate would no longers hearken to *Philips* deſire of peace: wherein they ſaid he did no better than triſle. Yet might his Embaſſadors have truly ſaid, That neither the *Ætolians*, *Achæans*, nor any of their fellows, had in the late Treaty required by name, that *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* ſhould be yielded up. For which of them indeed could make any claim to either of theſe Towns? As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Achæans* had ſome right; (though their right were no better, than that, having ſtoln it from one *Macedonian* King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away

away by bargain unto another) *Philip* had already condescended to give it back unto them, And this perhaps would have been alledged, even against the *Greeks*, in excuse of the King, by some of *T. Quintius* his friends; that so he might have had honour to conclude the War, if a successor had been decreed unto him. But since he was appointed to continue General: neither his friends at *Rome*, nor he himself, after the return of the Embassadours into *Greece*, cared to give ear unto any talk of peace.

Philip seeing that his *Achæans* had forsaken him, and joyned with their common enemies; thought even to deal with them in the like manner, by reconciling himself unto *Nabis*, whom they hated most. There were not many years past, since the *Lacedæmonians* under *Cleomenes*, with little other help then their own strength, had been almost strong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Achæans* together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force consisted, in a manner, wholly in his Mercenaries: for he was a Tyrant, though stiling himself King. Yet he sorely vexed the *Achæans*: and therefore seemed to *Philip* one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be won. To this purpose it was thought meet, that the Town of *Argos*, which could not otherwise be easily defended, should be consigned over into his hands; in hope, that such a benefit would serve to tie him fast unto the *Macedonian*. *Philocles* the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deal with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Masters purpose to make a streight alliance with the *Lacedæmonian*, by giving some daughters of his own in marriage unto *Nabis* his sons. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made some scruple in accepting the Town of *Argos*; unless by decree of the Citizens themselves he might be called into it. Hereabout *Philocles* dealt with the *Argives*: but found them so averse, that, in open assembly of the people, they detested the very name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought he had thereby a good occasion to rob and fleece them. So he willed *Philocles*, without more a do, to make over the Town which he was ready to recieve. *Philocles* accordingly did let him with his Amy into it by night; and gave him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Argives*: who for very love had forsaken the *Achæans*, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himself master of all the gates. A few of the principal men, understanding how things went, fled out of the City at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chief Citizens that stayed behind, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver. Also a great imposition of money was laid upon all those that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more a do. But if any stood long upon the matter: or played the theeves in purloyning their own goods: they were put to the whip, and besides loss of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular laws: namely, such as might serve to make him gracious with the rascal multitude: abrogating all debts, and dividing the lands of the rich among the poor. By such art of oppressing the great ones, it hath been an old custom of Tyrants, to assure themselves of the Vulgar for a time.

As soon as *Nabis* had gotten *Argos*, He sent the news to *T. Quintius* and others to joyn with him against *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: so as he took the pains to cross over the Streights into *Peloponnesus*, there to meet with *Nabis*. They had soon agreed (though King *Attalus* who was present with the Consul, made some cavil touching *Argos*) and the Tyrant lent unto the *Roman*, six hundred of his Mercenaries of *Crete*: as also he agreed with the *Achæans*, upon a Truce for four moneths, reserving the final conclusion of peace between them until the War of *Philip* should be ended; which after this continued not long.

§. XIV.

The battel at Cynoscephalæ, wherein Philip *was vanquished by* T. Quintius.

Titus Quintius, as soon as he understood that he was appointed to have command of the Army, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleasure of the Senate; made all things ready for diligent pursuit of the War. The like did *Philip*: who having failed in his negotiation of peace, and no less failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that War, meant afterwards wholly to rely upon himself.

Titus had in his Army about six and twenty thousand: and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others strength, or what his Enemy intended to do. Only *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in *Thessaly*, *Plut. in vit. T. Q. Flam.*

Theſſaly, and thereupon addreſſed himſelf to ſeek him out. They had like to have met unawares, neer unto the City of *Pheræ*: where the vant-currers on both ſides diſcovered each other; and ſent word thereof unto their ſeveral Captains. But neither of them were over-haſty to commit all to hazard upon ſo ſhort warning. The day following each of them ſent out three hundred Horſe, with as many light-armed Foot, to make a better diſcovery. Theſe met, and fought a long while: returning finally back into their ſeveral Camps, with little advantage unto either ſide. The Country about *Pheræ* was thick ſet with trees: and otherwiſe full of gardens and mud-walls; which made it unproper for the ſervice of the *Macedonian Phalanx*. Wherefore the King diſlodged, intending to remove back into *Scotuſa*, in the Frontier of *Macedon*; where he might be plentifully ſerved with all neceſſaries. *Titus* conceived aright his meaning: and therefore purpoſed alſo to march thitherwards; were it only to waſte the Country. There lay between them a great ledge of hills, which hindered the one from knowing what courſe the other took. Nevertheleſs they encamped not far aſunder, both the firſt and the ſecond night; though neither of them underſtood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempeſtuous; and forced each of them to take up his lodging where he found it by chance. Then ſent they forth diſcoverers again, in greater number than before. Theſe meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at firſt the *Macedonians* had the worſe. But *Philip* anon ſent in ſuch ſtrong ſupply; that if the reſiſtance of the *Ætolians* had not been deſperate, the *Romans* their fellows had been driven back into their Camp. Yet all reſiſtance notwithſtanding, the *Macedonians* prevailed: ſo that *Titus* himſelf was fain to bring forth his Legions, that were not a little diſcouraged, by the defeat of all their Horſe, to animate thoſe which were in flight.

It was altogether beſides the Kings purpoſe to put the fortune of a battel in truſt that day, with ſo much of his Eſtate as might thereon depend. But the news came to him thick and tumultuouſly, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his own, if he could uſe an occaſion, the like whereof he ſhould not often find. This cauſed him to alter his purpoſe: inſomuch as he embattelled his men; and climed up thoſe hills, which, for that the knops thereon had ſome reſemblance unto Dogs heads, were called, by a word ſignifying as much, *Cynoſcephalæ*. As ſoon as he was on the hill-top; it did him good to ſee that they of his own light armature were buſie in fight, almoſt at the very Camp of the Enemies; whom they had repelled ſo far. He had alſo liberty to chooſe his ground, as might ſerve beſt his advantage; foraſmuch as the *Romans* were quite driven from all parts of the Hill. But of this commodity he could make no great uſe: the roughneſs of the place among thoſe *Dogs heads*, as they were called, ſerving nothing aptly for his *Phalanx*. Nevertheleſs he found convenient room, wherein to marſhall the one part of his Army: and gave order unto his Captains, to follow with the reſt, embattelling them as they might. Whileſt he was doing this: He perceived that his Hoſemen and light armature began to ſhrink; as being fallen upon the *Roman* Legions, by force whereof they were driven to recoyle. He ſets forward to help them: and they no leſs haſtily draw unto him for ſuccour; having the *Romans* not far behind them.

As the Legions began to climbe the Hill; *Philip* commanded thoſe of his *Phalanx* to charge their pikes, and entertain them. Here *Titus* found an extream difficult piece of work. For this *Phalanx* being a great ſquare battel of armed pikes, like in all points to thoſe which are now uſed in our modern Wars: and being in like manner uſed, as are ours; was not to be reſiſted by the *Roman* Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it ſelf held together undiſſolved. The *Macedonians* were embattelled in very cloſe order: ſo that two of them ſtood oppoſite to one of the *Romans*; as alſo the pikes of the firſt rank had their points advanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no marvel if the *Romans* gave back: every one of them being troubled (as it were) with ten enemies at once; and not able to come nearer to the next of them, than the length of a dozen foot, or thereabout. *Titus* finding this, and not knowing how to remedy it, was greatly troubled: for that ſtill the *Phalanx* bare down all which came in the way. But in the mean while he obſerved, That they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able through the much unevenneſs of the ground, to put themſelves in order: ſo as either they kept their places on the Hill-tops; or elſe (which was worſe) upon deſire either of beholding the paſtime, or of ſeeming to be partakers in the work, ran fooliſhly along by the ſide of their fellows, which were occupied in fight.

Of

Of this their disorder he made great and present use. He caused the right wing of his battel to march up the Hill against these ill-ordered troops: his Elephants leading the way, to increase the terrour. The *Macedonians* were readier to dispute what should be done in such a case, than well advised what to do; as having no one man appointed to command that part in chief. Indeed if they should have done their best, it could not have served; since the ground whereon they stood, made their weapons unuseful. For let it be supposed, that *Philip* having six and twenty thousand in his Army (as he is said to have been equal to the Enemy in number) had four thousand Horse, four thousand Targettiers, and four thousand light-armed: so shall there remain fourteen thousand Pikes: whereof himself had embattelled the one half in a *Phalanx*; the other half in the left wing, are they whom *Quintius* is ready now to charge. The *Phalanx* having usually sixteen in File, must, when it consisted of seven thousand, have well-near four hundred and forty in rank: but four hundred would serve, to make a Front long enough; the other forty or seven and thirty Files might be cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as *Polybius* doth, to every man of them three froot of ground: this Front must have occupied twelve hundred foot, or two hundred and forty paces; that is, very near a quarter of a mile in length. Such a space of open Champian, free from incumberance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that must of necessity disjoyn this close battel of the *Phalanx*, was not every-where to be found. Here at *Cynoscephalæ Philip* had so much room, as would only suffice for the one half of his men; the rest were fain to stand still and look about them, being hindred from putting themselves in order, by the roughness of the *Dogs-heads*. But the *Romans*, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindred from coming up unto them; nor found any difficulty in mastering those Enemies, whose feet were in a manner bound by the discommodity of the place. The very first impression of the Elephants, caused them to give back; and the coming on of the Legions, to betake themselves to flight. A *Roman* Tribune or Colonel, seeing the victory on that part assured, left the prosecution of it unto others: and being followed by twenty Ensignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fall out) by some two thousand men, took in hand a notable piece of work; and mainly helpful to making of the Victory compleat. He considered that *Philip*, in pursuing the right wing of the *Romans*, was run on so far, as that himself with his fellows, in mounting the Hill to charge the left wing of the *Macedonians*, was already gotten above the Kings head. Wherefore he turned to the left hand, and making down the Hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell upon it in the Rere. The hindermost ranks of the *Phalanx*, and all of them indeed save the first five, were accustomed, when the battels came to joyning, to carry their pikes upright; and with the whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their fore-men: and so were they doing at the present. This was another great inconvenience in the *Macedonian Phalanx*. That it served neither for offence nor defence, except only in Front. For though it were so, that *Alexander*, when he was to fight with *Darius* in *Mesopotamia*, arranged his *Phalanx* in such order, that all the four sides of it were as so many Fronts looking sundry wayes, because he expected that he should be encompassed round: yet is it to be understood, that herein he altered the usual form; as also at the same time he embattelled his men in loose order, that so with ease they might turn their weapons which way need should require. Likewise it is to be considered, That *Alexanders* men being thus disposed, were fit only to keep their own ground; not being able to follow upon the enemy, unless their hindmost ranks could have marched backwards. But in this present case of *Philip*, there was no such provision for resistance. Therefore his men, being otherwise unable to help themselves, threw down their weapons and fled. The King himself had thought until now, that the fortune of the battel was every where alike, and the day his own. But hearing the noise behind him, and turning a little aside with a troop of horse, to see how all went; when he beheld his men casting down their weapons, and the *Romans* at his back on the higher ground; he presently betook himself to flight. Neither staid he afterwards in any place (except only a small while about *Tempe*, there to collect such as were dispersed in this overthrow) untill he was gotten into his own Kingdom of *Macedon*.

Excerp. è Polyb. l. 17.

There died of the *Roman* Army in this battel, about seven hundred: of the *Macedonians* about eight thousand were slain; and five thousand taken prisoners.

§. XV.

§. XV.

T. Quintius *falleth out with the Ætolians, and grants truce unto* Philip, *with conditions upon which the peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed unto the Greeks. The Romans quarrel with* Antiochus.

THe *Ætolians* wonderfully vaunted themſelves, and deſired to have it noiſed through all *Greece*, that the Victory at *Cynoſcephalæ* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the moſt of the booty by ſacking the *Macedonian* Camp, whileſt the *Romans* were buſied in the chaſe. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vain-glory, and at their ravenous condition; purpoſed to teach them better manners, by regarding them as ſlightly, as they thought highly of themſelves. He alſo well perceived, That by uſing them with any extraordinary favour, he ſhould greatly offend the reſt of his confederates in *Greece*; who deteſted the *Ætolians* much more vehemently, than ever they had done the *Macedonians*. But this diſpleaſure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battel, *Titus* made haſte unto *Lariſſa*, a City in *Theſſaly*, which he preſently took. Before his coming, *Philip* had ſent thither one of his Courtiers to burn all his letters, and paſſages whatſoever in writing, betwixt him and others: of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of ſo much adverſity, he forgot not to provide for the ſafety of his friends. Yet by thus doing, they of *Lariſſa* might well perceive, that he gave them as already loſt. Wherefore we find not that they, or any of their neighbours, did make delay of opening their gates to *Titus*. At the ſame time, the Town of *Leucas*, bordering upon *Arcanania*, was taken by the *Roman* Fleet, and very ſoon after, all the *Arcananians*, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the *Ætolians* ever true to *Philip*; gave up themſelves unto the *Romans*, hearing of the Victory at *Cynoſcephalæ*. The *Rhodians* alſo were then in hand with the conqueſt of *Pærea*, a Region of the Continent over againſt the Iſland; whereof they had demanded reſtitution in the late Treaty of Peace. They did herein more manly, than any other of the *Greeks*: foraſmuch as they awaited not the good leaſure of the *Romans*; but with an Army of their own, and ſome help which they borrowed of the *Achæans* and other their friends gave battel to *Dinocrates* the Kings Lieutenant. wherein they had the Victory, and conſequently recovered the whole Province. It angred *Philip* worſe then all this, that the *Dardanians* gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his Kingdom; waſting and ſpoiling, as if all had been abandoned to their diſcretion. This made him gather an Army in all haſte of 6000. Foot, and 500. horſe: wherewith coming upon them, he drave them, with little or no loſs of his own, and great ſlaughter of theirs, haſtily out of the Kingdom. Which done, he returned to *Theſſalonica*.

In this one enterpriſe he had ſucceſs anſwerable to his deſire: but ſeeing what bad fortune accompanied his affairs, in all other parts at the ſame time, he thought it wiſdom to yield unto neceſſity; and therefore ſent in all haſte *Limnæus* and *Demoſthenes* with *Cycliadas* the baniſhed *Achæan*, in whom he repoſed much confidence, Embaſſadours unto *Titus*. Theſe had conference a long while in private, with *Titus* and ſome of his *Roman* Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wiſe diſmiſſed. It ſeems that they had Commiſſion, to refer all unto *Titus* his own diſcretion; as *Philip* himſelf in few dayes after did. There was granted unto him a Truce for fifteen dayes: in which time, the King himſelf might come and ſpeak with the *Roman* General. In the mean ſeaſon, many ſuſpicious rumours went of *Titus*, as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the *Greeks* his Confederates. Of theſe bruits the *Ætolians* were chief authors: who being wont to regard neither friendſhip nor honeſty, where profit led them a wrong way, judged alike of all men elſe. But againſt the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had ſent letters unto his Aſſociates; willing them to have their Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the treaty ſhould be held. There when they were all aſſembled, they entred into conſultation before the Kings arrival, what ſhould be moſt expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every ſtate in particular. The poor King *Aminander* beſought them all, and eſpecially the *Romans*, that they would think upon him; and, conſidering his weakneſs which he confeſſed, make ſuch proviſion, that after the *Romans* had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreak his anger upon him who was not able to reſiſt. Then ſpake *Alexander*, one of the *Ætolians*: who commending *Titus* foraſmuch as he had thus aſſembled the Confederates to adviſe upon their own good,

good, and had willed them to deliver their minds freely: added, That in the main of the purpose, which he had in hand, he was utterly deceived: for that by making peace with *Philip*, he could neither assure the *Romans* of their quiet, nor the *Greeks* of their liberty. There was, he said, none other end to be made of the War, which could agree either with the purpose of the Senate and people of *Rome*, or with the fair promises made by *Titus* himself unto the *Greeks*, than the chasing of *Philip* quite out of his Kingdom. And to this effect he made a long discourse. But *Titus* answered, That this *Ætolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleasure of the Senate and people of *Rome*, or with the laudable customs which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to seek the utter destruction of any King or Nation, at such time as they first made War with them, until by some rebellion they found it a matter of necessity, to take such a rigorous course. And hereof he alledged the *Carthaginians* as a notable example: adding, That victory, to generous minds, was only an inducement to moderation. As concerning the publick benefit of *Greece*, it was (he said) expedient, that the Kingdom of *Macedon* should be greatly weakned and brought low; not that it should be utterly destroyed: forasmuch as it served as a bar to the *Thracians*, *Gaules*, and a multitude of other salvage Nations, which would soon over-flow the whole continent of *Greece*, if this Kingdom were not interposed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yield unto those demands, wherewith he had pressed him in the former Treaty; then was there no reason to deny him peace. As for the *Ætolians*: if they thought otherwise, it should be at their own pleasure, to take Counsel apart for themselves as they thought good. Then began *Phaneas*, another of the *Ætolians*, to say, that all was come to nothing: for that ere long, *Philip* would trouble all the *Greeks*, no less than he had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bade him leave his bablings; saying, That himself would take such order, as that *Philip*, were he never so desirous, should thenceforth not have it in his power to molest the *Greeks*.

The next day King *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* used friendly: and suffering him to repose himself that night, held a Councel the day following: wherein the King yielded unto all that had been required at his hands; offering yet further to stand to the good pleasure of the Senate, if they would have more added to the Conditions. *Phaneas* the *Ætolian*, insulting over him, said It was to be hoped, that he would then at length give up to the *Ætolians* a many of Towns, (which he there named) bidding him speak whether he would or no. His answer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interposing himself, said it should be otherwise. These were *Thessalian* Towns, and should be all free; one of them only excepted, which not long ago had refused to commit it self to the faith of the *Romans*, and therefore should now be given to the *Ætolians*. Hereat *Phaneas* cried out, that it was too great an injury, thus to be defrauded of the Towns that had sometimes belonged unto their Common-weal. Rather he willed *Titus* to consider, that by an ancient Covenant between him and the *Romans*, all the Towns taken ought to be their own, and the *Romans* to have nothing save the pillage and captives. It is true, that there had been such a condition in the former War: but it ceased to be of any validity, as soon as the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gave them to understand; asking them whether they thought it reasonable, that all the Towns in *Greece*, which had let in the *Romans* by composition, should be delivered into subjection of the *Ætolians*. The rest of the Confederates were very much delighted with these angry passages between the *Romans* and the *Ætolians*: neither had they great reason to fear any hard measure; since *Titus* was so earnest in the behalf of those *Thessalians*, to give them liberty, though they had stood out against him, even till very fear made them open their gates. Wherefore they opposed not themselves; but gave their consent willingly unto a Truce for four Moneths.

The chief cause that moved *Titus* to grant peace so readily to the *Macedonians*, besides that laudable custom by him before alledged, was, the fame of *Antiochus* his coming with an army from *Syria*, and drawing near toward *Europe*. He had also perhaps yet a greater motive; even the consideration that his successor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the War should happen to be protracted. And he was in the right. For when his letters, together with Embassadors from the *Macedonian*, and sundry States of *Greece*, came unto *Rome*, new Consuls were chosen: who (especially the one of them) stood very earnestly against the peace; alledging frivolous matter of their own suspition, in hope to get the honour of concluding the War. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the Embassa-

dors of *Philip*, offering to ſtand to whatſoever was demanded; and the letters of *Titus*, preſſing them to accept this offer, on the one ſide, and the importunity of the Conſul on the other; who ſaid, that all theſe goodly ſhews were fraudulent, and that the King would rebel, as ſoon as the Army was called out of *Greece*. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Aſſembly of the People; by whoſe ſoveraign authority it was concluded, that peace ſhould be granted to the King. So ten Embaſſadors were ſent from *Rome*, over into *Greece*: in which number were they that had been Conſuls before *Titus*: and it was ordained by their advice, that *Titus* ſhould go through with the buſineſs of Peace. Theſe would very fain have retained thoſe three important Cities of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*, until the eſtate of *Greece* were ſomewhat better ſetled. But finally, *Titus* prevailed ſo, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendred unto the *Achæans*; and all the other *Greek* Towns which *Philip* held, as well in *Aſia* as in *Greece*, reſtored unto liberty.

The Conditions of Peace granted unto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next * *Iſthmian Games*, He ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of all the *Greek* Towns which he held, and confine them over to the *Romans*: That he ſhould deliver up unto them all Captives that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's. Likewiſe all his Ships of War, reſerving to himſelf only five of the leſſer ſort, and one of extraordinary greatneſs, wherein ſixteen men laboured at every oar: Further, that he ſhould pay a thouſand talents, the one half in hand, the other in ten years following, by even portions. Hereto * *Livie* adds, That he was forbidden to make War out of *Macedon*, without permiſſion of the Senate. But I find not that he obſerved this Article; or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred talents he had already delivered to *Titus*, together with his younger ſon *Demetrius*, to remain as hoſtage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at ſuch time as he lately ſent his Embaſſadors to *Rome*: when it was promiſed, that the money, and his ſon, ſhould be reſtored back unto him, if the Senate were not pleaſed with the agreement. Whither this money were reckoned as part of the thouſand talents, I cannot find: and it ſeemeth otherwiſe, foraſmuch as young *Demetrius*, who, together with thoſe four hundred talents, was given for hoſtage, remained ſtill in cuſtody of the *Romans*, as a part of the bargain which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters alſo were then ſent by *Titus* unto *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*: giving him to underſtand, what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalf of the *Greeks*; and how the Senate held it reaſonable, that the *Ciani*, moſt miſerably ſpoiled and oppreſſed by *Philip*, to gratifie this *Bithynian* his ſon-in-law, ſhould be reſtored to liberty, and permitted to enjoy the ſame benefit of the *Romans*, which other of their Nation did. What effect theſe letters wrought, it was not greatly material; ſince the *Romans* were ſhortly buſied with *Antiochus*, in ſuch wiſe, that they had not leiſure to examine the conformity of *Pruſias* to their will.

* *Excerp. è Polyb. Legat. 9.*

* *Liv. l. 33.*

All *Greece* rejoyced at the good bargain which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Only the *Ætolians* found themſelves agrieved that they were utterly neglected: which was to the reſt no ſmall part of their contentment. The *Bœotians* continued to favour the *Macedonian*; and thereby occaſioned much trouble unto themſelves. There were ſome among them well-affected to the *Romans*: who, ſeeing how things were like to go, made their complaint unto *Titus*; ſaying, that they were no better than loſt, for the good will which they had born unto him; unleſs at this time, when he lay cloſe by them with his Army, their Prætor, which was head of the oppoſite Faction, might be made away. *Titus* refuſed to have a hand in the execution, yet nevertheleſs did animate them in their purpoſe. So they commited the fact, and hoped to have kept themſelves undiſcovered. But when the murder came out, and ſomewhat was confeſſed by thoſe which were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently againſt the *Romans*: in ſuch wiſe, that howſoever they durſt not take Arms againſt them, yet ſuch of them as they found ſtragling from their Camp, they murdered in all parts of the Country. This was deteſted within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon *Titus* requires of the *Bœotians*, to have the murderers delivered into his hands; and for five hundred Souldiers, which he had loſt by them, to have paid unto him five hundred talents. In ſtead of making any ſuch amends, they paid him with excuſes; which he would not take as good ſatisfaction. He ſends Embaſſadors to the *Achæans*, and *Athenians*, informing them what had hapned: and requeſted them not to take it amiſs, though he dealt with theſe their friends as they had deſerved. Herewithal he falls to waſting their Country; and beſiegeth two ſuch

ſuch Towns of theirs, as did ſeem to be moſt culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embaſſadors of the *Achæans* and *Athenians* (eſpecially of the *Achæans*, who offered, if he needed them, to help him in this War; yet beſought him rather to grant peace unto the *Bœotians*) prevailed ſo far with him, that he was pacified with 30. talents, and the puniſhments of ſuch as were known offenders.

In like ſort, though not ſo violently, were many States of *Greece* diſtracted: ſome among them rejoycing that they were free from the *Macedonian*; others greatly doubting, that the *Roman* would prove a worſe neighbour. The *Ætolian* would have been glad of any Commotion; and therefore publiſhed rumours abroad, That it was the purpoſe of the *Romans*, to keep in their own hands all thoſe places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garriſons. Little did they, or the reſt of the *Greeks*, conceive, that this *Macedonian* War ſerved as an introduction to the War to be made in *Aſia* againſt King *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to ſtay the progreſs of bad rumors, when the *Iſthmian games* were held, which in time of peace were never without great ſolemnity and concourſe; *Titus* in that great aſſembly of all *Greece*, cauſed proclamation to be made by ſound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the General, having vanquiſhed King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, did will to be at liberty, free from Impoſitions, free from Garriſons, and living at their own Laws, the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Eubœans*, *Achæans* of *Phthiotis*, *Magneſians*, *Theſſalians*, and *Perrhæbians*. The ſuddenneſs of this Proclamation aſtoniſhed men: ſo as though they applauded it with a great ſhout, yet preſently they cried out to hear it again, as if they durſt ſcarce credit their own ears. The *Greeks* were Crafts-maſters in the Art of giving thanks; which they rendred now to *T. Quintius* with ſo great affection, as that they had well-near ſmothered him, by thronging officiouſly about him.

This good will of the *Greeks*, was like to be much more available unto the *Romans* in their War againſt *Antiochus*, then could have been the poſſeſſion of a few Towns, yea, or of all thoſe Provinces which were named in the Proclamation. Upon confidence hereof, no ſooner were the *Iſthmian games* at en end, than *Titus*, with the *Romans* that were of his Councel, gave audience to *Hageſianax* and *Lyſias*, King *Antiochus* his Embaſſadors: whom they willed to ſignifie unto their Lord, That he ſhould do well to abſtain from the free Cities in *Aſia*, and not vex them with War: as alſo to reſtore whatſoever he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, *Ptolomy* or *Philip*. Moreover they willed him by theſe his Embaſſadors, that he ſhould not paſs over his Army into *Europe*; adding, That ſome of them would viſit him in perſon ere it were long, to talk with him further concerning theſe points. This done, they fell to accompliſhing their promiſes unto the *Greeks*; to the reſt they gave what they had promiſed. But the *Phocians* and *Locrians* they gave unto the *Ætolians*; whom they thought it no wiſdom to offend overmuch, being ſhortly to take a greater work in hand. The *Achæans* of *Phthiotis* they annexed unto the *Theſſalians*; all ſave the Town of *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*, the ſame which had been abandoned by *T. Quintius* to the *Ætolians* in the laſt Treaty with *Philip*. The *Ætolians* contended very earneſtly about *Pharſalus* and *Leucas*. But they were put off with a dilatory anſwer, and rejected unto the Senate: for howſoever ſomewhat the Councel might favour them, yet was it not meet that they ſhould have their wills, as it were in deſpight of *Titus*. So the *Achæans* were reſtored *Corinth*, *Triphylia*, and *Herea*. So the *Corinthians* were made free indeed, (though the *Romans* yet a while kept the *Acrocorinthus*) for that all which were partakers of the *Achæan* Common-wealth, enjoyed their liberty in as abſolute manner as they could deſire. To *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian* were given one or two places, taken by the *Romans* from *Philip*: and upon *Aminander* were beſtowed thoſe Caſtles, which he had gotten from *Philip* during this War; to reign in them, and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his *Athamanians*. The *Rhodians* had been their own Carvers. *Attalus* was dead a little before the Victory; and therefore loſt his ſhare. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Councel, would have given the Towns of *Oreum* and *Eretria*, in the Iſle of *Eubœa*, to his ſon and ſucceſſor King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that theſe as well as the reſt of the *Eubœans*, ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy their liberty. *Oreſtes*, a little Province of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, bordering on *Epirus*, and lying towards the *Ionian* Sea, yet yielded unto the *Romans* long ere this, and ſince continued true to them: for which cauſe it was alſo ſet at liberty, and made it a free eſtate by it ſelf.

Theſe buſineſſes being diſpatcht, it remained, that all care ſhould be uſed, not how to avoid the War with King *Antiochus*, but

how to accompliſh it with moſt eaſe and proſperity. Wherefore Embaſſadors were ſent, both to *Antiochus* himſelf, to pick matter of quarrel; and about unto others, to prediſpoſe them unto the aſſiſting of the *Romans* therein. What ground and matter of War againſt this King, the *Romans* now had, or ſhortly after found: as alſo how their Embaſſadors and Agents dealt and ſped abroad, I refer unto another place.

CHAP. V.

The Wars of the Romans *with* Antiochus *the Great, and his Adherents.*

§. I.

What Kings of the races of Seleucus ***and*** Ptolomy ***reigned in*** Aſia ***and*** Egypt ***before*** Antiochus ***the Great.***

SEleucus *Nicanor*, the firſt of his race, King of *Aſia* and *Syria*, died in the end of the hundred twenty and fourth *Olympiad*. He was treacherouſly ſlain by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, at an Altar called *Argos*; having (as is ſaid) been warned before by an Oracle, to beware of *Argos*, as the fatal place of his death. But I never read that any mans life hath been preſerved, or any miſchance avoided by the predictions of ſuch Divelliſh Oracles. Rather I believe, that many ſuch predictions of the Heathen gods, have been ante-dated by their Prieſts; or by others, which deviſed them after the event.

Antiochus Soter, the ſon and heir of this *Seleucus*, was dearly beloved of his father: who ſurrendred unto him his own wife *Stratonica*, when he underſtood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore *Ptolomy Ceraunus* had great cauſe to fear, that the death of *Seleucus* would not be unrevenged by this his Succeſſor. But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with fair words containing himſelf within *Aſia*; and letting *Ceraunus* enjoy that quietly, which he had purchaſed in *Europe*, with the blood of *Seleucus*. It is ſaid of this *Antiochus*, that although he married with the Queen *Stratonica* in his fathers life, yet out of modeſty he forbore to embrace her, till his father was dead. So that perhaps his inceſtuous love was partly, if not chiefly, that cauſe of his not proſecuting that revenge, whereunto Nature ſhould have urged him. Afterwards he had Wars with *Antigonus Gonatus*, and with *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*. Alſo *Lutarius* and *Leonorius* Kings or Captains of the *Gauls*, were ſet upon him by the ſame *Nicomedes*. With theſe he fought a great battel: wherein, though otherwiſe the enemies had all advantage againſt him, yet by the terror of his Elephants, which affrighted both their horſes and them, he won the Victory. He took in hand an enterpriſe againſt *Ptolomy Philadelphus*: but finding ill ſucceſs in the beginning, he ſoon gave it over. To this King *Antiochus Soter* it was, that *Beroſus* the *Chaldæan* dedicated his Hiſtory of *Aſſyria*; the ſame which hath ſince been excellently falſified by the Friar *Annius*. He left behind him one ſon, called *Antiochus Theos*; and one daughter, called *Apame*, that was married unto the King of *Cyrene*. So he died about the end of the hundred twenty and ninth *Olympiad*, or the beginning of the *Olympiad* following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth year of *the Kingdom of the Greeks*, when he had reigned ninteen years. *Genebrard. l.2. Juſt. Mart. in Paræn.*

Antiochus, ſurnamed *Theos*, or the *god*, had this vain and impious title given to him, by flattery of the *Mileſians*; whom he delivered from *Timarchus*, a Tyrant that oppreſſed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitleſs War with *Ptolomy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolomy*.

Of theſe two Kings, and of this Lady *Berenice*, S. *Hierom* and other Interpreters have underſtood that Prophecy of *Daniel*: *The Kings daughter of the South ſhall come to the King of the North to make an agreement*; and that which followeth. *Dan. 11. 15.*

Ptolomy Philadelphus was a great lover of Peace and Learning; and (ſetting apart his inceſtuous marriage with his own Siſter *Arſinoe*) a very excellent Prince: howſoever, the worthieſt of all that race. It was he that built, and furniſhed with Books, that famous Library in *Alexandria*: which to adorn,

adorn and to honour the more, he sent unto *Eleazar*, then high Priest of the *Jews*, for the Books of *Moses* and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King unto the *Jews* had formerly been very great; for he had set at liberty as many of them, as his father held in slavery throughout all *Ægypt*; and he had sent unto the * Temple of God in *Jerusalem* very rich Presents. Wherefore *Eleazar*, yielding unto the Kings desire, presented him with an *Hebrew* copy: which *Ptolomy* caused to be translated into *Greek*, by seventy two of the most grave and learned persons that could be found among all the Tribes. In this number of the 72. Interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the *Seventy*, *Jesus* the son of *Syrach*, is thought by *Genebrard* to have been one; who that he lived in this Age, it seems to me very sufficiently proved by *Jansenius*, in his Preface unto *Ecclesiasticus*. The whole passage of this business between *Philadelphus* and the high Priest, was written (as (a) *Josephus* affirms) by *Aristæus* that was employed therein. Forty years *Ptolomy Philadelphus* was King; reckoning the time wherein he joyntly reigned with his father. He was exceedingly beloved of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his end he grew more voluptuous, than he had been in his former years: in which time he boasted, that he alone had found out the way how to live for ever. If this had been referred unto his honourable deeds, it might have stood with reason: otherwise the Gout, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his own errour. He was the first of the Kings derived from *Alexanders* Successors, that entred into League with the *Romans*: as also his off-spring was the last among those Royal Families, which by them was rooted up.

* *Aug. de civit. Dei. l.18. c.42.*

(a) *Jos. ant. l.12. cap.2.* Concerning that Book which goes under the name of *Aristæus*; many learned men, and among the rest, *Lodovicus Vives*, hold suspicion that it is counterfeit, and the invention of some late Author. Surely if it were to be suspected in the time of *Vives*; it may be now much more justly suspected: since a new Edition of it is come forth, *purged from faults*, (as the Papists term those Books, wherein they have changed what they please) and set forth by *Middendorpius* at *Colen*, An. Dom. 1578.

Antiochus Theos had another wife called *Laodice*, at such time as he married with *Berenice* the daughter of this *Ptolomy*. After his second marriage, he used his first wife with no better regard, then if she had been his Concubine. *Laodice* hated him for this: yet adventured not to seek revenge, until her own son *Seleucus Callinicus* was of ability to be King. This was two or three years after the death of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*: at what time she poysoned her husband *Theos*; and, by permission of *Seleucus* her son, murdered *Berenice*, together with a son that she had born to *Antiochus*. *Justine* reports, that *Berenice* saved her self, together with the young Prince her child, a while in the Sanctuary at *Daphne*: and that not only some Cities of *Asia* prepared to succour her, but her brother *Ptolomy Euergetes* King of *Ægypt*, came to rescue her with an Army; though too late, for she was slain before. *Just. l.27.*

With such cruelties *Seleucus Callinicus*, succeding unto his Father, that had fifteen years been King, began his reign. His subjects were highly offended at his wicked nature; which they discovered in his first entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Estate would have been much endangered, if *Ptolomy Euergetes*, who came against him, had not been drawn back into his own Countrey, by some Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would bear armes against *Ptolomy*, in defence of their own King: but rather they sided with the *Ægyptian*; who took *Laodice* the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as she had well deserved. Wherefore *Seleucus*, being freed from this invasion, by occasion of those domestical troubles which recalled *Euergetes* home into *Ægypt*; went about a dangerous piece of work, even to make War upon his own subjects, because of their bad affection towards him; when it had been much better, by well deserving to have changed their hatred into love. A great Fleet he prepared: in furnishing and maning whereof he was at such charges, that he scarce left himself any other hope, if that should miscarry. Herein he embarqued himself, and putting to Sea, did meet with such a tempest, as devoured all save himself, and a very few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamity, having left him nothing else in a manner than his naked body, turned nevertheless to his great good; as anon after it seemed. For when his subjects understood in what sort the gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his Estate; and, presuming that he would thenceforth become a new man, offered unto him their service with great alacrity. This revived him, and filled him such a spirit; as thinking himself well enough able to deal with the *Ægyptian*, he made ready a mighty Army for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at Land, that it had been at Sea. He was vanquished by *Ptolomy* in a great battel: whence he escaped hardly; no better attended, than after his late Shipwrack. Hasting therefore back to *Antioch*, and fearing that the enemy would soon be at his heels;

heels; He wrote unto his brother *Antiochus Hierax* who lay then in *Asia*, praying him to bring succour with all speed; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of *Asia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteen years old, but extreamly ambitious; and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himself great. He levied a mighty Army of the *Gaules*; wherewith he set forward to help his brother, or rather to get what he could for himself. Hereof *Ptolomy* being advertised: and having no desire to put himself in danger more then he needed; took Truce with *Seleucus* for ten years. No sooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the *Ægyptian* War, but his brother *Antiochus* came upon him, and needs would fight with him, as knowing himself to have the better Army. So *Seleucus* was vanquished again; and saved himself with so few about him, that he was verily supposed to have perished in the battel. Thus did Gods Justice take revenge of those murders by which the Crown was purchased; and setled (as might have been thought) on the head of this bloody King. *Antiochus* was very glad to hear of his brothers death, as if thereby he had purchased his hearts desire. But the *Gaules*, his Mercenaries, were gladder then he, For when he led them against *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, being in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his Reign: these perfidious Barbarians took counsel against him, and devised how to strip him of all that he had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the Royal house to make head against them; it would be in their power, to do what should be best pleasing to themselves, in the lower *Asia*. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus*; and enforced him to ransome himself with money, as if he had been their lawful Prisoner. Neither were they so contented: but made him enter into such Composition with them, as tended but little to his honour. In the mean while *Seleucus* had gathered a new Army: and prepared once more to try his fortune against his brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the season fit for himself, to make his profit of their discord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and was beaten: which is no great marvail, since he had great reason to stand in no less fear of the *Gaules*, his own Souldiers, than of the enemy with whom he had to deal. After this, *Eumenes* won much in *Asia*; whilest *Antiochus* went against his brother. In the second battel, fought between the brethren, *Seleucus* had the upper hand: and *Antiochus Hierax* (or *the Hawk*) which surname was given him, because he sought his prey upon every one, without care whether he were provoked or not) soared away as far as he could, both from his brother, and from his own *Gaules*. Having fetcht a great compass through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, He fell at length in *Cappadocia*; where his father-in-law King *Artamenes* took him up. He was entertained very lovingly in outward shew; but with a meaning to betray him. This he soon perceived: and therefore betook him to his wings again; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length he resolved to bestow himself upon *Ptolomy*; his own conscience telling him, what evil he had meant unto *Seleucus* his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelity can find no sure harbour. *Ptolomy* well understood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore he laid him up in close prison: whence though by means of an harlot, he got out; yet flying from his keepers, he fell into the hands of thieves, by whom he was murthered. Near about the same time died *Seleucus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled against him, during his Wars with his brother. He therefore made a journey against *Arsaces* founder of the *Parthian* Kingdom: wherein his evil fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered so closely to him, that he was taken prisoner. *Arsaces* dealt friendly with him, and dismissed him, having every way given him royal entertainment: but in returning home, he brake his neck by a fall from his horse, and so ended his unhappy reign of twenty years. He had to wife *Laodice* the sister of *Andromachus*, one of his most trusty Captains: which was father unto that *Achæus*, who making his advantage of this affinity, became shortly after (as he stiled himself) a King; though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By *Laodice* he had two sons; *Seleucus* the third, surnamed *Ceraunus*; and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards *the Great*.

Seleucus Ceraunus reigned only three years: in which time he made War upon *Attalus* the first, that was King of *Pergamus*. Being weak of body through sickness, and in want of money, he could not keep his men of War in good order: and finally he was slain by treason of *Nicanor* and *Apaturius* a *Gaule*. His death was revenged by *Achæus*, who slew the Traitors, and took charge of the Army: which he ruled very wisely, and faithfully a while; *Antiochus* the brother of *Seleucus* being a Child.

§. II.

§. II.

The beginning of the Great Antiochus *his reign. Of* Ptolomy Euergetes, *and* Philopater, *Kings of Ægypt. War between* Antiochus *and* Philopater. *The rebellion of* Molo: *an expedition of* Antiochus *against him. The recontinuance of* Antiochus *his Ægyptian War: with the passages between the two Kings: the Victory of* Ptolomy, *and peace concluded. Of* Achæus, *and his rebellion; his greatness, and his fall.* Antiochus *his expedition against the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians. Somewhat of the Kings reigning in India, after the death of the Great* Alexander.

ANtiochus was scarcely fifteen years old, when he began his reign, which lasted six and thirty years. In his minority he was wholly governed by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man, and one which maligned all vertue, that he found in any of the Kings faithful servants. This vile quality in a Counsellor of such great place, how harmful it was unto his Lord, and finally unto himself; the success of things will shortly discover.

Soon after the beginning of *Antiochus* his reign, *Ptolomy Euergetes* King of *Ægypt* died, and left his heir *Ptolomy Philopater*, a young Boy likewise, as hath elsewhere been remembred. This was that *Euergetes*, who relieved *Aratus* and the *Achæans*: who afterwards took part with *Cleomenes*: and lovingly entertained him, when he was chased out of *Greece* by *Antigonus Gonatus*. He annexed unto his Dominion the Kingdom of *Cyrene* by taking to wife *Bernice*, the daughter of King *Magas*. He was the third of the *Ptolomies*; and the last good King of that race. The name of *Euergetes*, or *the doer of good*, was given to him by the *Ægyptians*; not so much for the great spoils which he brought home, after his victories in *Syria*; as for that he recovered some of those Images or Idols, which *Cambyses*, when he conquered *Ægypt*, had carried into *Persia*. He was ready to have made War upon the *Jews*, for that *Onias* their high Priest, out of meer covetousness of money, refused to pay unto him his yearly tribute of 20. talents: but he was pacified by the wisdom of *Josephus* a *Jew*, to whom afterwards he let in farm the Tributes and customs that belonged unto him in those parts of *Syria* which he held. For *Cœlosyria*, with *Palæstina*, and all those parts of the Country that lay nearest unto *Egypt*, were held by the *Egyptian*; either as having fallen to the share of *Ptolomy* the first, at such time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquished and slain in the battel at *Ipsus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troublesome and unhappy reign of *Seleucus Callinicus*. The victories of this *Euergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages between the *Ptolomies* and the *Seleucidæ*; were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecy before cited, which is expounded by *S. Hierome*. Thus *Ptolomy Euergetes* reigned six and twenty years; and died towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth Olympiad. It may seem by that which we find in the Prologue unto *Jesus* the son of *Syrach* his book, that he should have reigned a much longer time. For *Siracides* there saith that he came into *Egypt* in the eight and thirtieth year, when *Euergetes* was King. It may therefore be, That either this King reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirty years were the years of *Jesus* his own age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Jews* did otherwhiles reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*, *Hermias* the Counsellor, and in a manner the Protector of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord unto War against the *Egyptians*; for the recovery of *Cœlosyria* and the Countries adjoyning. This Counsel was very unseasonably given, when *Molo*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Media*, was broken out in rebellion, and sought to make himself absolute Lord of that rich Country. Nevertheless *Hermias*, being more froward than wise, maintained stiffely, that it was most expedient and agreeable with the Kings honour, to send forth against a rebellious Captain, other Captains that were faithful; whilest he in person made War upon one that was like himself, a King. No man durst gain-say the resolution of *Hermias*; who therefore sent *Xenœtas* an *Achæan*, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the Rebel; whilest in the mean season an Army was preparing for the Kings expedition into *Cœlosyria*. The King having marched from *Apamea* to *Laodicea*, and so over the Desarts into the Valley of *Massias*, between the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Anti-libanus*, found his way there stopped by *Theodotus* an *Ætolian*, that served under *Ptolomy*. So he consumed the time there a while to none effect: and then came news, that *Xenœtas*, his Captain, was destroyed with his whole Army; and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Countrey, as far as unto *Babylon*.

Xenœtus, whilest he was yet on his journey, and

and drew near to the River of *Tygris*, received many advertisements, by such as fled over unto him from the Enemy, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the most part, against their wills drawn by their Commander to bear arms against their King. This report was not altogether false; but *Molo* himself stood in some doubt lest his followers would leave him in time of necessity. *Xenætas* therefore making shew, as if he had prepared to pass the River by Boats in face of his enemy; lest in the night time such as he thought meet to defend his Camp: and with all the flower of his Army went over *Tygris*, in a place ten miles lower than *Molo* his Camp. *Molo* heard of this, and sent forth his horse to give impediment: but hearing that *Xenætas* could not so be stopped, He himself dislodged, and took his journey towards *Media*; leaving all his baggage behind him in his Camp. Whether he did this, as distrusting the faith of his own Souldiers; or whether thereby to deceive his Enemy: the great folly of *Xenætas* made his stratagem prosperous. For *Xenætas*, having born himself proudly before, upon the countenance of *Hermias*, by whom he was advanced unto this charge; did now presume that all should give way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of using the sword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast with the provisions which they found ready in the forsaken Camp: or rather he commanded them so to do, by making Proclamation, That they should cherish up themselves against the journey, which he intended to take the next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himself, in transporting the remainder of his Army, which he had left on the other side of *Tygris*. But *Molo* went no further that day, than he could easily return the same night. Wherefore understanding what good rule the Kings men kept: he made such haste back unto them, that he came upon them early in the morning; whilest they were yet heavy with the Wine and other good cheer that they had spent at supper. So *Xenætas* and a very few with him, died fighting in defence of the Camp: the rest were slaughtered without making resistance; and many of them ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Camp on the other side of *Tygris*, was easily taken by *Molo*: the Captains flying thence, to save their own lives. In the heat of this Victory, the Rebel marched unto *Seleucia*, which he presently took: and, mastering within a little while the Province of *Babylonia*, and all the Countrey down to the red Sea, or Bay of *Persia*, He hasted unto *Susa*; where at his first coming, he won the City: but failing to take the Castle that was exceeding strong, returned back to *Seleucia*, there to give order concerning this business.

The report of these things coming to *Antiochus*, whilest he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of *Mapsyas*; filled him with great sorrow, and his Camp with trouble. He took Counsel what to do in this needfull case: and was well advised by *Epigenes*, the best man of War he had about him, to let alone this enterprise of *Cœlosyria*; and bend his forces thither, where more need required them. This Counsel was put in execution with all convenient haste. Yet was *Epigenes* dismissed by the way, and soon after slain, by the practice of *Hermias*: who could not endure to hear good Counsel given, contrary to his own good liking and allowance. In the journey against *Molo*, the name and presence of the King was more available, than any odds which he had of the Rebel in strength. *Molo* distrusted his own followers: and thought, that neither his late good success, nor any other consideration, would serve to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience, if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it safest for him to assail the Kings Camp in the night time. But going in hand with this, He was discovered by some that fled over from him to the King. This caused him to return back to his Camp: which by some error, took alarm at his return: and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in sight. The King was thus forward in giving battel to *Molo*, upon confidence which he had that many would revolt unto him. Neither was he deceived in this his belief. For not a few men or Ensigns: but all the left wing of the enemy which was opposite unto the King, changed side forthwith as soon as ever they had sight of the Kings person; and were ready to do him service against *Molo*. This was enough to have won the Victory: but *Molo* shortned the work, by killing himself; as did also divers of his friends, who for fear of torments, prevented the Hang-man with their own swords.

After this Victory, came joyful news, that the Queen *Laodice* daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was married unto *Antiochus* a while before, had brought forth a son. Fortune seemed bountiful unto the King: and therefore he purposed to make what use he could of her friendly disposition while it lasted. But now in the Eastern parts of his Kingdom, He judged it convenient to visit his frontiers, were it only

only to terrifie the *Barbarians*, that bordered upon him. Hereunto his Counsellor *Hermias* gave assent: not so much respecting the Kings honour, as considering what good might thereby happen to himself. For if it should come to pass, that the King were taken out of the World by any casuality: then made he no doubt of becoming Protector to the young Prince; and thereby of lengthening his own Goverment. *Antiochus* therefore went against *Artabanes*, who reigned among the *Atropatians*; having the greatest part of his Kingdom situate between the *Caspian* and *Euxine* Sea. This barbarous King was very old and fearful; and therefore yielded unto whatsoever conditions it pleased *Antiochus* to lay upon him. So in this journey *Antiochus* got honour, such as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Upon the way, a Physition of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*; informing him truly how odious he was to the people; and how dangerous he would be shortly unto the Kings own life. *Antiochus* believed this, as having long suspected the same *Hermias*; but not daring for fear of him to utter his suspitions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the sudden: which was done, he being trained forth by a sleight, a good way out of the Camp, and there killed without warning or disputation. The King needed not to have used so much art in ridding his hands of a man so much detested. For howsoever he seemed gracious whilest he was alive: yet they that for fear had been most obsequious to him, whilest he was in case to do them hurt, was as ready as the foremost, to speak of him as he had deserved, when once they were secure of him: yea, his wife and children, laying then at *Apamea*, were stoned to death by the wives and children of the Citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outragiously, the longer that it had been concealed.

About these times, *Achæus* (of whom we spake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to perish in some of these expeditions which he took in hand; was bold to set a Diadem upon his own head, and take upon him as a King. His purpose was to have invaded *Syria*: but the fame of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterprise; and study to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange that *Antiochus* neither went against *Achæus*; nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken of these his traiterous purposes: but wrote unto him, signifying that he knew all, and upbraiding him with such infidelity, as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By these means he emboldned the Traitor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintain his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them or get pardon by submission. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement desire to recover *Cœlosyria*, or what else he could, of the Dominions of *Ptolomy Philopater* in those parts. He began with *Seleucia*, a very strong City near to the mouth of the River *Orontes*; which ere long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with bribes the Captain that lay therein. This was that *Seleucia*, whereto *Antigonus the Great*, who founded it, gave the name of *Antigonia*: but *Seleucus* getting it shortly after, called it *Seleucia*; and *Ptolomy Euergetes* having lately won it, might if it had so pleased him, have changed the name into *Ptolomais*. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchase an endless memorial unto their names, by works proceeding rather from their greatness, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their own, than the same greatness hath continuance. *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, he that before had opposed himself to *Antiochus*, and defended *Cœlosyria* in the behalf of *Ptolomy*; was now grown sorry, that he had used so much faith and diligence, in service of an unthankful and luxurious Prince. Wherefore as a Mercenary, he began to have regard to his own profit: which thinking to find greater, by applying himself unto him that was (questionless) the more worthy of these two Kings; he offered to deliver up unto *Antiochus*, the Cities of *Tyrus* and *Ptolomais*. Whilst he was devising about this Treason, and had already sent messengers to King *Antiochus*: his practice was detected, and he besieged in *Ptolomais* by one of *Ptolomies* Captains, that was more faithful than himself. But *Antiochus* hasting to his rescue, vanquished this Captain who met him on the way: and afterwards got possession, not only of *Tyrus* and *Ptolomais*, with a good Fleet of the *Egyptian* Kings that was in those Havens: but of so many other Towns in that Country, as emboldned him to think upon making a journey into *Egypt* it self. *Agathocles* and *Sosibius* bore all the sway in *Egypt* at that time: *Ptolomy* himself being loath to have his pleasures interrupted, with business of so small importance, as the safety of his Kingdom. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make provision as hastily, and yet as secretly as might be for the War: and nevertheless at the same time, to press *Antiochus* with daily Embassadours

to ſome good agreement. There came in the heat of this buſineſs, Embaſſadours from *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Cyzicus*, as likewiſe from the *Ætolians*; according to the uſual courteſie of the *Greeks*, deſiring to take up the quarrel.

Theſe were all entertained in *Memphis*, by *Agathocles* and *Soſibius*: who intreated them to deal effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilſt this treaty laſted, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the War: wherein theſe two Counſellors perſwaded themſelves reaſonably, that the victory would be their own; if they could get, for money, a ſufficient number of the *Greeks* to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard only what was done at *Memphis*, and how deſirous the Governours of *Ægypt* were to be at quiet: whereunto he gave the readier belief, not only for that he knew the diſpoſition of *Ptolomy*, but becauſe the *Rhodians*, and other Embaſſadours, coming from *Memphis*, diſcourſed unto him all after one manner; as being all deceived by the cunning of *Apathocles* and his fellow: *Antiochus* therefore having wearied himſelf, at the long ſiege of a Town called *Dura*, which he could not win: and being deſirous to refreſh himſelf and his Army in *Seleucia*, during the winter which then came on, granted to the *Ægyptian* a Truce for four moneths, with promiſe that he would be ready to hearken unto equal Conditions, when they ſhould be offered. It was not his meaning to be ſo courteous, as he would fain have ſeemed, but only to lull his enemies aſleep, whileſt he took time to refreſh himſelf; and to bring *Achæus* to ſome good order, whoſe treaſon daily grew more open and violent. The ſame negligence which he thought the *Ægyptian* would have uſed, he uſed himſelf, as preſuming that when time of the year better ſerved, little force would be needful; for that the Towns would voluntarily yield unto him, ſince *Ptolomy* provided not for their defence. Nevertheleſs, he gave Audience to the Embaſſadours, and had often conference with thoſe that were ſent out of *Ægypt*: pleaſing himſelf, well to diſpute about the juſtice of his quarrel which he purpoſed ſhortly to make good by the ſword, whether it were juſt or no. He ſaid, that it was agreed betweex *Seleucus* his Anceſtor, and *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagi*, That all *Syria*, if they could win it from *Antigonus*, ſhould be given in poſſeſſion to *Seleucus*: and that this bargain was afterward ratified, by general conſent of the Confederates, after the battel at *Ipſus*. But *Ptolomies* men would acknowledge no ſuch bargain. They ſaid that *Ptolomy* the ſon of *Lagi*, had won *Cæloſyria*, and the Provinces adjoyning for himſelf: as alſo that he had ſufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him forces to recover his Province of *Babylon*, and the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*. Thus whileſt neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were in the end of their diſputation, as far from concluding, as at the beginning. *Ptolomy* demanded reſtitution; *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his own: Alſo *Ptolomy* would needs have *Achæus* comprehended in the league between them, as one of their Confederates; But *Antiochus* would not endure to hear of this, exclaiming againſt it as a ſhameful thing, that one King ſhould offer to deal ſo with another, as to take his rebel into protection, and ſeek to joyn him in Confederacy with his own Soveraign Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field again: contrary to his expectation, he was informed, That *Ptolomy*, with a very puiſſant Army, was coming up againſt him out of *Ægypt*. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemy, he was encountred on the way by theſe Captains of *Ptolomy*, that had reſiſted him the year before. They held againſt him the paſſages of *Libanus*, whence nevertheleſs he drave them: and proceeding onward in his journey, won ſo many places, that he greatly encreaſed his reputation; and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with divers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew near together: many Captains of *Ptolomy* forſook his pay, and fled over to *Antiochus*. This notwithſtanding, the *Ægyptian* had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battle was fought at *Raphia*: where it was not to be decided, whether the *Ægyptians*, or the *Aſiatiques* were the better Souldiers, (for that the ſtrength of both Armies conſiſted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and *Gauls*;) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolomy*, with *Arſinoe* his Siſter and Wife, rode up and down encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other ſide: each of them rehearſing the brave deeds of his Anceſtors; as not having of their own, whereby to value themſelves. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants, as alſo his being of *Aſia*, had they been fewer, would have beaten thoſe of *Africk*. Wherefore by the advantage of thoſe beaſts, He drave the Enemies before him, in that part of the battel wherein he fought himſelf. But *Ptolomy* had the better men by whoſe valour he brake the Groſs of his enemies battel, and won the victory: whileſt

whileſt *Antiochus* was heedleſly following upon thoſe, whom he had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the field above ſeventy thouſand foot, and ſix thouſand horſe; whereof though he loſt ſcarce ten thouſand foot, and not four hundred horſe; yet the fame of his overthrow took from him all thoſe places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home to *Antioch:* He began to ſtand in fear, leſt *Ptolomy* and *Achæus*, ſetting upon him both at once, ſhould put him in danger of his whole Eſtate. This cauſed him to ſend Embaſſadors to the *Egyptian*, to treat of peace; which was readily granted; it being much againſt the nature of *Ptolomy* to vex himſelf thus with the tedious buſineſs of War. So *Ptolomy* having ſtaid three moneths in *Syria*, returned home into *Egypt*, clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his ſubjects and all thoſe that were acquainted with his voluptuous and ſlothful condition.

Achæus was not compriſed in the league between theſe two Kings: or if he had been included therein; yet would not the *Egyptian* have taken the pains, of making a ſecond expedition for his ſake. The beſt was, that he thought himſelf ſtrong enough, if fortune were not too much againſt him, to deal with *Antiochus*. Neither was he confident without great reaſon: for beſides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged unto *Antiochus* on this ſide of *Taurus*, he had alſo good ſucceſs againſt *Attalus* King of *Pergamus:* that was an able man of War, and commanded a ſtrong Army. Neither was he, as *Molo* the Rebel had been, one of mean regard otherwiſe, and carried beyond himſelf by apprehending the advantage of ſome opportunity: but Couſin-german to the King, as hath been ſhewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger daughter of the ſame *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was alſo called *Laodice*, as was her Siſter the Queen, *Antiochus* his wife. Theſe things had added Majeſty unto him, and had made his followers greatly to reſpect him, even as one to whom a Kingdom was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, That King *Ptolomy* of *Egypt* held him in the nature of a friend: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquiſhed in the battel at *Raphia:* and had thereby loſt all his gettings in *Syria*. But all theſe hopes and likelihoods came to nothing: for the King of *Pontus*, if he would meddle in that quarel between ſons-in-law, had no reaſon to take part againſt the more honourable. As for the *Egyptian*, he was not only ſlothful, but hindred by a rebellion of his own ſubjects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of *Egypt*, of whom *Ptolomy*, contrary to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to ſerve in the late expedition; began to entertain a good opinion of their own valour, thinking it not inferiour to the *Macedonian*. Hereupon they refuſed to ſuffer as much as formerly they had done: ſince they leſs eſteemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings mercenary *Greeks:* which had hitherto kept them in ſtraight ſubjection. Thus brake out a War between the King and his ſubjects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the multitude was finally broken; yet King *Ptolomy* thereby waſted much of his ſtrength, and much of his time, that might have been ſpent, as he thought, much better in revelling: or, as others thought, in ſuccouring *Achæus*. As for *Antiochus*, He had no ſooner made his peace with the *Egyptian*, than he turned all his care to the preparation of War againſt *Achæus*. To this purpoſe he entred into League with *Attalus*; that ſo he might diſtract the forces of his Rebel, and find him work on all ſides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were ſuch, that within a while he had pent up *Achæus* into the City of *Sardes*; where he held him about two years beſieged. The City was very ſtrong, and well victualled: ſo as there appeared not, when the ſecond year came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the firſt years ſiege. In the end, one *Lagoras* a *Cretan* found means how to enter the Town. The Caſtle it ſelf was upon a very high rock, and in a manner impregnable; as alſo the Town-wall adjoyning to the Caſtle, in that part which was called *the Sawe*, was in like manner ſituate upon ſteep Rocks, and almoſt inacceſſible; that hung over a deep bottom, whereinto the dead carkaſes of Horſes, and other beaſts, yea, and ſometimes of men, uſed to be thrown. Now it was obſerved by *Lagoras*, that the Ravens and other birds of prey, which haunted that place by reaſon of their food which was there never wanting, uſed to flye up unto the top of the Rocks, and to pitch upon the wals, where they reſted without any diſturbance. Obſerving this often, he reaſoned with himſelf, and concluded that thoſe parts of the wall were left unguarded, as being thought unapproachable. Hereof he informed the King: who approved his judgement, and gave unto him the leading of ſuch men, as he deſired for the accompliſhing of the enterpriſe. The ſucceſs was agreeable to that which

Lagoras had afore conceived: and though with much labour, yet without reſiſtance, he ſcaled thoſe rocks, and whileſt a general aſſault was made, entred the Town in that part, which was at other times unguarded, then unthought upon. In the ſame place had the *Perſians*, under *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardes*; when *Cræſus* thought himſelf ſecure on that ſide. But the Citizens took not warning by the example of a loſs of many ages paſt: and therefore out of memory. *Achæus* held ſtill the Caſtle: which not only ſeemed by nature impregnable, but was very well ſtored with all neceſſaries, and manned with a ſufficient number, of ſuch as were to him well aſſured. *Antiochus* therefore was conſtrained to waſte much time about it; having none other hope to prevail, than by famiſhing the incloſed. Beſides the uſual rediouſneſs of expectation, his buſineſs called him thence away into the higher *Aſia*, where the *Bactrians*, and *Parthians* with the *Hyrcanians*, had erected Kingdoms taken out of his Dominions, upon which they ſtill incroached. But he thought it not ſafe, to let *Achæus* break looſe again. On the other ſide there were ſome Agents of *Ptolomy* the *Egyptian*, and good friends unto *Achæus*; that made it their whole ſtudy, how to deliver this beſieged Prince. If they could reſcue his perſon, they cared for no more: but preſumed that when he ſhould appear in the Countrys under *Taurus*, he would ſoon have an Army at command, and be ſtrong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to work as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a *Cretian*, that was acquainted well with all the wayes in the Country, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult paſſages among thoſe Rocks, whereon the Caſtle of *Sardes* ſtood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he ſhould receive at the hands of *Ptolomy*, as well as of *Achæus*; to do his beſt for performance of their deſire. He undertook the buſineſs: and gave ſuch likely reaſons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote unto *Achæus*, by one *Arianus*, a truſty meſſenger, whom *Bolis* found means to conveigh into the Caſtle. The faith of theſe Negotiators *Achæus* held moſt aſſured. They alſo wrote unto him in privie Characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none ſave he and they were acquainted: whereby he knew, that it was no fained device of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the meſſenger, he was a truſty fellow, and one whom *Achæus* found by examination, heartily affected unto their ſide. But the Contents of the Epiſtle, which were that he ſhould be confident in the faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus* whom *Bolis* had won unto the buſineſs, did ſomewhat trouble him. They were men to him unknown: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*; under whom he had the command of thoſe *Cretans*, which held one of the Forts that blocked up the Caſtle of *Sardes*. Nevertheleſs other way to eſcape he ſaw none, than by putting himſelf to ſome adventure. When the meſſenger had therefore paſſed often to and fro, it was at length concluded; That *Bolis* himſelf ſhould come ſpeak with *Achæus*, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the reſt, ſave only by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*; which were *Cretans*, and (as all their Countrymen,* ſome few excepted, have been, and ſtill are,) falſe knaves. Theſe two held a conſultation together, that was, as (a) *Polybius* obſerves it, rightly *Cretical*: neither concerning the ſafety of him whoſe deliverance they undertook, nor touching the diſcharge of their own faith; but only how to get moſt with leaſt adoe and danger to themſelves. Briefly they concluded, That firſt of all, they would equally ſhare between them ten Talents, which they had already received in hand: and then, That they would reveal the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliver *Achæus* unto him, if they might be well rewarded both with preſent money, and with promiſe of conſideration anſwerable to the greatneſs of ſuch a ſervice, when it ſhould be diſpatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promiſe of *Cambylus*, was no leſs glad, than were the friends of *Achæus* well pleaſed with the comfortable promiſes of *Bolis*. At length when all things were in readineſs on both ſides, and that *Bolis* with *Arianus* was to get up into the Caſtle, and conveigh *Achæus* thence: He firſt went with *Cambylus* to ſpeak with the King, who gave him very private audience; and confirmed unto him by word of mouth the aſſurance of his liberal promiſes. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honeſt man, and of one that was faithful unto *Ptolomy*, whom he had long ſerved, he accompanied *Arianus* up into the Caſtle. At his coming thither, he was lovingly entertained; yet queſtioned at large by *Achæus*, touching all the weight of the buſineſs in hand. But he diſcourſed ſo well, and with ſuch gravity; that there appeared no reaſon of diſtruſting either his faith or judgement. He was an old Souldier, had long been a Captain under *Ptolomy*, and did not thruſt himſelf into this buſineſs; but was invited

* Among theſe few I do not except one, calling himſelf *Eudæmon. John Andrew* a *Cretan*, who in one of his late ſhameleſs Libels, wherein he traduceth our King, Religion, and Countrey, with all the good and worthy men of whom he could learn the names, hath by inſerring my name twice belied me, in calling me a *Puritan*, and one that hath been dangerous unto my Soveraign. It is an honour to be ill ſpoken of by ſo diligent a ſupporter of Treaſons, and Architect of Lies, in regard whereof I may not deny him the commendation of Criticiſm no leſs voluminous

than he in multiplicity of name is beyond any the *Cretians* in elder times, that were always Lyars, evil beaſts, and ſlow bellies. (a) *Pol. hiſt. l.8.*

by

by honourable and faithful men. He had also taken a safe course, in winning (as it seemed) that other Country-man of his, who kept a Fort that stood in their way; and thereby had already sundry times given safe passage and repassage unto *Arianus*. But against all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an adventure stirred up some diffidence. *Achæus* therefore dealt wisely, and said, that he would yet stay in the Castle a little longer: but that he meant to send away with *Bolis* three or four of his friends; from whom, when he received better advertisement, concerning the likelihood of the enterprise, then would he issue forth himself. Hereby he took order, not to commit himself wholly unto the faith of a man unknown. But as *Polybius* well notes, he did not consider that he played the *Cretian* with a man of *Crete*: which is to say, that he had to do with one, whose knavery could not be avoided by circumspection. *Bolis* and *Cambylus* had laid their plots thus, That if *Achæus* came forth alone, then should he easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should *Arianus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft: and *Bolis* following behind, should have an eye upon *Achæus* to prevent him, not only from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his own neck, or otherwise killing himself: to the end that being taken alive, he might be to *Antiochus* the more welcome Present. And in such order came they now forth: *Arianus* going before as Guide: the rest following as the way served, and *Bolis* in the Rear. *Achæus* made none acquainted with his purpose, till the very instant of his departure. Then signified he the matter to his Wife *Laodice*; and comforting her with hope as well as he could, appointed four of his special friends to bear him company. They were all disguised: and one of them alone took upon him to have knowledge of the *Greek* tongue; speaking & answering as need should require for all, as if the rest had been *Barbarians*. *Bolis* followed them, craftily devising upon his business, and much perplexed. For (saith *Polybius*) *though he were of* Crete, *and prone to surmise any thing to the mischief of another*; yet could he not see in the dark, nor know which of them was *Achæus*, or whether *Achæus* himself were there. The way was very uneasie, and in some places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were fain to stay in divers places, and help one another up or down. But upon every occasion they were all of them very officious towards *Achæus*; lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gave *Bolis* to understand that he was the man: and so by their unseasonable duty, they undid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* lay in wait, *Bolis* whistled, and presently clapsed *Achæus* about the middle, holding him fast that he could not stir. So they were all taken by the Ambush, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*; who sate up watching in his Pavilion, expecting the event. The sight of *Achæus*, brought in bound unto him, did so astonish the King that he was unable to speak a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might have kept him from admiration: as also the next morning betimes, assembling his friends together, he condemned *Achæus* to a cruel death: which argues, that he was not moved with pity towards this unhappy man. Wherefore it was the general regard of calamities, incident unto great fortunes, that wrung from him these tears: as also the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it be so, that such a course as this of his, in imploying two mischievous knaves against one Traitor, do[illegible] rarely succeed well; according to that *Spanish* Proverb, *A un traydor dos allevosos*. The death of *Achæus* brought such astonishment upon those which held the Castle, that after a while they gave up the place and themselves unto the King; whereby he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser *Asia*.

Some years passed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his expedition against the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians*. The *Parthians* were a little Nation of obscure beginnings, and commonly subject unto those that ruled in *Media*. In the great shuffling for Provinces, after the death of *Alexander*, the Government over them was committed by *Antipater*, to one *Philip*, a man of small regard: shortly they fell to *Eumenes*; then to *Antigonus*: and from him, together with the *Medes*, to *Seleucus*; under whose posterity they continued until the Reign of *Seleucus Calinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the *Syrian* Kings. The lustful insolency of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Callinicus*, that was vanquished and thought to be slain by the *Gauls*, did stir up *Arsaces*, a nobleman of the Country, to seek revenge of injuries done, and animate them to rebel. So he slew the Kings Lieutenant; made himself King of the *Parthians*, and Lord of *Hyrcania*; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in

his

his beginnings; and took *Seleucus Callinicus* priſoner in battel, whom he royally entertained and diſmiſſed. Hereby he won reputation as a lawful King: and by good government of his Countrey, procured unto himſelf ſuch love of his Subjects, that his name was continued unto his ſucceſſors; like as that of the *Ptolomies* in *Egypt*, and that of the *Ceſars* afterwards in *Rome*. Much about the ſame time the *Bactrians* rebelled: although theſe at length, and all belonging unto the *Seleucidæ* beyond *Euphrates*, increaſed the *Parthians* dominion. Now *Antiochus* went againſt them with ſo ſtrong an army, that they durſt not meet him in plain field; but kept themſelves in woods or places of ſtrength, and defended the Straights and paſſages of mountains. The reſiſtances they made availed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him ſo great a multitude, and ſo well ſorted, as he needed not to turn out of the way, from thoſe that lay fortified againſt him, in Woods and Straights between their mountains; it being eaſie to ſpare out of ſo great a number, as many as fetching a compaſs about, might either get above the enemies heads; or come behind, and charge them on the back. Thus did he often imploy againſt them his light ar[illegible]e: wherewith he cauſed them to diſlodge, and give way unto his Phalanx; upon which they durſt not adventure themſelves in open ground. *Arſaces*, the ſecond of the name, (for his father was dead before this) was then King of *Parthia*: who though he was confident in the fidelity of his own ſubjects; yet feared to encounter ſo mighty an Invader. His hope was, that the bad wayes and Deſarts would have cauſed *Antiochus*, when he was at *Ecbatane* in *Media*, to give over the journey, without proceeding much further. This not ſo falling out: He cauſed the Wels and Springs in the Wilderneſs, through which his Enemy muſt paſs, to be dammed up and ſpoiled. By which means, and the reſiſtance before ſpoken of, when he could not prevail, He withdrew himſelf out of the way; ſuffering the Enemy to take his pleaſure for a time, in waſting the Countrey: wherein without ſome Victory obtained, he could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, That *Arſaces* was nothing ſtrongly provided for the War. Wherefore he marched through the heart of *Parthia*: and then forward into *Hyrcania* where he wan *Tambrace*, the chief City of that Province. This indignity and many other loſſes, cauſed *Arſaces* at length, when he had gathered an Army that ſeemed ſtrong enough, to adventure a battel. The iſſue thereof was ſuch as gave to neither of the Kings hope of accompliſhing his deſires, without exceeding difficulty. Wherefore *Arſaces* craved peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amiſs, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a ſubject.

The next expedition of *Antiochus*, was againſt *Enthydemus* King of the *Bactrians*; one that indeed had not rebelled againſt him or his Anceſtors: but having gotten the Kingdom from thoſe that had rebelled, kept it himſelf. With *Euthydemus* he fought a battel by the River *Artus*, where he had the Victory. But the Victory was not ſo greatly to his honour, as was the teſtimony which he gave of his own private valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned him more courageouſly, than did any one man in all his Army. His horſe was ſlain under him; and he himſelf received a wound in his mouth, whereby he loſt ſome of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*, He withdrew himſelf back unto the furthermoſt parts of his Kingdom, and afterwards protracted the War, ſeeking how to end it by compoſition. So Embaſſadors paſſed between the Kings: *Antiochus* complaining, That a Countrey of his was unjuſtly uſurped from him: *Enthydemus* anſwering, That he had won it from the children of the Uſurpers: and further, That the *Bactrians*, a wild Nation, could hardly be retained in order, ſave by a King of their own; for that they bordered upon the *Scythians*, with whom if they ſhould join, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behind them. Theſe allegations, together with his own wearineſs, pacified *Antiochus*, and made him willing to grant Peace, upon reaſonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the ſon of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his father, as Embaſſador in this Treaty of Peace, was not a little available unto a good concluſion: for *Antiochus* liked him ſo well, that he promiſed to give him in marriage, one of his own daughters; and therewithal permitted *Euthydemus* to retain the Kingdom, cauſing him nevertheleſs to deliver up all his Elephants; as alſo to bind himſelf by oath, to ſuch Covenants as he thought requiſite.

So *Antiochus* leaving the *Bactrian* in quiet, made a journey over *Caucauſus*, and came to the borders of *India*, where he renewed with *Sophagaſenus*, King of the *Indians*, the ſociety that had been between their Anceſtors. The *Indians* had remained ſubject unto the *Macedonians* for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes* in his War againſt

againſt *Antigonus*, raiſed part of his forces out of their Countrey. But when *Antigonus* (after his victory) turned Weſtward, and was overbuſied in a great Civill War: then did one *Sandrocottus*, an *Indian*, ſtir up his Country men to rebellion; making himſelf their Captain, and taking upon him, as protector of their liberty. This Office and Title he ſoon changed, though not without ſome contention, into the Name and Majeſty of a King. Finally he got unto himſelf (having an Army of ſix hundred thouſand men) if not all *India*, yet as much of it as had been *Alexanders*. In this eſtate he had well confirmed himſelf, ere *Seleucus Nicanor* could find leiſure to call him to account. Neither did he faint, or humble himſelf at the coming of *Seleucus*; but met him in the field, as ready to defend his own, ſo ſtrongly and well appointed, that the *Macedonian* was contented to make both peace and affinity with him, taking only a reward of fifty Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the *Indian* and *Syrian* Kingdoms, was continued by ſome offices of love between their children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*: whoſe number of Elephants were increaſed thereupon, by the *Indian* King, to an hundred and fifty: as alſo he was promiſed, to have ſome treaſure ſent after him; which he left one to receive. Thus parted theſe two great Kings. Neither had the *Indians*, from this time forwards in many generations, any buſineſs worthy of remembrance with the Weſtern countries. The poſterity of *Sandrocottus* is thought to have retained that Kingdom unto the dayes of *Auguſtus Cæſar*: to whom *Porus*, then reigning in *India*, ſent Embaſſadors with preſents, and an Epiſtle written in *Greek*, wherein among other things, he ſaid, That he had command over ſix hundred Kings. There is alſo found, ſcattered in ſundry Authors, the mention of ſome which held that Kingdom, in divers Ages, even unto the time of *Conſtantine the Great*: being all peradventure of the ſame race. But *Antiochus*, who in this Treaty with *Sophagaſenus* carryed himſelf as the worthier perſon, receiving preſents, and after marching home through *Drangiana* and *Carmania*, with ſuch reputation, that all the Potentates, not only in the higher *Aſia*, but on the hither ſide of *Taurus*, humbled themſelves unto him, and called him *The Great*: ſaw an end of his own greatneſs within few years enſuing, by preſuming to ſtand upon points with the *Romans*: whoſe Greatneſs was the ſame in deed, that his was only in ſeeming.

§. III.

The lewd reign of Ptolomy Philopater *in Ægypt: with the Tragical end of his favourites, when he was dead.* Antiochus *prepares to war on the young child* Ptolomy Epiphanes, *the ſon of* Philopater. *His irreſolution in preparing for divers wars at once. His voyage towards the* Helleſpont. *He ſeeks to hold amity with the Romans, who make friendly ſhew to him; intending nevertheleſs to have war with him. His doings againſt the* Helleſpont; *which the Romans made the firſt ground of their quarrel to him.*

THis expedition being finiſhed, *Antiochus* had leiſure to repoſe himſelf a while; and ſtudy which way to convert the terrour of his puiſſance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three years *Ptolomy Philopater* died: leaving his ſon *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a young Boy, his ſucceſſour in the Kingdom: unlikely by him to be well defended againſt a neighbour ſo mighty and ambitious. This *Ptolomy* ſurnamed *Philopater*, that is to ſay, *a lover of his Father*, is thought to have had that ſurname given him in meer deriſion; as having made away both his Father and Mother. His young years being newly paſt, his childhood when he began to reign, may ſeem to diſcharge him of ſo horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the beaſtlineſs of all his following life, makes him not unlike to have done any miſchief, whereof he could be accuſed. Having won the battles at *Raphiah*, He gave himſelf over to ſenſuality, and was wholly governed by a Strumpet called *Agathoclea*. At her inſtigation He murdered his own wife and ſiſter; which had adventured her ſelf with him, in that only dangerous action by him undertaken and performed with honour. The Lieutenant-ſhips of his Provinces, with all Commands in his Army, and Offices whatſoever, were wholly referred unto the diſpoſition of this *Agathoclea*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and *Oenanthe* a filthy bawd that was mother unto them both. So theſe three governed the Realm at their pleaſure, to the great grief of all the Countrey, till *Philopater* died; who having reigned ſeventeen years, left none other ſon than *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old, begotten on *Arſione* that was his ſiſter and wife. After the Kings death *Agathocles* began to take upon him, as protector of young *Epiphanes*, and Governour of the Land. He aſſembled the *Macedons* (which were the Kings ordinary forces in pay, not all

all born in *Macedonia*, but the race of those that abode in *Egypt* with *Ptolomy the first*, and would not be accounted *Ægyptians*; as neither would the Kings themselves) and bringing forth unto them his sister *Agathoclea*, with the young King in her arms; began a solemn Oration. He told them, That the deceased Father of this their King, had committed the child into the arms of his sister; but unto the faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole state of the Kingdom did now rely. He besought them therefore that they would be faithful, and, as great need was, defend their King against the Treason of one *Tlepolemus* an ambitious man; who traiterously went about to set the Diadem upon his own head, being a meer stranger to the Royal blood. Herewithall he produced before them a witness, that should justifie his accusation against *Tlepolemus*. Now though it were so, that he delivered all this with a fained passion of sorrow, and counterfeiting tears: yet the *Macedons* that heard him, regarded not any word that he spake; but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shameless dissembler he was to take so much upon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And so brake up the Assembly: he that had called it, being scarce aware how. *Agathocles* therefore, whom the old Kings favour had made mighty, but neither wise nor well qualified, thought to go to work, as had formerly been his manner; by using his authority, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. He haled out of the Temple the mother-in-law of *Tlepolemus*; and cast her into prison. This filled *Alexandria* with rumours, and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things, whilest they were committed in the old Kings name) to meet in knots together, and utter one to another their minds, wherein they had conceived extream hate, against these three pernicious Misgovernours of the old King. Besides their consideration of the present injurie done to *Tlepolemus*, they were somewhat also moved with fear of harm; which in way of requital, *Tlepolemus* was likely to do unto the City. For he was thought a man most unapt for Government, as afterwards he proved, yet no bad Souldier, and well beloved of the Army. It was also then in his power, to stop the provision of victuals which was to come into *Alexandria*. As these motives wrought with the people, so by the remedy which *Agathocles* used, were the *Macedons* more hastily, and more violently stirred unto uproar. He secretly apprehended one of their number, whom he suspected of conspiracy against him; and delivered him unto a follower of his own, to be examined by torture. This poor Souldier was carried into an inner room of the Palace, and there stripped out of all his apparel to be tormented. But whilest the whips were brought forth, and all things even in a readiness for that purpose, there was brought unto the minister of *Agathocles*, a sad report of *Tlepolemus* his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the room; leaving *Moeragenes* the Souldier alone by himself, and the doors open. He perceiving this, naked as he was, conveighed himself out of the Palace, and got unto the *Macedonians* of whom he found some in a Temple thereby at dinner. The *Macedonians* were as fierce in maintenance of their Priviledges, as are the *Turks Janizaries*. Being assured therefore that one of their fellows had thus been used, they fell to Armes in a great rage, and began to force the Palace: crying out, That they would see the King, and not leave him in possession of a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the City, with loud clamours, made no less ado than the Souldiers, though to less effect. So the old Bawd *Oenantha* fled into a Temple: her Son and Daughter stayed in the Court, untill the King was taken from them, and they, by his permission which he easily gave, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, delivered up to the fury of the people. *Agathocles* himself was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the Office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His sister was drag'd naked up and down the streets; as was also his mother, with all to them belonging; the enraged multitude committed upon them a barbarous execution of justice: biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

These troubles in *Ægypt*, served well to stir up King *Antiochus*; who had very good leasure, though he wanted all pretence, to make war upon young *Ptolomy*. *Philip* of *Macedon* had the same desire to get what part he could of the childes estate. But it hapned well, that *Ptolomy Philopater* in the *Punick* War, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices unto the *Romans*. Unto them therefore the *Ægyptians* addressed themselves, and craved help against these two Kings: who though they secretly maligned one the other; yet had entred into covenant to divide between them all that belonged unto this *Orphan*; whose Father had been confederate with them

* Just. l. 30. them both. So * *M. Lepidus* was sent from *Rome*, to protect from all violence the King of *Egypt*; especially against *Antiochus*. As for the *Macedonian*; he was very soon found busied with War at his own Doors. Also *Scopas* the *Ætolian*, being a Pensioner to the *Egyptian*, was sent into *Greece* to raise an Army of Mercenaries. What *Lepidus* did in *Egypt*, I do not find: and therefore think it not improbable, that he was sent thither only one of the three Embassadors, in the Liv. l. 31. beginning of the War with *Philip*; as hath been shewed before. As for *Scopas*; he shortly after went up into *Syria* with his Army; where, winning many places, among the rest of his Acts, he subdued the *Jews*, who seem to have yeilded themselves a little before unto *Antiochus*, at such time as they saw him prepare for his War, and despaired of receiving help from *Egypt*. But it was not long ere all these Victories of *Scopas* came to nothing. For the very next year following, which was (according to *Eusebius*) the same year that *Philip* was beaten at *Cynoscephalæ*; *Antiochus* vanquished *Scopas* in battel, and recovered all that had been lost. Among the rest, the *Jews*, with great willingness, returned under his obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entreated.

Vide Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. 12. cap. 3.

The Land of *Egypt*, this great King did forbear to invade; and gave it out, that he meant to bestow a Daughter of his own in Marriage unto *Ptolomey*: either hoping, as may seem, that the Country would willingly submit it self unto him, if this young Child should happen to miscarry; or else that greater purchase might be made in the Western parts of *Asia*, whilest *Philip* was held overlaboured by the *Romans*. It appears that he was very much distracted; hunting (as we say) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels between *Attalus*, *Philip*, and the *Greeks*, promised to afford him great advantage, if he should bring his Army to the *Hellespont*. On the other side, the state of *Egypt* being such as hath been declared, seemed easily to be swallowed up at once. One while therefore he took what he could get in *Syria*: where all were willing (and the *Jews*, among the rest, though hitherto they had kept faith with the *Egyptian*) to yield him obedience. Another while, letting *Egypt* alone, he was about to make invasion upon *Attalus* his Kingdom; yet suffered himself easily to be perswaded by the *Roman* Embassadors, and desisted from that enterprise. Having thus far gratified the *Romans*; he sends Embassadors to the Senate, to conclude a perfect Amity between him and them. It is not lightly to be over-passed, That these his Embassadors were lovingly entertained at *Rome*; and dismissed, with a Decree and answer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King *Antiochus*. But this answer of the *Romans* was not sincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their own intent. They had not yet made an end with *Philip*: neither would they gladly be troubled with two great Wars at once. Wherefore, not standing much upon the nice examination of what belonged unto their honour, they were content to give good words for the present. In the mean time *Antiochus* fights with *Scopas* in *Syria*, and shortly prepares to win some Towns elsewhere, belonging unto *Ptolomy*; yet withall he sends an Army Westward, intending to make what profit he can of the distractions in *Greece*. Likewise it is considerable, as an argument of his much irresolution, how notwithstanding his attempts upon both of their Kingdoms, he offered one of his Daughters to *Ptolomey*, and another to *Eumenes* the Son of *Attalus*, newly King of *Pergamus*: seeking each of their friendships at one and the same time, when he sought to make of each of them a spoil. Thus was he acting and deliberating at once; being carried with an inexplicable desire of Repugnancies, which is a disease of great and over-swelling-fortunes. Howsoever it was, he sent an Army to *Sardes* by Land, under two of his Sons: willing them there to stay for him; whilest he himself, with a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other Vessels, intended to pass along by the Coasts of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, taking in such places as held for the *Egyptian*. It was a notable act of the *Rhodians*, that, whilest the War of *Philip* lay yet upon their hands, they adventured upon this Great *Antiochus*. They sent unto him a proud Embassage; whereby they gave him to understand, That if he passed forward beyond a certain Promontory in *Cilicia*, they would meet with him, and fight with him; not for any quarrel of theirs unto him; but because he should not joyn with *Philip* their enemy, and help him against the *Romans*. It was insolently done of them, neither seemed it otherwise, to prescribe such limits unto the King: yet he tempered himself, and without any shew of indignation, gave a gentle answer; partly himself to their Embassadors; partly unto their whole City, by Embassadors which he thither sent. He shewed his desire to renew the ancient Confederacies between his Ancestors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, lest his coming should tend unto any hurt, either of them, or of their Confederates. As touching

the *Romans* whom they thought that he would moleſt: they were (he ſaid) his very good Friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better proof, than the entertainment and anſwer by them newly given to his Embaſſadors.

The *Rhodians* appear to have been a cunning People, and ſuch as could fore-ſee what weather was like to happen. This anſwer of the King, and the relation of what had paſſed between his Embaſſadors and the Senate, moved them not a whit, when they were informed ſhortly after, that the *Macedonian* War was ended at the Battel of *Cynoſcephalæ*. They knew that *Antiochus* his turn would be next; and prepared to be forward on the ſtronger ſide. Wherefore they would not be contented to ſit ſtill, unleſs the Towns on the South Coaſt of *Aſia*, belonging to *Ptolomy* their Friend and Confederate, were ſuffered to be at quiet. Herein alſo they did well; for that they had ever been greatly beholding to all the Race of the *Ptolomies*. They therefore in this time of neceſſity, gave what aid they could unto all the Subjects of the *Egyptian* in thoſe parts. In like manner did King *Eumenes*, the Son of *Attalus*, prognoſticate as concerning the War that followed, between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. For when King *Antiochus* made a friendly offer, to beſtow one of his Daughters upon him in marriage: He excuſed himſelf, and would not have her. *Attalus* and *Philetærus*, his Brethren, wondred at this. But he told them, that the *Romans* would ſurely make war upon *Antiochus*; and therein finally prevail. Wherefore he ſaid, that by abſtaining from this affinity, it ſhould be in his power to joyn with the *Romans*, and ſtrengthen himſelf greatly with their friendſhip. Contrariwiſe, if he leaned to *Antiochus*, as he muſt be partaker in his overthrow; ſo was he ſure to be oppreſſed by him, as by an over-mighty Neighbour, if he happened to win the Victory.

Antiochus himſelf wintred about *Epheſus*; where he took ſuch order as he thought convenient for reducing of *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* to obedience; that had uſurped their Liberty, and obſtinately ſtrove to maintain it, in hope that the *Romans* would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he ſailed unto the *Helleſpont*; where, having won ſome Towns that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, he paſſed over into *Europe* ſide; and in ſhort ſpace maſtered the *Cherſoneſus*. Thence went he to *Lyſimachia*: which the *Thracians* had gotten and deſtroyed, when *Philip* withdrew his Garriſon thence, to employ it in the *Roman* War. The *Ætolians* objected as a crime unto *Philip*, in the conference between *T. Quintius*, that he had oppreſſed *Lyſimachia*, by thruſting thereinto a Garriſon. Hereupon *Philip* made anſwer, That his Garriſon did not oppreſs the Town, but ſave it from the *Barbarians*: who took and ſack'd it, as ſoon as the *Macedonians* were gone. That this anſwer was good and ſubſtantial, though it were not acceptable as ſuch; might appear by the miſerable caſe, in which *Antiochus* found *Lyſimachia* at his coming thither. For the Town was utterly raſed by the *Barbarians*, and the people carried away into ſlavery. Wherefore the King took order to have it re-edified: as alſo to redeem thoſe that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens as were diſperſed in the Country thereabout. Likewiſe he was careful to allure thither, by hopeful promiſes, new Inhabitants, and to repleniſh the City with wonted frequency. Now to the end that men ſhould not be terrified from coming thither to dwell, by any fear of the neighbour *Thracians*: he took a Journey in hand againſt thoſe barbarous people, with the one half of his Army; leaving the other half to repair the City. Theſe pains he took, partly in regard of the convenient ſituation, and former glory of *Lyſimachia*; partly for that he thought it highly redounding unto his own honour, to recover and eſtabliſh the Dominion in thoſe parts which his forefather *Seleucus Nicator* had won from *Lyſimachus*, and thereby made his Kingdom of greater extent than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he ſhall dearly pay: and as after that Victory againſt *Lyſimachus*, the death of King *Seleucus* followed ſhortly; ſo ſhall a deadly wound of the Kingdom founded by *Seleucus* enſue very ſpeedily after the reconqueſt of the ſame Country, which was the laſt of *Seleucus* his Purchaſes.

§. IV.

The Romans *hold friendly correſpondence with* Antiochus, *during their War with* Philip: *after which they quarrel with him. The doings of* Hannibal *at* Carthage: *whence he is chaſed by his Enemies, and by the* Romans: *His flight unto the King* Antiochus. *The* Ætolians *murmur againſt the* Romans *in* Greece. *The War of the* Romans *and* Achæans, *with* Nabis *the Tyrant of* Lacedæmon. *The departure of the* Romans *out of* Greece. T. Quintius *his Triumph. Peace denied to* Antiochus *by the* Romans.

10. FOr the *Romans*, though they were unable to ſmother their deſire of war with

with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was already taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much against their will to keep the rumour on foot, which they meant shortly to make good, of this intended war, so long as they wanted matter of quarrel; whereof they were furnished, by this enterprise of the Kings about *Lysimachia*. It was not long, since King *Attalus*, a friend and a helper of the *Romans* in their war with *Philip*, could obtain of them none other help against *Antiochus*, than Embassadors to speak for him, because the one of these Kings was held no less a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards pass between them any other offices, than very friendly. *Antiochus* at the request of their Embassadors, withdrew his invasion from the Kingdom of *Pergamus*: also very shortly after he sent Embassadors to them, to make a perfect League of amity between them. This was whilest as yet they were busied with *Philip*, and therefore had reason to answer his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward shew. But when the *Macedonian* war was at an end, and all, or most of all the States in *Greece*, were become little better than Clients unto the *Romans*: then was all this good correspondence changed into terms of worse, but more plain meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his ten Counsellors sent from *Rome*, requited (as hath been * shewed before) with a commination of war, this Kings gratulation of their victory; as also his long professed amity, and desire to continue in the same.

* *Chap. 4. sect. 11.*

These ten Counsellors were able to inform *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seems that he was not ignorant before; since, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable unto peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themselves to make progress through divers quarters of *Greece* for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them should visit King *Antiochus*; and the rest, where occasion served, use diligence to make a party strong against him. Neither was the Senate at *Rome* unmindful of the business; wherein lest *T. Quintius*, with his ten Assistants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging; *L. Cornelius* was sent from *Rome*, of purpose to deal with the King about those controversies, that were between him and *Ptolomy*. What other private instructions *Cornelius* had, we may conjecture by the managing of this his Embassage. For coming to *Selymbria*: and there understanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius*, having been sent by *Titus*, were at *Lysimachia*; He hastened thither; whither also came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counsellors) from *Bargillæ*, to be present at the Conference. *Hegesianax* and *Lysias* were also there; the same, who had lately brought from *Titus* those peremptory Conditions, which the Embassadors present shall expound unto their Master. After a few daies *Antiochus* returned from his *Thracian* Expedition. The meeting and entertainment between him and these *Romans*, was in appearance full of love. But when they came to treat of the business in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly delivered his errand from *Rome*: which was, That *Antiochus* had reason to deliver back unto *Ptolomy* those Towns of his, whereof he had lately gotten possession. Hereunto he added, and that very earnestly, That he must also give up the Towns of late belonging unto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more absurd, than such folly in the *Romans*, as to let *Antiochus* enjoy the profit of that war, wherein they had laboured so much, and he done nothing? Further he warned the King, that he should not molest those Cities that were free: and finally he demanded of him, upon what reason he was come over with so great an Army into *Europe*; for that other cause of his journey there was none probable, than a purpose to make war upon the *Romans*? To this the King made answer, That he wondred why the *Romans* should so trouble themselves, with thinking upon the matters of *Asia*: wherewith he prayed them to let him alone: even as he, without such curiosity, suffered them to do in *Italy* what they thought good. As for his coming over into *Europe*: they saw well enough what business had drawn him thither; namely the war against the barbarous *Thracians*: the rebuilding of *Lysimachia*, and the recovery of Towns to him belonging, in *Thrace*, and *Chersonesus*. Now concerning his title unto that country, He derived it from *Seleucus*: who made conquest thereof, by his victory against *Lysimachus*. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controversie between him and the other Kings, had been still of old belonging to the *Macedonians* or *Egyptians*; but had been seized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at such time as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countries, were hindred by multiplicity of business, from looking unto all that was their own. Finally he willed them, neither to stand in fear of him, as if he intended ought against them

from *Lysimachia*; since it was his purpose to bestow this City upon one of his Sons, that should reign therein: nor yet to be grieved with his proceedings in *Asia*; either against the free Cities, or against the King of *Egypt*; since it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding unto himself, and to joyn ere long with *Ptolomy*, not only in friendship, but in a bond of near affinity. *Cornelius* having heard this, and being perhaps unable to refute it, would needs hear further, what the Embassadors of *Smyrna* and of *Lampsacus*, whom he had there with him, could say for themselves. The Embassadors of *Lampsacus* being called in, began a tale; wherein they seemed to accuse the King before the *Romans*, as it were before competent Judges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace, forasmuch as he had not chosen the *Romans*, but would rather take the Citizens of *Rhodes*, to be Arbitrators between him and them.

Thus the Treaty held some few dayes, without any likelihood of effect. The *Romans*, having not laid their complaints in such sort, as they might be a convenient foundation of the war by them intended: nor yet having purpose to depart well satisfied, and thereby to corroborate the present peace, were doubtful how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boistrous *Galle-Greeks*, pretend only the goodness of their swords: nor yet over-modestly, to retain among the *Greeks* an opinion of their justice, forbear the occasion of making themselves great. The King on the other side was weary of these tedious guests; that would take none answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came news, without any certain author, That *Ptolomy* was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the *Romans*, would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into *Egypt*: *Antiochus* to take possession of the Kingdom, and *L. Cornelius*, to prevent him thereof, and set the Country in good order. *Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* Embassador both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolomy*: which gave him occasion to take leave, and prepare for his *Egyptian* voyage. Both he, and his fellow Embassadors, had good leave to depart all together: and the King forthwith made ready, to be in *Egypt* with the first. To his Son *Seleucus* he committed his Army, and left him to oversee the building of *Lysimachia*: but all his Sea-forces he took along with him, and sailed unto *Ephesus*. Thence he sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*: whom he requested to deal with him in this matter of peace, after such sort as might stand with honesty and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage, he was perfectly informed that *Ptolomy* was alive. This made him bear another way from *Egypt*: and afterwards a tempest, with a grievous shipwrack, made him without any further attempt on the way, glad to have safely recovered his Port of *Selucia*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where he wintered: secure as might appear, of the *Roman* war.

But the *Romans* had not so done with him. During the Treaty at *Lysimachia*, (at least-wise not long before or after it) one of their Embassadors that had been sent unto the *Macedonian*, gave him counsel, as in a point highly tending to his good; not to rest contented with the peace which was granted unto him by the *Romans*, but to desire society with them, whereby they should be bound to have the same friends and enemies. And this he advised him to do quickly, before the War brake out with *Antiochus*: lest otherwise he might seem, to have awaited some fit occasion of taking Arms again. They who dealt thus plainly, did not mean to be satisfied with weak excuses. In like manner some of the *Greeks*, were solicited; and particularly the *Ætolians*, That constantly and faithfully they should abide in the friendship of the people of *Rome*. It was needless to say plainly whereto this entreaty tended: the froward answer made by the *Ætolians*, declares them to have well understood the purpose. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the *Romans* after the victory, as they had been during the War. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cryed out that they had been wronged, and defrauded of what was promised unto them: upbraiding withal the *Romans*, as men to them beholding: not only for their victory over *Philip*, but even for helping them to set foot in *Greece*, which else they never could have done. Hereto the *Roman* gave gentle answers: telling them that there was no more to do, than to send Embassadors to the Senate, and utter their griefs: and then should all be well.

Such care took the *Romans* in *Greece*, for their War intended against *Antiochus*. The fame hereof arriving at *Carthage*, gave matter unto the enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to pick a thank of the *Roman* Senate, and to chase out of their City this honourable man, whom they so greatly hated. He had of late exercised his vertue against them in the Civil administration: and given them

them an overthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Judges at that time bore all the sway in *Carthage:* holding their places during life; and having subject unto them, the lives, goods, and fame of all the rest. Neither did they use this their power with moderation: but conspired in such wise together, that who so offended any of them, should have them all to be his enemies: which being once known, He was sure to be soon accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the City, *Hannibal* was chosen Prætor. By vertue of which Office, though he was superior unto them during that year: yet had it not been their manner to bear much regard unto such an annual Magistrate, as at the years end must be accountable to them, if ought were laid unto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore sending for one of the Questors, or Officers of the Treasury, to come and speak with him: the proud Questor set lightly thereby, and would not come: For he was of the adverse Faction to *Hannibal*; and men of his place were to be chosen into the Order of Judges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the spirit of future Greatness. But he had not to do with such a tame Prætor, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* sent for him by a Pursivant; and having thus apprehended him, brought him into judgement before a publick assembly of the people. There he not only shewed what the undutiful stubbornness of this Questor had been; but how unsufferable the insolency of all the Judges at the present was: whose unbridled power made them to regard neither Laws nor Magistrates. To this Oration when he perceived that all the Citizens were attentive and favourable; He forthwith propounded a Law, which passed with the general good liking; That the Judges should be chosen from year to year, and no one man be continued in that Office two years together. If this Law had been passed, before he passed over *Iberus*: it would not perhaps have been in the power of *Hanno*, to have brought him unto necessity of reforming another grievance, concerning the *Roman* Tribute. This Tribute the *Carthaginians* were fain to levie by Taxation laid upon the whole Commonalty, as wanting money in their publike Treasury, wherewith to defray either that, or divers other needful charges. *Hannibal* considering this, began to examine the publicke Revenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treasurie, by waies and means whatsoever: and in what sort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinary charges of the Common-wealth did not exhaust the Treasury: but that wicked Magistrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the moneys to their own use, were thereby fain to load the people with needless burdens. Hereof he made such plain demonstration, That these Robbers of the common Treasure were compelled to restore, with shame, what they had gotten by knavery: and so the *Carthaginians* were freed from the necessity of making such poor shifts, as formerly they had used, when they knew not the value of their own Estate. But as the vertue of *Hannibal* was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: so they of the *Roman* Faction, which had, since the making of the peace until now, little regarded him, began to rage extreamly: as being by him stript of their ill-gotten goods and ill-employed authority, both at once; even when they thought themselves to have been in full possession of the vanquished *Carthage*. Wherefore they sent letters to their friends at *Rome*: wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew strong again, and *Hannibal* would shortly be in arms. Questionless, if oppressing the City by injustice; and robbing the Treasury, were the only way to hold *Carthage* in peace with *Rome*: these Enemies to the *Barchines* might well cry out, That having done their best already to keep all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than of War. But having no other matter to alledge, than their own inventions: they said, That *Hannibal* was like unto a wild beast, which would never be tamed; That secret messages past between him, and King *Antiochus*: and that he was wont to complain of idleness, as if it were harmful to *Carthage*; with what else to like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not unto the Senate: but addressing their letters craftily, every one to the best of his own friends at *Rome*, and such as were Senators; they wrought so well, that neither pulicke notice of their Conspiracy was taken at *Carthage*; nor the authority of the *Roman* Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Only *P. Scipio* is said to have admonished the *Fathers*, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become seconds to the accusers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppress, by suborning or countenancing false witnesses against him; the man, against whom in war they had not of long time prevailed, nor used their victory in such base manner, when they obtained it. But the *Romans* were

not

not all so great minded as *Scipio*: they wished for some such advantage against *Hannibal*; and were glad to have found it. Three Embassadors they sent over to *Carthage*, *C. Servilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*: whose very names imports sufficient cause of bad affection to *Hannibal*. These having past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their coming: and being by them instructed how to carry themselves, gave out, That they were sent to end some controversies, between the *Carthaginians* and *Masanissa*. But *Hannibal* had kept such good espial upon the *Romans*, that he knew their meaning well enough: against which he was never unprepared. It were enough to say, That he escaped them by flight: but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particularities. Having openly shewed himself, as was his manner, in the place of Assembly, He went forth of the Town when it began to wax dark, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though such as he might well trust. He had appointed Horses to be in a readiness at a certain place: whence riding all night, He came to a Tower of his own by the Sea-side. There had he a ship furnished withall things needful; as having long expected the necessity of some such journey. So he bade *Asbick* farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Country, more than his own. Passing over to the Isle of *Cercina*; He found there in the Haven some Merchants ships of *Carthage*. They saluted him respectively: and the chief among them began to enquire, whither he was bound. He said He went Embassadour to *Tyre*: and that he intended there in the Island to make a Sacrifice; whereto he invited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Ships. It was hot weather: and therefore he would needs hold his Feast upon the shore; where, because there wanted covert, He made them bring thither all their Sails and Yards to be used instead of Tents. They did so; and feasted with him till it was late at night: at which time he left them there asleep: and putting to Sea, held on his course to *Tyre*. All that night, and the day following, He was sure not to be pursued. For the Merchants did neither make haste to send any news of him to *Carthage*, as thinking him to be gone Embassadour: neither could they, without some loss of time, such of them as made most speed homeward, get away from *Cercina*; being busied a while in fitting their tackle. At *Carthage*, the miss of so great a person was diversly construed. Some guessed aright, that he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the *Romans* had made him away. At length came news where he had been seen; and then the *Roman* Embassadors, having none other errand thither, accused him (with an evil grace) as a troubler of the Peace; whereby they only discovered the mischief by them intended against him, and the malice of the Senate: missing the while their purpose, and causing men to understand, that he fled not thus without great reason.

Hannibal coming to *Tyre*, the Mother-City of *Carthage*, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whose great worth and honour the *Tyrians*, by reason of affinity between their Cities, thought themselves to have interest. Thence went he to *Antioch*; and, finding the King departed, visited his Son in *Daphne*: who friendly welcomed him, and sent him unto his Father at *Ephesus*, that exceedingly rejoyced at his coming.

As *Antiochus* had cause to be glad in that he had gotten *Hannibal*: so had the *Romans* no great cause to be therefore sorry: otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselves, by discovery of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his Country. For it would not prove alike easie unto this great Commander to make stout Souldiers of base *Asiatiques*; as it had been by his training and dicipline, to make very serviceable and skilful men of War of the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Gaules*, and other Nations, that were hardy, though unexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being so extraordinary, could alter the nature of a cowardly people: yet was it therewithall considerable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the baseness of his Flatterers, and a thousand other such vexations, would be far more powerful in making unprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal*, now a desolate and banished man, than had been the villany of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindering him in those actions, wherein he had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great *Carthaginian*, would only help to ennoble the *Roman* Victory: or if it further served to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him less careful to avoid the war; then should it further serve, to justifie the *Romans* in their quarrel. And it seems indeed that it was no little part of their care, to get a fair pretence of making war. For *Antiochus*, as is said before, having newly sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable,

bable, that he had any meaning to take Arms, unleſs by meer violence he were thereto inforced. Only the *Ætolians* were greatly ſuſpected, as a turbulent people, deſirous of innovation, and therefore practiſing with this Great King; whom they wiſhed to ſee among them in *Greece*. In this regard, and to appeaſe them; they had of late been anſwered with gentle words by one of the ten Counſellers, That the Senate would grant them whatſoever with reaſon they ſhould ask. But this promiſe was too large, and unadviſed. For when their Embaſſadors came to *Rome*, the Senate would grant them nothing: but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who favoured them leaſt. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themſelves, otherwiſe than by ſpeaking ſuch words, as might haſten the *Romans* out of *Greece* for very ſhame, who had no deſire to be thence gone.

The daily talk at *Rome*, was, of War with *Antiochus*; but in *Greece*, when the *Romans* would leave the Country. For the *Ætolians* were wont to upbraid the reſt of the *Greeks* with the vain liberty which the *Romans* had proclaimed, ſaying, That theſe their Deliverers had lain heavier Fetters upon them, than formerly they did wear; but yet brighter and fairer than thoſe of the *Macedonian*: likewiſe, that it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the Legs of the *Greeks* their chain, & tie it about their Necks. There was indeed no cauſe of tarrying longer in *Greece*, if the *Romans* had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* had made no delay, in accompliſhment of that which was laid upon him: all the Towns of *Greece* were at liberty, and the whole Country at peace, both with the *Romans*, and within it ſelf. As for *Antiochus*, He made it his daily ſuit, That the Peace between him and *Rome*, ſuch as it was, might be confirmed and ſtrengthened by a League of more aſſurance. Nevertheleſs, *T. Quintius* would needs fear that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to ſeize upon *Greece*, as ſoon as he and his Army were thence departed. And in this regard, he retained ſtill in his own hands *Chalcis*, *Demetrius*, and the *Acrocorinthus*: by benefit of which Towns he might the better withſtand the dangerous Invaſion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Suitable unto the doings of *Quintius*, were the reports of the ten Embaſſadors, that had been ſent over to aſſiſt him: when they returned back into the City. *Antiochus*, they ſaid, would queſtionleſs fall upon *Greece*: wherein he ſhould find not only the *Ætolians*, but *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, ready to give him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to do ſomewhat againſt theſe their ſuſpected Enemies: eſpecially againſt *Nabis*, who could worſt make reſiſtance: whileſt *Antiochus* was far away in *Syria*, and not intentive to his buſineſs. Theſe reports went not only current through the City among the Vulgar; but found ſuch credit with the chief of the Senate, that in the following year, againſt which time it was expected that *Antiochus* ſhould be ready to take his great enterpriſe in hand: *P. Cornelius Scipio* the *African*, deſired, and obtained, a ſecond Conſulſhip, with intention to be General in the War, againſt the King and his *Hannibal*. For the preſent, the buſineſs with *Nabis* was referred unto *Titus*, to deal with him as he thought good. This would be a fair colour of his longer tarriance in *Greece*. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof alſo he knew that many of the *Greeks* would not be ſorry: though for his own part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entred into friendſhip with him, two or three years before this, as is already ſhewed, whileſt he had War with *Philip*: and had further been contented for the *Romans* ſake to be at peace with the *Achæans*: neither ſince that time had he done any thing, whereby he ſhould draw upon himſelf this War. He was indeed a deteſtable Tyrant, and hated of the *Achæans*: as one, that beſides his own wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great miſchief. *Titus* therefore had a plauſible Theme whereon to diſcourſe before the Embaſſadors of all the Confederate Cities, which he cauſed to meet for that purpoſe at *Corinth*. He told them that in the War with *Philip*, not only the *Greeks*, but the *Romans* themſelves had each their motives apart (which he there briefly rehearſed) that ſhould ſtir them up, and cauſe them to be earneſt. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the *Romans* had none other Intereſt, than only the making perfect of their Honour, in ſetting all *Greece* at Liberty: which Noble Action was in ſome ſort maimed, or incompleat, whileſt the Noble City of *Argos* was left in ſubjection to a Tyrant that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged unto them, the *Greeks*, duly to conſider, whether they thought the deliverance of *Argos* a matter worthy to be undertaken: or whether otherwiſe to avoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leave it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans*: who in taking this work in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greeks* themſelves.

themſelves. The *Athenian* Embaſſador made anſwer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleaſing as he could deviſe. He gave thanks to the *Romans* for what was paſt; extolled their Vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their propoſition: wherein unrequeſted they freely made offer to continue that Bounty, which at the vehement requeſt of their poor Aſſociates they had already of late extended unto the *Greeks*. To this he added, That great pity it was to hear ſuch notable Vertue and high Deſerts ill ſpoken of by ſome: which took upon them, out of their own imagination, to foretell what harm theſe their Benefactors meant to do hereafter: when as Thankfulneſs would rather have required an Acknowledgement of the Benefits and Pleaſures already received. Every one found the meaning of this laſt clauſe, which was directly againſt the *Ætolians*. Wherefore *Alexander* the *Ætolian* roſe up, and told the *Athenians* their own: putting them in mind of their antient glory, in thoſe times when their City had been the Leader of all *Greece*, for defence and recovery of the Liberty general: from which Honour they were now ſo far faln, that they became Paraſites unto thoſe whom they thought moſt mighty; and by their baſe aſſentation, would lead all the reſt into ſervitude. Then ſpake he againſt the *Achæans*, Clients that had been a long time unto the *Macedonian*; and Souldiers of *Philip*, until they ran away from his adverſity. Theſe, he ſaid, had gotten *Corinth*, and muſt now have War be made for their ſakes, to the end that they might alſo be Lords of *Argos*: whereas the *Ætolians*, that had firſt made War with *Philip*, and alwayes been Friends unto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of ſome places, antiently to them belonging. Neither did he thus contain himſelf, but objected unto the *Romans*, fraudulent dealing: foraſmuch as they kept their Garriſons in *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the *Acrocorinth*; having been always wont to profeſs, That *Greece* could never be at Liberty, whileſt thoſe places were not free. Alſo now at laſt, what elſe did they ſeek by this diſcourſe of War with *Nabis*, than buſineſſes wherewith to find themſelves occupied, that ſo they might have ſome ſeeming cauſe of abiding longer in the Country? But they ſhould do well, if they meant as they ſpake, to carry their Legions home out of *Greece*, which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*, the *Ætolians* themſelves did promiſe, and would undertake, That they would either cauſe him to yield to reaſon, and relinquiſh *Argos* freely, withdrawing thence his Garriſon; or elſe compell him by force of Arms, to ſubmit himſelf to the good pleaſure of all *Greece*, that was now at unity. Theſe words had been reaſonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common Liberty wrought ſo much with theſe *Ætolians*; as did their own ravenous deſire of oppreſſing others, and getting unto themſelves, that worſe would uſe it, the whole Dominion in *Greece*, which *Philip* had loſt. Neither could they well diſſemble this; making it no ſmall part of their Grievance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had been covenanted, That the *Romans* ſhould enjoy the ſpoil of all, but leave the Towns and Lands in poſſeſſion of the *Ætolians*. This, and the remembrance of a thouſand miſchiefs by them done in former times, made the whole Aſſembly, eſpecially the *Achæans*, cry out upon them: entreating the *Romans* to take ſuch order before they went, that not only *Nabis* might be compelled to do right; but the *Ætolian* thieves be enforced to keep home, and leave their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleaſure of *Titus*: who ſaw, that by diſcountenancing the *Ætolians*, He was become the more gracious with all the reſt. But whether it pleaſed him ſo well that *Antiochus* his Embaſſadors did preſently after lie hard upon him, to draw the peace to ſome good concluſion, it may be greatly doubted. He caſt them off with a ſlight anſwer: telling them, That the ten Embaſſadors or Counſellors which had been ſent unto him from *Rome*, to be his Aſſiſtants in theſe matters of weight, were now returned home; and that without them it was not in his power to conclude upon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedæmonian* War, it was very ſoon ended. For *Titus* uſed the help of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation againſt *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if he ſhould have had to do with *Philip*. Beſides the *Roman* Forces, King *Eumenes* with a Navy, and the *Rhodian* Fleet, were invited to the Service: as alſo *Philip* of *Macedon* ſent aid by Land; doing therein poorly, whether it were to get favour of the *Romans*; or whether to make one among the number, in ſeeking Revenge upon *Nabis*, that had done him injury. But the moſt forward in this Expedition were the *Achæans*, who ſet out ten thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe. As for the *Ætolians*, rather to hold good faſhion, and ſound their diſpoſitions, than in hope to ſpeed, their help was required; whereof they excuſed themſelves as well as they thought beſt. Thus are the

the *Achæans* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in *Greece*; having removed the *Ætolians* from that degree of favour: like as they themselves hereafter (though not in all haste) shall be supplanted of the same *Lacedæmonians*, against whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argives*, more bold than wise, began a conspiracy against the *Lacedæmonians* that held their Town; meaning to open their gates unto the *Roman*. But ere *Titus* drew near, they were all detected and slain: excepting a very few, that escaped out of the Town. The fame of this Commotion, caused the Army to march apace toward *Argos*; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no stir within the Wals: the execution done upon the first movers, having terrified all the rest of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to assail *Nabis* in the head of his strength at *Lacedæmon*, than to consume time about other places; especially at *Argos*: for the freedom whereof since the War was made, pity it were, that the calamities of the War should thereon fall most heavily.

Nabis had in readiness an Army of fifteen thousand, wherewith to defend himself against these Invaders. Five thousand of them were Mercenaries: the rest, of his own Countrey; but such as were of all others the worst, as manumised slaves, malefactors and base Peasants, unto whom his Tyrannie was beneficial. Of the goood and worthy Citizens he stood in doubt; and since he could not hope to win their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by fear. He called them all to an assembly, and compassing them round in with his Army, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselves; they might, he said, hope the better to withstand the common Enemy. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were invited by light occasions, to raise tumults, and work dangerous treasons: it seemed unto him the safest, and (withal) the mildest course, to arrest before hand, and put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keep them innocent perforce; and thereby preserve not only the City and his own person from danger, but them also from the punishment, which else they might have incurred. Hereupon he cites and apprehends about fourscore of them; whom he leads away to prison, and the next night putteth them all to death. Thus was he sure that they neither should offend, nor yet break loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abroad: what could it else do than terrifie the people; who must thereby understand, that it was a mortal crime to be suspected? And to the same purpose his cruelty extended it self unto some poor wretches: whom he accused of a meaning to flie to the Enemy. These were openly whipt through all the streets, and slain. Having thus affrighted the Citizens: He turned the more freely, all his thoughts toward the Enemy, that came on apace. He welcomed them with a sally: wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiers of the Town had the better at first; but were at length repelled with loss. *Titus* abode not many dayes before *Sparta*: but over-ran the Country; hoping belike to provoke the Tyrant forth to battail. The *Roman* Fleet at the same time with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, laid siege unto *Gyttheum*, the only or principal Town that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to have taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treason. There were two Governours within the Town equal in authority: whereof the one, either for fear, or desire of reward, had a purpose to let in the *Romans*. But the other finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithful, slue the Traitor; after whose death, he himself alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Army came thither to *Gyttheum*: this Captain of the Town had not the heart to abide the uttermost, and await what either Time or his Master might do for him, but was contented to give up the place, yet upon Condition, to depart in safety to *Sparta* with his Garrison. *Pythagoras*, the Son-in-law of *Nabis*, and brother unto his Wife, was come from *Argos*, whereof he had the Government, with a thousand Souldiers Mercenaries, and two thosand *Argives*: it being (as may seem) the Tyrants purpose, to relieve *Gyttheum*: which he thought would have held longer out. But when they heard that it was lost, then began they to think upon finishing the War, by some reasonable Composition. *Pythagoras* therefore was sent his Embassador to *Titus*: requesting only that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and speak with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant spake very reasonable for himself: proving, that he suffered wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments: whereof the sum was, That whatsoever they now did, or could object unto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon the inferred, That neither for his keeping the Town of *Argos*, nor for any other cause by them

alledged, they ought to make war upon him, since *Argos*, and all other their allegations whatsoever, had not hindered them, in time of their own need of him, from entring into that League with him: which was never broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quintius* was not herewith satisfied. He charged him with tyranny: and gave instance, as easily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points forasmuch as they knew this *Nabis* to be guilty, before they made Peace and Confederacy with him; it was expedient, that some other cause of this Invasion should be alledged. Whereto he said further, That this Tyrant had occupied *Messene*, a Town Confederate with the *Romans*: That he had bargained to join with *Philip*; when he was their enemy, not only in League, but also in affinity: and that his Fleet had robbed many of their ships, about the Cape of *Malea*. Now touching this Piracy, since in the Articles by *Titus* propounded unto *Nabis*, there was no restitution mentioned, other than of ships, by him taken from the *Greeks* his neighbours, with home he had long held war: it may seem to have been objected, only by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise very frivolous. As for *Messene*, and the bargain of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made between the *Romans* and this Tyrant: and therefore not to have been mentioned. All this it seems that *Aristænus*, the Prætor of the *Achæans*, very well perceived: who therefore doubting lest the *Romans* (that were wont to talk so much of their own justice, honour, and faithfull dealing) should now relent, and forbear to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and had never done them wrong: framed his discourse to another end. He entreated *Nabis* to consider well of his own estate: and to settle his fortunes, whilest he might do it without hazzard: alledging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to surrender their Estates, and lived in great security, honour, and happiness, as private men. Thus they discoursed until night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquish *Argos*; and requested them, to deliver unto him in writing their other commands, that he might take counsel with his friends. The issue of all was, that, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates must be, for maintenance of an Army to lie in Leaguer all that Winter (as there was no hope of making short work) before the City of *Sparta*: they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, upon such Conditions as *Titus* should think meet. Besides the restitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending; *Titus* propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and some of them very grievous. He would not suffer the *Lacedæmonian* to have ought to do in the Isle of *Crete*; no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor war, either in that Island or elsewhere; not to build any Town or Castle upon his own Lands: not to keep any other shipping, than two small Barks; besides many other troublesome injunctions; with imposition of an hundred talents in silver to be paid out of hand, and fifty talents yearly, for eight years next ensuing. For observance of these Covenants he demanded five hostages, such as he himself should name; and one of them to be the Tyrants own Son. If it had been the meaning of *Titus*, to withdraw the war from *Nabis*, because it was not grounded upon justice: then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him; which he himself did offer, though it were for fear, to deliver up. But if it were thought reasonable, to dispense a little with the *Roman* faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound unto the state of their best friends in *Greece*, by the extirpation of this Tyranny: then should this enterprise, when once it was taken in hand, have been prosecuted unto the very utmost. As for this middle course which the *Romans* held: as it was not honourable unto them, to enrich themselves by the spoil of one that had not offended them; nor pleasing to the *Achæans*, who judged it ever after a great blemish to the noble acts of *Titus*: so did it minister unto the *Ætolians*, and to such as curiously pried into the faults of those which took upon them to be Patrons of *Greece*, no barren subject of malicious discourse. For since *Philip*, a King, and descended of many famous Kings, might not be suffered by these Masterly *Romans*, to hold any one of those Countreys or Towns in *Greece*, that had belonged unto his Ancestors: it was thought very strange, that *Lacedæmon*, once the most famous City among all the *Greeks*, was by the same *Romans* left in possession of a Tyrant, that had usurped it but yesterday; and he therein rooted by their authority, as their friend and Confederate. *Nabis* on the other side thought himself unmercifully dealt withall, by the self-same *Romans*, whose amity he had prefered in time of a doubtfull war, before the love and affinity

affinity of the *Macedonian* King, that had committed the City of *Argos* into his hands. But falſly had he dealt with the *Macedonian*: and falſly was he dealt with by thoſe, to whom he did betake himſelf. Among theſe Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleaſed him, ſave only that for the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*, (of whom a great number were in the *Roman* Camp; having among them *Ageſipolis* the natural King of *Sparta*, that being a young child was driven out by *Lycurgus* the firſt of the Tyrants) there was made no proviſion, to have them reſtored unto their City and Eſtates; but only leave required for as many of their wives, as would be ſo contented, to live abroad with them in baniſhment. Wherefore he forbore to give conſent unto theſe demands; and ſuſtained an aſſault or two; hoping belike that the enemies would ſoon be weary. But his fearful nature ſhortly overcame the reſolution, which the ſenſe of theſe injuries had put into him. So yielding unto all that had been propounded, He delivered the hoſtages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome* by the Senate and People. From this time forward, He thought the *Romans* far more wicked than himſelf; and was ready upon the firſt advantage, to do them all the miſchief that he could.

The *Argives* had heard news that *Lacedæmon* was even at point of being taken. This erected them, and gave them heart to think upon their own good. So they adventured to ſet upon the Garriſon; which was much weakened, by the remove of the three thouſand carried thence by *Pythagoras* to help the Tyrant at *Sparta*. There needed unto their liberty no more, than that all of them jointly ſhould ſet their hands to the getting of it, which no ſooner they did than they obtained it. Preſently after this came *T. Quintius* to *Argos*, where he was joyfully welcomed. He was deſervedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had laid hold without ſtaying for him; and that he might the better entitle himſelf thereto, he cauſed the liberty of the *Argives* to be proclaimed at the *Nemæan* games; as ratifying it by his authority. The City was annexed again to the Councel of *Achaia*; whereby the *Achæans* were not more ſtrengthened, than the *Argives* themſelves were ſecured from danger of relapſe, into the ſame extremities out of which they had newly eſcaped.

After this, *Titus* found little buſineſs or none wherewith to ſet on work his Army in *Greece*. *Antiochus* was about to ſend another Embaſſage to *Rome*, deſiring peace and friendſhip of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly diſpoſed unto quiet, *Scipio* the *Aſrican*, that was choſen Conſul at *Rome*, could not have his deſire, of being ſent Commander into *Greece*. The unſincere meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous diſpoſition of the *Ætolians*, were held as conſiderations worthy of regard: yet not ſufficient cauſes of making war. Neither appeared there any more honeſt way, of confuting the *Ætolians*, and of throughly perſwading all the *Greeks* (which was not to be neglected, by thoſe that meant to aſſure unto themſelves the patronage of *Greece*) that the good of the Country was their ſole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation unto it ſelf, till occaſion ſhould be ripe, and call them over again. Wherefore after *Titus* had ſpent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any near diſtance appearing, he called an Aſſembly of Delegates, from all parts of *Greece* to *Corinth*: where he meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted unto them all that paſſed ſince his coming into thoſe parts; and willed them to value the *Roman* friendſhip, according to the difference of eſtate, wherein the *Romans* found and left them. Hereto he added ſome wholeſome counſel; touching the moderate uſe of their liberty, and the care which they ought to have of living peaceably and without faction. Laſtly he gave up *Acrocorinthus* to the *Achæans*; withdrawing thence the *Roman* Garriſon, and promiſing to do the like (which very ſoon he did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; that ſo it might be known, what lyars the *Ætolians* were, who had accuſed the *Romans*, of a purpoſe to retain thoſe places. With joyful acclamations did the *Greeks* teſtifie their good liking of that which *Titus* had ſaid and done: as alſo (at his requeſt) they agreed, to ranſome and enlarge all *Romans*, that had been ſold into their Countrey by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* Crowned his actions in *Greece* with an happy end: and by leaving the Countrey before his departure was urged, left therein behind him the memory of his vertue and benefits, untainted by jealouſie and ſuſpition of any evil meaning. At his coming to the City, He had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodlieſt of all that *Rome* had until that day beheld. Three daies together the ſhew of the pomp continued: as being ſet out with the ſpoils of a Countrey, more abundant in things worthy of ſuch a ſpectacle, than any wherein the *Romans* had before made War. All ſorts of

Arms, with Statues and curious pieces of Brass or Marble, taken from the Enemy, were carried in the first daies Pageant. The second day, was brought in all the treasure of Gold and Silver: Some in the rude Mass unwrought; some in divers sorts of Coin; and some in Vessels of sundry kinds, that were the more highly prized by the workmanship. Among these were ten shields, all of Silver; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himself entered the City in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and fourteen Crowns of Gold, bestowed upon him by divers Cities. There were also led the beasts for Sacrifice, the Prisoners, and the hostages: among which, *Demetrius* the Son of King *Philip*, and *Armenes* the Son of *Nabis*, were principal. After him followed his Army; and (which added much grace, and good liking to the shew) the *Roman* Captives, by his procurement redeemed from slavery in *Greece*.

Not long after this triumph, He procured audience of the Senate for many Embassages, that were come out of *Greece* and *Asia*. They had all very favourable answers, excepting those of King *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not hear, but referred over to *T. Quintius*, and the ten that had been his Counsellors; because their business was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embassadors wondered. They said unto *Titus* and his Associates, that they could not discern wherein consisted any perplexity of their message. For all treaties of peace and friendship, were either between the Victor and the vanquished; between those, that having warred together, were upon equal terms of advantage; or between those that had lived alwaies in good agreement, without any quarrel. Unto the Victor, they said, that the vanquished must yield; and patiently endure the imposition of some Covenants, that else might seem unreasonable. Where War had been made, and no advantage gotten: there was it usual to demand and make restitutions of things and places claimed, gotten or lost; accordingly as both parts could agree. But between those which had never fallen out, there ought no Conditions of establishing friendship to be proposed: since it was reasonable, that each part should hold their own; and neither carry it self as superiour to the other, in prescribing ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kind, was the league and friendship that had been so long in conclusion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Which being so: they held it strange, that the *Romans* should thus insist on points no way concerning them, and take upon them to prescribe unto the King, what Cities of *Asia* he should set at liberty; from what Cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted Tributes; either putting or not putting his Garrisons into them, as the Senate should think fit. Hereto *Quintius* answered, that since they went so distinctly to work, He would also do the like. Wherefore he propounded unto them two Conditions, and gave them their choice whether to except: Either that it should be lawful for the *Romans* to take part in *Asia* with any that would seek their friendship; Or if King *Antiochus* misliked this, and would have them forbear to meddle in *Asia*, that then he should abandon whatsoever he had gotten in *Europe*. This was plain dealing, but no reasonable nor pertinent answer, to that which the Kings Embassadors had propounded. For if the *Romans* might be hired to abstain from *Asia*, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately won in *Europe*: then did not the affairs of *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, or any other *Asiatiques*, whom they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, bind them in honour to make War with a King that sought their love, and had never done them injury. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great shame be so base, as to deliver up unto them the City of *Lysimachia*, whereon he had of late been at so much cost; in building it up even from the foundation, and repeopling it with Inhabitants, that had all been dispersed, or captive to the *Barbarians*. And so much the Embassadors with great indignation alledged: saying, That *Antiochus* desired friendship of the *Romans*; but so, as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour the *Romans* took upon them as if their cause were far the superior. For it was, they said, their purpose to set at liberty those Towns which the King would oppress and hold in subjection: especially since those Towns were of *Greekish* blood and language; and fell, in that regard under the patronage which *Rome* had afforded unto all *Greece* besides. By this colour they might soon have left *Antiochus* King of not many subjects on the hither side of *Euphrates*. Neither did they forbear to say, That unless he would quit what he held in *Europe*, it was their meaning not only to protect those which relied upon them in *Asia*, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might be understood) with such as were his subjects. Wherefore they urged his Embassadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of these two Conditions their King would accept. For lack of a pleasing

pleasing answer, which the Embassadours could not hereto make, little wanted of giving presently defiance to the King. But they suffered themselves to be intreated, and were contented once again to send over *P. Villius*, and others that had been already with the King at *Lysimachia*; by whom they might receive a final answer, whether these demands made by *Quintius* and his Associates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitless Treaties ensuing, *Antiochus* got the leisure of two years; or thereabouts, to prepare for War; finding in the *Romans* all that while, no disposition to let him live in peace.

§. V.

Of the long Wars which the Romans *had with the Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of* M. Portius Cato. *Injuries done by* Massanissa *to the Carthaginians, that sue to the Romans for justice in vain.*

THE *Insubrians*, *Bojians*, and other of the *Cisalpine Gaules*, together with the *Ligurians*; made often and (in a manner) continual war upon the *Romans* in *Italy*, even from such time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, untill such time as they themselves were utterly subdued: which was not, before the *Romans* were almost at the very height of the Empire. These Nations, having served under *Mago* for wages, and afterwards having gotten *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, to be Leader unto them all, as hath already been shewed; by this their fellowship in Arms, grew to be such willing partakers each of others fortune, that seldome afterwards either the *Gaules* or *Ligurians* did stir alone: but that their Companions, hearing it, were ready to second them. How the *Romans* first prevailed, and got large possession in *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called *Lumbardie*: it hath been long since rehearsed between the first and second *Punick* Wars. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Countrey, by means of *Hannibal* his passage there through. Neither is it likely that the re-conquest would have been more difficult or tedious unto the *Romans*, than was the first purchase: if, besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed unto this war, had not been distracted by the *Ligurians*: that alwaies made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the danger at their backs. The *Ligurians* were a stout Nation, light and swift of body; well practised in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight again. Their Countrey was mountainous, rough, woody, and full of straight and dangerous passages. Few good Towns they had: but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neither be taken or besieged. They were also very poor; and had little or nothing that might give contentment unto a victorious Army that should spoil their Land. In these respects, they served excellently well to train up the *Roman* Souldiers to hardness and military patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of War) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrel to *Rome*, grew partly from their love unto the *Gaules*, their neighbours and companions: partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territory of their borderers, that were subject unto *Rome*. But their obstinate continuance in the War which they had begun, seems to have been grounded upon the Condition of all Salvages: To be friends or foes, by custome, rather than by Judgement: and to acknowledge no such vertue in Leagues, or formal conclusions of peace, as ought to hinder them from using their advantage; or taking revenge of injuries when they return to mind. This quality is found in all, or most of the West-Indians: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Wars between them and any of their neighbours, do use commonly this answer, *It hath still been the custome for us and them, to fight one against the other.*

Ch. 2. sect. 1. of this Book.

Divers overthrows, though none that were great, these *Ligurians* gave unto the *Romans*: but many more, and greater, they received. Often they sought peace, when they found themselves in distress, and brake it again as often, when they thought it profitable so to do. The best was, that as their Countrey was a good place of exercise unto the *Romans*, so out of their own Countrey they did little harm: not sending any great Armies far from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make War, save on their own ground.

The Country of *Spain*, as it was the first part of the Continent out of *Italy* that became subject unto the *Romans*: so was it the last of all their Provinces, which was wholly and throughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers unto an Oxe-hide: and the *Romans* found in it the property of that Oxe-hide which *Calanus* the *Indian* shewed unto the Great *Alexander*, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For treading

treading upon any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground. And thus was it with *Spain*. Seldom did it happen that those parts from which the *Roman* Armies lay fartheſt, were not up in rebellion. The *Spaniards* were a very hard Nation, and eaſily ſtirred up to arms; but had not much knowledge in the art of war, nor any good Captains. They wanted alſo (which was their princial hinderance) good intelligence among themſelves: and being divided into many ſmall Signiories, that had little other communion than of language, they ſeldom or never provided in general for the common good of their Country; but made it their chief care, each of them to look unto their own Territory. Such private reſpects made them often to fall aſunder, when many had united themſelves together, for chaſing out of the *Romans*. And theſe were the cauſes of their often overthrows: as deſire of liberty, rather then complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cauſe of their often taking arms.

The *Carthaginians* had been accuſtomed, to make evaculation of this Cholerick *Spaniſh* humour; by employing, as Mercenaries in their wars abroad, thoſe that were moſt likely to be unquiet at home. They had alſo taken Souldiers from one part of the Countrey, and uſed them in another: finding means to pay them all, out of the profits which they raiſed upon the whole Countrey; as being far better huſbands, and of more dexterity than were the *Romans*, in that kind. But contrariwiſe, the *Romans*, uſing the ſervice of their own Legions, and of their ſure friends the *Latines*, had little buſineſs for the *Spaniards*; and therefore were fain to have much buſineſs with them. *Spain* was too far diſtant, and withall too great for them to ſend over Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the courſe that they took in *Italy*. Wherefore it remained, that they ſhould alwaies maintain ſuch Armies in the Countrey, as might ſerve to hold in obedience perforce; and ſuch heedful Captains as might be ſtill ready to oppoſe the *Barbarians* in their firſt Commotion. This they did, and thereby held the Countrey; though ſeldome in peace.

Very ſoon after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raiſed War in *Spain* againſt the *Romans*, even upon the ſame general ground, that was the foundation of all the *Spaniſh* Wars following. It was thought unreaſonable, that the *Spaniards* ſhould one while help the *Carthaginians* againſt the *Romans*, and another while the *Romans* againſt the *Carthaginians*; baſely forgetting to help themſelves againſt thoſe that were ſtrangers, yet uſurped the Dominion over them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behind him in that Country, being well acquainted with the manner of War in thoſe parts, ſuppreſſed this rebellion by many Victories: and, together with ſubjection, brought peace upon the Countrey; which laſted five years. This Victory of the *Romans*, though it happily ended the War: yet left it ſtill remaining the cauſe of the War; which after five years brake out again. The *Spaniards* fought a battel with the *Roman* Proconſul, whom they ſlew; and had a great Victory, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy ſucceſs of their Wars in *Greece*, made the *Romans* think it enough to ſend thither two Prætors, and with each of them ſome two Legions. Theſe did ſomewhat: yet not ſo much, but that *M. Portius Cato*, who was Conſul the year following, and ſent into that Province; found at his coming little leſs to do, than the reconquering of all *Spain*. But it fell out happily, that all the *Spaniards* were not of one mind: ſome were faithful to *Rome*; and ſome were idle beholders of the pains that others took. Yet when *Cato* had won a great Victory upon the chiefeſt of them; they roſe againſt him in many parts of the Countrey, and put him unto much new trouble. Whileſt he was about to make a journey againſt thoſe that were as yet unſubdued: ſome of the lately vanquiſhed, were even ready to rebell. He therefore diſarmed them; which they took ſo heavily, that many of them ſlew themſelves for very grief. Hearing of this, and well underſtanding that ſuch deſperation might work dangerous effects: He called unto him the principal among them: and commending unto them peace and quietneſs, which they never had diſturbed but unto their own great loſs, He prayed them to deviſe what courſe might be taken for holding them aſſured unto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would give counſel in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kind of Subject; He gave expreſs charge, That upon a day appointed they ſhould throw down the walls of all their Towns. Afterwards he carryed the war about from place to place; and with ſingular induſtry finiſhed it in ſhort time. Neither thought he it any diſgrace to him or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*, and hire an Army of the *Celtiberians*, againſt other of their Countrymen;

Countrymen: excusing the indignity, such as it seemed, with a jest, That if he were vanquished and slain, then should he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victory, He could pay them with the enemies money. Finally, He brought the War to so good end, that in long time after, though *Spain* were often troublesome, yet was it in no danger of being lost. He increased also the publick Revenues in that Province, by causing some Mines of Iron and Silver to be wrought, that had before lain unregarded. Herein he did benefit the Common-wealth by a vertue much agreeable to his own peculiar disposition.

For this *M. Cato* was not only very notable in the Art of war, which might well be then termed the occupation of the *Romans*; but so well furnished with all other usefull qualities, that very little was wanting in him which might seem requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was very skilful in the *Roman* Laws, a man of great Eloquence, and not unprofitable in any business either private or publick. Many books he wrote; whereof the principal were, of the *Roman* Antiquities, and of Husbandry. In matter of Husbandry he was notable, and thereby most increased his substance; being of mean birth, and the first of his house. Strong of body he was, and exceeding temperate: so as he lived in perfect health to very old age. But that which most commended him unto the better sort of the *Romans*, was his great sincerity of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himself to the antient laudable Customes of the City: Herein he had merited singular commendations, if the vehemency of his nature had not caused him to malign the vertue of that noble *Scipio* the *African*, and some other worthy men; that were no less honest than himself, through far less rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwise, He was a very good Citizen, and one of such temper, that he could fashion himself to all occasions; as if he were never out of his Element. He loved business so well; or rather hated vice so earnestly; that even unto the end of his life, He was exercised in defending himself or accusing others. For at the age of fourscore and six years, he pleaded in his own defence: and four years after, he accused *Sergius Galba* unto the people. So began the Nobility of *Cato* his family; which ended in his great grand-child *M. Cato* the *Vtican*: one that being of like vertue and fervency, had all his good purposes dasht, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such nobility and greatness as this his Ancestor had continually vexed.

The *Spanish* Wars, after *Cato* his departure out of the Countrey, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many: and the Country seldom free from insurrection, in one part or other. The *Roman* Prætors therefore, of which two every year were sent over Commanders into *Spain* (that was divided into Governments) did rarely fail of such work, as might afford the honour of Triumph. One slew thirteen thousand *Spaniards* in a battle: another took fifty Towns: and a third enforced many States of the Country to sue for peace. Thus every one of them, or most of them, did some laudable service; and yet so, that commonly there were of men, towns, and people, new that rebelled, instead of the old that were slain, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof, I have already pointed; and therefore think it enough to say, That the business in *Spain* required not the imployment of a *Roman* Consul, from such time as *Cato* thence departed, untill the *Numantian* War broke out, which was very long after.

In all other Countries to the West of the *Ionian* Seas, the *Romans* had peace; but so had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barchine* House promised all felicity which *Rome* could grant, unto themselves and their obedient City: *Masaniſſa* fell to disputing with the sword, about the title to the best part of their Lands. He began with *Emporia*, a fruitful Region about the lesser *Syrtis*: wherein, among other Cities, was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a Talent unto *Carthage* for Tribute. This Countrey the *Numidian* challenged, and by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claim unto the whole. He had a great advantage: for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any War, without leave obtained from their Masters the *Romans*. They had none other way of redress, than by sending to *Rome* their Complaint of his doings. And surely they wanted not good matter to alledge, if the Judges had been impartial. For besides that *Scipio*, in limiting out to them their bounds, had left them the possession of this Country: *Masaniſſa* himself, now very lately pursuing a Rebel that fled out of his Kingdom, desired leave of the *Carthaginians*, for himself to pass through it in his way to *Cyrene*: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise been questionable) that the Country was theirs. This notwithstanding, *Masaniſſa* had wherewith to justifie his

his proceedings, especially unto the *Roman* Senate. He gave the *Fathers* to understand by his Embassadours, what faithless people the *Carthaginians* were, and how ill affected to the State of *Rome*. There had lately been sent unto them from *Hannibal*, one that should perswade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined upon some suspition of his errand; yet neither arresting him nor his ship, had thereby afforded him means to escape. Hence the *Numidian* concluded, that certainly it was their purpose to rebell; and therefore good policy to keep them down.

As for the Countrey of *Emporia*: it had alwaies, he said, been theirs that were able to hold it by strong hand: and so belonged sometime unto the *Numidian* Kings: though now of late it was in possession of the *Carthaginians*. But if the truth were known, the Citizens of *Carthage* had not any very warrantable title unto any more ground, than that whereon their City stood: or scarcely to so much. For they were no better than strangers in *Africk*, that had gotten leave there to build upon so much ground, as they could encompass with an Oxe hide cut into small thongs. Whatsoever they held without such a compass, was purchased by fraud, and wrongfull encroachments. This considered, *Masanissa* requested of the Senate, that they would not adjudge unto such usurpers, the Countrey sometimes appertaining to the Ancestors of him their assured friend. The *Romans* having heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtful, that they could not on the sudden tell what to determine. Wherefore, because they would do nothing rashly: they sent over three Embassadours, of whom *P. Scipio* the *African* was one and the chief, to decide the controversie: yet secretly giving them instructions, to leave all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embassadors followed their directions, and left all doubtful. So was it likely, that *Masanissa* with a strong Army should quickly prevail against those that could no more than talk of their right, and exclaim against the wrong. By such Arts were the *Carthaginians* held, not only from stirring in favour of King *Antiochus*, if they had thereto any disposition: but were prepared by little and little, unto their final destruction: that came upon them, when the *Romans* had leisure to express the utmost of their hatred.

§. VI.

The Ætolians labour to provoke Antiochus, Philip, *and* Nabis, *to War upon the* Romans, *by whom they hold themselves wronged and disgraced.* Nabis *besiegeth* Gytheum, *and wasting some part of* Achæa. *The exact skill of* Philopœmen *in advantage of ground: whereby he utterly vanquisheth* Nabis. Antiochus *being denied peace of the* Romans, *joyns with the* Ætolians. *The* Ætolians *surprize* Demetrias; *and by killing* Nabis, *their Confederate, seize upon* Sparta. *But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at* Philopœmen *his perswasions annex themselves to the* Achæans.

ALL *Greece* being at peace, and the *Roman* Armies thence departed: it grieved much the *Ætolians* to think, that they who had promised unto themselves the whole spoil of *Philip*, and the highest reputation among the *Greeks*; were not only disappointed of their covetous hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the most unregarded. Yet was there made a great access to their Estate; by adding much unto them, of that which had been taken from the *Macedonian*. This might well have sufficed them, if their desires had not been immoderate; and their indignation more vehement, than their desire. But they were not so pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due: as they were vexed with the denial of that which they claimed, and with finding themselves to be wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought that they had unsufferable wrong. Wherefore they devised, in a Parliament which they shortly held, by what means they best might right themselves; and give the *Romans* a sorrowful knowledge of the difference between their enmity and friendship. To this purpose they soon agreed, as concurring all in one affection; That they would not only perswade *Antiochus* to make war upon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refused peace; but that they would deal with the King of *Macedon* their ancient enemy, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, to join all together in a new Confederacy: whose joynt forces could not in all likelihood, but far surmount those of the *Romans*, *Achæans*, *Rhodians*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprise, which the *Ætolians* took in hand; and well beseeming them, for they were great darers. They sent Embassadours

baſſadors to all theſe Kings, with perſwaſions, as they thought moſt forcible. But *Philip* was irreſolute; and *Antiochus* willing to try firſt all other courſes. *Nabis* the *Lacedæmonian*, who neither (as *Philip*) had loſt much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in fear of any War; yet ſhewed himſelf of all other the moſt forward: and not ſtaying ſo much as to ſeek any good pretence, began immediately to lay ſiege unto *Gyttheum*, that had been lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Achæans*, to whoſe care chiefly *Titus* at his departure had commended the Affairs of *Peloponneſus*, were not ſlow to admoniſh *Nabis* of his duty: neither would they have ſtaid long from repreſſing his violence by open war; had not ſome of them thought it wiſdom to ask Counſel of the *Romans*, and particularly of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themſelves in a buſineſs of ſuch importance. Whilſt thus they ſpent the time in ſending Embaſſadors, and were adviſed by *Quintius*, to let all alone, and to wait for the coming of the *Roman* Forces, that would ſhortly be amongſt them: *Nabis* was bold to give them juſter cauſe of complaint, by waſting their own Territory.

Philopœmen was then the Prætor of the *Achæans*, who had long been abſent in *Crete*; making War there for his minds ſake and recreation. Unto him the *Achæans* referred themſelves, giving him leave to order the War at his pleaſure; either ſtaying till the *Romans* came, or doing otherwiſe, as he ſhould think beſt. He made all haſte to relieve *Gyttheum* by Sea; fearing leſt the Town, and the *Achæan* Garriſon within it, ſhould be loſt, if he uſed any delay. But *Philopœmen* was ſo bad a Sea-man, that he knew not a ſtrong Ship from a rotten. He made a *Quadrireme* Gally his Admiral, that had fourſcore years agoe been counted a gallant Veſſel in the Navie of *Antigonus Gonatus*. Neither was the reſt of his Fleet ſo good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedæmonian*. Only it fell out well, that he committed himſelf to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her Wings, than with her Talons. For his Admiral Gally was ſtemmed at the firſt; and being rotten with age, ſprang ſo many leaks, and took in water ſo faſt, that ſhe was fain to yield without further reſiſtance. When the reſt of the Fleet ſaw what was become of their Admiral, all were preſently diſcouraged, and ſaved themſelves with what ſpeed they could. But *Philopœmen* was not herewith daunted. If he had failed in Sea-ſervice, which was none of his Occupation, He ſaid, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Army from the ſiege of *Gyttheum*, to ſtop the *Achæans*, if they ſhould invade his Country. But upon theſe which were placed in guard of *Laconia*, *Philopœmen* came unexpected; fired their Camp, and put all, ſave a very few of them, to the Sword. Then marched he with all his Army towards *Lacedæmon*: within ten miles whereof he was, when the Tyrant met him, that had already taken *Gyttheum*. It was not expected that *Nabis* would have been ready for them ſo ſoon. Or if he ſhould come from *Gyttheum* with any part of his Forces: yet was it thought that he muſt over-take them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almoſt ſecurely, in a long troop, reaching ſome five miles; having their Horſe, and the greateſt parr of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to bear off any ſudden impreſſion. But *Nabis*, who formerly underſtood, or at leaſt ſuſpected, what courſe they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Army; encamped there where they meant to have lodged. It was the cuſtome of *Philopœmen*, when he walked, or travelled abroad with his friends, to mark the ſituation of the Country about him; and to diſcourſe what might befal an Army marching the ſame way. He would ſuppoſe, that having with him there ſuch a number of Souldiers, ordered and ſorted in ſuch manner, and marching towards ſuch a place; he were upon that ground encountred by a greater Army, or better prepared to fight. Then would he put the queſtion, Whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a ſtand? What piece of Ground it were meet for him to ſeize upon? And in what manner he might beſt do it? In what ſort he ſhould order his men? Where beſtow his Carriages, and under what Guard? In what ſort encamp himſelf? And which way march the day following. By ſuch continual meditation he was grown ſo perfect, that he did never meet with any difficulty, whence he could not explicate himſelf and his followers: At this time he made a ſtand: and having drawn up his Rere, He encamped near unto the place where he was; within half a mile of the Enemy. His baggage with all thereto belonging, he beſtowed on a Rock; encompaſſing them round with his Souldiers. The Ground was rough, the wayes bad, and the day almoſt quite ſpent; ſo as *Nabis* could not at the preſent greatly moleſt him. Both Armies were to water at one Brook; whereto the *Achæans* lay the nearer. This watering therefore was firſt to miniſter the like occaſion of skirmiſh. *Philopœmen* underſtood this; and laid an

ambuſh in place convenient; whereinto the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were ſlaughtered in great numbers. Preſently after this, he cauſed one of his own Auxiliaries to go to the Tyrant as a fugitive, and tell him, That the *Achæans* had a purpoſe to get between him and *Lacedæmon*; whereby they would both debar his return into the City, and withal encourage the People to take Arms for the Recovery of their Freedom. The Tyrant hearing this, marched haſtily away; and left his Camp, which hardly otherwiſe would have been forced. Some Companies he made to ſtay behind, and ſhew themſelves upon the Rampart, thereby to conceal his departure. But *Philopœmen* was not ſo to be beguiled. He eaſily won the Camp, and gave chaſe to *Nabis*: whoſe followers being overtaken, had no courage to turn about and make head. The enemies being thus diſperſed, and fled into woods where they lay in covert all that day: *Philopœmen* conceived aright, that their fear and neceſſity would teach them to creep homewards, and ſave themſelves when it grew dark. Wherefore in the evening, when he had gathered together all thoſe of his light armature, which had followed the chaſe whilſt it was day, he led forth the reſt that had well refreſhed themſelves, and occupied the two moſt ordinary paſſages unto *Lacedæmon*. So *Nabis* his men, when it was dark night, perceiving in *Philopœmens* Camp great ſtore of lights; thought that all had been at reſt: and therefore adventured to make an eſcape home. But they were ſo way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into *Sparta*. Thirty days together after this, did *Philopœmen* waſte the Country round about, whilſt *Nabis* durſt not iſſue forth of his Town; and then returned home, leaving the Tyrant in a manner without forces.

The *Roman* Embaſſadors were then in *Greece*, and *T. Quintius* among them, labouring to make their party ſtrong againſt *Antiochus* and *Nabis*, whom they knew to be ſolicited by the *Ætolians*. Very fair countenance they alſo made unto *Philip*; and with comfortable promiſes drew him to make ſhew, what ſoever he thought, of good correſpondence. They promiſed to reſtore unto him his Son: and were contented to let him hope, that he ſhould receive other favours at their hands; and regain poſſeſſion of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the *Romans* prepare for War againſt *Antiochus* in *Greece*, whileſt their Embaſſadors that were with him in *Aſia*, denied otherwiſe to grant him Peace, than if he would yield unto one of the Conditions, by them ſo often propounded. The long abſence of this King in *Syria*, where he had accompliſhed the marriage between *Ptolomy* and his Daughter; together with the death of young *Antiochus* the Kings Son, which happened during the Treaty, and hindered, or ſeemed to hinder the King from giving audience in perſon to the Embaſſadors; cauſed them to return home to *Rome*; as uncertain of their anſwer as at their ſetting forth. One thing that might have been, and partly was, beneficial unto them, they brought to paſs during their abode at *Epheſus*; either by cunning, or (as *Livy* rather think) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they diſcourſed often with him, and blamed him for having thus fled unto *Antiochus* upon a cauſeleſs ſuſpition wherein he held the *Romans*; that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harm. Many have affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of theſe Embaſſadors; and that he, among other diſcourſes with *Hannibal*, demanded once, *Which of all the famous Captains that had lived*, Hannibal *judged the moſt worthy?* So *Hannibal* gave to *Alexander* of *Macedon* the firſt place: to *Pyrrhus* the ſecond: and the third he challenged unto himſelf. But *Scipio*, who thought his own title better than that it ought to be ſo forgotten, asked yet further, What wouldſt thou have ſaid then, *Hannibal*, if thou hadſt vanquiſhed me? To whom the *Carthaginian* replied, Then would not I have given the firſt place to *Alexander*, but have claimed it as due unto my ſelf. Now whether this were ſo or otherwiſe, the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the *Roman* Embaſſadors, made him ſuſpected of *Antiochus*; who therefore did forbear a while to uſe his counſel. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceived this change in the King, and plainly deſiring him to tell the cauſe thereof, heard what it was; he eaſily recovered his former grace and credit. For he told how his Father had cauſed him to ſwear at the Altars, when he was a little Boy, that he never ſhould be friend unto the *Romans*. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vain ſurmizes: but to know thus much, that ſo long as he thought upon War with *Rome*, ſo long would *Hannibal* do him all good ſervice: whereas contrariwiſe, if he intended to make peace, then ſhould it behoove him to uſe the counſel of ſome other man.

The *Ætolians*, and their Friends, were leſs buſie all this while, in making their party ſtrong againſt the *Romans*, than were the *Romans* in muſtering up their friends in *Greece*. They had ſo often dealt with *Antiochus*, vaunting

vaunting much of their own forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the Victory against *Philip*, that finally they prevailed with him; especially when the *Roman* Embassadors had left him without hope of peace, unless he would buy it at too dear a rate. They dealt in like sort with the *Macedonian*. But in vain. He understood the *Romans* and himself too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their own Forces to the uttermost: as knowing that all the burthen must lie upon *Antiochus* and themselves, without help from any, save only from some few that were discontented in *Greece*. Whilst they were about this, and had with them an Embassador of the King *Antiochus*, that animated them to resolution, the *Athenian* Embassadors, whom *Titus* had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemency a little; by exhorting them not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the *Romans*, that lay near at hand. For want of a ready Answer hereto, they were contented to approve the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the business worthy of his presence. For since *Antiochus* had now declared himself against the *Romans*, it would be no small piece of service, to withdraw from his friendship, those by whose encouragement he had made the adventure. Wherefore he came to their *Panætolium*, or great Assembly of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might serve to appease them. He willed them to consider the weight of the enterprise which they took in hand; whereby *Greece* was like to become a Champaign-field, on which to the ruine of the Country, the *Romans* and King *Antiochus*, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Mastery: the *Ætolians*, as Masters in that kind of Fence, setting them on, and becoming
[1] *Liv. l.* 35. * *the Sticklers*. As for those grievances which did thus exasperate them, and urge them to such violent courses, he willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might do, to send Embassadors to *Rome*, that should either plead their Right in the Senate, or (if their Right unto the places which they claimed, were not good) make request to have what they desired: than thus to set the World in an uproar, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he said or could say, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embassador of the King, whose help they had sought, wait so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the *Romans*. Neither was it news unto them to hear those comfortable words; that by sending to *Rome*, they might happen to obtain what they desired; either as their Right, or else by way of Favour. For with such Terms had they been feasted once already: and were by the Senate rejected unto *Titus*: who having it in his own power, gave them no satisfaction; yet would now again refer them to the Senate. This were only loss of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore, without more ado they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus the Great* should be intreated to come over into *Greece*, as well to set the Country at liberty, as also to decide the Controversies depending between the *Romans* and the *Ætolians*. Such a Decree they would not have made, had they not understood the Kings mind before. Having made it, they forgot no point of bravery, whereby to vaunt themselves to the Kings Embassadors, and against the *Romans*. *Titus* desired of their Prætor to let him see a Copy of this new Decree. The Prætor answered, That then he had other things to do: but that this Decree, and their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if he came to their Camp in *Italy* upon the River of *Tibris*. Gentler words would have done better, as the *Ætolians* are like to understand hereafter. But having thus begun, they meant henceforth to go roundly to work. The care of the War they referred unto the more private Council of their Nation; that no occasion might slip, in waiting for the Authority of a General Assembly. The *Apocleti* (so were the privy Council of *Ætolia* called) went as hotly to work, as any of the youngest heads could have done. They laid a Plot how to get into their hands at one time the Towns of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they sent men for the purpose. *Demetrias* they took upon the sudden; entring some of them as friends, to conduct home a principal man of the City: who for speaking words against *T. Quintius*, had been driven to flee thence; but was by intercession of those that loved him, again re-called. His *Ætolian* Companions that were not many, seized upon a Gate; whereat they let in a Troop which they had left not far behind them: and so fell to murdering the chief of the *Roman* Faction. At *Chalcis* they sped not so well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home: but they came so strong, that their purpose was discovered, and the Town prepared to defend it self against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this Hostility, they gave a gentle answer, saying, That they came not thither as Enemies, but only to deliver the Town from the *Romans*; who more insolently

domineered over it, than ever the *Macedonians* had done. By which Rhetorick they prevailed no more than they could do by plain force. For the Towns-men replyed, That they neither founnd any abridgement of their liberty, nor needed any Garriſon to keep them from the *Romans*, from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received injury. So this buſineſs was daſht. The attempt upon *Sparta* was more ſtrange and deſperate. *Nabis* their good Friend was Lord of the Town, ſtyling himſelf King, but more truly by all men called Tyrant. He had well-near loſt all, by means of the overthrow which *Philopœmen* had lately given him: ſince he durſt not ſtir abroad; and dayly expected the miſchief, that on all ſides threatned him. Wherefore he ſent Meſſengers, one after another, to the *Ætolians*; requeſting them, That as he had not been ſlow to ſtir in their behalf, but adventured himſelf upon the utmoſt of danger, when all others were backward; ſo they would be pleaſed to ſend him what help they might, ſince his bad fortude had cauſed him preſently to need it. It hath been often ſaid, That the ravenous *Ætolians* were only true to themſelves, and regarded neither faith nor friendſhip, otherwiſe, than as it might conduce to their own ends. And ſo dealt they now. For ſince *Nabis* his mercenary forces, which upheld his Tyranny, were in a manner conſumed: they thought it expedient for their Eſtate, to put him out of the way; and by ſo doing to aſſure *Lacedæmon* unto themſelves. To this purpoſe, they ſent thither *Alexamenus*, one whom they thought a man fit for ſuch a work. To him they gave a thouſand Foot, and thirty Horſe, choſen for the purpoſe. Theſe thirty were by *Democritus* the Prætor brought into the Counſel of the *Apocleti*, where they were commanded to be no wiſer than they ſhould be, nor to think that they were ſent to make War with the *Achæans*, or to do ought elſe, ſave only what *Alexamenus* ſhould command them; which were it never ſo deſperate, and in ſeeming againſt all reaſon; yet muſt they underſtand, that unleſs they performed it, they ſhould have no good welcome home. So *Alexamenus* came to the Tyrant, whom he encouraged with brave words, telling him that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to cover all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the *Romans* were like to find other manner of work, than of late with *Philip*: ſince the Elephants of this Great King, without other help, would ſuffice to tread them down. As for the *Ætolians*, he ſaid that if need ſhould ſo require, they would preſently ſend away to *Lacedæmon* all the Forces that they could raiſe: But that they were very deſirous at the preſent, to make as goodly a muſter as they could, before the great King; which cauſed them to ſend him thither afore with no greater company. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart; bring forth his men, that had been long pent up in the City; and train them without the Walls: as if ſhortly he ſhould employ them in work of Conqueſt, rather than Defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exerciſed his men in the field: riding up and down with this *Alexamenus*, and no more than three or four Horſe about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exerciſe, *Alexamenus* made it his faſhion, to ſtep aſide alone to his *Ætolians*, and ſay ſomewhat as he thought fit: which done, he ſtill returned again to *Nabis*. But when he ſaw time for the great work which he had in hand; he then went aſide to his thirty Horſemen, and bade them remember rhe task enjoyned them at their ſetting forth; telling them, That they were all in caſe of baniſhed men, unleſs they would anon come up to him, and help him to finiſh that which they ſhould ſee him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant began to draw near them: and *Alexamenus* making towards him, charged him on the ſudden, and ſtruck him down. The thirty *Ætolians* never ſtood to deliberate upon the matter, but all flew in; and, before any ſuccour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Preſently upon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercenaries ran unto the dead body: where in ſtead of ſeeking revenge, they ſtood fooliſhly gazing as beholders. *Alexamenus* with his *Ætolians*, haſted into the City, and ſeized on the Palace: where he fell to ranſacking the Treaſure; and troubled himſelf with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his Followers as were diſperſed in the Town, did alſo the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who ſeeing themſelves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not endure to ſee thoſe that had ſlain him, begin to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the Town was ſhortly in Arms: and for lack of another Captain, they took a little Boy of the Royal Stock, that had been brought up with *Nabis* his Children, whom they mounted upon a good Horſe, and made him their Chief. So they fell upon the *Ætolians* that were idly ſtragling about; and put them all to the Sword. *Alexamenus* with not many of his Company, were ſlain in

keeping the Citadel : and those few that escaped thence into *Arcadia*, were taken by the Magistrates; who sold them all as bond-slaves. In this doubtful estate of things at *Lacedæmon*, *Philopœmen* came thither : who calling out the chief of the City, and speaking such words unto them as *Alexemanus* should have done, after he had slain the Tyrant : easily perswaded them for their own good and safety, to incorporate themselves with the *Achæans*. Thus by the enterprise, no less dishonourable than difficult, of the *Ætolians*: and the small, but effectual, travel of *Philopœmen*, the *Achæans* made a notable purchase : and *Lacedæmon*, that had hitherto been governed either by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themselves Kings, became the Member of a Commonwealth, whereof the Name had scarce any reputation, when *Sparta* ruled over all *Greece*.

§. VII.

Antiochus, *perswaded by* Thoas *the* Ætolian, *comes over into* Greece *ill attended. Sundry passages between Him, the* Ætolians, Chalcidians, *and others. He wins* Chalcis, *and thereby the whole Isle of* Eubœa. *The vanity of the Kings Embassadors and the* Ætolians, *with the civil Answer of* Titus *to their discourse, before the* Achæans. *That it concerned the Greeks to have desired Peace between the* Romans *and* Antiochus, *as the best assurance of their own Liberty. Of many petty Estates that fell to the King. Of* Aminander; *and an idle vanity by which King* Phillip *was lost.* Hannibal *gives good counsel in vain. Some Towns won in* Thessaly. *The King retires to* Chalcis, *where he marrieth a young Wife, and revels away the rest of Winter. Upon the coming of the Roman Consul, all forsake* Antiochus. *He with two thousand* Ætolians *keeps the Straights of* Thermopylæ. *He is beaten, and flees into* Asia : *leaving all* Greece *unto the Villors.*

ANtiochus was troubled much in *Asia*, with *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus*, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leave them Enemies behind him : and to win them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was he desirous with all speed convenient, to shew himself in *Greece* : where he had been told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, that in all the Country there was a very small number, which bore hearty affection unto the *Romans* : That *Nabis* was already up in arms : That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a chain, desiring nothing more, than to break loose : and that the *Ætolians*, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were ready to confer upon him the greatness, which they had unworthily bestowed upon insolent *Barbarians*. Of all this, the least part was true. Yet that which was true, made such a noise, as added credit unto all the rest. Whilst therefore the King was thinking to send *Hannibal* into *Africk*, there to molest the *Romans*, and so give him the better leisure of using his own opportunities in *Greece* : *Thoas* the *Ætolian* came over to him, and bade him lay all other care aside; for that his Countreymen had already taken *Demetrias*, a Town of main importance, that should give him entertainment, whence he might proceed as became the greatness of his vertue and fortune. This did serve to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*, *Thoas* was bold to tell the King, first, that it was not expedient for him to divide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into *Greece*, might serve to lay open unto him all places, without need of using violence : and secondly, That in any such great enterprise there could not be chosen a more unfit man to be employed in the Kings service, than was that famous *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*. For he said that the King should as greatly feel the loss of a Fleet or Army, perishing under such a notable Commander, if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarried under one of meaner quality : whereas nevertheless if *Hannibal* prevailed, *Hannibal* alone should have all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion that such a renowned Warriour should be alwayes near unto the Kings Person, to give advice : which being followed, as often as it was found commodious, the good success would wholly redound unto the honour of him that had the soveraign Command, even of the King himself. *Antiochus* gladly hearkened unto this admonition; being jealous of the Vertue, that shined brighter than the Majesty of his own fortune. And thereupon he laid aside the determination, which tended more to the advancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought upon.

Presently after this, He made ready for *Greece*. Before his setting forth, in a frivolous pomp of ceremony, he went up from the Sea-side to *Ilium*; there to do sacrifice to *Minerva* of *Troy*. Thence passing over the *Ægean* Sea, He came to *Demetrias*. *Eurylochus* the *Magnetian*; the same whom the *Ætolians* had lately waited on home, when by that pretext

pretext they won *Demetrias*; was now the chief man, and ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Countreymen, in great frequency, came to do their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this, and took it as a sign of good luck, to be so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, That the *Magnetians* found not the like cause of joy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Army somewhat like to that of *Xerxes*: they saw three hundred ships; of which no more than forty were serviceable for the Wars, with an Army of ten thousand Foot, five hundred Horses and six Elephants. The *Ætolians* no sooner heard of his coming, than they called a Parliament, and made a Decree whereby they invited him into their Country. He knew before that they would so do; and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met with him that brought the Decree. At his coming to *Lamia*, the *Ætolians* gave him as joyful entertainment as they could devise. Being brought into their Council, he made an Oration: wherein he desired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater Army. This was, he said, in true estimation, a sign of his good will: in that he staid not to make all things ready, but hasted unto their aid, even whilst the season was unfit for Navigation. Yet it should not be longer, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be satisfied unto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all *Greece* with Armies, and all the Sea-Coast with his Fleets. Neither would he spare for any Charge, Travel, or Danger, to follow the business which he had undertaken: even to drive the *Romans* and their Authority out of *Greece*; leaving the Countrey free indeed, and the *Ætolians* therein the Chief. Now as the Armies that were following him, should be very great; so was it his meaning, that all Provisions to them belonging should be correspondent; because he would not be any way burdensome unto his Confederates. But at the present he must needs intreat them, having thus hastily come over unto their aid, unprovided of many necessaries, that they would help him with Corn and other Victuals, whereof he stood in need. So he left them to their consultation: the conclusion whereof was, after a little dispute, (for a vain motion was made by some, that the differences between the *Romans* and them, should be put by Com-promise to the decision of *Antiochus*) that they would yield unto the Kings desire, and assist him with all their Forces. Here we may observe how vain a thing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himself, as did *Antiochus*, in a business of dangerous importance upon the promised assurance of a State that is meerly popular. For if the vehemency of *Thoas*, and some other of that Faction, had not prevailed in this Council; the *Ætolians*, for gain of two or three Towns, yea, for hope of such gain that might have deceived them, were like to have abandoned this King their Friend, unto the discretion of the *Romans*. And what remedy had there been, if this had so fallen out? He could have bemoaned himself to *Thoas*, and complained of the wrong: but he must have been contented with this answer, That the fault was in those of the opposite side, whom *Thoas* would therefore have pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much better for the present, though in the future it proved much worse, both for him, and for the *Ætolians*. He was chosen General of all their Forces: and thirty Commissioners were appointed to be about him, as a Council of War for the Nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilest it was in dispute where they should begin the War. *Chalcis* was thought the meetest place to be first undertaken: whither if they came suddenly, they should not peradventure need to use much force. The King had brought with him into *Ætolia* but a thousand Foot, leaving the rest behind him at *Demetrias*. With these he hasted away directly toward *Chalcis*; being overtaken by no great number of the *Ætolians*, which accompanied him thither. At his coming, the Magistrates, and some of the Chief Citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the *Ætolians* began, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had only in words and false semblance, set *Greece* at liberty. But such liberty as might be true and useful, they said, would never be obtained; until by removing the necessity of obeying their pleasure that were most mighty, every several estate had where to find redress, of any pressure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King well able to counterpoise, yea to overweigh the *Romans*: who nevertheless desired them only, so to joyn with him in League, as that if either the *Romans* or He should offer them wrong, they might keep it in their power, to seek redress at the others hands. The *Chalcidians* made hereto the same answer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedom was not imaginary, but absolute; for which they were to thank the *Romans*; without whose good liking they would enter into no new confederacy.

confederacy. That which they spake of themselves, they could likewise affirm of all the *Greeks*: forasmuch as none of them paid any tribute, was kept under by any Garrison, or lived otherwise than by their own *Laws*, and without being tied unto conditions which displeased them. Wherefore they wondred why the King should thus trouble himself to deliver Cities that were already free. But since he and the *Ætolians* requested their friendship; they besought both him and the *Ætolinns*, to do a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in such good case as they were. With this answer the King departed: for he was not as then, strong enough to force them. But very soon after, he brought thither a greater power, which terrified them, and made them yield: before all the succour could arrive, which *Titus* had sent for their defence.

The chief City of *Eubœa* being thus gotten, all the rest of the Island shortly yielded to *Antiochus*. Four or five hundred *Roman* Souldiers, that came over late to have defended *Chalcis*, reposed themselves at *Delium*, a little Town of *Bœotia*, lying over against the Island; where was a Temple and Grove, consecrated unto *Apollo*, that had the priviledge of an inviolable Sanctuary. In this place were some of them walking, and beholding the things there to be seen, whilst others were busied as they found cause, without fear of any dangnr; as being in such a place, and no War hitherto proclaimed. But *Menippus*, one of *Antiochus* his Captains, that had wearied himself in many vain Treaties of peace, took advantage of their carelesness, and used them with all extremity of War. Very few of them escaped; fifty were taken, and the rest slain. Hereat *Quintius* was grieved: yet so, as it pleased him well to consider that his *Romans* had now more just cause than before, to make War upon the King.

Antiochus liked well these beginnings, and sent Embassadors into all quarters of *Greece*; in hope, that his reputation should perswade very many to take his part. The wiser sort returned such answer, as the *Chalcidians* had done. Some reserved themselves until he should come among them: knowing that either if he came not, he must hold them excused for not daring to stir: or if he came, the *Romans* must pardon their just fear, in yielding to the stronger. None of those that lay far off, joyned with him in true meaning, save the *Eleans*, that alwayes favoured the *Ætolians*, and now feared the *Achæans*. Little reason there was, that he should think to draw the *Achæans* to his party. Nevertheless he assayed them, upon a vain hope, that the envy which *Titus* was said to bear unto *Philopœmens* vertue, had bred a secret dislike between that Nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both he and the *Ætolians* sent Embassadors to the Council at *Ægium*, that pared not brave words, if the *Achæans* would have been so taken. The Kings Embassador told of great Armies and Fleets that were coming; reckoning up the *Dahans*, *Medians*, *Elimeans*, and *Caducians*: names that were not every day heard of, and therefore as he thought the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the *Sydonians*, *Tyrians*, *Aradians*, and *Pamphilyans* were; such indeed as could not be resisted. Now concerning money, and all warlike furniture: it was, he said, well known, that the Kingdoms of *Asia* had alwayes thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceived: who considering the late War made against *Philip*, did think that this with *Antiochus* would prove the like: the case was too far different. Yet this most powerful King, that for the liberty of *Greece* was come from the utmost parts of the East; requested no more of the *Achæans*, than that they would hold themselves as neutral, and quietly look on, whilst he took order with the *Romans*. To the same effect spake the *Ætolian* Embassador, and further added, That in the Battel at *Cynoscephalæ*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a General, nor the *Romans* of good Souldierss: but that both he and his Army had been there destroyed, had they not been protected by vertue of the *Ætolians*, which carried the day. *Titus* was present at the Council, and heard all this: to which he made as fit answer, as could have been desired. He told the *Achæans*, That neither the Kings Embassador, nor the *Ætolian*, did so greatly labour to perswade those unto whom they addressed their Orations; as to vaunt themselves the one unto the other. So as a man might well discern what good correspondence in vanity it was, that had thus linked the King and the *Ætolians* together. For even such brags as here they made before the *Achæans*, who knew them to be Lyars, had the *Ætolians* also made unto King *Antiochus*: Proclaiming the victory over *Philip* to be meerly their Act: and the whole Country of *Greece* to be dependent on them. Interchangeably had they been feasted by the King, with such tales as his Embassador told even now; of *Dahans*, and *Aradians*, and *Elimeans*, and a many others: that were all but a company of *Syrians*, such as were wont to be sold about for bond-slaves, and good for little else. These divers

names

names of rascal People, were he said, like to the diversity of Venison, wherewith a friend of his at *Chalcis*, (no such Vaunter as were these Embassadors) had sometime feasted him. For all that variety, whereat he wondred, was none other, as his Host then merrily told him; than so many pieces of one tame Swine, drest after several fashions, with variety of sawces. Setting therefore aside this vanity of idle pomp: it were good to make judgement of the Great King by his present doing. He had notwithstanding all this great noise, no more than ten thousand men about him; for which little Army he was fain in a manner to beg Victuals of the *Ætolians*: and take up money at usury to defray his charges. Aud thus he ran up and down the Countrey; from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*; thence back to *Chalcis*; and being there shut out, to *Demetrias* again. These were the fruits of lies: wherewith, since both *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* had each deluded other; meet it was that they should, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilest wiser men took heed by their example. To a favourable Auditory much perswasion is needless. The *Achæans* did not love so well the *Ætolians*, as to desire that they should become Princes of *Greece*: but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest abjects. Wherefore they stood not to hearken after news, what *Antiochus* did, how he sped in *Eubœa*, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed War against him, and against the *Ætolians*.

How the hatred between these two Nations grew inveterate; sufficiently appears in the story fore-going. Now have they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the *Romans*; the other King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them unwisely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent spirits of the *Ætolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of *Greece*, and left the Country at rest: there was nothing more greatly to have been desired, than that they might never find occasion to return with an Army thither again. And in this respect ought the *Greeks* to have sought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus* might recover their Liberty, (which had never been held a matter worth regarding, until now of late) but how the powers of the East and West, divided and kept asunder by their Countrey, as two Seas by an *Isthmus*, or neck of Land, might be kept from over-flowing the Bar that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their seeking to make free those base *Asiatiques*, who originally were *Greekish*; than the general applause, wherewith all the Nation entertained this their loving offer. Yet were *Lysimachia*, and the Towns in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cause of fear, that should move them to take arms even in their own defence. But if all *Greece* would have made intercession, and requested that things might continue as they were, promising joyntly to assist the *Romans* with their whole Forces both by Land and Sea, whensoever King *Antiochus* should make the least offer to stir against them: then had not only this quarrel been at an end; but the *Roman* Patronage over the Country, had been far from growing, as soon after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Achæans* were at this time, in a manner the only Nation of *Greece*, that freely and generously declared themselves altogether for the *Romans*, their friends and benefactors. All the rest gave doubtful answers of hope unto both sides: or if some few, as did the *Thessalians*, were firm against *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor shewed themselves his Enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The *Bœotians* willingly received him, as soon as he entred upon their borders, not so much for fear of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by whom they had been somewhat hardly used. *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, besides his old friendship with the *Ætolians*, was caught with a bait, which it may be doubted whether he did more foolishly swallow, or *Antiochus* cast out. He had married the Daughter of an *Arcadian*, that was an idle-headed man, and vaunted himself to be descended from *Alexander* the Great: naming his two sons, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of these Brethren, accompanied his sister to the poor Court of *Athamania*: where having made his folly known, by talking of his Pedegree; He was judged by *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, a man fit for their turns. They made him believe, that in regard of his high Parentage, and the famous memory of *Alexander* his forefather; it was their purpose, to do their best for the conquest of *Macedon* to his behoof: since no man had thereto so good title as he. But for the enabling them hereunto; it behoved him to draw *Aminander* to their party, that so they might the sooner have done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleased herewith; and by perswasions of himself or of his Sister, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of service done by this imaginary King (whether it proceeded from his own phrenzie in hope to get love of the *Macedonians* that should be his Subjects: or whether

whether from some vanity in King *Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harm to his friends, than he and *Aminander* were able to do good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched unto *Cynoscephalæ*, there to gather up the bones of the slaughtered *Macedonians*; whom their King had suffered all this while to lie unburied. The *Macedons* troubled not themselves to think on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but King *Philip* took it in high indignation; as intended meerly unto his despight. Wherefore he presently sent unto the *Romans*; and gave them to understand, that he was ready with all his power to aid them wherein sbever they should be pleased to use him.

The *Ætolians*, *Magnetians*, *Eubœans*, *Bœotians*, and *Athamanians*, having now all joyned with him: *Antiochus* took counsel of them about the prosecution of the War in hand. The chief question was, Whether it were meet for him to invade *Thessaly*, that would not hearken to his perswasions: or whether to let all alone until the Spring: because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another; confirming each his own sentence, with the weightiest reasons which he could alledge: as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had long been cast aside, as a vessel of no use, but was now required to deliver his opinion. He freely told the King, That what he should now utter, was even the same which he would have spoken, had his counsel at any time before been asked since their coming into *Greece*. For the *Magnetians*, *Bœotians*, and other their good friends, which now so willingly took their parts: what were they else than so many poor estates, that wanting force of their own, did adjoyn themselves for fear unto him, that was strongest for the present: and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary side, alledging the same fear for their excuse? Wherefore he thought it most behooveful to win King *Philip* of *Macedon* unto their party: who (besides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards have power to recoyle and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mighty Prince; and one that had means to sustain the *Roman* War with his proper forces. Now that *Philip* might be easily perswaded to join with them, the benefit likely to redound unto himself, by their society, was a very strong Argument: though indeed what need was there, of proving by inference the likelihood of this hope: For, said He, *These* Ætolians *here present; and namely, this* Thoas *being lately Embassadour from them into* Asia, *among other motives which he then used to excite the King unto this Expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. He told us that* Philip *was moved beyond all patience, with the Lordly insolence of the* Romans: *likened that King to some wild beast, that was chained or lockt up within some grate, and would fain break loose. If this be so: let us break his chain, and pull down the grate, that he may regain his liberty, and satisfie his angry stomack, upon those that are common enemies to us and him. But if it prove otherwise, and that his fear be greater than his indignation: then shall it behoove us to look unto him; that he may not seek to please his good masters the* Romans, *by offending us. Your son* Seleucus *is now at* Lysimachia, *with part of your Army: if* Philip *will not hearken to your Embassage; let* Seleucus *be in readiness to fall upon* Macedon, *and find him work to defend his own on the other side, without putting us here to trouble. Thus much concerning* Philip, *and the present war in* Greece. *But more generally for the managing of this great enterprise, wherein you are now embarked against the* Romans, *I told you my opinion at the beginning: whereto had you then given ear, the* Romans *by this time should have heard other news, than that* Chalcis *in* Eubœa *was become ours.* Italy *and* Gaul *should have been on fire with war; and little to their comfort, they should have understood, that* Hannibal *was again come into* Italy. *Neither do I see what should hinder us even now from taking the same course. Send for all your Fleet and Army hither (but in any case let ships of burden come along with them, loaden with store of victuals: For, as the case now stands, we have here too few hands and too many mouths) Wherefore let the one half be imployed against* Italy; *whilest you in person with the other half, tarrying on this side the* Ionian *Sea, may both take order for the affairs of* Greece, *and therewithal make countenance; as if you were even ready to follow us into* Italy: *yea, and be ready to follow us indeed, if it shall be requisite This is my advice; who though perhaps I am not very skilful in all sorts of war; yet how to war with the* Romans, *I have been instructed by long experience, both to their cost and mine own. Of this Counsel which I give, I promise you my faithfull and diligent service for the execution: but what Counsel soever you please to follow, I wish it may be prosperous.* Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man, and said, he had spoken bravely: but of all this was nothing done; save only that one was sent into *Asia*; to make all things ready there. In the mean while

they went in hand with *Thessaly*; about which they had before disputed. There when they had won one Town by force, many other places, doubting their own strength, were glad to make submission. But *Larissa* that was chief of the Country, stood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the wals with his whole Army. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M. Bœbius*, a *Roman* Proprætor, did send help thither. Likewise *Philip* of *Macedon* professed himself enemy unto *Antiochus*, whereby the fame of the succour coming to *Larissa*, grew such, as wrought more than the succour could have done, had it arrived. For *Antiochus* perceiving many fires on the Mountain tops afar off; thought that a great Army of *Romans* and *Macedonians* had been coming upon him. Therefore excusing himself by the time of the year; He brake up his siege, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in love with a young Maiden, daughter unto a Citizen of the Town; whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was between them, both in years and fortune, He shortly married; and so spent the winter following as delightfully as he could, without thinking upon the war in hand. His great men and Captains followed his example; & the souldiers as readily imitated their Captains: in such wise, that when he took the field, he might evidently perceive in what loose manner of discipline his army had passed the winter. But *M. Acilius Glabrio*, the *Roman* Consul, shall meet him very shortly, and help him to reclaim them from this looseness of nuptial Revels, by setting them to harder exercise.

M. Acilius was chosen Consul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*. The war against *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise, He was no way so honourable, as *Nasica*, his Colleague: unto whom fell a charge, of far less credit and importance. *Nasica*, besides the great Nobility of his Family, had been long since, in time of the *Punick War*, Crowned with the title of *The best man in Rome*: when the Senate for very fear and superstition, durst not have so pronounced him, had they not so thought him, as being commanded by Oracle, that none other man than the very best, should entertain on old stone, which the Devil then taught them to call *The Mother of the Gods*. But no prerogative of Birth, Vertue or good opinion, gave such advantage to the better man, as to make choice of his own Province: or arrogate more unto himself; than his lot should afford him. This unpartial distribution of employments, helped well to maintain peace and concord. *P. Scipio* was therefore appointed to make war against the *Bojians*; wherein he purchased the honour of a Triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchased with harder service, requiring the more ability in matter of War. But *M. Acilius* went over into *Greece*, with ten thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen Elephants. *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, notwithstanding his late Alliance with King *Antiochus*; and *Philip* King of *Macedon*; had lately sent Embassadors to *Rome*, making offer to come each of them in person with all his forces into *Ætolia*, there to assist the Consul in this War. *Ptolomy* sent also gold and silver, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earnest. But he was two young and dwelt too far off. So his money was returned unto him with thanks; and his loving offer as lovingly refused. Unto *Philips* Embassadors, answer was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of *Rome* would think themselves beholding to him, for the assistance that he should give to *Acilius* the Consul. *Masanissa* likewise, and the *Carthaginians*, did strive, which of them should be most forward in gratifying the *Romans*. Each of them promised a great quantity of grain; which they would send partly to *Rome*, partly to the Army in *Greece*. And herein *Masanissa* far out-went the poor City of *Carthage*; as also in that he offered to lend the Consul five hundred horse, and twenty Elephants. On the other side, the *Carthaginians* undertook to set out a Fleet at their own charges: and to bring in at one payment, all the Tribute-mony which was behind, and ought to be discharged by many yearly pensions. But the *Romans* did neither think it good, to let them arm a Fleet: nor would let them redeem themselves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corn, it was accepted, with condidion that they should be contented to receive the price of it.

The hasty and ridiculous issue of this War, that began with such noise and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great between the *Roman* and the *Asiatique* Souldier. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few Towns of *Acarnania*, after the same manner as he had prevailed in other parts of *Greece*; partly by fair words, and treason of the rulers: partly by terrour, that was like to prove their excuse when they should again forsake him. But King *Philip* and *Bœbius* having recovered many places; & the *Roman* Consul being arrived, against whom none made resistance; he was glad

to

to withdraw himself. *Aminander* fled out of his *Athamania*: which the *Macedonian* took and enjoyed; as in recompence of his good service to the *Romans*. *Philip* the brother of *Aminanders* wife, was taken by the Consul; made a mocking-stock, and sent away prisoner to *Rome*. The *Thessalians* used much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yielding to the King. All their Cities one after another, gave up themselves: the Garrisons of *Antiochus*, compounding only for their own lives, and departing unarmed: yet so, that a thousand of them stayed behind, and took pay of the *Romans*. This did wonderfully perplex *Antiochus*; who having withdrawn himself to *Chalcis*, and hearing how things went, cryed out upon his friends: and said, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deal of toyl during one half of a winter, and spent the other half in such Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, he found all the promises of the *Ætolians* meerly verbal: and himself reduced into terms of great extremity. He therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wise man, yea, a very Prophet, that had foreseen all this long before. Nevertheless, he sent word to the *Ætolians*, that they should now make ready all their forces: as considering their own need to be no less than his. But the *Ætolians* had cause to think, that they themselves were shamefull disappointed by *Antiochus*; who having promised to do great wonders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of *Asia*, than so many as would fill up the same ten thousand which he first brought over. Yet came there some of them, though fewer than at any time before, which joyned with him. Hereat the King was angry: and could get no better satisfaction, than that *Thoas* and his fellows had done their best in vain, to have made all the Nation take Arms. Since therefore neither his own men came over to him out of *Asia*, nor his friends of *Greece* would appear in this time of danger: He seized upon the Straights of *Thermopylæ*; as meaning to defend them against the *Romans*, until more help should come. Of the Straights of *Thermopylæ*, there hath been spoken enough * before, upon many occasions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* against the huge Army of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may easily be conceived, how the *Romans*, that landed about *Apollonia*, and so came onwards into *Thessaly*, were unable to pass that Ledge of Mountains, dividing the one half of *Greece*; unless they could win this difficult entrance.

L. 3. c. 6. fol. 3.

But there was great difference between *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of these, with an handfull of men, defended this passage two or three daies together, against a world of men coming to invade the Country. The latter, having taken upon him to do great miracles, and effect what he listed himself in *Greece*: did commit himself unto the safety of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his own Army. There whilest he lay, He sent earnest messengers one after another to the *Ætolians*, entreating them not to forsake him thus: but at least wise now to help, and keep the tops of the mountains, lest the *Romans*, finding any by-path, should come down upon him. By this opportunity, he got of them two thousand, that undertook to make good the few passages: by which only, and not without extreme difficulty, it was possible for the Enemy to ascend. The *Roman* Consul in like sort prepared to force the Straights; without staying to expect King *Philip*: that was hindred by sickness from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them been Consuls. These he sent forth by night with two thousand men, to try whether by any means they could get up to the *Ætolians*. He himself encouraged his Army; not only by telling them with what base conditioned enemies they had to deal: but what rich Kingdoms *Antiochus* held, that should bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battel. All that night *Cato* had a sore journey (for what happened unto *L. Valerius* it is uncertain, save only that he failed in his intent) and so much the worse, for that he had no skilful guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tyred, with climbing up steepy Rocks, and crooked waies: He commanded them to repose themselves; whilst he, being a very able man of body, took in hand the discovery, accompanied with no more than one of like metal to himself. After a great deal of trouble, he found at length a path: which he took to be, as indeed it was, the best way leading unto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the same path till toward break of day. It was a place not haunted, because in time of peace, there was a fair way thorow the Straights below, that required no such trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance of the *Thermopylæ* been so often the Seat of War, as might cause any travellers to search out the passages of those desolate Mountains. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the best; yet did it lead

him to a bog at the end, which would ſuffer him to paſs no further. So he ſtayd there until day-light: by which he diſcovered both the Camp of the *Greeks* underneath him; and ſome of the *Ætolians* very near unto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore ſent forth a luſty Crew of his men, whom he thought fitteſt for that ſervice; and willed them by any means to get him ſome priſoners. This was effected: and he thereby underſtood, that theſe *Ætolians* were no more than ſix hundred; as alſo that King *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So he preſently ſet upon the *Ætolians*, overthrew them, ſlew a great part of them, and chaſed the reſt, that by flying to their Camp, guided him unto it. The fight was already begun between the Armies below: and the *Romans*, that had eaſily repelled the Kings men, and driven them into their Camp, found it, in a manner, a deſperate piece of work to aſſault the Camp it ſelf, which occupied the whole breadth of the Straights, was notably fortified; and not only defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were beſt at that kind of ſervice; but by Archers and Slingers that were placed over them on the Hill-ſide, and powred down a ſhowr of weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approach determined the matter. It was thought, at firſt, that the *Ætolians* had been coming to help the Kings men: but when the *Roman* Arms and Enſigns were diſcovered, ſuch was the terrour, that none made offer of reſiſtance; but all of them forſook the Camp, and fled. The ſlaughter was not great: for that the badneſs of the way did hinder the *Roman* Army from making purſuit. Yet this daies loſs drave *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, who directly fled to *Chalcis*; and from thence with the firſt opportunity, got him back into *Aſia*.

All the Cities that had imbraced the friendſhip of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertain the *Romans*, and entreat for pardon: ſetting open their gates; and preſenting themſelves unto the Conſul, in manner of ſuppliants. Briefly, in few daies all was recovered that *Antiochus* had gained: the *Ætolians* only ſtanding out, becauſe they knew not what elſe to do. Neither did the Conſul give them any reſpite. At his return from *Chalcis*, he met with King *Philip*, that having recovered health, came to joyn with him againſt *Antiochus*: over whom, ſince the victory was already gotten, He did gratulate unto the *Romans* their good ſucceſs; and offered to take part with them in the *Ætolian* War. So it was agreed, That the Conſul ſhould beſiege *Heraclea*; and *Philip Lamia*; at the ſame time. Each of them plied his work hard; eſpecially *Philip*, who fain would have taken *Lamia* before the Conſul ſhould come to help him. But it could not be. For his *Macedonians* that uſed to work by Myne, were over-much hindered by the ſtony ground. Yet was *Lamia* even ready to be taken, when the Conſul, having won *Heraclea*, came thither, and told *Philip*, that the ſpoil of theſe Towns was a reward unto thoſe that had fought at *Thermopylæ*. Herewith *Philip* muſt be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Acilius*, that could ſo ill endure to ſee *Philip* in likelihood of thriving by the *Romans* victory, got not *Lamia* himſelf: until ſuch time as another Conſul was ready to eaſe him of his charge.

The loſs of *Heraclea* did ſo affright the *Ætolians*, that they thought no way ſafer than to deſire peace. Yet had they ſent unto King *Antiochus* preſently after his flight: intreating him not to forſake them utterly, but either to return with all thoſe forces which he had purpoſed to bring into *Greece*; or if any thing with-held him from coming in perſon, at leaſtwiſe to help them with mony and other aid. They prayed him to conſider, that this did not only concern him in honour; but appertained unto his own ſafty: ſince it would be much to his hurt, if the *Ætolians* being wholly ſubdued, the *Romans*, without any enemies at their backs, might ſet upon him in *Aſia*. He conſidered well of this, and found their words true. Therefore he delivered unto *Nicander*, one of their Embaſſadors, a ſumm of mony, that might ſerve to defray the charges of the War: promiſing that ere long he would ſend them ſtrong aid, both by Land and Sea. *Thoas*, another of their Embaſſadors, He retained with him; who willingly ſtayed, that he might urge the King to make his word good. But when *Heraclea* was taken from them; then did the *Ætolians* lay aſide all hope of amending their fortune by the help of *Antiochus*; and made ſuit unto the Conſul to obtain peace, upon any reaſonable condition. The Conſul would ſcarce vouchſafe to give them audience, but ſaid, He had other buſineſs in hand; only he granted them ten daies of Truce, and ſent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Hypata*, willing them to make him acquainted with as much as they would have delivered unto himſelf. At their coming to *Hypata*, they began, as men favouring their own cauſe, to alledge how well they had deſerved of the *Romans*. Whereto *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memory of ſuch good offices paſt, was quite obliterated by the

the malice which they had ſhewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to do ſo even betimes, than to ſtay till they were reduced unto terms of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themſelves unto the faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect ſent Embaſſadors to the Conſul. This phraſe of *committing unto the faith*, ſignified, in their uſe of it, little elſe than the acknowledgement of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the *Romans* uſed thoſe words in another ſenſe; and counted them all one, as * *yielding to diſcretion*. Wherefore when the Conſul heard them ſpeak in this manner: He aſked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They anſwered that it was: and ſhewed him the decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpoſe. Then, ſaid he, I command you firſt of all, That none of you preſume to go into *Aſia*, upon any buſineſs, private or publick: then, That ye deliver up unto me *Dicæarchus* the *Ætolian*, *Meneſtratus* the *Epirot*, *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, and ſuch of his Countrimen as have followed him in revolting from us. Whileſt he was yet ſpeaking; *Phameas* the Embaſſadour interrupted him; and prayed him not to miſtake the cuſtome of the *Greeks*, who had yielded themſelves *unto his faith*; *not unto ſlavery*. *What?* (ſaid the Conſul) *Do ye ſtand to plead Cuſtome with me, being now at my diſcretion? Bring hither a chain.* With that, chains were brought; and an Iron collar, by his appointment, fitted unto every one of their necks. This did ſo affright them, that they ſtood dumb, and knew not what to ſay. But *Valerius* and ſome others entreated the Conſul, not to deal thus hardly with them, ſince they came as Embaſſadors; though ſince, their condition was altered. *Phameas* alſo ſpake for himſelf; and ſaid, That neither he, nor yet the *Apocleti* or ordinary Councel for the Nation, were able to fulfill theſe injunctions; without approbation of the general Aſſembly. For which cauſe he entreated yet further ten daies reſpite; and had granted unto him Truce for ſo long.

Lege excerp. è Polyb. 13.

This ſurceaſance of War, during ten, and other ten daies together, began preſently after the taking of *Heraclea*; when *Philip* had been commanded away from *Lamia*, that elſe he might have won. Now becauſe of the indignity herein offered unto that King, and to the end that he might not return home with his Army, like one that could not be truſted in employment: eſpecially the *Romans* being like hereafter to have further need of him in the continuance of this War; He was deſired to ſet upon the *Athamanians*, and ſome other petty Nations their borderers, whilſt the Conſul was buſie with the *Ætolians*: taking for his reward, all that he could get. And he got in that ſpace all *Athamania*, *Perrhæbia*, *Aperantia*, and *Dolopia*. For the *Ætolians* hearing what had betallen their Embaſſadors, were ſo enraged, That although they were very ill provided for War, yet they could not endure to hear more talk of Peace. And it happened, that *Nicander* about the ſame time was come back from *Antiochus*, with mony and hopeful promiſes: the *Romans* abiding ſtill about *Heraclea*, and *Philip* having lately riſen from before *Lamia*, yet not being far gone thence. His mony *Nicander* conveighed into *Lamia*, by very unuſual dexterity. But he himſelf being to paſs further to the Aſſembly of the *Ætolians*, there to make report of his Embaſſage; was very much perplexed about this his journey, which lay between the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Camps. Yet he made the adventure: and keeping as far as he could from the *Roman* ſide, fell upon a Station of *Macedonians*; by whom he was taken, and led unto their King. He expected no good: but either to be delivered unto the *Romans*, or uſed ill enough by *Philip*. But it ſeems, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignity of his being ſent away from *Lamia*. For he commanded his ſervants to entreat *Nicander* friendly: and he himſelf being then at ſupper, did viſit him as ſoon as he roſe up: giving him to underſtand, That the *Ætolians* did now reap the fruits of their own madneſs; foraſmuch as they could never hold themſelves contented, but would needs be calling ſtrangers into *Greece*. They had pleaſed themſelves well, in their acquaintance firſt with the *Romans*, and then with King *Antiochus*: but himſelf, being their neighbour, they could never well endure. It was now therefore, he ſaid, high time for them to have regard unto his friendſhip, whereof hitherto they never made any tryal: for ſurely their good affection, one unto the other, would be much more available unto each of them, than their mutual catching of advantages; whereby they had wrought themſelves much diſpleaſure. Thus much the King willed *Nicander* to ſignifie unto his Countrimen; and privately to hold in mind the courteſie which he then did him, in ſending him ſafe home. So giving him a Convoy to guard him to *Hypata*, he lovingly diſmiſſed him. For this benefit, *Nicander* was alwaies after dutifully affected to the Crown of *Macedon*: ſo as in the war

war of *Perſeus* he made himſelf ſuſpected unto the *Romans*, and therefore was had away to *Rome*, where he ended his life.

When the Conſul underſtood, that the *Ætolians* refuſed to make their ſubmiſſion, in ſuch wiſe as he required it: he forthwith meant to proſecute the war againſt them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head againſt him at *Naupactus*: whither he therefore directly marched, to try what they could or durſt. The ſiege of *Naupactus* was of greater length, than the *Romans* had preconceived it: for it was a ſtrong City, and well manned. But *Acilius* ſtood upon point of honour; wherein he thought that he ſhould have been a loſer by riſing from before it without Victory. So he ſtayd there well-near all the following time of his Conſulſhip; whileſt the *Macedonian* King and the *Achæans*, made far better uſe of the *Roman* Victory. *Philip*, as is ſaid before, being allowed to take in ſuch places as had revolted unto *Antiochus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the ſtrong City of *Demetrius*, and with an haſty courſe of Victory, ſubdued the *Athamanians* and others. The *Achæans* called to account the *Eleans* and *Meſſenians*: which had long been addicted to the *Ætolian* ſide; and followed it, in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Eleans* gave good words; whereby they ſaved themſelves from trouble a while. The *Meſſenians* being more ſtout, before they were invaded, had none other help when the *Achæan* Prætor waſted their Country, than to offer themſelves unto the *Romans*. *Titus* was then at *Corinth*: to whom they ſent word, That at his Commandment their gates ſhould be opened; but that unto the *Achæans* it was not their meaning to yield. A meſſage from *Titus* to the *Achæan* Prætor, did ſuffice to call home the Army, and finiſh the War: as alſo the peremptory Command of the ſame *Titus*, cauſed the *Meſſenians* to annex themſelves unto the *Achæans*, and become part of their Common-weal. Such was now the Majeſty of a *Roman* Embaſſador. *Titus* did favour the *Achæans*; yet could not like it well, that either they or any other ſhould take too much upon them. He thought it enough, that they oad their liberty, and were ſtrong enough to defend it againſt any of their neighbours. That they ſhould make themſelves great Lords, and able to diſpute with the *Romans* upon even terms, it was no part of his deſire. They had lately bought the Iſle of *Zacynthus*; which had once been *Philips*, and was afterward given by him to *Aminander*, who ſent a Govenour thither. But when *Aminander* in this preſent war, was driven out of his own Kingdom by *Philip*; then did the Governour of *Zacynthus* offer to ſell the Iſland to the *Achæans*; whom he found ready Chapman. *Titus* liked not of this: but plainly told them, That the *Romans* would be their own Carvers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their Enemies; as a reward of the victory which they had obtained. It was bootleſs to diſpute. Wherefore the *Achæans* refered themſelves unto his diſcretion. So he told them, that their Commonwealth was like a Tortoiſe, whereof *Peloponeſus* was the ſhell: and that, holding themſelves within that compaſs, they were out of danger; but if they would needs be looking abroad, they ſhould lie open to blows, which might greatly hurt them. Having ſettled things thus in *Peloponeſus*, he went over to *Naupactus*: where *Glabrio* the Conſul had lain two months, that might have been far better ſpent. There, whether out of compaſſion which he had upon the *Ætolians*, or out of diſlike of King *Philips* thriving ſo faſt: he perſwaded the Conſul to grant unto the beſieged, and to the whole Nation, ſo long truce, that they might ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*; and ſubmitted themſelves, crave pardon of the Senate. Moſt like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: elſe would not the *Ætolians* have made ſuch earneſt ſuit as they did unto *Titus*, for procuring of this favour. But if *Glabrio* had been ſure to carry it in any ſhort ſpace, it may well be thought he would not have gone away without it; ſince the winning of that Town, wherein was then the whole flower of the Nation, would have made the promiſed ſubmiſſion much more humble and ſincere. When they came unto *Rome*, no entreaty could help them to better Condition, than one of theſe two; That either they ſhould wholly ſubmit themſelves to the good pleaſure of the Senate; Or elſe pay a thouſand talents, and make neither peace nor war with any; further than as the *Romans* ſhould give approbation. They had not ſo much mony: neither could they well hope to be gently dealt withall, if they ſhould give themſelves away *unto diſcretion*; which, what it ſignified, they now underſtood. Wherefore they deſired to have it ſet down, in what points, and how far forth they ſhould yield unto the good pleaſure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certain anſwer: ſo that they were diſmiſſed as enemies, after long and vain attendance.

Whileſt the *Ætolians* were purſuing thier hopes of peace, the Conſul had little to do in *Greece*, and therefore took upon him gravely to ſet things in order among the tractable

Achæans.

Achæans. He would have had them to reſtore the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians* home into their Country; and to take the *Eleans* into the fellowſhip of their Commonwealth. This the *Achæans* liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the *Romans* ſhould be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the reſtitution of the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*: intending to make it an Act of their own meer grace. As for the *Eleans*, they were loth to be beholding to the *Romans*, and thereby to diſparage the *Achæans*: into whoſe Corporation they were deſirous to be admitted, and ſaw that they ſhould have their deſire, without ſuch compulſive mediation.

The *Roman* Admiral *C. Livius*, much about the ſame time, fought a battel at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admiral to the King *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought help to the *Romans*, though it was not great: and five and twenty ſail of *Rhodians* came after the battel, when they were following the Chaſe. The Kings Fleet was the better of ſail, but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquiſhed in fight, was yet out of danger; as ſoon as he betook himſelf to a ſpeedy retrait.

And ſuch end had the firſt years war between King *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. After this, as many of the *Greeks* as had followed the vain hopes of the *Ætolians* were glad to excuſe themſelves by fear; thinking themſelves happy when by Embaſſadours they had obtained pardon. On the contrary ſide, *Philip* of *Macedon*, Arch-enemy of late unto the *Romans*, did now ſend to gratulate this their victory: and, in recompence of his good affection, had reſtored unto him *Demetrius* his younger Son; whom ſome few years they had kept as an hoſtage. Alſo King *Ptolomy* of *Egypt*, gratulating the *Roman* Victory, ſent word how greatly all *Aſia* and *Syria* were thereby terrified. In which regard he deſired the Senate not to foreſlow time; but to ſend an Army, as ſoon as might be, into *Aſia*: promiſing, that his aſſiſtance, wherein ſoever it pleaſed them to uſe it, ſhould not be wanting. This *Ptolomy* was the Son-in-law of King *Antiochus*: but he was the friend of fortune. He underſtand long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the contention, that the *Romans* were like to have the upper hand. The ſame did *Antiochus* now begin to ſuſpect, who had thought himſelf a while as ſafe at *Epheſus*, as if he had been in another world: bnt was told by *Hannibal*, That it was not ſo far out of *Greece* into *Aſia*, as out of *Italy* into *Greece*, and that there was no doubt but the *Romans* would ſoon be there, and make him try the chance of a battel for his Kingdom.

§. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, *having with him* Publius *the African his elder Brother, for his Lieutenant, is ſent into* Greece. *He grants long Truce to the Ætolians, that ſo he might at leiſure paſs into* Aſia. *Much troubleſome buſineſs by Sea, and divers fights. An invaſion upon* Eumenes *his Kingdom; with the ſiege of* Pergamus, *raiſed by an handfull of the Achæans.* L. Scipio *the Conſul comes into* Aſia: *where* Antiochus *moſt earneſtly deſireth peace, and is denyed it. The battel of* Magneſia: *wherein* Antiochus *being vanquiſhed, yieldeth to the Romans good pleaſure. The conditions of the peace. In what ſort the Romans uſed their victory.* L. Cornelius Scipio, *after a moſt ſumptuous triumph over* Antiochus, *is ſurnamed The Aſiatique, as his brother was ſtiled The African.*

Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the brother of *P. Scipio* the *African*, was choſen Conſul at *Rome* with *C. Lælius*. *Lælius* was very gracious in the Senate: and therefore being deſirous (as generally all Conſuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to refer to the arbitrement of the Senate, if *L. Cornelius* would be ſo pleaſed, the diſpoſition of their Provinces; without putting it to the hazzard of a Lottery. *Lucius* having talked with his brother *Publius*, approved well of the motion. Such a queſtion had not of long time been put unto the Fathers: who therefore were the more deſirous to make an unblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwiſe ſomewhat indifferent, *P. Scipio* the *African* ſaid openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the war againſt *Antiochus*, He himſelf would follow his brother in that war, as his Lieutenant. Theſe words were heard with ſuch approbation, that the Controverſie was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relyed upon *Hannibal*, and ſhould happen to be directed wholly by that great Captain, what better man could they oppoſe than *Scipio*: that had been victorious againſt that ſame great Worthy? But indeed a worſer man might have ſerved well enough the turn. For *Hannibal* had no abſolute command, nor ſcarce any truſt of great importance: excepting now and then in conſultation; where his wiſdome was much approved, but his liberty and high ſpirit as much diſliked. It is worthy

thy of remembrance, as a ſign of the freedom that he uſed in his cenſures, even whileſt he lived in ſuch a Court. *Antiochus* muſtered his Army in preſence of this famous Captain: thinking, as may ſeem, to have made him wiſh, that he had been ſerved by ſuch brave men in *Italy*. For they were gallantly decked, Both Men, Horſes, and Elephants, with ſuch coſtly furniture of gold, ſilver, and purple, as glittered with a terrible bravery on a Sunſhine day. Whereupon the King, well pleaſing himſelf with that goodly ſpectacle, aſked *Hannibal* what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the *Romans*. *Enough* (ſaid *Hannibal*) *were the Romans the moſt covetous men in all the world*: meaning that all this coſt upon the backs of cowardly *Aſiatiques*, was no better than a ſpoil to animate good Souldiers. How little this anſwer pleaſed the King, it is eaſie to gueſs. The little uſe that he made of this *Carthaginian*, teſtifies that his diſlike of the man, cauſed him to loſe the uſe of his ſervice, when he ſtood in greateſt neceſſity thereof.

The *Scipio's* made all haſte away from *Rome* as ſoon as they could. They carried with them, beſides other Souldiers newly preſt to the war, about five thouſand Voluntaries, that had ſerved under *P. Africanus*. There was alſo a Fleet of thirty *Quinquereme* Gallies, and twenty *Triremes* newly built, appointed unto *L. Æmilius Regillus*, that was choſen Admiral the ſame year for that voyage. At their coming into *Greece*, they found the old Conſul *Glabrio* beſieging *Amphyſſa* a City of the *Ætolians*. The *Ætolians* after that they were denyed peace, had expected him once again at *Nanpactus*. Wherefore they not only fortified that Town, but kept all the paſſages thereto leading; which heedleſly, as in a time of confuſion, they had left unregarded the laſt year. *Glabrio* knowing this, deceived their expectation, and fell upon *Lamia*: which being not long ſince much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the ſudden; was carried at the ſecond aſſault. Thence went he to *Amphyſſa*: which he had almoſt gotten, when *L. Scipio*, his ſucceſſor, came with thirteen thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, and took charge of the Army. The Town of *Amphyſſa* was preſently forſaken by the Inhabitants: but they had a Caſtle, or higher Town, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The *Athenian* Embaſſadors had dealt with *P. Scipio*, in behalf of the *Ætolians*: entreating him to ſtand their friend, and help them in obtaining ſome tolerable condition of peace. He gave them gentle words, and willed them to perſwade the *Ætolians*, that they ſhould faithfully, and with true meaning defie it. This was gladly taken. But many meſſages paſſing to and fro: though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the Conſul made ſtill the ſame anſwer, with which they had been chaſed from *Rome*. The Concluſion was, That they ſhould ſue for a longer time of reſpite from war: whereby at more leiſure they might attend ſome better diſpoſition of the Senate; or any helpful commodity which time ſhould afford. So they obtained halfe a years truce: after which, the winter was like to afford them another half years leiſure of breathing. Hereof were they not more glad, than was *P. Scipio*: who thought all time loſt, which with-held the War from paſſing over into *Aſia*.

The buſineſs of *Ætolia* being thus laid aſide, and the old Conſul *Glabrio* ſent home into *Italy*, the *Scipio's* marched into *Theſſaly*; intending thence to take their way by Land, through *Macedon* and *Thrace* unto the *Helleſpont*. Yet they conſidered, that hereby they muſt commit themſelves unto the loyalty of King *Philip*: who might either do them ſome miſchief by the way, if he were diſpoſed to watch a notable advantage: or at the leaſt, would he be unfaithful; though he were not ſo couragious, yet might he take ſuch order with the *Thracians*, that even for want of victuals, if by no greater inconvenience, they ſhould be diſgracefully forced to return. He had promiſed them the utmoſt of his furtherance: wherein, whether he meant ſincerely, they thought to make ſome tryal; by cauſing a Gentleman to ride Poſt unto him, and obſerve his doings as he ſhould take him on the ſudden. The King was merry at a feſt, and drinking when the Meſſenger came: whom he lovingly bade welcome; and ſhewed him the next day, not only what proviſion of victuals he had made for the Army, but how he had made bridges over the Rivers, and mended the bad wayes by which they were to paſs. With theſe good news *Gracchus* returned back in haſte unto the *Scipio's*: who entring into *Macedon*, found all things in a readineſs, that might help to advance their journey. The King entertained them royally, and brought them on their way, even to the *Helleſpont*: where they ſtayed a good while, until their Navy was in readineſs to tranſport them into *Aſia*.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this year; though, for the moſt part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admiral of *Antiochus*, was a baniſhed *Rhodian*: true to the King, and deſirous of revenge upon his Country-

Country men, that had expelled him. He, hearing that the *Rhodian* Fleet was at *Samos*, the *Romans* and *Eumenes* having not as yet put to Sea, thought to do ſomewhat upon thoſe that were ſo early in their diligence, before their fellows ſhould arrive to help them. Yet went he craftily to work, and ſent word, as in great ſecrecy, to the *Rhodian* Admiral, That if the ſentence of his baniſhment might be repealed, He would, in requital thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many paſſages to and fro, this was believed: and the *Rhodian* Admiral grew ſo careleſs, expecting ſtill when he ſhould receive a watch-word from *Polixenidas* that he himſelf was taken by *Polixenidas* in his own Haven. The Kings Fleet ſetting forth from *Epheſus* by night; and for fear of being diſcovered, reſting one day in harbour by the way, came the ſecond night to *Samos*: where, by morning it was ready to enter the Haven. *Pauſiſtratus* the *Rhodian* Admiral ſeeing this, thought it his beſt way of reſiſtance to beſtow his men on the two headlands or points of the Haven; ſo to guard the mouth of it: for that he ſaw no likelihood of defending himſelf by Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed ſome Companies in another part of the Iſland: which falling upon the back of *Pauſiſtratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboord. This could not be without great confuſion: ſo as the enemies took him out of all order, and ſunk or boorded all his Navy, five excepted, that by a ſudden device made ſhift to eſcape. Each of them hung out a burning Creſcent upon two poles, at the Beak-head; and then rowed forwards directly upon the enemy: who having not bethought himſelf what ſhift to make againſt ſuch unexpected danger of firing, was content to give way unto theſe deſperate Gallies; for fear leſt they ſhould burn, together with themſelves, a part of the Kings Fleet.

Not long after this, the *Romans* had ſome loſs by tempeſt: whereof *Polyxenidas* could not take ſuch advantage as he had hoped; becauſe, putting to Sea for that purpoſe, he was driven back again by the like foul weather. But the *Rhodians*, to ſhew that they were not diſcouraged, ſet forth twenty other Gallies: the *Romans* alſo with King *Eumenes*, repaired their fleet; and all of them together, in great bravery preſented battel to *Polyxenidas* before the Haven of *Epheſus*. When he durſt not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as either they were entreated by the *Rhodians*, or perſwaded by ſome appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindred by ſtorms at Sea; and another while by ſtrong reſiſtance made againſt them at Land.

Eumenes with his Fleet was compelled to forſake them; and return home to the defence of his own Kingdom. For *Antiochus* waſted all the grounds about *Elæa* and *Pergamus*: and leaving his Son *Seleucus* to beſiege the royal City of *Pergamus*, did with the reſt of his Army ſpoil the whole Country thereabout. *Attalus* the brother of King *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*; having with him no better men to defend the City, than were they that lay againſt it. Wherefore he had reaſon to ſtand in fear; being too much inferior in number. There came to his aid a thouſand foot, and an hundred horſe of the *Achæans*: old ſouldiers all, and trained up under *Philopœmen*, whoſe Scholar, in the art of war, *Diophanes* their commander was. This *Diophanes* beholding from the walls of *Pergamus*, which was an high Town, the demeanour of the enemy; began to diſdain that ſuch men as they ſhould hold them beſieged. For *Seleucus* his Army which was encamped at the hill-foot, ſeeing that none durſt ſally forth upon them, grew ſo careleſs: as otherwiſe than by ſpoiling all behind their backs, they ſeemed to forget that they were in an enemies Country. *Diophanes* therefore ſpake with *Attalus*: and told him that he would go forth to viſit them. *Attalus* had no liking to this adventure; for he ſaid, that the match was nothing equal. But the *Achæan* would needs have his will: & iſſuing forth, encamped not far from the enemy. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better than mad. As for the beſiegers; they wondred at firſt what his meaning was: but when they ſaw that he held himſelf quiet, they made a jeſt of his boldneſs; and laughed to ſee with what an handfull of men he looked ſo ſtoutly. So they returned unto their former negligence and diſorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiving, He commanded all his men to follow him, even as faſt as they well might: and he himſelf, with the hundred horſe, brake out on the ſudden upon the ſtation that was next at hand. Very few of the enemies had their horſes ready ſadled, but more few, or none had the hearts to make reſiſtance: ſo as he drave them all out of their Camp; & chaſed them as far as he might ſafely adventure with great ſlaughter of them, and no loſs to his own. Hereat all the Citizens of *Pergamus* (who had covered the walls of the Town, men and women, to behold this ſpectacle) were very joyfull; and highly magnified the vertue of theſe *Achæans*. Yet

would they not therefore issue forth of their gates, to help the *Achæans* in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Seleucus* encamped half a mile further from the Town, than he had done before: and against him went forth *Diophanes* the second time; who quietly rested a while in his old Station. When they had stayed many hours, looking who should begin: *Seleucus* in fair order as he came, withdrew himself toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moved not whilest the enemy was in sight: but as soon as the ground between them hindred the prospect, he followed them in all haste, and soon overtaking them with his Horse, charged them in the Rere; so as he brake them, and with all his forces pursued them at the heels, to their very Trenches. This boldness of the *Achæans*, and the baseness of his own men, caused *Seleucus* to quit the siege, little to his honour. Such being the quality of these *Asiatiques*, *Philopœmen* had cause to tell the *Romans*, That he envied their victory. For when *Antiochus* lay feasting at *Chalcis* after his marriage, and his souldiers betook themselves to Riot, as it had been in a time of great security: a good man of war might have cut all their throats, even as they were tipling in their victualling houses; which *Philopœmen* said that he would have done, had he been General of the *Achæans*, and not as he then was, a private man.

Antiochus was full of business: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deal of travel, brought almost nothing to pass. He had been at *Pergamus*: into which *Eumenes*, leaving the *Romans*, did put himself with a few of his Horse and light armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his son, as before hath been shewed, and went to *Elæa*: whither he heard that *Æmylius* the *Roman* Admiral was come to bring succour to *Eumenes*. There he made an Overture of peace: about which to consult, *Eumenes* was sent for by *Æmylius*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was considered, that no conclusion could be made without the Consul: this Treaty brake off. Then followed the overthrow newly mentioned, which caused *Seleucus* to give over the siege of *Pergamus*. Afterwards, four or five Towns of scarce any worth or note were taken by the King: and the *Syrian* Fleet, being of seven and thirty Sail, was beaten by the *Rhodian* which was of like number. But of this victory the *Rhodians* had no great cause to rejoyce: for that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, who, together with *Apollonius* a Courtier of *Antiochus*, was Admiral of the *Syrians*, did them in a maner as great hurt as they could do to *Apollonius*; and having the victory taken out of his hands by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made such a retreat, that the *Rhodians* durst not far adventure upon him. Now of these Actions which were but as Prefaces unto the war, the last and greatest was a victory of the *Romans* by Sea, against *Polixenidas* the Kings Admiral. The battel was fought by *Myonnesus* a Promontory in *Asia*: where *Polixenidas* had with him fourscore and nine Gallies; and five of them greater than any of the *Romans*. This being all the strength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanity of those brags, wherewith *Antiochus* vaunted the last year, That his *Armada* should cover all the shores of *Greece*. The *Romans* had eight and fifty Gallies; the *Rhodians* two and twenty: the *Roman* being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned; the *Rhodians* more light-timbred and thin planckt, having all advantage of speed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to help themselves by the same device, with which five of their Gallies had lately escaped from *Samos*. For with fire in their Prows they ran upon the enemy: who declining them for fear, laid open his side: and was thereby in greater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Navy hoysted sail: and, having a fair wind, bore away toward *Ephesus* as fast as they could. Yet forty of their Gallies they left behind them: whereof thirteen were taken, all the rest burnt or sunk. The *Romans* and their fellows lost only two or three ships: but got hereby the absolute Mastery of the Sea.

The report of this misadventure, may seem to have taken from *Antiochus* all use of reason. For as if no hope had been remaining to defend those places that he held in *Europe*, he presently with-drew his Garrisons from *Lysimachia*: which might easily have been kept even till the end of Winter following, & having reduced the besiegers (if the siege had been continued obstinately) unto terms of great extremity, He also gave over the siege of *Colophon*: and laying aside all thought save only of defence, drew together all his Army; and sent for help to his Father-in-law, King *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*.

Thus the *Roman* Consul, without impediment, not only came to the *Hellespont*, but had yieled unto him all places there, belonging to *Anticohus* on *Europe* side. The Fleet was also then in a readiness to transport him over into *Asia*: where *Eumenes* had taken such care before, that he landed quietly at his own good ease; even as if the Country had

had been his already. The first news that he heard of the Enemy, was by an Embassador that came to sue for peace. This Embassador declared in his Masters name, That the same things which had hindered him from obtaining peace of the *Romans* heretofore, did now perswade him, that he should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all disputations heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, and *Lysimachia*, had been the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now already given over *Lysimachia*, and was further purposed not to strive with the *Romans* about *Lampsacus* and *Smyrna*: what reason was there, why they should need to trouble him with War? If it was their desire that any other Towns upon the Coast of *Asia*, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, should be also set at liberty, or otherwise delivered into their hands: the King would not refuse to gratifie them therein. Briefly, let them take some part of *Asia*, so as the bounds dividing them from the King, might not be uncertain, and it should be quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough, the King would likewise bear half the Charges whereat they had been in this War. So praying the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with these good offers, and not to be too insolent upon confidence of their fortune, he expected their answer. These offers which to the Embassador seemed so great, were judged by the *Romans* to be very little. For they thought it reasonable, that the King should bear all the Charges of the War, since it began through his own fault: and that He should not only depart out of those few Towns which he held in *Æolis* and *Ionia*; but quite out of *Asia the less*, and keep himself on the other side of Mount *Taurus*. When the Embassador therefore saw that no better bargain could be made, He dealt with *P. Scipio* in private: and to him he promised a great quantity of Gold, together with the free restitution of his Son, who (it is uncertain by what mischance) was taken prisoner, and most honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of Gold: nor otherwise to the Restitution of his Son, than upon condition, That it might be with making such amends for the benefit, as became a private man. As for the publick business: He only said thus much, That since *Antiochus* had already forsaken *Lysimachia*, and suffered the War to take hold on his own Kingdom; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yield to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, said he, tell your King in my name, That I would advise him to refuse no Condition whereby he may have Peace.

The King was not any whit moved with his advice. For seeing that the Consul demanded of him no less than if he had been already subdued: little reason there was, that he should fear to come to battel; wherein he could lose, as he thought, no more, than by seeking to avoid it he must give away. He had with him threescore and ten thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; besides two and fifty Indian Elephants; and many Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, according to the manner of the Eastern Countrys. Yet was he nothing pleased to hear that the Consul drew near him apace, as one hastening to fight. But howsoever he was affected: He made so little shew of fear, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie sick at *Elæa*, He sent thither unto him his Son without ransome: as one both desirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his sickness, and withall not desirous to retain the young Gentleman for a pledge of his own safety. Thus ought his bounty to be constant. Otherwise it might be suspected that herein he dealt craftily. For since he could have none other ransome of *Scipio*, than such as an honourable man, that had no great store of wealth, might pay: better it was to do such a courtesie before the battel, as would afterwards have been little worth; than to stay until the *Romans*, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the Recovery of his Son; so as the joy thereof was thought to have been much available unto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanity, He said only thus much unto those that brought him this acceptable Present, *I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by advising him not to fight until he shall hear that I am in the Camp.* What he meant by this, it is hard to conjecture. *Antiochus* resolved to follow his Counsel: and therefore withdrew himself from about *Thyatira*, beyond the River of *Phrygius* or *Hyllus*, unto *Magnesia* by *Sypilus*: where encamping, he fortified himself as strongly as he could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Consul, and sat down within four miles of him. About a thousand of the Kings Horse, most of them *Gallo-Greeks*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome: of whom at first they slew some; and were anon, with some loss, driven back over the River. Two dayes were quietly spent, whilest neither the King nor the *Romans* would pass the water. The third day the *Romans* made

the adventure: wherein they found no disturbance; nor were at all opposed, until they came within two miles and an half of *Antiochus* his Camp. There as they were taking up their lodging, they were charged by three thousand Horse and Foot: whom the ordinary *Corps de guarde* repelled. Four dayes together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and set them in order before the Trenches, without advancing any further. The fifth day the *Romans* came half way forward, and presented battel; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Consul took advice what was to be done. For either they must fight upon whatsoever disadvantage, or else resolve to abide by it all Winter, far from any Country of their friends, and therefore subject unto many difficulties: unless they would stain their honour by returning far back, to Winter in a more convenient place; and so defer the War until the next Spring. The *Roman* Souldier was throughly perswaded of that Enemies base temper. Wherefore it was the general Cry, That this great Army should be assailed, even in the Camp where it lay: as if rather there were so many Beasts to be slaughtered, than men to be fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discovering the Fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the safest way to set upon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being loth to dishearten his men, by seeming to stand in fear of the Enemy, resolved to put the matter to trial. So when the *Romans* took the field again, and ordered their Battels: He also did the like; and advanced so far, that they might understand his meaning to fight.

The *Roman* Army consisted of four Legions, two *Roman* and two *Latine*: in each of which were five thousand and four hundred men. The *Latines*, as usually, were in the points; the *Roman*, in the mean battel. All of them, according to their wonted form, were divided into *Maniples*. The *Hastati* had the leading: after them followed the *Principes*, at such distance as was usual; and last of all, the *Triarii*. Now beside these, there were about three thousand *Auxiliaries*; partly *Achæans*, and partly such as belonged to *Eumenes*: which were placed in an equal Front beyond the *Latines* in the right wing. Utmost of all (save some five hundred *Cretians*, and of the *Trallians*) were almost three thousand Horse: of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being *Roman*. The left wing was fenced by the bank of the River: yet four troops of Horse were placed there, though such help seemed in a manner needless. Two thousand Voluntaries, *Macedonians* and *Thracians*, were left to guard the Camp. The Consul had with him sixteen *African* Elephants, which he bestowed in his Rere: forasmuch as had they come to fight with those of *Antiochus*, they only would have served to discourage his men; as being sure to be beaten: the *Indian* being far the greater and more couragious Beasts: whereof *Antiochus* had likewise much advantage in number.

The Kings Army being compounded of many Nations, diversly appointed, and not all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the several kinds, in such wise as each might be of most use. The main strength of his Foot consisted in sixteen thousand, armed all *Macedonian*-like, and called *Phalangiers*. These he placed in the midst, and divided into ten Battalions: every one having two and thirty in File, and fifty in Front. Between every Battalion were two Elephants, goodly Beasts, and such as being adorned with Frontals, high Crests, Towers on their Backs, and besides him that governed the Elephant, four men in every Tower, made a gallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these were fifteen hundred Horse of the *Gallo-Greeks*: then three thousand Barb'd Horse, and a Regiment of almost a thousand Horse, called the *Agema*, that were all *Medians*, the choice of the Country, and accompanied by some others. All which Troops of Horse divided in their several kinds, do seem to have followed one another in depth, rather then to have been stretched out in Front. Adjoyning unto these, were sixteen Elephants together in one flock. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings own Regiment; called the *Argyraspides*, or *Silvershields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like so valiant as those of the same name, that had served under Great *Alexander*: then, twelve hundred Archers on Horse-back, three thousand light-armed Foot, two thousand & five hundred Archers of *Mysia*; with four thousand Slingers and Archers of the *Cirtæans*, and *Elymæans*. On the left hand of the *Phalangiers*, were placed the like numbers of *Gallo-Greeks*, and Barb'd Horse: as also two thousand Horse that were sent from *Ariarathes*, with two thousand and seven hundred of divers Nations: and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly armed, that were called *The Kings Troop*; being *Syrians*, *Phrygians*, and *Lydians*. In Front of all these Horse were the

the Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, and the *Dromedaries*, whereon sate *Arabians* with long Rapiers, that would serve to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, *Carians*, *Cicilians*, *Pamphilians*, *Pisidians*, *Cyrtæans*, *Elymæans*, and many others, having also with them sixteen Elephants. *Antiochus* himself commanded in the right wing: *Seleucus* in the left: and three of his principal Captains commanded over the *Phalangiers*.

The first onset was given by the *Dromedaries* and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrifie the Horse; the other, to break the Squadrons of the Foot; *Eumenes* with a few light-armed *Cretians*, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatned by them both. For with shoutings, and noises, and some wounds, they were driven out of the field; and running back upon their own men, did the same harm which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the *Roman* Horse following this advantage, charged upon the left Wing: Whereas they found no resistance; some being out of order; others being without courage. It is shameful to rehearse, and so strange, that it may hardly seem credible: that the *Phalangiers*, with such variety of *Auxiliaris*, made little or no resistance; but all of them fled, in a manner as soon as they were charged. Only the King, *Antiochus* himself, being in the left wing of his own Battel: and seeing the *Latines*, that stood opposite unto him, weakly flanked with Horse, gave upon them couragiously, and forced them to retire. But *M. Æmilius*, that had the Guard of the *Roman* Camp, issued forth with all his power to help his fellows: and what by perswasion, what by threats, made them renew the fight. Succour also came from the right Wing, where the *Romans* were already victorious: whereof when *Antiochus* discovered the approach; He not only turned his Horse about, but ran away upon the spur without further tarriance. The Camp was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is said to have lost in this Battel fifty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the *Romans* there were not slain above three hundred Foot, and four and twenty Horse: of *Eumenes* his followers five and twenty.

Antiochus fled to *Sardes*, and from thence to *Apamea*, the same night; hearing that *Seleucus* was gone thither before. He left the custody of *Sardes*, and the Castle there, to one whom he thought faithful. But the Towns-men and Souldiers were so dismayed with the greatness of the Overthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Towns in those parts, without expecting summons yield ed up themselves by Embassadours: whom they sent to the *Romans*, whilest they were on the way. Neither were many days spent, ere *Antiochus* his Embassadour was in the Camp: having none other Errand, than to know what it would please the *Romans* to impose upon the King his Master. *P. Scipio* was now come to his Brother, who obtained leave to make the answer, because it should be gentle. They required red no more than they had lately done: which was, That he should quite abandon his Dominions on this side *Taurus*. For their Charges in that War, they required fifteen thousand Talents: five hundred in hand; two thousand and five hundred, when the Senate and People of *Rome* should have confirmed the peace; and the other twelve thousand in twelve years next ensuing, by even portions. Likewise they demanded four hundred Talents for *Eumenes*; and some store of Corn that was due to him upon a reckoning. Now besides twenty Hostages which they required, very earnest they were to have *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, with some others, who had stirred up the King to this War, delivered into their hands. But any wise man might so easily have perceived that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principal demands; as no great Art was needful to beguile their malice. The Kings Embassador had full Commission to refuse nothing that should be enjoyned. Wherefore there was no more to do, than to send immediately to *Rome* for the Ratification of the Peace.

There were new Consuls chosen in the mean while at *Rome*, *M. Fulvius*, and *Cn. Manlius Volso*. The *Ætolians* desired peace, but could not obtain it: because they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Consuls should make War upon the *Ætolians*; the other, upon *Antiochus* in *Asia*. Now, though shortly there came news that *Antiochus* was already vanquished in Battel, and had submitted himself unto all that could be required at his hands: yet since the State of *Asia* was not like to be so throughly settled by one Victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the *Romans* care, *Cn. Manlius*, to whom *Asia* fell by lot, had not his Province changed.

Soon

Soon after this, came the Embaſſadors of King *Antiochus* to *Rome*, accompanied with the *Rhodians* and ſome others; yea, by King *Eumenes* in perſon; whoſe preſence added a goodly luſtre to the buſineſs in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with King *Antiochus*, there was no diſputation: it was generally approved. All the trouble was about the diſtribution of the purchaſe. King *Eumenes* reckoned up his own deſerts, and comparing himſelf with *Maſaniſſa*, hoped that the *Romans* would be more bountiful to him, than they had been to the *Numidian*, ſince they had found him a King indeed, whereas *Maſaniſſa* was only ſuch in title; and ſince, both he and his Father had alwayes been their friends, even in the worſt of the *Roman* fortune. Yet was there much ado to make him tell what he would have: He ſtill referring himſelf to their courteſie; and they deſiring him to ſpeak plain. At length he craved that they would beſtow upon him, as much of the Country by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they had no purpoſe to keep in their own hands. Neither thought he it needful, that they ſhould trouble themſelves with the care of giving Liberty to many of the *Greek* Towns that were on *Aſia* ſide. For ſince the moſt of thoſe Towns had been partakers with the King in his War; it was no reaſon that they ſhould be Gainers by his overthrow. The *Rhodians* did not like of this. They deſired the Senate to be truly Patrons of the *Gracian* Liberty; and to call to mind, that no ſmall part of *Greece* it ſelf had been ſubject unto *Philip*, and ſerved him in his War: which was not alledged againſt them as a cauſe why they ſhould not be made free, after that *Philip* was overcome. But the main point whereon they inſiſted, was this, That the Victory of the *Romans* againſt King *Antiochus*, was ſo great, as eaſily might ſatisfie the deſires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to hear of this; and very bountifully gave away ſo much, that every one had cauſe to be well pleaſed.

Such end had the War againſt King *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, returning home, had granted unto him the honour of a Triumph: the Pomp whereof exceeded in Riches, not only that of *Titus Quintus Flamininus*, but of any ten that *Rome* had beheld until that day. Now foraſmuch as the ſurname of *the African* had been given unto *Scipio*, it was thought convenient by ſome to reward *L. Scipio* with the title of *The Aſiatique*: which the fortune of his Victory had no leſs deſerved; though the Vertue requiſit to the purchaſe thereof, was no way correſpondent.

§. IX.

The Ætolians, and the Gallo-Greeks, vanquiſhed by the Roman Conſuls, Fulvius *and* Manlius. Manlius *hardly obtains a Triumph: being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have paſſed the bounds appointed as fatal to the Romans by* Sibyl. *Of* Sibyls *Prophecies; the Books of* Hermes; *and that Inſcription,* Simoni Deo Sancto. *The ingratitude of* Rome *to the two* Scipio's: *and that beginning and faction among the Roman Nobility.*

Marc. Fulvius, and *Cn. Manlius* had the ſame charge divided between them, which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now ſtiled *Aſiaticus*, had lately undergone. It was found more than one mans work, to look at once to *Greice* and to *Aſia*. And for this reaſon was it apparent, that *L. Scipio* had granted ſo long a Truce to the *Ætolians*. But ſince, in this long *Interim of Truce*, that haughty little Nation had not ſought to humble it ſelf to the *Roman Majeſty*, it was now to be brought unto more lowly terms than any other of the *Greeks*. The beſt was, that ſo great a ſtorm fell not unexpected upon the *Ætolians*. They had foreſeen the danger, when their Embaſſadors were utterly denied peace at *Rome*: and they had provided the laſt Remedy; which was to entreat the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* to become Interceſſors for them. Nether were they ſo dejected with any terrible apprehenſions, that they could not well deviſe, even upon helping themſelves by repurchaſe of Countries loſt, where they ſpied advantage.

Poor King *Aminander* lived in exile among them, whilſt *Philip* of *Macedon* kept, for him, poſſeſſion of his Lands and Caſtles. But the *Athamanians* (beſides that many of them bore a natural affection to their own Prince) having been long accuſtomed to ſerve a Mountain Lord, that converſed with them after an homely manner; could not endure the proud and inſolent manner of command, uſed by the Captains of *Philip* his Garriſons. They ſent therefore ſome few of them to their King, and offered their ſervice towards his reſtitution. At the firſt there were only four of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fifty, which undertook the work. Yet aſſurance that all the reſt would follow, made *Aminander* willing to try his fortune. He was at the borders with a thouſand *Ætolians*, upon the day appointed: at what time his two and fifty Adventurers, having divided themſelves into four parts, occupied, by the ready

dy assistance of the multitude, four of the chief Towns in the Country, to his use. The fame of this godd success at the first; with divers Letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to do their best in helping forward the Action, made the Lieutenants of *Philip* unable to think upon resistance. One of them held the Town of *Theium* a few daies; giving thereby some leisure unto his King to provide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence, and could only tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was lost. *Philip* had brought from home six thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, he left all save two thousand behind him, and so came to *Athenæum*, a little *Athamanian* Castle, that still was his, as being on the frontier of *Macedon*. Thence he sent *Zeno*, who had kept *Theium* a while, to take a place lying over *Argithea*, that was chief of the Country. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither he, nor the King had the boldness to descend upon *Argithea*; for that they might perceive the *Athamanians*, all along the hill sides, ready to come down upon them, when they should be busie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a safe retrait: especially when *Aminander* came in sight with his thousand *Ætolians*. The *Macedonians* were called back fromwards *Argithea*, and presently withdrawn by their King towards his own borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet at their pleasure. The *Athamanians* and *Ætolians* way-laid them, and pursued them so closely, that their retrait was in manner of a plain flight, with great loss of men and arms, few of those escaping, that were left behind, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the Country, until *Philip* his return.

The *Ætolians* having found the business of *Athamania* so easie, made an attempt in their own behalf, upon the *Amphilochians* and *Aperantians*. These had belonged unto their Nation, and were lately taken by *Philip*; from whom they diligently revolted, and became *Ætolians* again. The *Dolopians* lay next; that had been ever belonging to the *Macedonian*, and so did still purpose to continue. These took Arms at first: but soon laid them away; seeing their neighbours ready to fight with them in the *Ætolian* quarrel, and seeing their own King so hastily gone, as if he meant not to return.

Of these Victories the joy was the less; for that news came of *Antiochus* his last overthrow, and of *M. Fulvius* the new Consul his hasting with an Army into *Greece*. *Aminander* sent his excuses to *Rome*, praying the Senate not to take it in despight, that he had recovered his own from *Philip* with such help as he could get. Neither seems it that the *Romans* were much offended to hear of *Philip* his losses: for of this fault they neither were sharp correctors, nor earnest reprovers. *Fulvius* went in hand with the business about which he came, and layed siege to *Ambracia*, a goodly City, that had been the chief seat of *Pyrrhus* his Kingdom. With this he began, for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the *Ætolians*: yet could not by them be relieved, unless they would adventure to fight upon equal ground. To help the *Ambracians*, it was not in the *Ætolians* power: for they were, at the same time, vexed by the *Illyrians* at Sea, and ready to be driven from their new Conquest, by *Perseus* the Son of *Philip*, who invaded the Countries of the *Amphilochians* and *Dolopians*. They were unable to deal with so many at once; and therefore as earnestly sought peace with the *Romans*, as they stoutly made head against the rest. In the mean while the *Athenian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors came, who besought the Consul to grant them peace. It helped well that *Ambracia* made strong resistance, and would not be terrified by any violence of the Assailants, or danger that might seem to threaten. The Consul had no desire to spend half his time about one City, and so be diven to leave unto his successor the honour of finishing the War. Wherefore he gladly hearkened unto the *Ætolians*, and bade them seek peace with faithful intent, without thinking it over-dear, at a reasonable price; considering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend *Antiochus* had made the same purchase. He also gave leave to *Aminander*, offering his service as a Mediatour, to put himself into *Ambracia*, and try what good his perswasions might do with the Citizens. So after many demands and excuses, the conclusion was such as was grievous to the weaker, but not unsufferable. The same Embassadours of the *Athenians* and *Rhodians*, accompanied those of the *Ætolians* to *Rome*, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needful in this intercession, for that *Philip* had made a very grieveous complaint about the loss of those Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it did not hinder the peace, which those good Mediatours of *Rhodes* and *Athens* did earnestly solicite. The *Ætolians* were

were bound to uphold the Majesty of the people of *Rome*, and to observe diver Articles, which made them the less free, and more obnoxious to the *Romans*, than any people of *Greece*; they having been the first that called these their Masters into the Country. The Isle of *Cephalenia* was taken from them by the *Romans:* who kept it for themselves (as not long since they had gotten *Zacynthus* from the *Achæans*, by stiffly pressing their own right) that so they might have possession along the Coast of *Greece*, whilest they seemed to forbear the Country. But concerning those places, whereto *Philip*, or others might lay claim, there was set down an order so perplexed, as would necessarily require to have the *Romans* Judges of their Controversies, when they should arise. And hereof good use will be shortly made: when want of employment elsewhere, shall cause a more Lordly Inquisition to be held, upon the affairs of *Macedon* and *Greece*.

Cn. Manlius, the other Consul, had at the same time War in *Asia*, with the *Gallo-Greeks* and others. His Army was the same that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whose victory, his acts were the consummation. He visited those Countries on the hither side of *Taurus*, that had scarce heard of the *Romans*; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among these there were some petty Lords or Tyrants, some free Cities, and some that were together at wars, without regard of the great alteration that happened in *Asia*. From every of these he got somewhat; and by their quarrels found occasion to visit those Provinces, into which he should else have wanted an errand. He was even loaden with booty, when, having fetcht a compass about *Asia*, he came at length upon the *Gallo-Greeks*. These had long domineered over the Country: though of late times, it was rather the fame and terrour of their fore-passed acts, than any present vertue of theirs, which held them up in reputation. Of the *Romans* they had lately such trial, when they served under King *Antiochus*, as made them to acknowledge themselves far the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safety, that they dwelt upon the River *Halys*, in an In-land Country, where those enemies were not very like to search them out. But when such hopes failed; and when some Princes of their own Nation, that had been friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the rest to yield: then was no counsel thought so good, as to forsake their houses and Country, and with all that they could carry or drive, to betake themselves unto the high Mountains of *Olympus* and *Margana*. These Mountains were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should undertake the custody. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time; as also the natural strength being helpt by such fortification as promised greatest assurance: it was thought, that the Consul would either forbear the attempt of forcing them, or easily be repelled; and that finally, when he had stayed there a while, winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this availed not. For whereas the *Gallo-Greeks* had been careless of furnishing themselves with casting weapons, as if stones would have served well enough for that purpose: the *Romans*, who came far otherwise appointed, found greater advantage in the difference of Arms, than impediment in disadvantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did easily prevail against casters of stones; especially being such as were these *Gallo-Greeks*, neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor having prepared their stones before-hand, but catching up what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than those of a fit size. Finally the *Barbarians*, wanting defensive Arms, could not hold out against the Arrows and weapons of the *Roman* light armature: but were driven from a piece of ground, which they had undertaken to make good, up into their Camp on the top of the Mountain; and being forced out of their Camp, had none other way left, than to cast themselves headlong down the steep Rocks. Few of the men escaped alive: all their Wives, Children, and goods, became a prey unto the *Romans*. In the very like manner were the rest of that Nation overcome soon after, at the other Mountain: only more of them saved themselves by flight, as having fairer way at their backs.

These wars being ended: *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were apointed by the Senate, each of them to retain as Proconsul, his Province for another year. *Fulvius*, in his second year, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gave peace to those whom he had vanquished; as likewise to *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for fear of the *Roman* Arms. He drew from them all, what profit he could: and laid upon them such conditions, as he thought expedient. He also did finish the League of peace with *Antiochus*; whereto he swore, and received the Kings oath by Embassadours, whom he sent for that purpose. Finally, having set in order the

matters

matters of *Asia*, he took his way toward the *Hellespont*, loaden with spoil, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the *Gallo-Greeks* had in so many years extorted from the wealthy Provinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Army of *Manlius* return home rich in money alone, or cattel, or things of needful use, which the *Roman* Souldier had been wont to take as the only good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous Houshold-stuff, and slaves of price, excellent Cooks, and Musicians, for banquets; and in a word, with the seeds of that Luxury which finally over-grew and choaked the *Roman* vertue.

The Country of *Thrace* lay between *Hellespont* and the Kingdom of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his journey homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians*: either for that he passed through them, without any such booty as might provoke them; or perhaps rather, because *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* should not stir. But when *Manlius* came along with a huge train of baggage, the *Thracians* could not so well contain themselves. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* took it otherwise than very pleasantly, to have this *Roman* Army robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angry, seeing how little himself was regarded, and what great rewards were given to *Eumenes*. For he understood, and afterwards gave the *Romans* to understand, that *Eumenes* could not have abidden in his own Kingdome, if the people of *Rome* had not made war in *Asia*: whereas contrariwise, *Antiochus* had offered unto himself three thousand Talents, and fifty Ships of War, to take part with him and the *Ætolians*; promising moreover to restore unto him all the *Greek* Cities, that had been taken from him by the *Romans*. Such being the difference between him and *Eumenes*, when the War began: He thought it no even dealing of the *Romans*, after their victory, to give away not only the half of *Asia*, but *Cherſonesus*, and *Lysimachia* in *Europe*, to *Eumenes*; whereas upon himself they bestowed not any one Town. It agreed not indeed with his Nobility to go to *Rome*, and beg Provinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* had lately done. He had entertained lovingly the two *Scipio's*, whom he thought the most honourable men in *Rome*; and was grown into near acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correspondence with him by Letters, whereby he made himself acquainted with the Wars in *Spain* and *Africk*. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the *Romans* a due respect of him. But *Eumenes* took a surer way. For the *Scipio's* had not the disposing of that which they won from *Antiochus*: as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates assisting him; but the Senate of *Rome*, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therefore saw these upstart Kings of *Pergamus*, whom he accounted as base companions, advanced so highly, and made greater than himself: yea, himself unregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to wish, that he had not so hastily declared himself against *Antiochus*, or rather that he had joyned with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, by whom he might have been freed from his insolent Masters. But what great argument of such discontentedness, the *Macedonian* had, we shall very shortly be urged to discourse more at large. At the present it was believed, that the *Thracians* were by him set on to assail the *Romans* passing through their Country. They knew all advantages, and they fell, unexpected, upon the carriages that were bestowed in the midst of the Army; whereof part had already passed a dangerous wood through which the baggage followed; part was not yet so far advanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leave behind: though both the getting and the saving, did cost many lives, as well of the *Barbarians*, as of the *Romans*. They fought until it grew night: and then the *Thracians* withdrew themselves; not without as much of the booty as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though less dangerous, before the Army could get out of *Thrace* into *Macedon*. Through the Kingdom they had a fair march into *Epirus*; and so to *Apollonia*, which was their handle of *Greece*.

Liv. l. 39.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fulvius*, when each of them returned to the City, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: especially to *Manlius*, whom some of the ten Delegates appointed to assist him, did very bitterly tax as an unworthy Commander. Touching the rest of their accusation, it sufficeth that he made good answer, and was approved by the chief of the Senate. One Clause is worthy of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to have hindered the peace with *Antiochus*; They said, *That with much ado he was kept from leading his Army over* Taurus, *and adventuring upon the Calamity threatned by* Sibyl's *Verses, unto those that should pass the Fatal Bounds.* What calamity or overthrow this was, wherewith *Sibyls* Prophecy threatned the Roman Captain or Army, that should

Liv. l. 40.

paſs over *Taurus*, I do not conceive. *Pompey* was the firſt that marched with an Army beyond thoſe limits: though the Victories of *Lucullus* had opened unto him the way, and had before-hand won, in a ſort, the Countries on the other ſide of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gave to one of *Antiochus* his Race, though *Pompey* occupied them for the *Romans*. But we find not, that either *Lucullus* or *Pompey* ſuffered any loſs, in preſuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sibyl*. Indeed the accompliſhment of this Prophecy, fell out near about one time, with the reſtitution of *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, that was forbidden unto the *Romans* by the ſame *Sybil*. It may therefore ſeem to have had reference unto the ſame things that were denounced as like to happen upon the reduction of the *Egyptian* King. Whether the Oracles of *Sibyl* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tully* noteth, *ſowed at randome in the large field of Time*, there to take root, and get credit by event; I will not here diſpute. But I hold this more probable, than that the reſtitution of *Ptolomy* to his Kingdom by *Gabinius* the *Roman*, ſhould have any way betokened the coming of our Saviour: as ſome both ancient and modern Chriſtian Writers have been well pleaſed to interpret *Sibyl* in that Prophecy. Of the *Sibylline* Predictions, I have ſometimes thought reverently: though not knowing what they were (as I think few men know) yet following the common belief and good authority. But obſervation of the ſhameful Idolatry, that upon all occaſions was advanced in *Rome* by the Books of *Sibyl*, had well prevailed upon my credulity, and made me ſuſpect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the judgement of *Euſebius*: when that learned and excellent work of Maſter *Caſaubon* upon the Annals of Cardinal *Baronius*, did altogether free me from mine error; making it apparent; That not only thoſe Prophecies of *Sibyl*, wherein Chriſt ſo plainly was ſhewed, but even the Books of *Hermes*, which have born ſuch reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at firſt entertained (whoſoever deviſed them) by the indiſcreet zeal of ſuch as delighted in ſeeing the Chriſtian Religion ſtrengthened with forreign proofs. And in the ſame Rank I think, we ought to place that notable Hiſtory, reported by *Euſebius* from no mean Authors, Of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in *Rome*; namely, of an Altar to him erected, with an inſcription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, *To Simon the holy God*. For what can be more ſtrange, than that a thing ſo memorable, and ſo publick, ſhould have been quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of thoſe times? Philoſophers and Poets would not have ſuffered the matter to eſcape in ſilence, had it been true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then lived and flouriſhed, would have abſtained from ſpeaking any word of an argument ſo famous. Wherefore I am perſwaded, that this Inſcription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by ſome bad *Criticiſme*, taken amiſs in place of *Semoni Sango*: a title four hundred years older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the Goods of one *Vitruvius* a Rebel, had many Ages before been conſecrated *Semoni Sango*, that is, *To the Spirit or Demi-god Sangus*, in whoſe Chappel they were beſtowed. So as either by the ill ſhape of the old *Roman* letters, or by ſome ſpoil that time had wrought upon them; it might eaſily come to paſs, that the words ſhould be miſ-read, *Simoni Sancto*, and that ſome Chriſtian who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sangus*, thereupon ſhould frame the conjecture, which now paſſeth for a true Hiſtory. Such conjectures, being entertained without examination, find credit by Tradition, whereby alſo, many times, their faſhion is amended, and made more Hiſtorical, than was conceived by the Author. But it cannot be ſafe, to let our faith (which ought to ſtand firm upon a ſure foundation) lean over-hardly on a well-painted, yet rotten poſt.

Tull. de Divin. lib. 2.

Iſaac Caſaub. Exercita. 1. ad Annal. Baron. 10. & 11.

Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. c. 13.

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbered among a few of the richeſt, which ever the City beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treaſury, was made the laſt payment of thoſe moneys which the Commonwealth had borrowed from private men in the ſecond *Punick War*. So long was it, that *Rome* had ſtill ſome feeling of *Hannibal*: which being paſt, there was remaining neither care, nor memory, of any danger. This Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, even ſo long as he well could: for that he thought it not ſafe, to make his entrance into the City, until the heat of an inquiſition, then raging therein, ſhould be allayed. The two *Scipio's* were called one after another, into judgement, by two Tribunes of the People; men, only by this accuſation, known to Poſterity. *P. Scipio* the *African*, with whom they began, could not endure that ſuch unworthy men ſhould queſtion him, of purloining from the Common Treaſury, or of being hired with Bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargain for his Country. When therefore his day of anſwer came; he appeared before the Tribunes,

Tribunes, not humbly as one accuſed, but followed by a great Train of his Friends and Clients, with which he paſſed through the midſt of the Aſſembly, and offered himſelf to ſpeak. Having audience, he told the People, That upon the ſame day of the year he had fought a great Battel with *Hannibal*, and finiſhed the *Punick War* by a ſignal Victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit ſeaſon to brabble at the Law; but intended to viſit the *Capitol*, and there give thanks to *Jupiter*, and the reſt of the gods, by whoſe grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well and happily diſcharged the moſt weighty buſineſs of the Commonweal. And hereto he invited with him all the Citizens: requeſting them, *That if ever ſince the ſeventeenth year of his life, until he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred upon him, had prevented the capacity of his age, and yet his deſerts had exceeded the greatneſs of thoſe honourable places: then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their City might ſtill be like to him.* Theſe words were heard with great approbation: ſo as all the people, even the Officers of the court followed *Scipio* leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them excepting their own ſlaves and a Cryer, by whom ridiculouſly they cited him to judgement, until for very ſhame, as not knowing what elſe to do, they granted him, unrequeſted, a further day. After this, when the *African* perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their ſuit, but enforce him to ſubmit himſelf to a diſgraceful trial: he willingy relinquiſhed the City and his unthankful *Romans*, that could ſuffer him to undergo ſo much indignity. The reſt of his time he ſpent at *Liternum*: quietly with a few of his inward friends, and without any deſire of ſeeing *Rome* again. How many years he lived, or whether he lived one whole year, in this voluntary baniſhment; it is uncertain. The report of his dying in the ſame year, with *Hannibal* and *Philopœmen*, as alſo of his private behaviour at *Liternum*, render it probable, that he outlived the Tribune-ſhip of his Accuſers; who meant to have drawn him back to his anſwer, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the reſt from proceeding) had not cauſed them to deſiſt. Howſoever it was; the ſame Tribunes went more ſharply to work with *L. Scipio the Aſiatique*. They propounded a Decree unto the People, touching money received of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treaſury; that the Senate ſhould give charge unto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and judicially determine thereof. In favour of this Decree, an Oration was made by *Cato*, the ſuppoſed Author of theſe contentions, and inſtigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect Vertue, temperate, valiant, and of ſingular induſtry; frugal alſo, both of the publick, and of his own; ſo as in this kind he was even faulty: for though he would not be corrupted with Bribes, yet was he unmerciful and unconſcionable, in ſeeking to increaſe his own wealth, by ſuch means as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poyſoned with envy, troubled both himſelf and the whole City; whilſt he lived. His mean birth cauſed him to hate the Nobility, eſpecially thoſe that were in chief eſtimation. Neither did he ſpare to bite at ſuch as were of his own rank, men raiſed by deſert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabrio*, whoſe Lieutenant he had been at *Thermopylæ*, was his Competitor for the Cenſorſhip, and likely to carry it, he took an Oath againſt him, which was counted as no better than malicious perjury, That he had not brought into the common Treaſury ſome Veſſels of gold and ſilver, gotten in the Camp of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare unto the *Scipio*'s, grew partly, (beſides his general ſpight at the Nobility) from his own firſt riſing, wherein he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the *African*; partly from ſome check that was given unto himſelf, in the *African* Voyage by *P. Scipio*, whoſe Treaſurer he then was. For when *Cato* did utter his diſlike of the Conſuls bad Husbandry (judging Magnificence to be no better) in ſome peremptory manner; *Scipio* plainly told him, That he had no need of ſuch double diligence in his Treaſurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lies he publiſhed, or for want of judgement, thinking unworthily of the vertue that was far above him, *Cato* filled *Rome* with untrue Reports againſt his General; whoſe noble deeds confuted ſufficiently the author of ſuch falſe Tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought upon by the *Scipio*'s, whilſt it was nouriſhed by their enemy, brake out upon advantage, eſpecially againſt *L. Scipio*: his brother being dead, or out of the way. A ſevere inquiry and judgment being appointed of purpoſe againſt *Scipio*, matters were ſo carried, that he was ſoon condemned in a ſum of money, far exceeding his ability to pay. For *non-payment* his body ſhould have been laid up in priſon: but from this rigor of the Law, he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the ſame Tribune who had cauſed the ſuit againſt the *African* to be let fall. In his eſtate, which

was confiscated to the use of the City, when there neither appeared any sign of his having been beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found so much as what he had been condemned to pay; than fell his Accusers, and all whose hands had been against him, into the indignation of *the People*. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kindred, friends, and Clients, made such a Collection for him, as would have set him in better Estate than before, if he had accepted it. He took no more than such of his own goods, as were of necessary use, being redeemed for him by his nearest friends.

And thus began the Civil War of the *Tongue* in the *Roman* pleadings: which had either not been, or not been much regardable until now, since the Punick War. Security of danger from abroad, and some want of sufficient Employment, were especial helps to the kindling of this fire; which first caught hold upon that Great Worthy, to whose Vertue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into so great security her extream danger. But these factious contentions did no long while contain themselves within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude in such quarrelsome business, grew to perfection, they that found themselves overmatched by their Adversaries at this kind of weapon, began to make opposition first with Clubs and Stones, afterward with Swords; and finally, proceeded from frayes and murders in the streets, unto battel in the open field. *Cornelia*, Daughter of *Scipio* the *African*, a Lady of rare Vertue, that in honour of her two Sons was more commonly named, *Mother of the Gracchi*, saw those her two Sons, whilest they were but young, slaughtered in *Rome*, together with some of their friends: by those whom they opposed, and their death not revenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At these times the Senators began to take upon them Authority, more than was to them belonging. They conferred upon the Consuls all the whole power of the City, under this form, *Let the Consuls provide, that the Commonweal receive no detriment.* By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen *enemy to the State*, they thought to have won a great advantage over the multitude. But after the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saturnius*, a popular man; whom by such authority they did put out of the way; it was not long ere *Marius* a famous Captain of theirs, was so condemned, who by force of arms returned into the City, and murdered all the Principal Senators: whereupon began the Civil Wars; which giving unto *Sylla*, who prevailed therein, means to make himself absolute Lord of *Rome*, taught *Cæsar*, a man of higher Spirit, to affect and obtain the like Soveraign Power, when by the like Decree of the Senate, he was provoked. It is true, that never any Consul had finally cause to rejoyce, of his having put in execution such Authority to him committed by the Senate. But as the fury of the multitude, in passing their Laws, by hurling of stones, and other violence; made the City stand in need of a Soveraign Lord: so the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as Enemies, those that would not submit themselves, when they were over-topped by Voices in the House, did compel *Cæsar*, or give him at least pretence, to right himself by Arms: wherewith prevailing against his Adversaries, he took such order, that neither Senate nor People, should thenceforth be able to do him wrong. So by intestine discord, the *Romans* consuming all or most of their principal Citizens, lost their own freedom, and became subjects unto the arbitrary government of One: suffering this change in three Generations, after this beginning of their insolent Rule, wherein they took upon them as the highest Lords on earth, to do even what they listed. Yet had not *Rome* indeed attained hitherto unto compleat Greatness, nor believed of her self, as if she had, whilst a King sate crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and upholding the Reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this consummation of her honour was thought upon betimes. How it was effected, the sequel will discover.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Second Macedonian War.

§. I.

The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were Associates of the Romans, when the War with Antiochus *was finished. The Romans quarrel with* Philip. *They deal insolently with the Achæans, The Macedonian, being unready for War, obtains Peace at* Rome, *by his Son* Demetrius: *of whom thenceforth he becomes jealous.*

AFter the overthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the Commonweal of the *Achæans*, and all other the States of *Greece*, were governed by the same Laws and Magistrates as formerly had been, before the arrival of the *Romans* in those parts: yet in very truth (the publick Declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute Vassals to the People of *Rome*. For of those five Prerogatives belonging to a Monarch, or unto Soveraign Power, in whomsoever it rest; namely, *To make Laws*, *To create Magistrates*, *To arbitrate Peace and War*, *to beat Money*, and, *To reserve* (as the French call it) *le dernier Ressort*, or *the last Appeals*, the *Romans* had assumed four; and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, *The Appeal*, or last resort, as every petty injury offered to each other by the forenamed Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the *Roman* Embassadours, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senators themselves within *Rome*; from whose arbitriment, or direction, if either King or Commonweals declined, He or they were beaten, and inforced to obedience; or had their Estates and Regalities utterly dissolved. Nevertheless it is true, that they had their own Laws, and Officers of their own ordaining: yet so, as neither the Laws were of force, when the *Romans* interposed their will to the contrary, neither was their election of Magistrates so free, as that they had not therein especial regard unto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

And to such degree of servitude the several Estates of *Greece* did bow very gently: either as being thankful for their deliverance from a Yoke more sensibly grievous; or, as being skilful in the Art of flattery, and therein taking delight, since therein consisted their chief hope of thriving; or, as being more fearful of displeasing the strongest, than mindful of their own honour. But *Eumenes* living further off, and being most obsequious unto the *Romans*, was not of long time questioned about any of his doings: his conformity unto them in matter of War and Peace, together with the diversion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to hold his own even as he listed, until they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little available to him, that his Kingdom bordered upon the Nations by them not throughly subdued. For upon the same reason (as well as upon his own high deserts) were they very loving unto *Masanissa*, and to his House, until *Cartharge* was ruined, and their Dominion settled in *Africk*: as likewise afterwards to the Kings of *Mauritania*, *Cappadocia*, and others, holding people in subjection unto themselves, by the Ministry of Kings; especially of such Kings, as were useful and obsequious unto them.

Now the *Macedonian* was of a more noble temper, and shewed himself not forgetful of his own former greatness, the honour of his Race, or the high reputation of his Kingdom. But such Magnanimity was none otherwise construed by the *Romans*, than as want of due reverence to their estate, and a valuation of himself against them: which in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore notwithstanding that he had lately given passage to their Armies thorow his Country, prepared the wayes for them, and furnished them both with Victuals and other things needful, to transport them over the *Hellespont* into *Asia*, against *Antiochus*: yet upon the complaint of *Eumenes* and the States of *Thessaly* and *Thrace*, he was commanded to abandon the Cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea*, with all Pieces and places demanded by any of his Neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction or licence, even from the *Romans* themselves.

These

These Towns of *Ænus* and *Maronea* had been part of *Lysimachus* his Kingdom: who from *Thrace* Northwards, and to the Northwest, extended his Dominion very far. He is thought to have made himself Lord of *Transylvania:* In which Province it is said, * That innumerable Medals of Gold have been found in the age of our Grand-fathers, each of them weighing two or three Crowns, and stamped with his Image on the one side, on the other side with *Victory*. Of all these Lordships, the possession, or rather the title (for he lived not to settle his Estate in *Europe*) fell to *Seleucus Nicanor* by right of War, wherein he vanquished and slew *Lysimachus:* as also, by the like right *Ptolomy Ceraunus* thought them his own, when he had murdered *Seleucus*. But the inundation of the *Gaules*, which the Kingdom of *Macedon* could not sustain, did shortly and easily wash away from that Crown, together with the more part of *Thrace*, all those heaps of Land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the Son of *Demetrius* and his Successors: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The fury of the *Gauls* being over-past, those Countries which lately had been oppressed by them, recovered their Liberty; and not only held it, but learned, some of them, especially the *Dardanians* and wild *Thracians*, to find their advantages, and make use of them, even upon *Macedon*. Against the mischiefs commonly done by these, King *Philip* did provide the most convenient remedies: by shutting up the ways, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his Kingdom; and by occupying *Lysimachia*, with some other Towns in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarks of his own Country, against the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behoved him thus to do, for the defence of his own estate: yet forasmuch as these Towns were, in a manner, at absolute liberty, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of justice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the *Ætolians*, of wrongful usurpation and oppression, in his having occupied *Lysimachia*. Hereto he made a good answer. That his Garrison did only save it from the *Thracians:* who, as soon as he thence withdrew his men, did seize upon the Town, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might have said, touching *Ænus* and *Maronea*; That they were places unable to defend themselves, and Gates, by which the *Barbarians* might have entrance into his Kingdom. But this Plea had not availed him, in the disputation about *Lysimachia:* and in the present question, the *Romans* were not without their own title; since *Antiochus* had gotten all the Country thereabout, whilst *Philip* was busied in his former war: and since they, by their Victory, had gotten unto themselves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he only submitted his right unto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it unto their disposition, Whether *Ænus* and *Maronea* should be set at liberty: whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed upon *Eumenes*; who begged them as an appendix to *Lysimachia* and *Chersonesus*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might easily perceive by the demeanour of their Embassadours towards him: who sitting as Judges between him and all that made complaint upon him, gave sentence against him in every controversie. Nevertheless he sent Embassadours to *Rome*, there to maintain his Right unto these Towns; wherein he thought, that equity (if it might prevail) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their Consuls in the War against *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: wherein whatsoever he had gotten for himself, was now taken from him by their Embassadors: and would they now deprive him of those two Towns, lying so fitly for the guard of his Kingdom, which he had gotten to himself out of the ruines of *Antiochus*, like as out of his own ruines, *Antiochus* had gotten in those quarters a great deal more? By such allegations either he was likely to prevail, or at least to gain time, wherein he might bethink himself what he had to do. It was not long ere he had word from *Rome*, That the Senate were no more equal to him, than had been their Embassadors. Wherefore, considering how insolently the *Maronites* had behaved themselves, in pleading against him for their Liberty, he took counsel of his own passion; and (as by nature he was very cruel) gave order to *Onomastus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, to handle these *Maronites* in such sort, as they might have little joy of the liberty by them so earnestly desired. *Onomastus* employed *Cassander*, one of the Kings men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thracians* by night, that they might sack the Town, and use all cruelties of War. This was done: but so ill taken by the *Roman* Embassadors who had better notice than could have been feared, of these proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly, than became his Majesty, to an accompt. He would have removed the blame from himself, and laid it even upon the *Maronites*: affirming, that

* *Hist. of Hungary Mara. Fumee. l.b.5.*

that they, in heat of their Factions, being ſome inclinable to him, otherſome to *Eumenes*, had fallen into ſuch outrage, that they had cut one anothers throats. And hereof he willed the Embaſſadors to enquire among the *Maronites* themſelves: as well knowing, that they who ſurvived, were either his own friends; or ſo terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durſt not utter an offenſive word. But he found the *Romans* more ſevere, and more thorowly informed in the buſineſs, than to reſt contented with ſuch an anſwer. He was plainly told, That if he would diſcharge himſelf of the Crime objected, he muſt ſend *Onomaſtus* and *Caſſander* to *Rome*, there to be examined as the Senate ſhould think fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his ſpirits, and ſaid, That *Caſſander* ſhould be at their diſpoſition: but concerning *Onomaſtus*, who had not been at *Maronea*, nor near to it, he requeſted them not to preſs him, ſince it ſtood not with his honour ſo lightly to give away his friends. As for *Caſſander*, becauſe he ſhould tell no tales; He took order to have him poyſoned by the way. By this we ſee, that the Doctrine which *Machiavel* taught unto *Cæſar Borgia*, to imploy men in miſchievous actions, and afterwards to deſtroy them when they have performed the miſchief, was not of his own invention. All Ages have given us examples of this goodly policy, the latter having been apt Scholars in this Leſſon to the more ancient: as the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, here in *England* can bear good witneſs; and therein eſpecially the Lord *Cromwel*, who periſhed by the ſame unjuſt Law that himſelf had deviſed, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an unpleaſant noiſe at *Rome*, and were like to have brought upon him the war which he feared, before he was ready to entertain it. Wherefore he employed his younger Son *Demetrius* as Embaſſadour unto the Senate: giving him Inſtructions how to make anſwer to all Complaints, and withall to deliver his own Grievances in ſuch wiſe, that if ought were amiſs, yet might it appear that he had been ſtrongly urged to take ſuch courſes. The ſum of his Embaſſage was, To pacifie the *Romans*, and make all even for the preſent. *Demetrius* himſelf was known to be very acceptable unto the Senate, as having been well approved by them, when he was Hoſtage in *Rome*: and therefore ſeemed the more likely to prevail ſomewhat; were it only, in that regard would be born unto his perſon.

Whileſt this buſineſs with the *Macedonian* hung in ſuſpence, and whileſt he, by his readineſs to make ſubmiſſion, ſeemed likely to divert from himſelf ſome other way the *Roman* Arms: the ſame Embaſſadors, that had been Judges between him and his Neighbours, made their progreſs thorow the reſt of *Greece*; and took notice of the Controverſies, which they found between ſome Eſtates in the Country. The greateſt cauſe that was heard before them, was the complaint of the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians* againſt the *Achæans*. It was objected unto the *Achæans*, That they had committed a grievous ſlaughter upon many Citizens of *Lacedæmon*: That unto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing down the Walls of the City: as alſo further, in changing the Laws, and abrogating the famous Inſtitutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycortas* the Prætor of the *Achæans*, made anſwer, That theſe baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*, who now took upon them to accuſe the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriouſly known to be the men, who had themſelves committed that murder, whereof ſhameleſly they laid the blame upon others: the *Achæans* having not only called thoſe unto judgment, that were ſuppoſed to be chief Authors of a Rebellion againſt both them and the *Romans*: and theſe Plaintiffs having ſlain them, upon private, though juſt hatred, as they were coming to make anſwer for themſelves. Concerning their throwing down the walls of *Lacedæmon*, he ſaid it was moſt agreeable to *Lycurgus* his Ordinance: who, having perſwaded his Citizens to defend their Town and liberty by their proper vertue, did inhibit unto them all kind of fortifications: as the Retraits and Neſts either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedæmon* had woful experience) of Tyrants and Uſurpers. Further he ſhewed, how the ſame Tyrants that had built theſe walls, and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had alſo quite aboliſhed *Lycurgus* his Ordinances; and governed the City by their own lawleſs Will. As for the *Achæans*; they communicated their own Laws, which they held for the beſt, or elſe would ſoon change them, and take better, unto the *Lacedæmonians*; whom they found without Laws, or any tolerable form of policy. For concluſion, *Lycortas* plainly told *App. Claudius*, the chief of the Embaſſadours, That he and his Countrymen held it ſtrange, being friends and faithful Allies of the *Romans*, to ſee themſelves thus conſtrained, to anſwer and give account of their actions, as vaſſals and ſlaves unto the *People of Rome*. For if they were indeed at Liberty: Why might not the

Achæans

Achæans as well require to be satisfied about that which the *Romans* had done at *Capua*, as the *Romans* did busie themselves, to take account how things went at *Lacedæmon*? For if the *Romans* would stand upon their Greatness; and intimate, as they begun, that the Liberty of their Friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselves to ratifie it: then must the *Achæans* have recourse unto those Agreements that were confirmed by Oath, and which, without perjury could not be violated; as reverencing, and indeed fearing the *Romans*, but much more, the immortal gods. To this bold answer of *Lycortas*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking state upon him; he pronounced, more like a Master than a Judge, that if the *Achæans* would not be ruled by fair means, and earn thanks whilest they might; they should be compelled with a mischief, to do what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the Parliament of the *Achæans*, which groaned to hear the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet fear prevailed above indignation: and it was permitted unto the *Romans* to do as they listed. Hereupon the Embassadours restored some banished and condemned men: but the *Roman* Senate, very soon after, did make void all judgements of death or banishment, that had been laid by the *Achæans* upon any Citizen of *Lacedæmon*; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the City and Territory of *Lacedæmon* should be suffered to continue a member of the *Achæan* Common-wealth: or, taken from them, and made as it had been an Estate by it self. By bringing such a matter into question, the *Romans* well declared, that they held it to depend upon their own will, how much or how little any of their Confederates should be suffered to enjoy: though by contributing *Sparta* to the Counsel of *Achaia*, they discovered no less, as to them seemed, the love which they bare unto the *Achaians*, than the power which they had over them.

Into such slavery had the *Greeks*, and all Kings and Commonweals whatsoever, bordering upon any part of the Mediterranean Seas, reduced themselves, by calling in the *Romans* to their succour. They wanted not the good counsel and perswasions of many wise and temperate men among them; they had also the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Africans*, all subdued by the *Romans*; and, by seeking Patronage, made meer Vassals; to instruct them, what in the like case they should expect: yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policy so prevail with them, but their private passions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath evermore bought Revenge at the price of self-ruine, brought them from the honour which they enjoyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into most base and fearful servility.

All this made well for *Philip* of *Macedon*: who, though he saw the *Greeks* very far from daring to stir against those, by whom both he and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans*, by freeing from his subjection, had made his implacable enemies) in hearty affection all the Country would be his, whensoever he should take Arms, as shortly he was like to do. Young *Demetrius*, coming home from *Rome*, brought with him the desired Ratification of Peace; though qualified with much indignity soon following. He had been lovingly used at *Rome*, and heard with great favour in the Senate. There, being counfounded with the multitude of objections, whereto his youth, unskilful in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make answer: it was permitted unto him, to read such brief notes as he had received from his Father, and out of those the Senate were contented to gather satisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his own sake, as they then said, and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodness in the Defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the intreaty of his Son, together with some insolence of his Son, growing (as appeared) from this favour of the *Romans*; did increase in *Philip* his hatred unto *Rome*, and bred in him a jealousie of his too forward Son. To set him forward in these passions, there came dayly new Embassadors from *Rome*; some bringing one Commandment, some another; and some requiring him to fulfill those things which had been imposed upon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that observed his countenance: and when he had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge, that he had done things unwillingly, and would be obedient no longer than he needs must. With these Embassadours young *Demetrius* was conversant: rather perhaps out of simplicity, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deal more than was pleasing to his Father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, That *Perseus*, the Elder Son of the King, should not succeed unto his Father, but that the Diadem should be conferred upon *Demetrius*, if not by some other pretence, yet by meer favour of the *Romans*. This offended not only *Perseus*, but *Philip* himself: who suspected

suspected his younger Son, as more *Roman* than his own; and accordingly misconstrued all his doings. But ere we proceed unto the bitter fruits of this jealousie, it will not be amiss to speak of some memorable accidents that were in the mean time.

§. II.

The death of Philopœmen, Hannibal, *and* Scipio. *That the Military profession is of all other the most unhappy: notwithstanding some examples, which may seem to prove the contrary.*

THE *Romans* wanting other matter of quarrel in the Continent of *Greece*, had of late been so peremptory with the *Achæans*; that they seemed not unlikely to take part against them in any controversie that should be moved. Hereupon the *Messenians*, who against their will were annexed unto the *Achæan* Common-wealth, having long been of a contrary Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themselves from that Society, with purpose to set up again the Estate of their own, severed from communion with any other. This was the device of some that were powerful in their City; who finding the multitude only inclinable to their purpose, and not over-strongly affected in the business, were careful to seek occasion of reducing things to such pass, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a necessity of standing out, and of not returning to the *Achæan* League. And hereupon they began to do some acts of hostility, whereby it was probable that blood should be drawn, and either side so far exasperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Upon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopœmen*, then Prætor of the *Achæans*, levied such forces as he could in haste, and went against them. Many principal Gentlemen of the *Achæans*, especially of the *Megalopolitans*, were soon in a readiness to wait upon him. Besides these, which were all, or for the most part, horse; he had some Auxiliaries out of *Thrace* and *Crete*, that usually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, Captain of the *Messenians*; whom he charged, and forced to run. But whilest his horse-men were too earnest in following the chase; there arrived by chance a supply of five hundred from *Messene*, which gave new courage unto those that fled. So the Enemies began to make head again: and with the help of those, who very seasonably came to their aid, compelled *Philopœmens* horse-men to turn back; *Philopœmen* himself had long been sick of an Ague, and was then very weak: yet the greatness of his courage would not suffer him to be negligent of their safety, which had so willingly adventured themselves under his conduct. He took upon him to make the Retrait: and suffering his horse-men to pass along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about against the *Messenians*; whom, the reputation and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrifie from approaching over near to him. But it fell out unhappily, that being cast to ground by a fall off his horse, and being withall in very weak plight of body, he was unable to get up again. So the Enemies came upon him, and took him; yet scarce believed their fortune to be so good, although their eyes were witnesses. The first messenger that brought these news to *Messene*, was so far from being believed, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the City ran forth to meet him, and behold the spectacle seeming so incredible! They caused him to be brought into the Theatre, that there they might satisfie themselves with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his mis-fortune: and in commemoration both of his virtue, and of the singular benefits by him done unto them, especially in delivering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant; began to manifest their good will for his delivery. Contrariwise, *Dinocrates* and his Faction were desirous hastily to take away his life: because they held him a man implacable, and one that would never leave any disgarce, or injury done to him, unrevenged. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a strong vault under ground, that had been made for the custody of their Treasure. So thither they let him down fast bound, and with an Engine laid an heavy stone upon the mouth of the Vault. There he had not stayed long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The Hangman of the City was let down unto him with a cup of poyson, which *Philopœmen* took in his hand: and asking no more than whether the Horse-men were escaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was safe; when he heard an answer to his mind, he said it was well: and so with a chearful countenance, drank his last draught. He was seventy years old, and weakned with long sickness, whereby the poyson wrought the sooner, and easily took away his life. The *Achæans*, when they missed him

in their flight, were marvellously offended with themselves, for that they had been more mindful to preserve their own lives, than to look unto the safety of so excellent a Commander. Whilest they were devising what to do in such a case: they got advertisement of his being taken. All *Achaia* was by this report vehemently afflicted: so as Embassadours were forthwith dispatched unto *Messene*, craving his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtain it by force, in case that fair means would not serve. *Lycortas* was chosen General of the Army against *Messene*: who coming thither, and laying siege to the Town, enforced it in short space to yield. Then *Dinocrates* knowing what he was to expect, laid hands upon himself, and made an end of his own life. The rest of those that had been partakers in the murder: were compelled to wait in bonds upon the ashes of *Philopœmen* that were carryed home in solemn pomp to *Megalopolis*; where they were all of them slain at his funeral, as sacrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. *Q. Martius*, a *Roman* Embassadour, was then in *Greece*; whence, upon one occasion or other, the *Roman* Embassadours were seldome absent. He would have intermedled in this business of *Messene*, had not *Lycortas* made short work, and left him nothing to do.

About the same time was *T. Quintius Flaminius* sent Embassadour to *Prusias* King of *Bithinia*: not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the war against *Eumenes*, as to entreat him that he would deliver *Hannibal*, the most spightful enemy in all the world unto the Senate and People of *Rome*, into his hands. *Prusias* (therein unworthy of the Crown he wore) did readily condescend: or rather (as *Livie* thinks) to gratifie the *Romans*, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliver him alive to *Flaminius*. For upon the first conference between the King and *Flaminius*, a troop of souldiers were directed to guard and environ the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captain having found cause before this to suspect the faith of *Prusius*, had devised some secret sallies under ground to save himself from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedy: which he then was constrained to practise, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing over him, as to save himself from their torture and mercilesse hands; who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprizes, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he saw no way to escape, nor counsel to resort unto, he took the poison into his hand, which he alwaies preserved for a sure Antidote against the sharpest diseases of adverse fortune; which being ready to swallow down, he uttered these words: *I will now* (said he) *deliver the* Romans *of that fear which hath so many years possest them; that fear, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victory of* Flaminius, *over me, which am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall never be numbered among the rest of his heroical deeds: No, it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the world, how far the ancient* Roman *virtue is degenerate and corruped. For such was the nobleness of their forefathers, as when* Pyrrhus *invaded them in* Italy, *and was ready to give them battel at their own door, they gave him knowledge of the treason intended against him by poyson; whereas these of a latter race, have employed* Flaminius, *a man who hath heretofore been one of their Consuls, to practise with* Prusias, *contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith given, and contrary to the Laws of Hospitality, to slaughter or deliver up his own Guest.* He then cursing the person of *Prusias*, *and all his, and desiring the immortal gods to revenge his fidelity*, drank off the poyson and dyed.

In this year also (as good Authors have reported) to accompany *Philopœmen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio* the *African*; these being all of them, as great Captains as ever the world had; but not more famous than unfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whose Tragedy we have now finished, had he been Prince of the *Carthaginians*, and one who by his authority might have commanded such supplies, as the War which he undertook, required; it is probable, that he had torn up the *Roman* Empire by the roots. But he was so strongly crost by a cowardly and envious Faction at home, as his proper virtue, wanting publick force to sustain it, did lastly dissolve it self in his own, and in the common misery of his Country and Common-weal.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the envy of our equals, and jealousie of our Masters, be they Kings or Common-weals, that there is no profession more unprosperous than that of men of war, and great Captains, being no Kings. For besides the envy and jealousie of men, the spoils, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastation and burnings, with a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, are so hateful to God, as with good reason did *Monluc* the Marshal of *France* confess, That, *were not the mercies of* God *infinite, and without restriction, it*

were

were in vain for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them: seeing the cruelties, by them permitted and committed, were also infinite. Howsoever, this is true, That the victories which are obtained by many of the greatest Commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serve under them, to Fortune, or the cowardise of the Nation against whom them serve. For the most of others, whose virtues have raised them above the level of their inferiours, and have surmounted their envy: yet have they been rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the *Romans* we find many examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Livius*, *L. Æmylius*, and this our *Scipio*, whom we have lately buried. Among the *Greeks* we read of not many that escaped these rewards. Yea long before these times, it was a Legacy that *David* bequeathed unto his victorious Captain *Joab*. With this fear *Alexander* feasted *Fermenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Cassander*. Hereunto *Valentinian* the Emperour invited *Ætius*: who, after many other victories, overthrew *Attelia* of the *Hunnes*, in the greatest battel for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that ever was struken in the world, for there fell of those that fought, beside run-awaies, an hundred and fourscore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told unto the Emperour by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Ætius*, he had cut off his own right hand with his left: for it was not long after, that *Maximus* (by whose perswasion *Valentinian* slew *Ætius*) murdered the Emperour; which he never durst attempt, *Ætius* living. And, besides the loss of that Emperour, it is true, That with *Ætius*, the glory of the Western Empire was rather dissolved, than obscured. The same unworthy destiny, or a far worse had *Belisarius*; whose undertakings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torn out of his head by *Justinian*: and he died a blind begger. *Narses* also, to the great prejudice of Christian Religion, was disgraced by *Justin*. That rule of *Cato* against *Scipio*, hath been well observed in every age since then, to wit, That the Common-weal cannot be accounted free, which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence have the *Turks* drawn another Principle, and indeed, a *Turkish* one, That every warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of war, than suffer his own glory to be obscured by them. For this cause did *Bajazet* the second dispatch *Bessa Acomet*; *Selim* strangle *Bassa Mustapha*; and most of those Princes bring to ruine the most of their *Visiers*. Of the *Spanish* Nation, the great *Gonsalvo*, who drave the *French* out of *Naples*: and *Ferdinando Cortese*, who conquered *Mexico*; were crowned with Nettles, not with Lawrel. The Earls of *Egmond* and *Horn* had no heads left them to wear Garlands on. And that the great Captains of all Nations have been paid with this Copper Coin; there are examples more than too many. On the contrary, it may be said, That many have acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great ability in matter of War. This I confess. Yet must it be had withall in consideration, that these high places have been given or offered unto very few, as rewards of their military virtue; though many have usurped them, by the help and favour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it unregardable, That the Tyrants, which have oppressed the liberty of free Cities: and the Lieutenants of Kings or Emperours, which have traiterously cast down their Masters, and stepped up into their seats; were not all of them good men of war: but have used the advantage of some commotion, or many of them by base and cowardly practices, have obtained those dignities, which undeservedly were ascribed to their personal worth. So that the number of those that have purchased absolute greatness by the greatness of their warlike virtues; is far more in seeming than in deed. *Phocas* was a Souldier, and by the help of the Souldiers he got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*: but he was a coward; and, with a barbarous cruelty, seldom found in any other than cowards, he slew first the children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that never had done him wrong, before his face; and after them *Mauritius* himself. This his bloody aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid unto him again by *Heraclius*: who took from him the Imperial Crown, unjustly gotten; and set it on his own head. *Leontius* laid hold upon the Emperour *Justine*, cut off his Nose and Ears, and sent him into banishment: but Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whose charge he had left his own men of war. *Justine* having recovered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the same fashion. *Philippicus* commanding the forces of *Justine*, murdered both the Emperour and his Son. *Anastasius*, the vassal of this new Tyrant, surprised his Master *Philippicus*, and thrust out both his eyes. But with *Anastasius*, *Theodosius* dealt more gently: for having wrested the Scepter out

of his hands, he enforced him to become a Prieſt. It were an endleſs and a needleſs work to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodoſius*, how many others have been repaid with their own cruelty, by men alike ambitious and cruel; or how many hundreds, or rather thouſands, hoping of Captains to make themſelves Kings, have by Gods juſtice miſerably periſhed in the attempt. The ordinary, and perhaps the beſt way of thriving by the practice of Arms, is to take what may be gotten by the ſpoil of Enemies, and the liberality of thoſe Princes and Cities, in whoſe ſervice one hath well deſerved. But ſcarce one of a thouſand have proſpered by this courſe. For that obſervation, made by *Solomon*, of unthankfulneſs in this kind, hath been found belonging to all Countries and Ages: *A little City, and a few men in it, and a great King came againſt it, and compaſſed it about, and builded Forts againſt it: And there was found a poor and wiſe man therein, and he delivered the City by his wiſdom: but none remembred this poor man.* Great Monarchs are unwilling to pay great thanks, leſt thereby they ſhould acknowledge themſelves to have been indebted for great benefits: which the unwiſer ſort of them think to ſavour of ſome impotency in themſelves. But in this reſpect they are often times couzened and abuſed; which proves that weakneſs to be in them indeed, whereof they ſo gladly ſhun the opinion. Contrariwiſe, free Eſtates are bountiful in giving thanks, yet ſo, as thoſe thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Captains have made, by enriching themſelves with the ſpoil of the Enemy, they are very inquiſitive to ſearch into it; and to ſtrip the well-deſervers out of their gettings: yea moſt injuriouſly to rob them of their own, upon a falſe ſuppoſition; that even they whoſe hands are moſt clean from ſuch offences, have purloyned ſomewhat from the common Treaſury. Hereof I need not to produce examples: that of the two *Scipio's* being ſo lately recited.

Eccleſ. 9. 14. & 15.

In my late Soveraigns time, although for the wars, which, for her own ſafety, ſhe was conſtrained to undertake, her Majeſty had no leſs cauſe to uſe the ſervice of Martial men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predeceſſors for many years had: yet according to the deſtiny of that profeſſion, I do not remember that any of hers, the Lord Admiral excepted, her eldeſt, and moſt proſperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwiſe honoured, for any ſervice by them performed. And, that her Majeſty had many adviſed, valiant, and faithful men, the proſperity of her affairs did well witneſs, who in all her dayes never received diſhonour by the cowardiſe or infidelity of any Commander, by her ſelf choſen and imployed.

For as all her old Captains by Land died poor men, as *Malbey*, *Randol*, *Drewry*, *Reade*, *Wilford*, *Layton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Conſtable*, *Bourchier*, *Barkeley*, *Bingham*, and others: ſo thoſe of a later and more dangerous imployment, whereof *Norrice* and *Vere* were the moſt famous, and who have done as great honour to our Nation (for the means they had) as ever any did; thoſe (I ſay) with many other brave Colonels, have left behind them (beſides the reputation which they purchaſed with many travels and wounds) nor title nor eſtate to their poſterity. As for the L. *Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Bertie* L. *Willowghby* of *Erſby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Eſtates.

That her Majeſty in the advancement of her men of War did ſooner believe other men than her ſelf, a diſeaſe unto which many wiſe Princes, beſides her ſelf, have been ſubject; I ſay, that ſuch a confidence, although it may ſeem altogether to excuſe her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in ſome ſort accuſe her of weakneſs. And exceeding ſtrange it were, were not the cauſe manifeſt enough, that where the proſperous actions are ſo exceedingly prized, the Actors are ſo unproſperous and ſo generally neglected. The cauſe, I ſay which hath wrought one and the ſame effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that thoſe which are neareſt the perſon of Princes (which Martial-men ſeldom are) can with no good grace commend, or at leaſt magnifie a profeſſion far more Noble than their own, ſeeing therein they ſhould only mind their Maſters of the wrong they did unto others, in giving leſs honour and reward to men of far greater deſerving, and of far greater uſe than themſelves.

But his Majeſty hath already paid the greateſt part of that debt. For beſides the relieving by Penſions all the poorer ſort, he hath honoured more Martial men than all the Kings of *England* have done for this hundred years.

He hath given a Coronet to the L. *Thomas Howard* for his chargeable and remarkable ſervice, as well in the year 1588. as at *Caliz*, the Iſlands, and in our own Sea; having firſt commanded as a Captain, twice Admiral of a Squadron, and twice Admiral in Chief. His Majeſty hath changed the Baronies of *Montjoy* & *Burley* into Earldoms; and created *Sidney*

ney Vicount, *Knolles*, *Russel*, *Carew*, *Danvers*, *Arundel* of Warder, *Gerald*, and *Chicheſter*, Barons, for their governments and ſervices in the *Netherlands*, *France*, *Ireland*, and elſewhere.

§. III.

Philip, *making proviſion for war againſt the Romans, deals hardly with many of his own ſubjects. His negotiation with the Baſtarnæ. His cruelty. He ſuſpecteth his Son* Demetrius. Demetrius *accuſed by his brother* Perſeus; *and ſhortly after ſlain by his fathers appointment.* Philip *repenteth him of his ſons death, whom he findeth to have been innocent: and intending to revenge it on* Perſeus, *he dieth.*

QVintius Martius the *Roman* Embaſſador, who travelled up and down, ſeeking what work might be found about *Greece*, had received inſtruction from the Senate, to uſe the utmoſt of his diligence in looking into the Eſtate of *Macedon*. At his return home, that he might not ſeem to have diſcovered nothing, he told the *Fathers*, That *Philip* had done whatſoever they enjoyned him: yet ſo, as it might appear, that ſuch his obedience would laſt no longer, than meer neceſſity ſhould enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and ſayings of that King, did wholly tend unto Rebellion, about which he was deviſing. Now it was ſo indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithful obſequiouſneſs to the *Romans*, and foreſaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdom into their own hands; which ſafety of their honour, if they could find convenient means; or otherwiſe (as to him ſeemed apparent) by what means ſoever. He was in an ill caſe: as having been already vanquiſhed by them; having loſt exceedingly both in ſtrength and reputation; having ſubjects that abhorred to hear of War with *Rome*; and having neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto urged, would adventure to take his part: yet he provided as well as he could deviſe, againſt the neceſſity which he daily feared. Such of his own people as dwelt in the maritime Towns, and gave him cauſe to ſuſpect that they would do but bad ſervice againſt the *Romans*, he compelled to forſake their dwelling, and removed them all into *Emathia*. The Cities and Country, whence theſe were tranſplanted, he filled with a multitude of *Thracians*, whoſe faith he thought a great deal more aſſured againſt thoſe enemies that were terrible to the *Macedonians*. Further, he deviſed upon alluring the *Baſtarnæ*, a ſtrong and hardy Nation, that dwelt beyond the River of *Danubius*, to abandon their ſeat, and come to him with all their multitude: who, beſides other great rewards, would help them to root out the *Dardanians*, and take poſſeſſion of their Country. Theſe were like to do him notable ſervice againſt the *Romans*; being not only ſtout fighting men, but ſuch, as being planted in thoſe quarters by him, would bear reſpect unto him alone. The leaſt benefit that could be hoped by their arrival, muſt be the utter extirpation of the *Dardanians*; a people alwayes troubleſome to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, whenſoever they found advantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter, to perſwade thoſe *Baſtarnæ*, by hope of ſpoil, and other incitements, unto a more deſperate Expedition, through *Illyria*, and the Countries upon the *Adriatick* Sea, into *Italy* it ſelf. It was not known who ſhould withſtand them upon the way: rather it was thought, that the *Scordiſci*, and peradventure ſome others through whoſe Country they were to paſs, would accompany them againſt the *Romans*, were it only in hope of ſpoil. Now to facilitate the remove of theſe *Baſtarnæ* from their own habitations, into the Land of the *Dardanians*, upon the border of *Macedon*; a long and tedious journey unto them, that carried with them their wives and children: *Philip* with gifts did purchaſe the good will of ſome *Thracian* Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to paſs. And thus he ſought means to ſtrengthen himſelf with the help of the wild Nations, which neither knew the *Romans*, nor were known unto them; ſince he was not like to find aſſiſtance from any civil Nation, about the whole compaſs of the *Mediterranean* Seas. But theſe deviſes were long ere they took effect: ſo as the *Baſtarnæ* came not before ſuch time as he was dead; his death being the overthrow of that purpoſe. In the mean time he neglected not the training of his men to war, and the exerciſe of them in ſome ſmall Expedition againſt thoſe wild people that bordered upon him, and ſtood worſt effected toward him.

But theſe his counſels and proceedings were miſerably diſturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his Kingdom, and in his own houſe. The Families and whole Townſhips, which he had cauſed much againſt their wills to forſake their ancient dwellings, and betake themſelves to ſuch new habitations, as he in his diſcretion thought meeter for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at firſt contained it ſelf within words: he having

ving done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long lived: which also he did unwillingly, being himself over-ruled by necessity, that seemed apparent. This evil therefore would soon have been determined, had not his cruel and vindicative nature made it worse. He could not pardon words proceeding from just sorrow: but imputed all to traiterous malice; and accordingly sought revenge where it was needless. In his rage he caused many to dye: among whom were some eminent men; and few or none of them deservedly. This increased the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more general, when the King in a barbarous and base fury, mistrusting all alike whom he had injured, thought himself unlike to be safe, until he should have massacred all the children of those Parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his unmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragical then perhaps he could have desired, gave men cause to think (as they could not in reason think otherwise) that, not without vengeance poured on him from Heaven, he felt the like misery in his own children. It is hard to say what the *Romans* intended, in the extraordinary favour which they shewed unto *Demetrius*, the Kings younger Son. It may well be (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish dissention between the brethren, but only to cherish the vertue and towardliness of *Demetrius*; like as we find it in their Histories. But their notable favour towards this young Prince, and his mutual respect of them, bred extream jealousie in the Fathers head. If any custom of the *Romans*, the manner of their life, the fashion of their apparel, or the unsightly contriving and building (as then it was) of the Town of *Rome*, were jested at in ordinary discourse and table-talk; *Demetrius* was sure to be presently on fire, defending and praising them, even in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conversation with their Embassadours as often as they came, gave his Father cause to think, that he was no fit partaker of any Counsel held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his devices with his elder Son *Perseus*: who fearing so much lest his brother should step between him and the succession, converted wholly unto his destruction, that grace which he had with his Father. *Perseus* was then thirty years old; of a stirring spirit, though much defective in valour. *Demetrius* was younger by five years, more open and unwary in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough, to entertain more dangerous practices than his free speeches discovered. The jealous head of the King having entertained such suspitions, that were much increased by the cunning practice of his elder Son, a slight occasion made the fire break out, that had long lain smothered. A Muster and ceremonious lustration of the Army, was wont to be made at certain times with great solemnity. The manner of it at the present was thus. They cleft in twain a Bitch; and threw the head and forepart, with the entrails, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the Army was to pass: This done, the Arms of all the Kings of *Macedon*, from the very first original, were born before the Army. Then followed the King between his two Sons: after him came his own band, and they of his Guard; whom all the rest of the *Macedonians* followed. Having performed other ceremonies, that Army was divided into two parts: which under the Kings two Sons, charged each other in manner of a true fight; using poles, and the like, in stead of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this present skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for the victory: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captains did overearnestly seek each to get the upper hand, as a betokening of their good success in a greater trial. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with those stakes, until *Perseus* his side at length recoyled. *Perseus* himself was sorry for this, as it had been some bad presage: but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good use. They were of the craftier sort: who, perceiving which way the Kings favour bent, and how all the courses of *Demetrius* led unto his own ruine, addressed their services to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they said, that this victory of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint against him; as if the heat of his ambition had carryed him beyond the rules of that solemn pastime. Each of the brethren was that day to feast his own companions, and each of them had spies in the others lodging, to observe what was said and done. One of *Perseus* his Intelligencers behaved himself so indiscreetly, that he was taken and well beaten by three or four of *Demetrius* his men, who turned him out of doors. After some store of wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would go visit his brother, and see what chear he kept.

kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet he would leave none of his train behind, but forced them all to bear him company. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly to prevent all danger. Yet was there such good espial kept, that this their coming armed was forthwith made known to *Perseus*: who thereupon tumultuously locked up his doors, as if he stood in fear to be assaulted in his house. *Demetrius* wondred to see himself excluded, and fared very angerly with his brother. But *Perseus* bidding him be gone as an enemy, and one whose murdrous purpose was detected, sent him away with an entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder brother accused the younger unto the Father of them both. Much there was alledged, and, in effect, the same that hath been here recited, save that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the main point of the accusation, and which did aggravate all the rest, was, That *Demetrius* had undertaken this murder, and would perhaps also dare to undertake a greater, upon confidence of the *Romans*; by whom he knew that he should be defended and born out. For *Perseus* made shew, as if the *Romans* did hate him; because he bore a due respect unto his Father, and was sorry to see him spoiled, and daily robbed of somewhat by them. And for this cause he said it was, that they did animate his brother against him: as also that they sought how to win unto *Demetrius* the love of the *Macedonians*. For proof hereof he cited a Letter, sent of late from *Titus Quintius* to the King himself: whereof the contents were, That he had done wisely in sending *Demetrius* to *Rome*; and that he should yet further do well to send him thither again, accompanied with a greater and more honourable train of *Macedonian* Lords. Hence he enforced, That this counsel was given by *Titus*, of purpose to shake the allegiance of those, that should wait upon his brother to *Rome*; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become servants to this young Traitor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made answer, by rehearsing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in such manner as he remembred them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending *Perseus*, that converted matters of pastime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusation, whereby he sought his innocent brothers death. As for the love which the *Romans* did bear him, he said that it grew, if not by his own virtue, at least wise from their opinion thereof: so as by any impious practice, he were more like to lose it wholly, than to increase it. In this wretched pleading there wanted no such passions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren, besides those that are common to all Plaintiffs and Defendants, before ordinary Judges. The King pronounced like a Father, though a jealous Father, That he would conclude nothing upon the excess or errour, whatsoever it were, of one day and night, nor upon one hours audience of the matter, but upon better observation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themselves both in word and deed. And herein he may seem to have dealt both justly and compassionately. But from this time forward he gave himself over wholly to *Perseus*: using so little conference with his younger Son, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the *Romans*, he liked neither to have him present, nor near unto him. Above all, he had especial care to learn out what had passed between *Demetrius* and *T. Quintius*, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpose he sent Embassadours to *Rome*, *Philocles* and *Apelles*; men whom he thought no way interessed in the quarrels between the brethren, though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they saw the more in grace. These brought home with them a Letter, said to be written by *Titus* (whose seal they had counterfeited) unto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the young Prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthful and ambitious desires had caused him to enter into practices unjustifiable, against his elder brother, which yet should never take effect: for that *Titus* himself would not be author, or abettor of any impious device. This manner of excuse did forcibly perswade the King to think his Son a dangerous Traitor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gave *Demetrius* in custody, made shew as if he had pitied the estate of the unhappy Prince, and so wrung out of him his secret intentions, which he shortly discovered unto *Philip*. It was the purpose of *Demetrius* to fly secretly to *Rome*; where he might hope not only to live in safety, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could find at home, of bettering such claim as he had in reversion unto the Crown of *Macedon*. Whatsoever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falshood of *Didas*; who, playing on both hands, offered unto the Prince his help for making the escape, and in the mean while

while revealed the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* resolved to put his Son to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behoveful to make him away privily, for fear lest the *Romans* should take the matter to heart, and hold it as a proof sufficient, at least, of the Kings despight against them, if not of his meaning to renew the war. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy Prince out of his life. This accursed minister of his Kings unadvised sentence, first gave poyson to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secretly, as was desired. Hereupon he sent a couple of Ruffians, to finish the tragedy: who villainously accomplished their work, by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of *Macedon*.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not been found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his own blood. The houses of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander* fell either with themselves, or even upon their heels; by intestine discord and jealousies, grounded on desire of soveraign rule, or fear of losing it. By the like unnatural hatred, had almost been cut off the lines of *Ptolomy* and of *Selencus*: which, though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their Kingdoms thereby grievously distempered. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that upstart-family of the Kings of *Pergamus* had raised it self to marvellous greatness, in very short space, from the condition of meer slavery: whereof a principal cause was, the brotherly love maintained by them, with singular commendation of their piety. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of these examples, but is said to have propounded the last of them to his own children, as a pattern for them to imitate. Certainly he had reason so to do: not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith King *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minority. But he was himself of an unmerciful nature; and therefore unmeet to be a good perswader unto kindly affection. The murders by him done upon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the satiating of his blood-thirsty appetite, he delightfully had committed upon many innocents, both strangers and subjects of his own; did now procure vengeance down from Heaven, that rewarded him with a draught of his own poyson. After the death of his Son, he too late began to examine the crimes that had been objected; and to weigh them in a more equal ballance. Then found he nothing that could give him satisfaction, or by good probability induce him to think, that malice had not been contriver of the whole process. His only remaining Son *Perseus* could so ill dissemble the pleasure which he took in being freed from all danger of competition: as there might easily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remove of those dangers which he had lately pretended. The *Romans* were now no less to be feared than at other times; when he, as having accomplished the most of his desires, left off his usual trouble of mind, and carefulness of making provision against them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times, by those that well understood the difference between a rising and a setting Sun. As for old *Philip*, he was left in a manner desolate, some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousness of such expectation. This bred in the King a deep melancholy; and filled his head with suspitious imagination; the like whereof he had never been slow to apprehend. He was much vexed: and so much the more, for that he knew neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complain. One honourable man, a Couzen of his, named *Antigonus*, continued so true to *Philip*, that he grew thereby hateful to *Perseus*: and thus becoming subject unto the same jealous impressions which troubled the King, became also partaker of his secrets. This Counsellor, when he found that the anger conceived against *Perseus* would not vent it self, and give ease to the King, until the truth were known whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the treason objected; as also that *Philocles* and *Apelles* (the Embassadours which had brought from *Rome* that Epistle of *Flaminius*, that served as the greatest evidence against *Demetrius*) were suspected of forgery in the business: made diligent enquiry after the truth. In thus doing he found one *Xychus*, a man most likely to have understood what false dealing was used by those Embassadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the Court, and presented unto the King: saying, that this fellow knew all, and must therefore be made to utter what he knew. *Xychus* for fear of torture, uttered as much as was before suspected: confessing against himself, that he had been employed by the Embassadours in that wicked piece of business. No marvel if the Fathers passions were extreme, when he understood that by the unnatural practice of one Son, he had so wretchedly cast away another, far more virtuous and innocent.

innocent. He raged exceedingly against himself, and withall against the Authors of the mischief. Upon the first news of this discovery, *Apelles* fled away, and got into *Italy*; *Philocles* was taken: and either forasmuch as he could not deny it when *Xythus* confronted him, yielded himself guilty; or else was put to torture. *Perseus* was now grown stronger, than that he should need to fly the Country: yet not so stout as to adventure himself into his fathers presence. He kept on the borders of the Kingdom towards *Thrace*, whilst his father wintred at *Demetrias*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his ungracious Son, took a resolution, to aliene the Kingdom from him, and confer it upon *Antigonus*. But his weak body, and excessive grief of mind, so disabled him in the travel thereto belonging, that ere he could bring his purpose to effect, he was constrained to yield to nature. He had reigned about two and forty years: alwaies full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexing himself with continual wars; of which that with the *Romans* was most unhappy, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wise Prince would have desired, of bringing forth together both honour and profit. But for all the evil that befell him, he might thank his own perverse condition: since his Uncle, King *Antigonus*, had left unto him an estate, so great, and so well settled, as made it easie for him, to accomplish any moderate desires, if he had not abhored all good counsel. Wherefore he was justly punished by feeling the difference between the imaginary happiness of a Tyrant, which he affected, and the life of a King, whereof he little cared to perform the duty. His death, even whilst yet it was only drawing near, was fore-signified unto *Perseus*, by *Caligenes* the Physitian, who also concealed it a while from those that were about the Court. So *Perseus* came thither on the sudden, and took possession of the Kingdom: which in fine he no less improvidently lost, than he had wickedly gotten.

§. IV.

How the Bastarnæ *fell upon* Dardania. *The behaviour of* Perseus *in the beginning of his reign. Some wars of the* Romans: *and how they suffered* Masanissa *cruelly to oppress the* Carthaginians. *They quarrelled with* Perseus. *They allow not their Confederates to make war without their leave obtained. The Treason of* Callicrates, *whereby all* Greece *became more obnoxious to* Rome, *than in former times. Further quarrels to* Perseus. *He seeks friendship of the* Achæans, *and is withstood by* Callicrates. *The* Romans *discover their intent of warring upon him.*

IMmediately upon the death of *Philip*, came the *Bastarnæ* into *Thrace*; where order had been taken, long before, both for the free passage, and for the indempnity of the Country. This Compact was friendly observed, as long as no other was known than that *Philip* did live to recompence all that should be done, or sustained, for his service. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in *Macedon*; and not heard withal, that he took any care what became of the enterprize: then was all dasht and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer afford so good markets unto these strangers, as formerly they had done. On the other side, the *Bastarnæ* would not be contented with reason, but became their own carvers. Thus each part having lost their rich hopes reposed in *Philip*, grew careful of thriving in the present; with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blows; and the *Bastarnæ* had the upper hand, so as they chased the *Thracians* out of the plain Countrys. But the victors made little use of their good fortune. For whether by reason of some overthrow, received by them in assaulting a place of strength; or whether because of extream bad weather, which is said to have afflicted them as it were miraculously: all of them returned home, save thirty thousand, which pierced on into *Dardania*. How these thirty thousand sped in their voyage, I do not find. It seems that by the careless using of some victories, they drew foil upon themselves: and finally took that occasion, to follow their companions back into their own Country.

As for *Perseus*, he thought it not expedient, in the novelty of his reign, to embroil himself in a war so dangerous, as that with the *Romans* was likely to prove. Wherefore he wholly gave his mind to the settling of his Estate, which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himself, as the condition of his affairs should require, either for war or peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion, he quickly took away the life of *Antigonus*. To win love of his people, he sate personally to hear their causes in judgement, (though herein he was so over-diligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his vertue of justice to be no better than fained) as also he gratified them with many delightful spectacles, magnificently by him

ſet forth. Above all, he had care to avoid all neceſſity of war with *Rome*: and therefore made it his firſt work, to ſend Embaſſadors thither, to renew the league; which he obtained, and was by the Senate ſaluted King, and friend unto the State. Neither was he negligent in ſeeking to purchaſe good will of the *Greeks*, and other his neighbours: but was rather herein ſo exceſſively bountiful, that it may ſeem a wonder how in few years, to his utter ruine, he became ſo griping and tenacious. His fear was indeed the maſtring paſſion, which over-ruled him, and changed him into ſo many ſhapes, as made it hard to diſcern which of his other qualities were naturally his own. For proof of this, there is requiſite no more, than the relation of his actions paſt and following.

The *Romans* continued, as they had long, buſie in wars againſt the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; people often vanquiſhed, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They alſo conquered *Iſtria*; ſubdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had ſome quarrels, though to little effect, with the *Illyrians* and others. Over the *Carthaginians* they bore (as ever ſince the victory) a heavy hand: and ſuffered *Maſaniſſa* to take from them what he liſted. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient Vaſſals to *Rome*, were affraid, though in defence of their own, to take arms: from which they were bound by an Article of peace, except it were with leave of the *Romans*. *Maſaniſſa* therefore had great advantage over them, and was not ignorant how to uſe it. He could get poſſeſſion by force, of whatſoever he deſired, ere their complaining Embaſſadors could be at *Rome*: and then were the *Romans* not hardly entreated to leave things as they found them.

So had he once dealt before, in taking from them the Country of *Emporia*: and ſo did he uſe them again and again: with pretence of title, where he had any; otherwiſe, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Maſaniſſa* had won ſome land from the *Carthaginians*; which afterward *Syphax* wan from *Gala*, and within a while, reſtored to the right owners, for love of his wife *Sophonisba*, and of *Aſdrubal* his father-in-law. This did *Maſaniſſa* take from them by force: and by the *Romans* (to whoſe judgement the caſe was referred) was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficial it was for their Eſtate, to uſe all manner of ſubmiſſive obedience to *Rome*. They had ſcarcely digeſted this injury, when *Maſaniſſa* came upon them again, and took from them above ſeventy Towns and Caſtles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embaſſadors, they made lamentable complaint unto the *Roman* Senate. They ſhewed how grievouſly they were oppreſſed by reaſon of two Articles in their League: That they ſhould not make war out of their own Lands; nor with any Confederates of the *Romans*. Now although it were ſo that they might lawfully withſtand the violence of *Maſaniſſa*, invading their Country, howſoever he was pleaſed to call it his: yet ſince he was Confederate with the *Romans*, they durſt not preſume to bear defenſive arms againſt him, but ſuffered themſelves to be eaten up, for fear of incurring the *Romans* indignation. Wherefore they intreated, that they might have fairer juſtice; or be ſuffered to defend their own by ſtrong hand; or at leaſt, if right muſt wholly give place to favour, That the *Romans* yet would be pleaſed to determine, how far forth *Maſaniſſa* ſhould be allowed to proceed in theſe outrages. If none of theſe petitions could be obtained, then deſired they, that the *Romans* would let them underſtand, wherein they had offended ſince the time that *Scipio* gave them peace; and vouchſafe to inflict on them ſuch puniſhment as they themſelves in honour ſhould think meet: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to ſuffer at once what ſhould be appointed by ſuch Judges; than continually to live in fear, and none otherwiſe draw breath, than at the mercy of this *Numidian* Hangman. And herewithal the Embaſſadors threw themſelves proſtrate on the ground, weeping; in hope to move compaſſion.

Here may we behold the fruits of their envy to that valiant houſe of the *Barchines*; of their irreſolution in proſecuting a war ſo important, as *Hannibal* made for them in *Italy*; and of their half-penny-worthing in matter of expence when they had adventured their whole eſtate in the purchaſe of a great Empire. Now are they ſervants, even to the ſervants of thoſe men, whoſe fathers they have often chaſed, ſlain, taken and ſold as bond-ſlaves in the ſtreets of *Carthage*, and in all Cities of *Africk* and *Greece*. Now have they enough of that *Roman* peace, which *Hanno* ſo often and ſo earneſtly deſired. Only they want peace with *Maſaniſſa*, once their mercenary, and now their maſter or rather their tormentor, out of whoſe cruel hands, they beſeech their maſters to take the office of correcting them. In ſuch caſe are they, and adore the *Romans*, whom they ſee flouriſhing in ſuch proſperity as might have been their own. But the *Romans* had far better entreated *Varro*, who loſt the battel at *Cannæ*; than *Hannibal*

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that wan it was used by the *Carthaginians*: they had freely bestowed, every man of them, all his private riches upon the Common-wealth; and employed their labours for the publick, without craving recompence: as also they had not thought it much, though being in extream want, to set out an Army into *Spain*, at what time the enemy lay under their own walls. These were no *Carthaginian* vertues: and therefore the *Carthaginians*, having fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging to the vanquished. Their pitiful behaviour bred peradventure some commiseration; yet their tears may seem to have been mistrusted, as proceeding no less from envy to the *Romans*, than from any feeling of their own calamity. They thought themselves able to fight with *Masanissa*: which estimation of their forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into comparisons with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained not such leave as they sought, of defending their own right by arms: but contrariwise, when without leave obtained, they presumed so far, the destruction of *Carthage* was thought an easie punishment of that offence. At the present, they received a gentle answer; though they had otherwise little amends. *Gulussa* the Son of *Masanissa* was then in *Rome*, and had not as yet craved audience. He therefore was called before the Senate; where he was demanded the reason of his coming; and had related unto him the complaint made by the *Carthaginians* against his Father. He answered, That his Father not being throughly aware of any Embassadors thither sent from *Carthage*, had therefore not given him instructions, how to deal in that business. Only it was known, that the *Carthaginians* had held Councel divers nights, in the Temple of *Æsculapius*: whereupon he himself was dispatched away to *Rome*, there to intreat the Senate, that these common enemies of the *Romans*, and of his Father, might not be overmuch trusted; especially against his Father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the people of *Rome*. This answer gave little satisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replyed, that for *Masanissa* his sake, they had done, and would do, whatsoever was reasonable, but that it stood not with their justice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians*, those Lands, which by the covenants of the League were granted unto them freely to enjoy. With this mild rebuke they dismissed *Gulussa*; bestowing on him friendly presents (as also they did on the *Carthaginians*) and willed him to tell his Father, that he should do well to send Embassadors, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the *Macedonian* war was even ready to begin: at which time the *Romans* were not willing too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians* (for fear of urging them unseasonably to rebellion) or *Masanissa*, at whose hands they expected no little help. So were they aided both by the *Carthaginians*, and *Masanissa*: by the *Carthaginians*, partly for fear, partly for hope of better usage in the future; by *Masanissa*, in way of thankfulness; though if it had happned (which was unlikely) that they should be vanquished; he made none other account, than that all *Africk* round about him, and *Carthage* therewithall, should be his own.

In the midst of all these cares, the *Romans* had not been unmindful of *Perseus*. They visited him daily with Embassadors; that is, with honourable spies to observe his behaviour. These he entertained kindly at first, until (which fell out ere long) he perceived whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania*: neither would they take any satisfaction, until the *Bastarnæ* were thence gone; though he protested, that he had not sent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no less ill contented with good offices, by him done, to sundry of his neighbours; than with those wrongs, which (they said) he did unto other some. Where he did harm to any; they called it making war upon their friends. Where he did good; they called such his bounty, seeking friends to take his part against them. The *Dolopians*, his subjects, (upon what occasion it is uncertain) rebelled, and with exquisite torments slew *Enphranor*, whom he had appointed their Governour. It seems that *Enphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without strength to resist the *Macedonian*: and therefore unlikely to have presumed far, unless either they had been extreamly provoked; or else were secretly animated by the *Romans*. Whatsoever it was that bred this courage in them, *Perseus* did soon allay it, and reclaim them by strong hand. But the *Romans* took very angerly this presumption of the King: even as if he had invaded some Country of their *Italian* Confederates, and not corrected his own rebels at home. Fain they would have had him to draw in the same yoke with the *Carthaginians*; whereunto had he humbled once his neck, they could themselves have done the part of *Masanissa*; though *Enmenes*, or some other fit for that purpose, had been

wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That the Conditions of the League between them were such as made it unlawful both to his Father heretofore, and now to him, to take arms without their licence first obtained.

To the same pass they would also fain have reduced the *Greeks*, and generally all their adherents, even such as had entred into league with them upon equal terms: whom usually they rewarded with a frown, whensoever they presumed to right themselves by force of Arms, without seeking first the Oracle at *Rome*. Hereof the *Achæans* had good experience: whose confidence in their proper strength, made them otherwhiles bold to be their own carvers; and whose hope of extraordinary favour at *Rome* caused them the more willingly to refer their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to have chastised the *Messenian* by War; *T. Quintius* rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking such a work in hand, without his authority: yet by his authority he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprehended, even with Lordly threats, when they took upon them to carry any business of importance, by their own power, without standing unto the good grace of the *Romans*. Who nevertheless upon submission, were apt enough to do them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute liberty, as by which they were not like to thrive; especially in usurping the practice of arms, which belonged only to the Imperial City. In learning this hard lesson, they were such untoward Schollers, that they needed, and not long after felt, very sharp correction. Yet was there no small part of blame to be imputed unto their Masters. For the *Roman* Senate, being desirous to humble the *Achæans*, refused not only to give them such aid as they requested, and as they challenged by the tenor of the League between them; but further, with a careless insolency, rejected this honest and reasonable petition, That the Enemy might not be supplied from *Italy*, with victuals or arms. Herewith not content, the Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affairs of *Greece*, pronounced openly, That if the *Argives*, *Lacedæmonians*, or *Corinthians* would revolt from the *Achæans*; they themselves would think it a business no way concerning them.

Polyb. l. 29. 31. & 33.

This was presently after the death of *Philopœmen*: at what time it was believed, that the Common-wealth of *Achaia* was like to fall into much distress: were it not upheld by countenance of the *Romans*. All this notwithstanding; when *Lycortas* Prætor of the *Achæans* had utterly subdued the *Messenians* far sooner than was expected; and when as not only no Town rebelled from the *Achæans*, but many entered into their Corporation; then did the *Romans* with an ill-favoured grace, tell the same Embassadors, to whose petition they had made such bad answer (and who as yet were not gone out of the City,) That they had straightly forbidden all manner of succour to be carried to *Messene*. Thus thinking, by a fained gravity, to have served their own turns, they manifested their condition; both to set on the weaker against the stronger and more suspected, and also to assume unto themselves a Soveraign power, in directing all matters of war, which dissemblingly they would have seemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their Confederates: not permitting any of them to make war; whether offensive or defensive; though it were against meer strangers; without interposing the authority of the Senate and people of *Rome*: unless peradventure, sometimes they winked at such violence, as did help towards the accomplishment of their own secret malice. Now these *Roman* Arts, howsoever many (for gainful or timerous respects) would seem to understand them; yet were generally displeasing unto all men endued with free spirits. Only the *Athenians*, once the most turbulent City in *Greece*, having neither subjects of their own that might rebell, nor power wherewith to bring any into subjection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practise their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mighty. So they kept themselves in grace with the *Romans*, remaining free from all trouble, until the war of *Mithridates*: being men unfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the *Roman* victories, and Pardon-cravers for the vanquished. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for those other Common-weals and Kingdoms, that with over-nice diligence, strove to preserve their Liberties and Lands from consuming by piece-meal: they were to be devoured whole, and swallowed up at once. Especially the *Macedonian*, as the most unpliant, and wherein many of the *Greeks* began to have affiance, was necessarily to be made an example, how much better it were to bow, than to break.

Neither *Perseus*, nor the *Romans* were ignorant,

norant, how the *Greeks* at this time ſtood affected. *Perſeus*, by reaſon of his neer neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce between them and his ſubjects, could not want good information of all that might concern him, in their affairs. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopœmen* had long ſince foretold, of the miſerable ſubjection, whereinto *Greece* was likely to be reduced, by the *Roman* Patronage. Indeed they not only perceived the approaching danger, but as being tenderly ſenſible of their liberty, felt themſelves grieved with the preſent ſubjection, whereto already they were become obnoxious. Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publick to fall out with the *Romans*; yet all of them had the care to chooſe among themſelves none other Magiſtrates, than ſuch as affected the good of their Country, and would for no ambition, or other ſervile reſpect, be flatterers of the greatneſs which kept all in fear. Thus it ſeemed likely, that all domeſtical conſpiracies would ſoon be at an end; when honeſty, and love of the Common-weal, became the faireſt way to preferment. Of this careful proviſion for the ſafety of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not throughly advertiſed: either becauſe things were diligently concealed from their Embaſſadors; whom all men knew to be litle better than ſpies; or becauſe little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by ſuch Traitors (of whom every City in *Greece* had too many) as were men unregarded among their own people, and therefore more like to ſpeak maliciouſly than truly; or perhaps becauſe the Embaſſadors themſelves, being all Senators, and capable of the greateſt Office or charge, had no will to find out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their own deſires of employment. But it is hard to conceal that which many know, from thoſe that are feared or flattered by many. The *Achæans* being to ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, that ſhould both excuſe them, as touching ſome point wherein they refuſed to obey the Senate; and inform the Senate better in the ſame buſineſs: choſe one *Callicrates*, among others, to go in that Embaſſage. By their making choice of ſuch a man, one may perceive the advantage, which miſchievous wretches, who commonly are forward in purſuing their vile deſires, have againſt the plain ſort of honeſt men, that leaſt earneſtly thruſt themſelves into the troubleſome buſineſs of the weal-publick. For this *Callicrates* was in ſuch wiſe tranſported with ambition, that he choſe much rather to betray his Country, than to let any other be of more authority than himſelf therein. Wherefore inſtead of well diſcharging his credence, and alledging what was meeteſt in juſtification of his people, he uttered a quite contrary tale; and ſtrongly encouraged the *Romans*, to oppreſs both the *Achæans*, and all the reſt of *Greece*, with a far more heavy hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to look unto the ſetling of their authority, among his froward Countrimen: if they meant not wholly to forego it. For now there was taken up a cuſtome, to ſtand upon points of confederacy, and laws: as if theſe were principally to be had in regard, any injunction from *Rome* notwithſtanding.

Hence grew it, that the *Achæans*, both now, and at other times, did what beſt pleaſed themſelves, and anſwered the *Romans* with excuſes: as if it were enough to ſay, That by ſome condition of League, or by force of ſome Law, they were diſcharged or hindred from obeying the Decrees of the Senate. This would not be ſo, if he, and ſome other of his opipion might have their wills: who ceaſed not to affirm, That no Columns, or Monuments, erected, nor no ſolemn oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the obſervance of Confederacy or Statute, ought to be of force, when the *Romans* willed the contrary. But it was even the fault of the *Romans* themſelves, that the multitude refuſed to give ear unto ſuch perſwaſions. For howſoever in popular Eſtates, the ſound of liberty uſed to be more plauſible, than any diſcourſe tending againſt it: yet if they which undertook the maintenance of an argument, ſeeming never ſo bad, were ſure by their ſo doing, to procure their own good; the number of them would increaſe apace, and they become the prevalent faction. It was therefore, ſtrange how the *Fathers* could ſo neglect the advancement of thoſe, that ſought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the *Roman* Majeſty. More wiſely, though with ſeditious and rebellious purpoſe, did the *Greeks*; who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, upon men otherwiſe of little account or deſert, only for having uttered ſome brave words againſt the *Romans*. The *Fathers* hearing theſe and the like reaſons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly thoſe that were obſtinate, and by cheriſhing their friends, to make their party ſtrong; reſolved to follow this good counſel, in every point; yea to depreſs all thoſe that held with the right, and to ſet up their own followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not only dealt thenceforth Pol. Leg. 58.

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more peremptorily with the *Achæans*, than had been their manner in former times; but wrote at the present unto all Cities of *Greece*, requiring them to see that their mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of *Lacedæmon*) should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalf of *Callicrates*, they advised all men to be such, and so affected, as he was, in their several common-weals. With this dispatch, *Callicrates* returned home a joyful man: having brought his Country into the way of ruine, but himself into the way of preferment. Nevertheless he forbore to vaunt himself of his eloquence used in the Senate. Only he so reported his Embassage, that all men became fearful of the danger, wherewith he threatned those that should presume to oppose the *Romans*. By such Arts he obtained to be made Prætor of the *Achæans*: in which Magistracy, as in all his courses following, he omitted nothing, that might serve to manifest his ready obsequiousness unto those whom he had made his Patrons.

Now, as the *Romans* by threatning-terms wan many flatterers, and lost as many true friends: so *Perseus* on the other side, thinking by liberal gifts, and hopeful promises, to assure unto himself those that ill could brook his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honester than his enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of *Greece* distracted with factions: some holding with the *Romans*, some with the *Macedonian*, and some few, respecting only the good of the Estates wherein they lived. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignity not sufferable, That a King, no better than their Vassal, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of the trespasses: whereof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall afford them just occasion to make War upon him. *Perseus* having finished his business among the *Dolopians*, made a journey to *Apollo* his Temple at *Delphi*. He took his Army along with him: yet went, and returned in such peaceable and friendly wise, that no place was the worse for his journey, but the good affection towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way, he dealt himself; to such as lay further off, he sent Embassadours or Letters: praying them, That the memory of all wrongs whatsoever, done by his Father, might be buried with his Father; since his own meaning was to hold friendship sincerely with all his neighbours. The *Romans* perhaps could have been pleased better, if he had behaved himself after a contrary fashion, and done some acts of hostility in his passage. Yet, as if he ought not to have taken such a journey, without their licence; this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recover the love of the *Achæans*: which his Father had so lost, that by a solemn decree, they forbade any *Macedonians* to enter their territories. It was jealousie perhaps, no less than hatred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a decree. For howsoever *Philip* had by many vile acts, especially by the death of the two *Arati*, given them cause to abhor him, yet in the publick administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, been to them so beneficial, that not without much ado, and at length, without any general consent, they resolve to forsake him. Wherefore it was needful, even for preservation of concord among them, to use all circumspection, that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a Country towards him so doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkening to his messages, they might make themselves suspected by their new friends, but the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of War, and when all danger of inovation was past, was uncivil, if not inhumane; as nourishing deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. And hereof the *Achæans* reaped no good fruit. For, although they were not, in like sort, forbidden the Kingdom of *Macedon*: yet understanding what would be due to them, if they should adventure thither, none of them durst set foot therein. Hence it came to pass, that their bond-men, knowing a safe harbour, out of which their Masters could not fetch them, ran daily away in great numbers: exceedingly to the loss of such, as made of their slaves very profitable use. But *Perseus* took hold upon this occasion: as fitly serving to pacifie those, whose enmity fain he would have changed into love. He therefore apprehended all these fugitives, to send them home again: and wrote unto the *Achæans*, That as for good will unto them, he had taken pains to restore back their servants, so should they do very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not run away again. His meaning was readily understood, and his Letters kindly accepted by the greater part; being openly rehearsed by the Prætor, before the Councel. But *Callicrates* took the matter very angerly; and bade them be advised what they did: for that this was none other, than a plain device, to make them depart from the friendship of the *Romans*.

Herewithall

Herewithall he took upon him, somewhat liberally, to make the *Achæans* beforehand acquainted with the War, that was coming upon *Perseus* from *Rome*. He told them how *Philip* had made preparations for the same War; how *Demetrius* had been made away, because of his good affection to the *Romans*; and how *Perseus* had, since his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly, He rehearsed all those matters, which were afterwards alledged by the *Romans*; the invasion of the *Bastarnæ*, upon the *Dardanians*; the Kings journey against the *Dolopians*; his voyage to *Delphi*; and finally, his peaceable behaviour, which was (he said) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he advised them to expect the event of things, and not over-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the *Macedonians*. Hereto good answer was made by the Prætors brother: That *Callicrates* was too earnest in so light a matter; and that, being neither one of the Kings Cabinet, nor of the *Roman* Senate, he made himself too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it was well known, that *Perseus* had renewed his League with the *Romans*; that he was by them saluted King, and friend to the estate: and that he had lovingly entertained their Embassadours: This being so; why might not the *Achæans*, as well as the *Aetolians*, *Thessalians*, *Epirots*, and all the *Greeks*, hold with him such correspondence, as common humanity required? Nevertheless *Callicrates* was grown a man so terrible, by his *Roman* acquaintance, that they durst not over-stiffly gainsay him. Therefore the matter was referred unto further deliberation: and answer made the whilst, That since the King had only sent a Letter without an Embassadour, they knew not how to resolve. Better it was to say thus, than, that they were afraid to do as they thought most reasonable and convenient. But when *Perseus* herewith not contented, would needs urge them further, and send Embassadours: then were they fain, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and deny to give audience: which was proof sufficient (to one that could understand) of the condition wherein they lived. For hearkening to this advice of *Callicrates*; they were soon after highly commended by a *Roman* Embassadour: whereby it became apparent, that the *Romans* intended War upon the *Macedonians*; though hitherto no cause of War was given. *Liv. lib. 42.*

§. V.

How Eumenes *King of* Pergamus *was busied with* Pharnaces, *the* Rhodians, *and others. His hatred to the* Macedonian: *whom he accuseth to the* Roman *Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemns his enemies the* Rhodians; *with the causes thereof. The unusual stoutness of the* Macedonian *Embassadours.* Perseus *his attempt upon* Eumenes. *The brotherly love between* Eumenes *and* Attalus. Perseus *his device to poyson some of the* Roman *Senators: whereupon they decree War against him, and send him defiance. Other things concerning the justice of this War.*

EUmenes King of *Pergamus* had been troubled about these times, by the Kings *Pharnaces* and *Mithridates*, his neighbours. He had taken the right course, in making first his complaint to the *Romans*: by whom he was animated with comfortable words, and promise, That they, by their authority, would end the business to his content. But in conclusion, by the help of the Kings, *Prusias* and *Ariarathes*, he ended the War himself; and brought his Enemies to seek and accept peace, on such conditions as pleased him to give them. After this, being at good leisure; he began to consider how the affairs of *Macedon* stood under *Perseus*. His hatred to *Perseus* was very great: and therefore he was glad to understand, that the hatred of the *Romans*, to the same his Enemy was as great, and withall notorious. Now, besides his ancient and hereditary quarrel with the *Macedonian*; it vexed him exceedingly, That his own honours (whereof the *Greeks*, prodigal in that kind, had heaped immoderate store on his Father and him) began to wax every where stale; whilest *Perseus*, either by his currying favour, or by the envy born to the *Romans*, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despight of this indignity, He stirred up the *Lycians* against the *Rhodians* his old friends: and in helping these rebels, was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, in open War. But small pleasure found he in these poor and indirect courses of revenge. *Pol. Leg. 56. & 59.*

The *Lycians* could not be saved by his Patronage from severe and cruel chastisement, given to them by the *Rhodians*. This rendered him contemptible: as likewise, his acts of hostility, little different from robberies, made him hateful to those which loved him before. As for his honours in the Cities of *Greece*; they not only continued falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree *Polyb. Leg. 74.*

decree of the *Achæans*, as too unmeasured, misbeseeming them to give, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deservings. All this (which he needed not to have regarded, had he not been too vainly ambitious) befell him; especially for his being over-serviceable to the *Romans*, and for his malice to that noble Kingdom; which if it fell, the liberty of *Greece* was not like to stand. Now for the redress hereof, he thought it vain to strive any longer with bounty, against such an Adversary, as by hopeful promises alone, without any great performance, had over-topped him in the general favour. And therefore he resolved even to overturn the foundations of this popularity, by inducing the *Romans* utterly to take away from the eyes of men this Idol, the *Macedonian* Kingdom, which all so vainly worshipped. Neither would it prove a difficult matter, to perswade those that were already desirous: rather he was like to be highly thanked, for setting forward their wishes; and perhaps to be recompenced with some piece of the Kingdom, as he had been rewarded, for the like service, when *Antiochus* was vanquished.

Liv. l. 42

To this end he made a second voyage to *Rome*: where, though he had little to say, which they knew not before, yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange novelty; and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turn the ballance, that before was equal. The death of *Demetrius*, the expedition of the *Bastarnæ* into *Dardania*, that of *Perseus* himself against the *Dolopian*, and to *Delphi*, the great estimation of the *Macedonian* in *Greece*, his intermedling in businesses of his neighbours, his riches and his great provisions, were all the material points of *Eumenes* his discourse. Only he descended unto particulars, having searched into all (as he professed) like unto a Spy. He said, that *Perseus* had thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse of his own, mony in a readiness to entertain ten thousand Mercenaries for ten years, Arms to furnish a number thrice as great: The *Thracians* his friends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him Souldiers as many as he should require; and that he prepared victuals for ten years, because he would not be driven, either to live upon spoil, or to take from his own Subjects. Herewithall he prayed them to consider, that King *Seleucus*, the Son and successor of *Antiochus* the Great, had given his Daughter *Laodice* in marriage to *Perseus*; *Perseus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the match; That King *Prusias* of *Bythinia*, by earnest suit, had gotten to wife the Sister of *Perseus*, and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassages from all quarters. Neither spared he to tell them, (though seeming loth to utter it plainly) That even the envy to their Estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to hear of amity with *Philip*, were now grown marvellously well affected to his Son. All this, and some facts of *Perseus*, which might either be denyed or justified, (as that he had procured the death of some which were friends to the *Romans*, and that he had expelled *Abrypolis* the *Illyrian*, who invaded *Macedon*, out of his Kingdom, or Lordship) *Eumenes* failed not to amplifie unto the most; saying, That he thought it his duty to forewarn them: since it would be to himself a great shame, if *Perseus* got the start of him, and were in *Italy* making War upon the *Romans*, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly, to believe that the *Romans* stood in fear of *Perseus*, lest he should set upon them in *Italy*. Nevertheless, forasmuch as they loved not to make War without fair pretence, not only of wrong done to them or their associates, but of further hurt intended: great thanks were given to *Eumenes*, who had every way furnished them with such goodly colour, to beautifie their intendment. Now though it were so, that he told them little else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his coming, made all seem greater. For if upon any relation made by their own Embassadours, or upon tales devised by their flatterers and spyes, they had warred against *Perseus*, ere he had committed any open act of hostility against them; their injustice and oppression would have been most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done, were so notorious; and the danger threatning them so terrible, that such a Prince as *Eumenes* came out of his own Kingdom, as far as from *Asia*, to bid them look to themselves; who could blame them, if they took the speediest order to obtain their own right and security? Toward this justification of the war, and magnifying the necessity that enforced them thereto, their more than usual curiosity, in concealing what *Eumenes* had uttered in the Senate; when they could not but understand that his errand was well known; helped not a little. The *Macedonian* and *Rhodian* Embassadours were at *Rome*, provided of answers to the words, which they knew before-hand that he would speak; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of him, of some

about

about him, seems to have disclosed all: when the weariness of the *Fathers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearful apprehension; against which it behoved their wisdom to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore careless audience was given to the *Rhodian* Embassadors; who accused *Eumenes*, as one more troublesome to *Asia*, than *Antiochus* had ever been, and a provoker of the *Lycians* to rebellion. The *Rhodians* had with great pomp conveighed by Sea unto *Perseus*, his Bride *Laodice*; which friendly Office, as the *Macedonian* bountifully requited, so the *Romans* despightfully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as already vanquished, were setling themselves in their obedience to the people of *Rhodes*, Embassadors came from *Rome* with strange news, which gave new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced That it stood not with the manner of the *Romans*, to alien quite from their own protection any People or Nation by them vanquished: and that the *Lycians* were by them assigned unto those of *Rhodes*, not as meer Vassals, but as Dependants and Associates. For proof hereof, they referred themselves unto the Commentaries of the ten Embassadors; whom they had sent to dispose of things in *Asia*, after the Victory against King *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Masanissa*, the *Ætolians*, and all other Kings or Estates that were beholding to *Rome*, for increasing the number of their subjects, had cause to find themselves agrieved, if they well considered the matter: since by force of this or the like decree, those their Subjects might easily be made their Fellows, whensoever it should please the Senate: though it were so that all men knew the present meaning of the Senate: which was only to plague the *Rhodians* for their good will to *Perseus*, by setting them and the *Lycians* together by the ears. The *Fathers* could therefore see no reason to dislike *Eumenes*, upon this complaint made by the *Rhodian* Embassadors, which indeed more nearly touched themselves. Rather they honoured the King so much the more: for that others (as they would needs take it) conspired against him, because of his love to *Rome*.

Polyb. Leg. 60. & 61.

Liv. lib. 41.

But the *Macedonian* Embassage they heard not so carelesly as angrily: though peradventure it well contented them to find cause of anger: for whereas at other times all care had been taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuses: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King *Perseus* desired much to give them satisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might savour of hostility; but that, if his travel in this kind proved vain, then would he be ready to defend himself by arms, and stand to the chance of War, which often falls out contrary to expectation. These big words may seem to have proceeded from the vehemency of *Harpalus*, that was chief of the Embassadors; rather than from instruction given by the King, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why *Perseus* himself might, at this time, think to speed better by a shew of daring, than he was like to do by any submission. For the eyes of all *Greece* being now cast upon him, as on the greatest hope of deliverance from the *Roman* servitude; it was not expedient that he should lessen, or perhaps utterly cut off, the general expectation, and the good affection born to him, which thereon depended, by discovering his too much weakness of spirit, unanswerable to a work of such importance. Wherefore he, or his Embassadour for him, was bold to set a good countenance on a game not very bad, but subject (in appearance) to fortune, which might have been his, had he known how to use it.

Now that this bravery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings own heat; it appears by his daring to adventure soon after, on a practice that more justly might anger the *Romans*, and give them fairer shew of reason to make War upon him. It was known that *Eumenes*, in returning home, would take *Delphi* in his way and there do sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perseus* deadly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, resolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a sacrifice, to rid his own hands of a most mischievous Enemy. So there were appointed three or four stout Ruffians to do the murder: who placing themselves behind a broken mud-wall, on the side of a very narrow path leading up from the Sea to the Temple, did thence assault the King; whom they sorely bruised with great stones, and left for dead. They might have finished their work, such was the opportunity of the place which they had chosen; but fear of being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all sure, flee in such haste, that they killed one of their own Companions, who could not hold pace with them; because he should not discover them. *Eumenes* was conveighed away to the little Isle of *Ægina*, where he was cured: being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his Death was current in *Asia*. Hence it came, that his brother *Attalus* took upon him as King, and either took, or would have taken to wife (supposing

it be like a matter of State) *Stratonica* the daughter of King *Ariarather*, whom he then thought the Widow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbred among the rare Examples of brotherly love, That when the King turned alive home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and do his duty, as in former times, received none other check, than, *That he should forbear to marry with the Queen, until he were well assured of the Kings death.* More than this, *Eumenes* never spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, unto the same Brother, both his Wife and Kingdom. As likewise *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of *the King his Brother*: though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in special favour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readiness to have transferred the Kingdom from his Brother to him. By such concord of Brethren was the Kingdom of *Pergamus* raised and upheld; as might also that of *Macedon* have been, if *Demetrius* had lived, and employed his grace with the *Romans*, to the benefit of *Perseus*.

It is likely that *Perseus* was very glad, when he understood that his Ministers had both accomplished his will, and had saved all from discovery. But as he was deceived in the main point, and heard shortly after, that *Eumenes* lived, so was he beguiled in that other hope, of the concealment; which he vainly esteemed the less material. For he had written to one *Praxo*, a Gentlewoman of *Delphi*, to entertain the men whom he sent about this business: and she, being apprehended by *C. Valerius*, a *Roman* Embassador, then attending upon the matters of *Greece*, was carried to *Rome*. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* also brought with him to *Rome*, out of *Greece*, one *Rammius* a Citizen of *Brundusium*; who coming newly from the Court of *Macedon*, loaden with a dangerous secret, had presently sought out the Embassadour, and thereof discharged himself. *Brundusium* was the ordinary Port for Ships passing between *Italy* and *Greece*. There had *Rammius* a fair house; wherein he gave entertainment, being a wealthy man, to Embassadors, and other honourable personages, both *Romans* and *Macedonians*, journying to and fro. By occasion of such his Hospitality, he was commended to *Perseus*, and invited into *Macedon* with friendly letters; as one, whose many courtesies to his Embassadors, the King was studious to requite. At his coming, he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiarity than he expected or desired, made partaker of the Kings Secret. The sum of all was, That he must needs do a turn, in giving to such of the *Romans* as the King should hereafter name, a poyson of rare quality; sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durst not refuse to accept this Employment: for fear lest the vertue of this Medicine should be tried upon himself. But being once at liberty, he discovered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the King had never seen before, nor was like to see again: and therefore, besides that the Kings denial ought to be as good as such a fellows affirmation, the accusation was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himself; and in like sort concerning the attempt upon *Eumenes*: denying to have had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withall professing, That such objections were not to be made unto a King, to prove the Rightfulness of making War upon him, but rather unto a subject pleading for his life in judgement. But howsoever the *Romans* neglected the getting of stronger proof (which might have been easie) than any that we find by them produced: yet the base and cowardly temper of *Perseus* was very suitable to these practices. Neither did the Senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royal Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such private Offences, it gave him no priviledge: they judging him to have offended in the nature of a King. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For if he might not lawfully make War upon *Eumenes* their Confederate; that is, if he might not send men to waste the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, or to besiege the Towns: might he send Ruffians to murder the King? If it were no less breach of the League to destroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the Sword, was it lawful for him to do it by poyson? Wherefore they presently decreed War against him; and sent Embassadours to denounce it unto him, unless he would yield to make such amends as they should require. He seemed at this time to have been so confident in the general favour of *Greece*, and other comfortable appearances, that if he desired not War, yet he did not fear it: or at least he thought by shew of courage, to make his Enemies more calm. He caused the Embassadors to dance attendance, till being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them back, and bade them do their Errand. They made a tedious rehearsal of all matters, which they had long been collecting against him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that he had entertained long and secret confe-

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rence in the Isle of *Samothrace*, with Embassadors sent to him out of *Asia*, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which, they peremptorily required satisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to give defiance. Better they might have stood upon the evidence, brought against him by *Rammius* and *Praxo*. For if those accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build: of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a King, to be strong, well-beloved, & well-befriended. *Perseus* answered, for the present, in a rage; calling the *Romans* greedy, proud, insolent, and underminers of him by their daily Embassadors, that were no better than meer spies. Finally, he promised to give them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the League made between them and his Father; and renewed by himself indeed only for fear; but wished them to descend to more equal conditions; whereupon he, for his part, would advise, as they might also do for theirs.

In the form of the League between *Philip* and the *Romans*, as is set down by *Polybius*, we find no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to any inconvenience in the future; excepting those which he immediately performed. But *Livy* inserts a clause, whereby he was expresly forbidden to make any War abroad, without leave of the *Romans*. It is most likely, that all the *Roman* Confederates were included in this peace: whereby every one of the neighbours round about *Macedon*, entring shortly into league with *Rome*, did so bind the Kings hands, that he could no more make war abroad, than if he had been restrained by plain covenant. And thus might that seem an Article of the Peace, which never was agreed upon, but only was inferred by consequence. Now if the *Romans* would urge this point further, and say, that the *Macedonian* might not bear Defensive Arms, without their permission; then had *Perseus* very just reason to find himself agrieved. For since they had allowed his father, without controll, to make war in *Thrace*, (whilest they themselves were unacquainted with the *Thracians*) elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why should they now interpret the bargain after another fashion? Was it now become unlawful for him to chastise his own Rebels? or to repay an *Illyrian* that invaded *Macedon*? By such allegations he maintained the right of his cause in very mild sort; when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the League as unjust, he ministred occasion unto the Embassadors, to give him defiance. Having heard the worst of their message, he commanded them to be gone out of his Kingdom in three days. But either he should have been less vehement, or more constant in his resolution. For if his heart could serve him to undertake the War, he should couragiously have managed it, and have faln to work immediately, whilst the Enemy was unprepared; not have lost the opportunity, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse peace than the former.

Pol. Leg. 9.

Liv. lib. 33

§. VI.

The Romans solicite the Greeks, to joyn with them in the war against Perseus. *How the Greeks stood affected in that war. The timerousness of* Perseus. Martius *a Roman Embassador deludes him with hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field, and wins part of* Thessaly. *The forces of* Licinius *the Roman Consul: and what Assistants the Romans had in this War. Of* Tempe *in* Thessaly; *& what advantages the Macedonian had, or might have had; but lost by his fear.* Perseus *braves the Romans, fights with them, knows not how to use his Victory; sues for peace, and is denied it by the Vanquished.* Perseus *having the worse in a Skirmish, forsakes all the Country lying about* Tempe. *The Bœotians rebel against the Romans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the War against* Perseus. *They vex the Greeks their friends; for whose ease the Senate makes Provision, having heard their Complaints. The flattering Alabanders.*

SO long had the *Romans* been seeking occasion to take in hand this *Macedonian* War, that well they might have been ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behind hand in Provisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the Warr: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together seemed more than sufficient. This opportunity of making their Cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were unprepared for the Action. Wherefore knowing, or having reason to believe, that their own strengths were such as would prevail in the end; they hastily embraced the fair occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of time. Neither was this their unreadiness a small help, towards examining the disposition of the *Greeks* and others; who must afterwards dearly pay for any backwardness found in their good will. There was not indeed any cause to fear, that all of the *Greeks*, or

other Eastern People should conspire together, and take part with the *Macedonian*: such was the dissention between the several Estates; howsoever the generality of them were inclin'd the same way. Nevertheless Embassadors were sent to deal with them all; and to crave their help against *Perseus*, or rather to demand it, in no less ample manner, than heretofore they had yielded it against *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in Wars pretending the Liberty of *Greece*. The Embassadors used as gentle words for fashion sake, as if they had stood in doubt that their request might happen to be denied. But the *Greeks* were now grown well acquainted with such *Roman* courtesie: and understood that not only such as made refusal, but even they who might seem to have granted half unwillingly, were like to hear other manner of words, when once this business was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their help to the *Romans*: the * *Achæans* and *Rhodians*, which were chief among them, being rather doubtful, even when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had halted in some part of their duty. It is strange that men could be so earnest to set up the side, whereof they gladly would have seen the ruine. The vulgar sort was everywhere addicted to *Perseus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were vehemently *Roman*, they wanted not opposers, that were wholly *Macedonian*; yea, the wisest and most honest, who regarded only the benefit of their Country, wished better to *Perseus* than to the *Romans*. And of this number *Polybius* the chief of Historians was one: who though He * judged the victory of *Perseus*, like to prove hurtful unto *Greece*, yet wished he the *Romans* ill to thrive, that so the *Greeks* might recover perfect Liberty: for his endeavours in which course, he was at length tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed hereafter. This considered, it appears that an extraordinary fear, and not only reverence of the Imperial City, made the *Achæans*, and other Estates of *Greece*, thus conformable to the *Romans*. The occasion of this their fear may be justly imputed unto the timorous demeanor of *Perseus* himself. He had undertaken a War, whereof the benefit should redound, not only to his own Kingdom, but unto all that were oppressed by the *Romans*. Yet no sooner were some few Companies brought over-sea, to make a countenance of meaning somewhat against him, than he began to speak the enemy fair, and sue for peace at *Rome*. Since therefore it was known, that every small thing would serve to terrifie him: and consequently, that it should at all times be in the *Romans* Power, by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leisure upon those which had assisted him: little cause was there why any should adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his army; taking by force or composition some few Towns, and soliciting all to joyn with him. But wise men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, he sought all means of pacification: and to that end, made humble suit unto the *Roman* Embassadors. *Q. Martius*, the chief of those Embassadors, and a man of more fineness in cunning than was usual among the *Romans*, made shew of inclination to the Kings desire; and gave out such comfortable words, that the King entreated and obtained a meeting at the River *Peneus*. There did *Martius* very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned. Whereto though *Perseus* made none other answer, than the same which they could have made for him; yet the Embassadors, and especially *Martius*, took it in good part, as therewith satisfied: and advised him to give the like satisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently be done, a truce was agreed upon. Thus had *Martius* his desire; which was to make the King lose time. For *Perseus* had all things then in a readiness, and might have done much, ere the *Roman* Army could have been in *Greece*. But by the interposition of this truce, he no way increased his forces; he suffered a most convenient season of winning upon the Enemy, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing else, than leisure and vain hope. Yet was he pleased herewith, as it had been with some victory: publishing a copy of the Disputation between him and the *Romans*, whereby he gave men to understand how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of peace. He sent Embassadors also to the *Rhodians*, of whose good will to him he was best perswaded; not only to let them know how much he was superiour in cause; but to intreat them, that they would take upon them, as Moderators, to compound the differences between him and the *Romans*, if perhaps notwithstanding the goodness of his cause, he should be denied peace. These were poor helps. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing upon point of Honour, was no better than meer vanity; his own safety being the utmost of his ambition. This his fearfulness might seem excusable, and the blame thereof to appertain unto the *Greeks*; who deceived

* *Pol. Leg.* 72, 73, & 80.

* *Pol. Leg.* 77.

ceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in a time of neceſſity, that was partly their own: had it not been his Office, who took upon him as their Champion, to give ſuch a manly beginning to the War, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more averſe from him; and were careful not to put their ſhoulders to a falling wall. The *Rhodians*, among whom he had many ſtout Partizans, deſired him not to crave any thing at their hands, in which they might ſeem to do againſt the good liking of the *Romans*. The *Bœotians* alſo, who had entered of late into a ſtrict ſociety with the *Macedonian*; renounced it now, and made the like with the *Romans*: to whom further, in a ſort, they yeelded themſelves as vaſſals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their ſubmiſſion under a general form; but cauſed their ſeveral Towns to make covenant apart, each for it ſelf; to the end, that being thus diſtracted into many little Commonweals, they might not (were they never ſo deſirous to rebel) have ſuch force to do hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated into one, under the City of *Thebes*. This work, of ſeparating the *Bœotians* from *Thebes* their Head, was more than *Ageſilaus* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would ſuffer, then when all *Greece* followed the *Lacedæmonians*. So far more available to *Thebes*, being deſtitute of help from abroad, was the virtue of *Epaminondas*, and a few brave Citizens, than was the ſociety with King *Perſeus*, againſt a number not ſo great as followed the *Lacedæmonians*.

Martius brought this to effect, whileſt the King ſat ſtill, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he turned to the City; where, vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though ſome reproved it as diſhoneſt) employed again by the Senate, with commiſſion to deal as he ſhould think expedient. Touching the Embaſſadours which *Perſeus* had ſent; audience was given to them, for that they ſhould not plainly ſee how their Maſter was deluded: but neither excuſe nor intreaty would ſerve their turn: the Senate being reſolved before-hand what to do. It was enough that they were admitted into the City, and had thirty days reſpite allowed them to depart out of *Italy*: whereas they, who came laſt on the ſame errand, did their meſſage without the Walls, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the uſual place of giving audience to open Enemies, or to ſuch Commanders as might not, by reaſon of ſome cuſtom enter the City) and had only the ſhort warning of eleven days, to be gone out of *Italy*. Neither did this poor courteſie ſerve alone to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if he had meant none other than good earneſt: but it was a likely mean both to keep a long while from *Perſeus* the knowledge of his buſineſs, and to ſtagger his reſolution, when he ſhould need it moſt firm.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius* the *Roman* Conſul was at *Apollonia*, in a manner as ſoon as the *Macedonian* Embaſſadours were with their King at *Pella*. Which though it were enough to have rouzed *Perſeus*, and have made him lay aſide all cowardly hope of getting Pardon, yet was he content to deliberate a while, Whether it were not better to offer himſelf tributary to the *Romans*, and to redeem their good will with ſome part of his Kingdom, that ſo he might enjoy the reſt; than to put all at once to hazard. But finally, the ſtouteſt counſel prevailed; which alſo was the wiſeſt, and ſo would have proved, had it been ſtoutly and wiſely followed. He now began, as if the War had not begun until now, to do what ſhould have been done long afore. He cauſed all his Forces to be drawn together; and appointed their Randezvouz at *Citium*, a Town in *Macedon*. All being in readineſs, he did Royal Sacrifice, with an hundred Beaſts, to I know not what *Minerva*, that was peculiarly honoured in his Country: and then with all his Courtiers, and thoſe of his Guard, ſet forward to *Citium*. His Army he found conſiſting of nine and thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, whereof about twelve thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe were ſtrangers, of ſundry Nations, moſt part *Thracians*; the reſt of his own *Macedonians*. Theſe he animated with lively ſpeeches; laying before them the glory of their Anceſtors, the inſolency of the *Romans*, the goodneſs of his Cauſe, the greatneſs of his Proviſions, and the many advantages which they had of the Enemy, eſpecially in numbers. They anſwered him chearfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of *Macedon* there came likewiſe Meſſengers, offering to help him with money and victuals, according to their ſeveral Abilities. He gave them thanks: but anſwered, That his own proviſions would abundantly ſuffice, willing them only to furniſh him with Carts, for his Engines and Munition.

Out of his own Kingdom he iſſued forth into *Theſſaly*: knowing that the *Romans* were to paſs thorow that Country, in their Journey towards him. Some Towns of *Theſſaly* opened their Gates unto him, without

out making offer to defend themselves; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well-manned; and some he wan by force. Of these last was *Nyle*; a Town thought impregnable, and therefore, not more stoutly than proudly defended by the Inhabitants, who gave contumelious language to the Assailants. It was taken by reason of a sally; which the Towns-men rathly made, and being driven back, received the *Macedonians*, that entered pell mell with them at the gate. All cruelty of War was practised here: to the greater terrour of the obstinate. So *Velatiæ* and *Connus* (Towns of much importance, especially *Connus*, which stood in the straights of *Ossa*, leading into *Tempe*) yielded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the King marched onwards to *Sicurium*, a Town seated on the foot of Mount *Ossa*; where he he rested a while, expecting news of the Enemy.

Licinius the Consul brought with him only two *Roman* Legions: being promised other strength of Auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* his brother came to him in *Thessaly*, with four thousand foot, and a thousand Horse. Thither also came, from every part of *Greece*, such aid as the several Estates could afford, or thought expedient to send: which from the most of them was very little. Of the Kings abroad; *Masanissa* sent thither his Son *Misagenes*, with a thousand Foot, as many Horse, and two and twenty Elephants. *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, by reason of his Affinity with *Eumenes*, was friend to the *Romans*, and had sent to *Rome* his young Son, there to be brought up: yet he did little or nothing in this war; perhaps because *Eumenes* himself began within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise advised than he had been in the beginning. *Prusias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perseus*, and yet fearing the *Romans*. *Antiochus* and *Ptolomy* (though *Ptolomy* was then young, and under Tutors) had business of their own; the *Syrian* meaning to invade the *Egyptian*: yet each of them promised help to the *Romans*, which they cared not to perform. *Gentius* the *Illyrians* was inclinable to the *Macedonian*, yet made good countenance to the *Romans*, for fear. It was a pretty trick wherewith *M. Lucretius*, the *Roman* Admirals' Brother, served him, for this his counterfeit good will. This King had four and fifty Ships, riding in the Haven of *Dyrrachium*, uncertain to what purpose: all which *Lucretius* took away, after a very kind sort; making shew to believe, That for none other end than to serve the *Romans*, their good friend *Gentius* had sent thither this Fleet. But whatsoever *Gentius* thought in the beginning; he foolishly lost both his Kingdom and himself, in the end of this War; by offering, rather than giving his help to *Perseus*.

With none other company than what he brought over the Sea, *Licinius* came into *Thessaly*: so tyred with a painful journey, through the Mountainous Country of *Athamania*, which stood in his way from *Epirus*; that if *Perseus* had been ready, attending his descent into the Plains, the *Romans* must needs have taken a great overthrow. He refreshed himself and his wearied Army, by the River *Peneus*; where he encamped, attending his Auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender help, that could enable him to deal with *Perseus*. Therefore he resolved to abide where he then was, and keep his trenches, until his numbers were sufficiently increased: contenting himself in the mean while, to have gotten quiet entrance into the Country. The Land of *Thessaly*, in which these two Armies lay, was better affected to the *Romans*, than any part of *Greece* besides: as having been freed by them from a more heavy yoke of bondage to the *Macedonian*, when there was little hope of expectation of such a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitful, and abounding in all things needful to mans life. In the midst of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautiful Valley of *Tempe*, so exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often used at large to signifie the most pleasant and goodly places. This Valley of it self was not great; but adding to it those huge Mountains *Ossa* and *Olympus* (famous in Poesie) with their Spurs or Branches, by which it was on all sides enclosed; it occupied the better part of *Thessaly*. And this way were the *Romans* to enter into *Macedon*; unless they would make an hungry journey thorow the Country of the *Dassaretians*, as in the former war with *Philip*, they had long, in vain, attempted to do. *Perseus* therefore had no small advantage, by being Master of the Straights leading unto *Tempe*: though far greater he might have had, if by miss-spending of time he had not lost it. For if in defending the ragged passages of these Mountains, he were able to put the *Romans* often to the worse; yea, to win upon them (for a while) every year more than other, both in strength and reputation: questionless he might have done far greater things, had he seized upon the Straights of *Aous*, which his Father once kept, and defended all the Country behind the Mountains of *Pindus*.

Surely

Surely, not without extreme difficulty, muſt the *Romans* have either travelled by Land, with all their Carriages and Impediments, through places wherein was no relief to be found; or elſe have committed their Armies, and all things thereto needful, unto the mercy of Seas that were very dangerous; if they would have ſought other way into *Macedon*, than through the heart of *Greece*: upon neither of which courſes they once deviſed, notwithſtanding any trouble which they found in this preſent War. It may perhaps be ſaid, that the *Greeks*, and others, whom the King muſt have left on his back, would have made him unable to defend any places too far from his own home. But they were all, excepting the *Theſſalians*, better affected now to him, than they had been to his Father in the former War. The *Ætolians*, upon whom the *Athamanians* depended, grew into ſuſpicion with the *Romans* (as we ſhall find anon) even as ſoon as they met with *Perſeus*. The *Bœotians*, how politickly ſoever *Martius* had wrought with them, adventured themſelves deſperately in the *Macedonian* quarrel: what would they have done, if he at firſt had done his beſt? The *Rhodians*, *Illyrians*, yea, and *Eumenes* himſelf, after a while began to waver, when they ſaw things go better with *Perſeus*, than they had expected. So that if inſtead of diſcouraging his Friends, by ſuing baſely for peace; he had raiſed their hopes, by any brave performance in the beginning; and increaſed the nnmber of his well-willers; yea, and bought down with money (as he might have done) ſome of his enemies, and among them *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head: then might the *Romans* perhaps have been compelled to forſake their imperious patronage over *Greece*; and to render the Liberty by them given, entire; which otherwiſe was but imaginary. Such benefit of this War, ſince it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reaſon have been expected at firſt, from greater advantages. But as a fearful company running from their Enemies, till ſome River ſtay their flight; are there compelled by meer deſperation to do ſuch acts, as done, while the battel laſted, would have won the Victory: ſo fell it out with *Perſeus*. In ſeeking to avoid the danger of that War, whereof he ſhould have ſought the honour; he left his friends that would have ſtood by him, and gave them cauſe to provide for their own ſafety: yet being overtaken by neceſſity, he choſe rather to ſet his back to the Mountains of *Tempe*, and defend himſelf with his proper forces; than to be driven into ſuch miſery, as was inevitable, if he gave a little further ground. What was performed by him or the *Romans*, all the while that he kept his footing in *Theſſaly*, it is hard to ſhew particularly, for that the Hiſtory of thoſe things is much periſhed. Wherefore we muſt be contented with the ſumm.

The Conſul having no deſire to fight, until ſuch time as all his forces were arrived; kept within his Trenches, and lay ſtill encamped by the River of *Peneus*, about three miles from *Lariſſa*. That which perſwaded the Conſul to protract the time, did contrawiſe incite the King, to put the matter unto a haſty trial. Wherefore he invited the *Romans* into the field; by waſting the Land of the *Pheræans* their Confederates. Finding them patient of this indignity; he grew bold to adventure even unto their Trenches: out of which, if they iſſued, it was likely that his advantage in Horſe would make the Victory his own. At his coming they were troubled; for that it was ſudden: yet no way terrified; as knowing themſelves to be ſafely lodged. They ſent out a few of King *Eumenes* his Horſe, and with them ſome light-armed foot, to entertain ſkirmiſh. The Captain, and ſome other of theſe were ſlain: but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius* nor *Eumenes*, found it reaſonable to hazard battel. Thus, day after day, a while together, *Perſeus* continued offering battel: which they ſtill refuſed. Hereby his boldneſs much increaſed; and much more his reputation: to the grief of thoſe, who being ſo far come to make a Conqueſt, could ill digeſt the ſhame that fell upon them by their enduring theſe bravadoes. The Town of *Sycurium*, where *Perſeus* then lay, was twelve miles from the *Romans*: neither was there any convenient watering in that long march, which uſed to take up four hours of the morning, but he was fain to bring water along with him in Carts, that his men might not be both weary and thirſty when they came to fight. For remedy of theſe inconveniencies, he found out a lodging ſeven miles nearer to the enemy: whom he viſited the next day by the Sun-riſing. His coming at ſuch an unuſual hour, filled the Camp with Tumult: inſomuch as though he brought with him only his Horſe and light Armature, that were unfit to aſſail the Trenches, yet the Conſul thought it neceſſary, and reſolved to give check to his pride. Wherefore he ſent forth his Brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many brave Captains, with all his power of Horſe, his Velites, and all the reſt of his light Armature to try their fortune: he himſelf remaining in the Camp, with

with his Legions in readineſs. The honour of this morning, was the *Macedonian* Kings; for he obtained the Victory in a manner intire (though the *Theſſalians* made a good retrait) with little loſs of his own. But he diſcovered his weakneſs ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly do, to counſel given by one of his own temper. For whereas the *Romans* were in great fear, leſt he ſhould aſſault their Camp; and to that purpoſe, upon the firſt news of his ſucceſs, his Phalanx was brought unto him by the Captains, though unſent for: he nevertheleſs took it for ſound advice, which indeed was timorous and baſe, To work warily, and moderate his victory; by which means it was ſaid, That either he ſhould get honeſt conditions of Peace, or at leaſtwiſe many Companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like that his good fortune would exalt the Hope and Courage of his Friends. Yet, had it been greater, and had he won the *Roman* Camp, his friends would have been the more, and the bolder. But over-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: And in ſuing for it, even when he had the victory; what elſe did he, than proclaim unto all which would become his partakers, That neither good nor bad fortune ſhould keep him from yielding to the *Romans*, whenſoever they would be pleaſed to accept him? At this time the joy of his victory would admit none of the Conſiderations. He had ſlain of the *Roman* Horſe two hundred, and taken of them priſoners the like number. Of their foot he had ſlain about two thouſand: loſing of his own no more than twenty Horſe, and forty foot. The *Roman* Camp, after this diſaſter, was full of heavineſs and fear: it being much doubted that the enemy would ſet upon it. *Eumenes* gave counſel to diſlodge by night, and remove to a ſurer place beyond the River *Peneus*. The Conſul, though aſhamed to profeſs, by ſo doing, in what fear he ſtood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the Loſs paſt, than by ſtanding on proud terms, to draw upon himſelf a greater Calamity. So he paſſed the River in the dead of the night, and encamped more ſtrongly on the further ſide. The *Ætolians* were ſorely blamed for this loſs: as if rather a traiterous meaning, than any true fear, had occaſioned their flight, wherein the reſt of the *Greeks* followed them. Five of them that were men of eſpecial mark, had been obſerved to be the firſt which turned their backs: an obſervation likely to coſt them dear, at a time of better leiſure. As for the *Theſſalians*, their virtue was honoured with reward: ſo as the *Greeks* might learn by Examples of either kind, that if they would ſhun indignation, or incur favour, then muſt they adventure no leſs for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would do for their own Liberty. Thus fared it with the Conſul and his Army. *Perſeus* came the next day to correct the former days errour; which how great it was, he not until then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of ſafety; whither they could never have attained, if the King had either preſſed his Victory, or given better heed to them that night: his light Armature alone being ſufficient to have routed them whileſt they were conveying themſelves to the other ſide of *Peneus*. But it was vain to tell what might have been done, ſince there was no remedy. The *Romans* were beaten, even the flower of their City, The Gentlemen of *Rome*; out of whom were choſen their Senators, and conſequently the Generals themſelves, Prætors, Conſuls, and all that bore Office or Command among them; yea, they were beaten ſo ſhamefully, that they ſtole away by night, and ſuffered him to gather up the ſpoils of them without reſiſtance, as yielding themſelves overcome. With ſuch brave words did the King ſet out the Glory of his Action; dividing the ſpoils among his Followers. But there was much wanting within him, to have made his honour ſound. He came nearer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mopſelus*, a place in a mid-way between *Tempe* and *Lariſſa*: as if it were his meaning to preſs them ſomewhat harder. Nevertheleſs he was eaſily perſwaded to uſe the occaſion, which he ſeemed to have, of obtaining peace. Therefore he ſent unto the Conſul, and offered to yield unto the ſame Conditions, wherein his Father had been bound to the *Romans*; if the War might ſo take end. It were needleſs here again to ſhew the folly of this his courſe. Towards the accompliſhment of this deſired Peace, there was in the Conſul no greater power than to grant a Truce, whileſt Embaſſadours might go to *Rome*: it reſting in the Senate and People to approve the conditions, & ratifie the League. And of ſuch a truce granted by *Martius*, he had lately found no ſmall diſcommodity redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned anſwer, That other hope of peace there was none; ſave that *Perſeus* would yield both his Kingdom and Perſon, ſimply and abſolutely, to diſcretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius* to be ſo reſolute in Adverſity. On the other ſide, it argued a very faint heart in *Perſeus*, that having receiv'd an anſwer ſo peremptory he

he ſtill perſiſted, making vain offers of greater tribute. Finding that the peace which he ſo much deſired, could not be purchaſed with mony, the King withdrew himſelf back to *Sycurium*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whoſe forces were well repaired by the coming of *Miſagenes* the Son of *Maſaniſſa*, with the aid before mentioned. This diſtance between the King and them, cauſed the *Romani* to wax the more bold in making their harveſt: about which buſineſs they ranged over all the fields. Their careleſs demeanour gave him hope to do ſome notable exploit: which he attempted, both upon their Camp, and upon thoſe that were abroad. The Camp he thought to have fired on the ſudden: but the alarm being taken in good ſeaſon, he failed in the enterpriſe. As for the forragers; he had a good hand upon them, if he could have withdrawn it, and given over in time. But whilſt he ſtrove to force a guard, he was viſited by the Conſul; by whom either in a ſkirmiſh of horſe, or (for the report is divers) in a great battel, he was overcome. This miſadventure, whether great or ſmall, cauſed *Perſeus*, after a few daies, to fall back into *Macedon*; as being naturally given to fear danger, even where none was; whereby what loſs he felt, will appear hereafter. He left all behind him, ſave only *Tempe*, weakly guarded: and conſequently an eaſie prey to the *Romans*.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went ſtraight unto *Connus*; hoping to have taken it, and ſo to have gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the work too hard, he returned back unto the *Perræbians* and others; from whom he won ſome Towns, and among the reſt, *Lariſſa*. There were ſundry Towns thereabout, bearing the ſame name of *Lariſſa*: ſo that this which the Conſul took, may ſeem not to have belonged unto the *Theſſalians*; unleſs, perhaps, after his victory, *Perſeus* did greater acts than we find recorded, and got ſome part of *Theſſaly*.

Of matters happening in *Greece* at this time, it is hard to give a preciſe account; for that the Hiſtories of them are greatly defective. One may think it ſtrange, that the *Bœotians*, whom a *Roman* Embaſſador could terrifie, and bring altogether to his own will, ſhould not be afraid of a *Roman* Army, then on foot in *Greece*, and a Navy on their coaſt. But more ſtrange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom their dependants were taken by the Art of *Martius*, were more true to *Rome*, than other petty Towns, which by that ſame diſtraction of the *Bœotians*, became within themſelves more abſolute, than formerly they had been. The cauſes hereof were to have been ſought among the changes happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now loſt. Some of them rebelled, and were throughly puniſhed by *Lucretius* the *Roman* Admiral: who got ſo much by ſpoiling them, that he would have brought others to rebell in like ſort, if by extream oppreſſion he could have driven them ſo far. Neither was *Licinius* the Conſul undiligent in the ſame kind. What his doings were, after ſuch time as he was at leiſure from *Perſeus*, I find no where mentioned. Only this is ſaid in general; That in the War which he made, he cruelly and covetuouſly demeaned himſelf.

After the ſame faſhion dealt they, that commanded in the year following; *Hoſtilius* the Conſul, and *Hortenſius* the Admiral, or Prætor of the Fleet. *Hoſtilius* ſhewed more of his induſtry, in picking quarrels with the Confederates of *Rome*, than in proſecuting the War againſt the *Macedonian*. For concerning the *Roman* War upon his Kingdom, after that the Conſul had ſought paſſage in vain over certain mountains, *Perſeus* ſeemed, in a manner, free from it. He was troubled indeed on that ſide which looked towards *Illyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Conſul ſent thither with an Army of four thouſand, and who, by levies made upon the Confederates, doubled this his Army. But *Claudius* thinking to have taken *Uſcana*, a border town of *Illyria*, by Treaſon; came thither in ſuch careleſs order, that the inhabitants which had made ſhew of Treaſon, with purpoſe only to train him into danger; ſallied forth upon him, overthrew him, and chaſed him ſo far, that hardly he eſcaped with the fourth part of his company. Yet this Town of *Uſcana*, ſhortly after became *Roman*: which howſoever it happened, *Perſeus* very ſoon recovered it, and many other places therewithall: *Cotys* a *Thracian* King, ſecuring him on the one ſide of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* an *Epirot*, revolted from the *Romans*, on the other. *Perſeus* likewiſe made a painful journey into *Ætolia*; where he was promiſed to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the ſtrongeſt City in that Region. Of this hope though he were diſappointed by thoſe of the *Romans* faction, yet in his retnrn home, he took in *Aperantia*; and ſhortly heard good news, that *Ap. Claudius* was again throughly beaten by *Clevas*, one of his Lieutenants. Such ſucceſs had the *Macedanian* War under *Hoſtilius*. The ſame Conſul offended much

the *Greeks*, by the ſtrict inquiſition which his Embaſſadors made into mens affection towards *Rome*. For theſe Embaſſadors travelling thorow all the Citis of *Peloponneſeus*, gave out ſpeeches tending to ſhew, That they liked no better of thoſe who ſought not by might and main to advance their buſineſs, than of thoſe which were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to have accuſed by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the ſteps of *Philopœmen*; and together with him, his ſon *Polibius*, who ſoon after was General of the *Achæan* Horſe; but more notable by that excellent Hiſtory which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honourably diſcharged. The ſumm of the accuſation ſhould have been; That theſe were not hearty friends unto the *Romans*, but ſuch as abſtained from raiſing troubles, more for lack of opqortunity, than for any love to the common quiet. But ſince no colour of truth could be found, that might give countenance to ſuch a tale; it was thought better, for the preſent, to let it alone, and give gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Ætolians*: They demanded hoſtages; and found ſome in the Councel that approved the motion: as alſo among the *Acarnanians*, there were that intreated to have *Roman* Garriſons beſtowed in their Towns. But neither the one nor the other of theſe propoſitions took effect. They of the *Roman* faction, accuſed not only ſuch as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*, but alſo the good Patriots; making it no leſs than a matter of treaſon, to be a *Grecian* in *Greece*. On the contrary ſide, there wanted not ſome, who roundly told theſe pick-thanks of their baſe flattery, rating them openly, in ſuch ſort, that one of them hardly eſcaped being ſtoned, even in the preſence of the Embaſſadors. Thus was all full of acuſations, and excuſes: among which the Embaſſadors carried themſelves, as men that could believe none ill: though it were well enough known what they thought. The beſt was, that an order from the Senate was brought into *Greece*, and publiſhed to this effect: That it ſhould be free for all men, to refuſe obedience to any *Roman* Magiſtrate, impoſing any burden for the preſent war, unleſs it were ſuch, as the Senate had likewiſe thought meet. Of this Decree the whole Country was glad: for it was, or ſeemed, a good remedy of many inconveniences. But they that ſtanding on priviledges hereof, refuſed to fulfill every commandment, were numbred among the Patriots; which in the end of this war proved little better, if not worſe, than to have been Traitors. The Senate was driven to ſet down this order, by reaſon of many and vehement complaints brought to *Rome*, concerning the wrongs done by *Roman* Magiſtrates, and eſpecially by the Admirals, *Lucretius* and *Hortenſius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great ſumm of mony, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the *Romans*, in that they loved not to have their ſubjects oppreſſed. *Hortenſius* being ſtill in office, had warning to amend.

Pol. Leg. 74.

Among the great number of Embaſſages that came to *Rome* about this time, either to ſeek redreſs of injuries, or to offer their ſervices: it is note-worthy, that from *Alabanda*, a Town of the leſſer *Aſia*, there was preſented unto the Senate, and well accepted, a moſt baſe piece of flattery. Theſe *Alabanders* brought three hundred horſemens targets, and a crown of gold, to beſtow upon *Jupiter* in the Capitol. But having a deſire to gratifie the *Romans* with ſome exquiſite token of their dutiful obedience, wherein they would be ſingular, and being not able to reach unto any great performance: they built a Temple, unto the Town *Rome*, and appointed anniverſary games to be celebrated among them, in honour of that *goddeſs*. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolomy*, and the like vain men, that would be thought gods; or at the ſhamefull flattery of ſuch as beſtowed upon men, and not the moſt vertuous of men, divine honours; when he ſees a Town of houſes, wherein powerfull men dwell, worſhipped as a Goddeſs; and receiving (without ſcorn of the Givers, or ſhame of the Preſent) the title of *Deity*, at the gift of ſuch a raſcal City as *Alabanda*?

§. VII.

§. VII.

Q. Martius *the Roman Consul, with extream difficulty and danger, enters into* Tempe. *The cowardize of* Perseus *in abandoning* Tempe. *The Town of* Dium *quitted by* Martius; *repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill success. Their affairs in hard estate.* Martius *a cunning and a bad man.* Polybius *sent Embassadour to* Martius *from the Achæans.* Polybius *his honest wisdom beneficial to the Achæans. King* Eumenes *grows averse from the Romans.* Perseus *negotiates with* Antiochus, *and* Eumenes. *His false dealing with* Gentius *King of* Illyria; *whom he draws into the Roman war. He sends Embassadours to the Rhodians; who vainly take upon them to be arbitrators between him and the Romans.* Perseus *loseth a mighty succour of the Bastarnæ, by his wretched parsimony.*

AFter two years of the *Macedonian* war, things were further out of tune in *Greece*, than when the war began; which had been thought likely to reform all those Countreys, and bring them to what pass the *Romans* desired; as it did in the end. *Perseus* had hitherto the better, and was stronger now, than when he lived in peace. He had enlarged his borders on the *Illyrian* side; his friends, in all parts of *Greece*, took courage daily; and his reputation grew such, as caused those that were before wholly *Roman*, to suspect what the issue of the war might prove, and thereupon to become wise for themselves. Contrariwise, *Licinius*, and *Hostilius* the Consuls, had one after the other spent their time in vain, seeking way into *Macedon*; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conquest, by many losses received. The *Roman* Admirals had so demeaned themselves, that many Towns even of the best effected to *Rome*, kept them out by force. Generally, the fear was great on the *Roman* side; and the Army much lessened, not only by casualties of war, but by the facility of the Tribunes or Colonels, or else of the Consul himself (for they laid the blame one upon the other) in licensing the Souldiers to depart. *Quintius Martius* the new Consul, who succeeded unto *Hostilius*, was to amend all this: which nevertheless was more than he knew how to do; though he brought with him a strong supply of men. He began hotly to set the war on foot, which along time had slept. And he began the right way: not seeking to force the straights that were surely guarded, but taking pains to climb the mountains which were thought able to forbid all passage over them, without help or need of any custody. The King heard of his approach; and being uncertain what way he meant to take, distributed his own forces, to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit ascent. But the Consul proceeded in his journey: with hope, either not to be discovered by the Enemy, or to break through all opposition, or at leastwise, to fight on as convenient ground, as they should have that lay to stop him, and at length, if all failed, to make a safe retreat. He sent before him four thousand of his most expedite foot, to discover the wayes. Two daies was this company troubled, in overcoming the difficulty of no more than fifteen miles: after which they had sight of the Enemy, that lay to deny their passage. They occupied therefore a safe piece of ground; and sent back word to the Consul, where they were; intreating him to hasten unto them: which he did. The *Macedonians* were not a whit dismayed at his arrival; but met him, and fought with him, two or three daies together; each returning to their own Camp at night, with little loss on either side. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountain, which gave scarcely room unto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed: all the rest were beholders. In this case it was impossible to get forwards: yet a shame to return. Wherefore *Martius* took the only course remaining; and indeed the best: Part of his men he left with *Popilius*, to attend upon the *Macedonians*: whilst he, with the rest, fetcht a compass about, and sought out waies that never had been trodden. Herein he found extream difficulty: which notwithstanding he overcame. Besides the troubles commonly incident to such journeys, through places unfit for habitation: he was compelled by labour of hand; to make paths where none were; yea, where Nature might seem to have intended, that none should be. So steep he found the descent of the mountains, in this way which he took: that of seven miles, which they travelled the first day, his men were compelled, for the more part to rowl themselves down; as not daring to trust their feet. Neither was this the worst. For they met with rocks, that stood one over another; so upright; and cumbersome to get down: that their Elephants were affraid of that giddy project, and casting their governours, made a terrible noise, which affrighted the horses, and bred great confusion. Having therefore

gone, or wallowed, four miles of this grievous journey; there was nothing more desired by the souldiers, than that they might be suffered to creep back again, the same way which they had come. But shift was made to let down the Elephants, by a kind of bridges, like unto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was joyned to the edge of the cliff; the other sustained by two long posts, fastened in the ground below. Upon these two posts, or poles, (which indeed, not being very strong, since it was intended that they should be either cut or broken) were fastened two rafters, answerable in length to the distance, between the higher and the lower fall: so as the end of one bridge might reach to the beginning of another. These were covered with planks and turfe; that they might seem continent with the ground: so to make the beasts adventurous to go upon them. If there were a plain of any good extent from the foot of a rock, to the next downfall; then might the bridge be shorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretty way, upon one of these; the posts upholding the frame were cut asunder; thereby causing him to sink down unto the next bridge; whence he was conveyed in like manner, to the third, and onward still to the very bottom. Thus went they down sliding, some on their feet, others on their buttocks, till they came to an even valley. By this it appears, how throughly provided the *Romans* used to be in their journeys, of things needful in all occasions: as also what inestimable pains they took in this descent, about the conveyance of themselves and all their carriages down the mountains. The next day they rested; staying for *Popilius* and his company, who hardly, or perhapes never, should have overtaken them, if the Enemy had followed, and set upon him from aloft. The third and fourth daies journeys were like unto the first: save that custome, and the nearness to their waies end without meeting enemy, caused them the better to endure the labour.

Perseus could not be ignorant of the *Romans* coming towards him: since they fought with his men upon the passage, three daies together; he lying so nigh, that he might welnear have heard the noise. Yet was he so possessed with fear; that he neither stirred to help his own men, or to hinder the Consul, nor made any provision for that which might fall out; but as one void of councel, sate hearkening after the event. Four only passages there were, leading into *Tempe*: the first by *Connus*; which the *Romans* were unable to force: the second and third were the same which *Martius* had attempted in vain, and another like unto it; the last, by the City of *Dium* out of *Macedon*. All these were sufficiently guarded: and whosoever would seek any other way, must be fain to take such pains as *Martius* had undergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the rest: whereof only the King had benefit: for that his enemies could not get thither, save through the valley it self, into which they must first pierce another way. *Dium* stood upon the foot of the huge mounrain *Olympus*, about a mile from the Sea: of which mile, the River *Helicon* becoming there a lake, and called *Baphyras*, took up the one half, the rest being such as might easily have been fortified. Besides all these, there was in the midst of *Tempe*, a passage which ten men might easily keep: where the spurs of the mountains, reaching far into the valley; drew near to the very banks of *Penem*, a goodly and deep River which ran through it. Wherefore nothing had been more easie, than to make the Consul repent him of his troublesome journey: if *Perseus* could have seen his own advantages. For the *Roman* Army was not only in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable travel: but must needs have either perished for want of victuals, or been inforced to return the same way that he came, if the King hade made good the straight of *Dium*. To have returned, and climbed up with their Elephants and carriages, against those rocks, from which, with extreem labour, they could hardly get down, it seems a matter of impossibility: especially considering how the enemy from above their heads, would have beaten upon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore be thought strange that the *Romans* did not rather take their journey into *Macedon*, from the side of *Illyria*, whence that Kingdom had often been invaded, as lying open on that part: than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*, whence, after that they were arrived, there was no means to escape, without forcing one of those passages, which they despaired to win. But the cowardize of *Perseus* did commend the counsel by them followed, as wise. For he no sooner heard that the Enemy was come over the Mountains into *Tempe*, than he fared like one out of his wits; saying, That he was vanquished, and had lost all, without battel. Herewithall he began to take out of *Dium*, what he could carry away

away in haſte; and ſtraightwaies abandoned the Town. In the ſame vehemency of amazement, he ſent a ſtraight commandment to *Theſſalonica*, that the Arſenal there ſhould be ſet on fire; and to *Pella*, that his treaſures there ſhould be caſt into the Sea: as if the *Romans* were like preſently to be Maſters of theſe two Cities. *Niceas*, who was appointed to drown the treaſure, performed it as haſtily as well he could: though ſoon after, his Maſter grew ſorry for the loſs; and it was all, in a manner, recovered by Divers from under the water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to ſet fire on the Kings Arſenal, deferred the execution, foreſeeing that repentance might follow: and ſo he prevented the damage. Whether *Niceas*, for his abſolute and blind obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his careful providence, merited the greater commendation, or more eaſie pardon; it reſted in the King to interpret. The reward of his ſervice, was this, *Perſeus* growing aſhamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this haſty direction: cauſed them both to be ſlain. Alſo thoſe poor men, which had fetcht his treaſure out of the Sea by their diving, were payed their wages after the ſame ſort: that ſo there might be no witneſs of the Kings baſe folly. Such end muſt they fear, who are privy to diſhonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perſeus* would have gone ſurely to work, for the hiding of his fault; then muſt he ſo royally have behaved himſelf, that no man might believe him to be the Author of any unworthy act or councel. But his vertue was of no ſuch capacity. He thought it enough to lay the blame upon others. And therefore, having called *Hippias* away (the Captain which had ſtopped the Conſul on the top of the Mountain) and *Aſclepiodatus*, from defence of the paſſages, whereto they were by him appointed: he rated them openly; ſaying, That they had betrayed unto the Enemy the gates and bars of *Macedon*. Of this reproach, if they would diſcharge themſelves, by laying it upon him, to whom of right it belonged, then might they have ſped as did *Niceas* and *Andronicus*.

The Conſul *Martius* had great cauſe to rejoyce, for that the King had ſo haſtily relinquiſhed his poſſeſſion of *Tempe*, and all the paſſages leading thereinto: ſince the *Roman* Army, this notwithſtanding, was hardly able to ſubſiſt for want of victuals. He took *Dium* without reſiſtance, and thence went forward into *Macedon*: wherein having travelled about a daies journey, and gotten one Town that yielded, he was compelled by meer lack of food for his men, to return back towards *Theſſaly*. His Fleet came to him, in this time of neceſſity, well appointed to have holpen him in the war: but having left behind, at *Magneſia*, the ſhips of burthen, which carryed the proviſions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had been careful to occupy the Caſtles about *Tempe*, which were forſaken by the *Macedonians*: for by thoſe waies only might Corn be brought into the Army. To meet the ſooner with this Corn, which was moſt deſirouſly expected, he forſook *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which fooliſh journey (if not worſe than fooliſh) he loſt more, than a little the longer faſting had been worth. It is probable that his Carts, with all, or the moſt of his ſtore, were loſt among the Mountains: for otherwiſe it had been madneſs to put himſelf on ſuch an enterprize, ſo ſlenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or ſight of the Enemy, he ſhould be fain to quit it. Howſoever it was: men thought him a coward, or at leaſt a bad man of war; ſince he thus recoyled and gave off, when it moſt behoved him to have proſecuted the action.

By underſtanding the folly, or cowardize of *Martius*; the King recollected himſelf, underſtood his own errour; ſought to hide it by ſuch poor means as have been ſhewed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repoſſeſſed the Town of *Dium*, which he haſtily repaired, finding it diſmantled by the *Romans*. This done, he encamped ſtrongly by the River of *Enipeus*: meaning there to ſtop the Enemies proceeding all that Summer. Leſs diligence, more timely uſed, would have been enough, not only to have delivered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace, but to have given him ſuch a noble victory, as might cauſe the *Romans* to ſeek a good end of the war upon fair conditions, and not to begin again in haſte. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Conſul an exceeding hinderance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the Conqueſt in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Only the Town of *Heraclea*, ſtanding on the River of *Peneus*, five mile from *Dium*, was taken by force, or rather by a trick of climbing upon mens heads, ſomewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made ſuch defence as it could, and was not given up for fear. After this, *Martius* did ſet a bold face towards *Dium*; as if he would have taken it again, and have driven the King further off: though his intent or hope was nothing like ſo great: his chief care,

care, being to provide for his wintering. He sent the Admiral to make attempt upon the Sea-Towns, *Thessalonica*, *Cassandrea*, *Demetrias*, and others. All these were assayed: but in vain. The fields about *Thessalonica* were wasted; and some companies, that sundry times adventured forth of the Town, were still put to the worse. As for the Town it self; there was danger in coming near it, either by Land or Sea; by reason of the engines, which shot from the walls, and reached unto the Fleet. Wherefore the Admiral setting sail from thence, ran along by *Ænia*, and *Antigonea*, (landing near to each of them; and both doing and receiving hurt) until he came to *Pallene* in the territory of *Cassandrea*. There King *Eumenes* joyned with him, bringing twenty ships of War: and five other were sent thither from King *Prusias*. With this access of strength, the Admiral was bold to try his fortune at *Cassandrea*: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately cast by *Perseus*, before the Town: which, while the *Romans* were filling up, question was made, What became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not upon the bank? By this occasion, it was learned, that there were Arches in the Town-wall filled up with that earth, and covered with one single row of brick. Hence the Admiral gathered hope of making way into the Town, by sapping the walls. To this work he appointed such as he thought meetest: giving an alarm to the other side of the Town, thereby to shadow his attempt. The breach was soon made. But whilest the *Romans* were shouting for joy, and ordering themselves for the assault: the Captains within the Town perceived what was done; and sallying forth unexpected, gave a fierce charge on the companies that were between the ditch and the wall; of whom they slew about six hundred, and suffered few to escape unwounded. This disaster, and the want of good success on that part of the Town which King *Eumenes* assailed (a supply in the mean while entring the Town by Sea) caused the siege to break up. *Torone* was the next place which the Admiral thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias*: whereinto *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* Captain, was gotten before his coming, with such forces, as were not only sufficient to have defended the Town, if the Admiral had laid siege to it, but to keep the Land about it from spoil; or, at least (as they did) to make the enemy pay dear for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his journey to *Demetrias*, by *Melibœa*; whither the Consul (that he might not be quite without work) had sent his Lieutenant to besiege it: and by the terrour of his appearing suddenly over their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all haste, setting their Camp on fire.

Such fortune attended on the *Romans*; or rather, so far was their ability short of their Enterprises; ever since their Consul (whether dastardly, or carelessly) most unlike a good Commander, had let go his hold of *Macedon*, by forsaking *Dium*: yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harm befell them, or, at least, that they were in some greater danger, than is expressed in the broken remaining History of this war. For *Martius* perswaded the *Rhodians* by *Agesipolis* their Embassadour, who came to him at *Heraclea* about other business of less importance, That they should do well to interpose themselves as Mediators, and seek to finish the War. Now, although *Polybius* do most probably conjecture, that this was rather a malicious device of *Martius*, craftily seeking to bring the *Rhodians* in danger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true fear in him, either of *Perseus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an Army on foot: yet since he made shew of fear, it is like withall, that somewhat had happened, which might make his fear seem not counterfeit. And so were the *Rhodians* moved to think of him; not only for that the extraordinary courtesie, both of him and of the Admiral, towards their Embassadour, coming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadours of *Perseus*, and of *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, did set out their business at *Rhodes*, not more with the strength of a good Fleet, which the *Macedonians* had gotten, than with the honour of some victory, wherein he had lately slain great numbers of the *Roman* horse. Thus much we find intimated; though the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from *Rome* to view the estate of *Martius* his Army. For they found the Consul wanting meat; the Admiral wanting men; and, for those few that he had, wanting both money and clothes: and *App. Claudius* the Prætor, who lay on the frontier of *Illyria*, so unable to invade *Macedon*, that contrariwise, he was in extream danger; so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new Army be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seem, that some blow had been taken on the *Illyrian* side, which made all to halt; or

Polyb. Legat. 80.

Polyb. Legat. 87.

at

at leaſt that the *Romans*, with greater loſs than is before ſpoken of, had been driven from ſome of the Towns which they beſieged.

Now, although it were ſo, that *Martius*, in very few of his actions, behaved himſelf like a man of war: yet in exerciſe of *Cunning*, which one hath moſt aptly termed, *A crooked or ſiniſter kind of wiſdom*, he dealt as a crafts-maſter, with a reſtleſs working diligence. This indeed neither proved his ſufficiency, nor commended his honeſty; ſince thereby he effected nothing to his own benefit; and nevertheleſs out of envy, vain-glory, or ſuch delight as weak and buſie-headed men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made oppoſition to the good of his Country. At ſuch time as *Perſeus*, by the ſucceſs of his doings againſt *Hoſtilius*, had gotten much reputation, and was thought likely to invade *Theſſaly*. *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and other good Patriots among the *Achæans*, judged it expedient for their Nations to help the *Romans*, as in a time of adverſity, whom in proſperity they loved not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* propoſed a decree, which paſſed: That the *Achæans* ſhould ſend their whole power into *Theſſaly*, and participate with the *Romans* in all dangers. So the Army was levied: and *Polibius*, with others, ſent Embaſſadors unto *Martius*, to certifie him thereof, and know his pleaſure. *Polibius* found the Conſul buſie in finding paſſage thorow *Tempe* into *Macedon*. He went along with the Army, and awaited the Conſuls leiſure, till they came to *Heraclea*; where, finding the time convenient, he preſented the Decree, and offered the ſervice of his Nation, wherein ſoever it ſhould be commanded. *Martius* took this very kindly; but ſaid, That he needed now no manner of help. Forthwith *Polibius* diſpatched home his companions, to ſignifie thus much: tarrying himſelf behind in the Camp. After a while, word was brought to *Martius*, that *Ap. Claudius* deſired, or rather imperiouſly required, of the *Achæans*, five thouſand men, to be ſent him into *Epirus*. It was manifeſt, that *Appius* had need of theſe men; and that if he were ſtrong in field, he might do notable ſervice, by diſtracting the forces of *Perſeus*. But the *Labirinthian* head of *Martius*, could not allow of ſuch plain reaſon. He called unto him *Polibius*, to whom he declared, That *Appius* had no need of ſuch aid, and therefore willed him to return home, and in any wiſe take order that the men might not be ſent, nor the *Achæans* be put to ſuch needleſs charges. Away went *Polibius*; muſing, and unable to reſolve, whether it were for love to the *Achæans*, that the Conſul was ſo earneſt in this buſineſs; or rather for envy, and to hinder *Ap. Claudius* from doing any thing, ſince himſelf could do nothing. But when *Polibius* was to deliver his opinion in the Councel touching this matter; then found he a new doubt, that more nearly concerned his own ſelf, and thoſe of his party. For as he was ſure to incurr the great indignation of the Conſul, if he ſhould neglect what was given him in charge; ſo was it manifeſt on the other ſide, that the words by *Martius* uttered to him in private, would prove no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they ſhould refuſe to help *Claudius*, alledging that he had no need: In this caſe therefore, he had recourſe unto the Decree of the Senate: which exempted men from neceſſity of doing what the *Roman* Commanders ſhould require, unleſs, by ſpecial order from the Senate, the ſame were likewiſe appointed. So for lack of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred unto the advice of the Conſul: by whom it was ſure to be made fruſtrate. Hereby the *Achæans* were ſavers, of more than an hundred and twenty Talents: though *Polibius* himſelf ran into danger of *Appius* his diſpleaſure; and for ſuch honeſt dealing in his Countries behalf, was afterwards rewarded by the *Romans* with many a long years impriſonment.

Polyb. Leg. 78.

Whether it were by the like policy of *Martius*, that King *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the *Romans*; or whether this King began when it was too late, to ſtand in fear leſt the fire, which he himſelf had helped to kindle, would ſhortly take hold on his own lodging; or whether the regard of mony were able to overſway all other paſſions; it is hard to determine: ſince they that had better means to know the truth, have not preciſely affirmed any certainty. One report is, That *Eumenes* did not ſo much as give any help to *Martius*: but coming to have joyned with him, in ſuch friendly manner as he did with the former Conſuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in ſuch anger, that he refuſed to leave behind him certain horſe of the *Gallo-Greeks*, being requeſted to have done it. If this were true, and that his brother *Attalus* tarrying behind with the Conſul, did the *Romans* good ſervice: then is the reaſon apparent, of the hatred, born afterward by the Senate to *Eumenes*, and the love to *Attalus*. But it is more generally received; that *Eumenes* gave a willing ear to *Perſeus* his deſire of accord, for meer deſire of gain.

And

And it might well be, that covetousness drew him on, in the course, whereinto indignation first led him. Howsoever it befell; *Perseus* caused *Eumenes* to be sounded, and found him so tractable, that he was bold to solicite him by an Embassage. The tenour of his advertisements, both to *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*, was: That there could be no perfect love between a King and a free City: that the *Romans* had quarrel alike to all Kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and used the help of one against another; that *Philip* was oppressed by them, with the help of *Attalus*; *Antiochus*, with the help of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perseus* assailed with help of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*. Herewith he willed *Eumenes* to consider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in *Asia*, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to think better of *Prusias*, than of him. In like sort he admonished *Antiochus*, not to look for any good conclusion of his war with the *Egyptian*, so long as the *Romans* could make him give over, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them, either to compell the *Romans* to surcease from their War upon *Macedon*; or else to hold them as common enemies unto all Kings. *Antiochus* lay far out of the *Romans* way: and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. *Eumenes* was more nearly toucht; and as he felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should give answer, he began to offer a bargain of peace for mony. He thought the *Romans* to be no less weary, than *Perseus* was affraid. Wherefore he promised for his own part, That if he might have fifteen hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this war, then would he remain a Neuter therein: and that for some greater quantity of mony (how much I find not) he would also bring the *Romans* to condescend unto peace: and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to give hostages. *Perseus* liked well to receive the hostages, but not to lay out the mony; especially before-hand, as was required. He would fain have peace with *Rome*, and not with *Eumenes* only. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost; but he would lay down the mony in the Temple at *Samothrace*: whence it should be delivered unto *Eumenes*, after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Isle of *Samothrace* was *Perseus* his own: and therefore *Eumenes* thought the money no nearer to him, being there, than if it remained in *Pella*. Besides, his labour deserved somewhat, howsoever the business might happen to succeed: so that needs he would have part of his wages in *prest*. Thus the two Kings did no more, than lose time; and *Eumenes* grew suspected of the *Romans*, as a Traitor.

After the same manner dealt *Perseus* with King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. He had attempted this *Illyrian* before; who dealt plainly, and said, That without mony he could not stir. Hereunto *Perseus* loved not to hearken; thinking, that his Treasures would serve at the last cast, to deliver him from all his fears. But when the *Romans* had gotten within *Tempe*, then did his fear urge him to prodigality; so as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargain was soon made, and pledges on both sides delivered for performance. This was openly done by *Perseus*, to the end that all his Army might have comfort, by such access of strength to their party. Presently upon the bargain made, Embassadours were sent to *Rhodes*, from both *Perseus* and *Gentius*: who desired the *Rhodians*, to take upon them, as Arbitrators, between *Perseus* and the *Romans*, and to bring the war to an end. The *Rhodians* thinking that *Martius* the Consul was no less desirous of peace than the *Macedonian*, arrogantly promised, that they, by their authority, would make peace; wishing the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the *Roman* Senate, hearing proud words to the same effect, from the *Rhodian* Embassadors; gave an answer as disdainful, angry, and menacing, as they could devise: so as this vain glory of the *Rhodians* was thoroughly chastised; and more thoroughly should have been, if their submission had not been as humble, as their folly was proud. Such use of *Gentius* his friendship, made *Perseus*, without laying out one ounce of silver. Now fain he would have hastened this young and rash *Illyrian* to enter with all speed into the War: but then must the mony be hastened away. *Pantauchus* the *Macedonian* Embassadour, who remained with *Gentius*, exhorted him daily to begin the War by Land and Sea, whilest the *Romans* were unprovided. But finding what it was that made all to stay; he sent word to *Perseus*. Hereupon ten Talents were sent to *Pantauchus*: who delivered it to the young King, as Earnest of that which followed. More followed indeed; and sealed up with the seal of the *Illyrians*, but carryed by *Macedonians*, and not too fast. Before this mony came into *Illyria*, *Gentius* had laid hands upon two *Roman* Embassadours, and cast them into prison.

Which

Which *Perseus* no sooner heard, than he recalled his Treasure-bearers, and sent them with their load to *Pella*; for that now the *Illyrian* was of necessity to make war with the *Romans*, whether he were hired thereto or not.

Liv. lib. 44. Plutarch. in vit. Æmyl. There came about the same time through *Illyria*, to the aid of *Perseus*, under one *Clondicus*, a petty King, ten thousand horse, and ten thousand foot of the *Gauls*, which were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Bastarnæ*. These had before-hand made their bargain, and were to receive present pay at the first. At their entry into the Kingdom, *Perseus* sent one to them; desiring their Captains to come visit him, whom he promised to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their General asked, was, Whether the King had sent money to give their Souldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargain? Hereto the messenger had not what to answer. Why then (said *Clondicus*) tell thy Master, that the *Gauls* will not stir one foot further, until they have gold, as was agreed, and hostages. *Perseus* hereupon took counsel: if to utter his own opinion before men so wise that they would not contradict him, were to take counsel. He made an invective against the incivility and avarice of the *Bastarnæ*: who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdom. Five thousand horse of them he said would be as many as he should need to use; and not so many, that he should need to fear them. It had been well done, if any of his Counsellors would have told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole Army of them, since without any danger to the Kingdom, they might be let out, by the way of *Perræbia*, into *Thessaly*: where, wasting the Country, and filling themselves with spoil, they should make the *Romans* glad to forsake *Tempe*, even for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable service, whether they won any victory or not. This, and a great deal more, might have been alledged, if any man had dared to give advice freely. In conclusion, *Antigonus*, the same messenger that had been with them before, was sent again, to let them know the Kings mind. He did his errand: upon which followed a great murmure of those many thousands that had been drawn so far to no purpose. But *Clondicus* asked him now again, Whether he had brought the mony along with him to pay those five thousand, whom the King would entertain. Hereto when it was perceived that *Antigonus* could make no better answer, than shifting excuses, the *Bastarnæ* returned presently towards *Danubius*, wasting the neighbour-parts of *Thrace*; yet suffering this crafty messenger to escape unhurt: which was more than he could have well expected.

Thus dealt *Perseus*, like a carefull Treasurer, and one that would preserve his mony for the *Romans*, without diminishing the summ. But of this painful Office he was very soon discharged by *L. Æmylius Paulus* the new Consul: who in fifteen daies after his setting forth from *Italy*, brought the Kingdom of *Macedon* to that end, for which God had appointed over it a King so foolish and so cowardly.

§. VIII.

Of L. Æmilius Paulus *the Consul. His journey. He forceth* Perseus *to discamp. He will not hazard battel with any disadvantage. Of an Eclipse of the Moon.* Æmylius *his superstition. The battel of* Pydna. Perseus *his flight. He forsakes his Kingdom: which hastily yeelds to* Æmylius. Perseus *at* Samothrace. *He yeelds himself to the* Roman *Admiral, and is sent prisoner to* Æmylius.

BY the War of *Macedon*, the *Romans* hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with any danger, yet the indignity so moved them, that either * they decreed that Province to *L. Æmylius Paulus*, without putting it, as was otherwise their manner, to the chance of lot, between him and his fellow-Consul; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it upon him, than that so worthy a man was advanced to the dignity of a second Consulship. He refused to propound unto the Senate any thing that concerned his Province; until by Embassdours, thither sent to view the estate of the War, it was perfectly understood, in what condition both the *Roman* Forces, and the *Macedonian*, at the present remained. This being throughly known to be such, as hath been already told, the Senate appointed a strong supply, not only to the Consul, but unto the Navy, and likewise to the Army that lay between *Illyria* and *Epirus*; from which *App. Claudius* was removed, and *L. Anicius* sent thither in his place. *Æmylius*, before his departure from *Rome*, making an Oration to the people, as was the custom, spake with much gravity and authority. He requested those that thought themselves wise enough to manage this War, either to *Plut. in vit. Æmyl.*

accompany him into *Macedon*, and there assist him with their advice; or else to govern their tongues at home, and not take upon them to give directions by hearsay, and censure by idle reports: for he told them plainly, that he would frame his doings to occasions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his Father *L. Æmylius*, who died valiantly in the battel of *Cannæ*, might well be living in some of their memories; which was enough to make them conform themselves the more gladly unto the instructions given by a wise and resolute Consul.

All his business within the City being dispatched, *Æmylius* was honourably attended, at his setting forth on his journey, with an especial hope of men, that he should finish the war: though that he should finish it so soon and happily, was more than could have been hoped or imagined. He came to *Brundusium*: whence, when the wind came fair, he set sail at break of day, and arrived safely at the Isle of *Corcyra* before night. Thence passed he to *Delphi*: where having done sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fifth day he set forwards to the Camp, and was there in five daies more. So are there but five of the fifteen daies remaining, in which he finished the War.

Perseus lay strongly encamped at *Dium*: having spared no labour of men and of women to fortifie the banks of *Enipeus*, where it was foordable in dry weather: so as there was little hope or none, to force him; and consequently, as little possibility to enter that way into *Macedon*. One great inconvenience troubling the *Romans*, and much disabling them to make attempt upon *Dium*, was lack of fresh water. For there were ten miles between *Dium* and *Tempe*; all the way lying between the Sea shore and the foot of *Olympus*, without any Brook or Spring breaking forth on that side. But *Æmylius* found present remedy for this, by digging Wells on the shore; where he found sweet Springs: as commonly there is no shore that wants them, though they rise not above the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Martius* from taking up his lodging any nearer to the Enemy, than the Town of *Heraclea*, on the River of *Peneus*; where he had watering at pleasure, but could perform no service of any worth. Yet when the *Roman* Camp had such means to lye close to the *Macedonian*, as it presently did, the passage onward being defended as hath been shewed, seemed no less difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessary to search another way: which by enquiry was soon found out. There was a narrow passage over *Olympus*, leading into *Perræbia*; hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a fair journey. *Martius* either had not been informed hereof, or durst not attempt it; or perhaps could not get his Souldiers to make the adventure; they fearing lest it would prove such a piece of work as had been their march over *Ossa* into *Tempe*. But *Paulus* was a man of greater industry, courage, and ability to command. He had reformed, even at his first coming, many disorders in the *Roman* Camp: teaching the souldiers among other good lessons, to be obedient and ready in execution; without troubling themselves, as had been their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their General. And now he appointed about five thousand men to this enterprise; whereof he committed the charge unto *Scipio Æmylianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his own Sons by nature; but adopted, the one of them, by a Son of *Scipio* the *African*; the other, by one of the *Fabii*. *Scipio* took with him some light-armed *Thracians* and *Cretians*; but his main strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, upon the mountain, consisted in a manner, wholly of Archers and Slingers; who though, at some distance they might do notable service against those that should climb up unto them; yet when the darkness took away their aim, they were like to make a bad nights work, being to deal with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceal the business about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* took a wrong way towards the Fleet: where victuals were provided for their journey: it being noised, that they were to run along the coasts of *Macedon* by sea, and waste the Country. All the way they were passing the mountains (which was about three daies) the Consul made shew of a meaning to set upon *Perseus* where he lay, rather to divert the Kings attention from that which was his main Enterprise, than upon any hope to do good, in seeking to get over *Enipeus*. The channel of *Enipeus*, which received in Winter time a great fall of waters from the mountains, was exceeding deep and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay well-near all dry, yet it served not for those that were weightily armed to fight upon. Wherefore *Emylius* employed none save his *Velites*; of whom the Kings light armature had advantage at far distance, though the *Romans* were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Towers which *Perseus* had raised on his own bank, did also beat upon the *Romans*, and gave them to understand, that their labour was in vain.

Yet

Yet *Æmylius* perſiſted as he had begun: and recontinued his aſſault, ſuch as it could be, the ſecond day. This might have ſerved to teach the *Macedonians*, that ſome greater work was in hand: ſince otherwiſe a good Captain, as *Æmylius* was known to be, would not have troubled himſelf with making ſuch bravado's, that were ſomewhat coſtly. But *Perſeus* lookt only unto that which was before his eyes: until his men, that came running fearfully down the Mountain, brought word into the Camp, that the *Romans* were following at their backs. Then was all full of tumult, and the King himſelf no leſs (if not more) amazed than any of the reſt. Order was forthwith given to diſlodge: or rather without order, in all tumultuous haſte, the Camp was broken up, and a ſpeedy retreat made to *Pydna*. Whether it were ſo, that they which had the cuſtody of the paſſage were taken ſleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force, *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good ſucceſs in their journey. It may well be, that they ſlept until the *Romans* came ſomewhat near to them; and then taking alarm, when their arrows and ſlings could do little ſervice, were beaten at handy-ſtrokes: ſo as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, and an Epiſtle of *Scipio*, may each of them have been true. Thus was an open way cleared into *Macedon*: which had been effected by *Martius* in the year foregoing; but was cloſed up again through his not proſecuting ſo rich opportunity.

Perſeus was in an extream doubt what courſe to take, after this unhappy beginning. Some gave advice to man his Towns, and ſo to linger out the War: having been taught by the laſt years example, how reſolute the people were in making defence. But far worſe counſel prevailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearful deliberations. The King reſolved to put all at once to hazzard of battel: fearing belike to put himſelf into any one Town, leſt that ſhould be firſt of all beſieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures alwaies are jealous) not over-carefully relieved. This was even that ſame that *Æmilius*, or any invader, ſhould have deſired. So a place was choſen near unto *Pydna*, that ſerved well for the *Phalanx*, and had likewiſe on the ſides of it ſome pieces of higher ground, fit for the Archers and light armature. There he abode the coming of the enemy; who ſtayed not long behind him. As ſoon as the *Romans* had ſight of the Kings Army; which with greater fear than diſcretion, had haſted away from them, forſaking the Camp that was ſo notably well fortified: they deſired nothing more, than to give battel immediately: doubting leſt otherwiſe the King ſhould change his mind, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Conſul; praying him not to loſe occaſion by delay. But *Æmylius* told him, that he ſpake like a young man; and therefore willed him to have patience. The *Romans* were tyred with their journey; had no Camp wherein to reſt themſelves; nor any thing there, ſave only the bare ground whereon they trod. For theſe, and the like reſpects, the Conſul made a ſtand: and ſhewing himſelf unto the *Macedonian*, who did the like, in order of battel, gave charge to have the Camp meaſured out and entrenched behind the Army; whereinto, at good leiſure, he fell back, without any manner of trouble. After a nights reſt, it was hoped both by the *Romans* and the *Macedonians*, that the matter ſhould be determined; each part thinking their own General too blame, for that they had not fought the ſame day. As for the King, he excuſed himſelf by the backwardneſs of the enemy, who advanced no further; but kept upon ground ſerving ill for the *Phalanx*: as on the other ſide, the Conſul had the reaſons before ſhewed, which he communicated to thoſe about him the next day.

That evening (which followed the third of *September*, by the *Roman* account) *C. Sulpitius Gallus*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former year been Prætor, foretold unto the Conſul, and (with his good liking) unto the Army, an Eclipſe of the Moon, which was to be the ſame night: willing the Souldiers not to be troubled therewith, for that it was natural, and might be known long before it was ſeen. It was the manner of the *Romans*, in ſuch Eclipſes to beats Pans of Braſs, and Baſons, as we do in following a ſwarm of Bees; thinking that thereby they did the Moon great eaſe, and helped her in her labour. But this prognoſtication of *Sulpitius* converted their ſuperſtition into admiration of his deep ſkill, when they ſaw it verified. Contrariwiſe, the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noiſe, as long as the Eclipſe laſted: rather perhaps becauſe it was their faſhion, than for that they were terrified therewith, as with a prodegie betokening their loſs: ſince their deſire to fight was no whit leſſened by it. I will not here ſtand to diſpute, Whether ſuch Eclipſes do ſignifie, or cauſe any alteration in civil affairs, & matters that have ſmall dependance on natural complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthy of obſervation it is, how ſuperſtitio captivates

tivates the wisdome of the wisest, where the help of true religion is wanting. *Æmylius*, though he were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the Moon, that it was no supernatural thing, nor above the reach of humane understanding, so as he should need to trouble himself with any devout regard thereof: yet could he not refrain from doing his duty to this moon, & congratulating with sacrifice her delivery, as soon as she shone out bright again: for which he is commended even by *Plutarch*, a sage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpitius* perhaps did not assist him in this foolish devotion, yet it is like, that he, being a Senator, and one of the Councel for war, was partaker the next morning in a sacrifice done to *Hercules*; which was no less foolish. For a great part of the day was vainly consumed, ere *Hercules* could be pleased with any sacrifice, and vouchsafe to shew tokens of good luck in the entrails of the beasts. At length, in the belly of the one and twentieth sacrifice, was found a promise of victory to *Æmylius*: but with condition, That he should not give the onset. *Hercules* was a *Greek*, and partial, as nearer in alliance to the *Macedonian* than to the *Roman*. Wherefore it had been better to call upon the new goddess, lately canonized at *Alabanda*; or upon *Romulus*, founder of their City, on whom the *Romans* had bestowed his Deity; or (if a God of elder date were more authentical) upon *Mars* the Father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of military affairs; and who therefore would have limited his favour, with no injunctions contrary to the rules of war.

Now concerning the battel; *Æmilius* was throughly perswaded, that the King meant to abide it: for that otherwise he would not have stayed at *Pydna*, when as, a little before, his leisure served to retire whither he listed, the *Romans* being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Consul thought that he might wait upon advantage, without making any great haste. Neither was it to be neglected, that the morning Sun was full in the *Romans* faces: which would be much to their hinderance all the forenoon. Since therefore *Perseus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Æmilius* sent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder, there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about ten of the clock in the morning, a small occasion brought to pass that, which whereto neither of the Generals had over earnest desire.

A Horse brake loose at watering, which two or three of the *Roman* Souldiers followed into the River, wading after him up to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further bank: whence a couple of *Thracians* ran into the Water, to draw this horse over to their own side. These fell to blows, as in a private quarrel; and one of the *Thracians* was slain. His Countrimen seeing this, hasted to revenge their fellows death, and followed those that had slain him over the River. Hereupon company came in, to help on each part, until the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the Armies to be careful of the event. In fine, each of the Generals placed his men in order of battel, accordingly as the manner of his Country, and the arms wherewith they served, did repuire. The ground was a flat level, save that on the sides a few hillocks were raised here and here; whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The *Macedonians* were the greater number, the *Romans* the better souldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Consul encouraged their men with lively words: which the present condition could bountifully affoord. But the King, having finished his Oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himself into *Pydna*: there to do sacrifice, as he pretended, unto *Hercules*. It is the less marvel, that he durst adventure battel, since he had bethought himself of such a stratageme, whereby to save his own person. As for *Hercules*, he liked not the sacrifice of a Coward: whose unseasonable devotion could be no better then hypocrisie. For he that will pray for a good Harvest, ought also Plough, Sow, and Weed his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battel, he found it no better than lost: and he in looking to his own safety, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight.

The acts of this day, such as we find recorded are, That the *Roman* Elephants, could do no manner of good: That the *Macedonian Phalanx* did so stoutly press onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Æmylius* was thereat much astonished, that the *Peligni* rushing desperately on the *Phalanx*, were over-born; many of them slain, and the squadrons following them so discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out averse to the *Romans*; and which the Consul beholding, is said to have rent his Coat-armour for grief. If the King with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his devoyre, the victory might have been his own. That which turned the fortune of the battel, was the same which doubtless the Consul

ful expected, even from the beginning: the difficulty or almost the impossibility of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whilest some of the *Romans* small battalions pressed hard upon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was necessary (if the *Macedonians* would follow upon those which were put to the worse) that some files having open way before them, should advance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This coming so to pass, admonished the Consul, what was to be done. The long Pikes of the *Macedonians* were of little use, when they were charged in flank by the *Roman* Targettires; according to the direction given by *Æmylius*, when he saw the front of the enemies great battel become unequal, and the ranks in some places open, by reason of the unequal resistance which they found. Thus was the use of the *Phalanx* proved unavailable against many small Squadrons, as it had been formerly in the battel of *Cynoscephalæ*: yea this form of embattailing was found unserviceable against the other, by reason, that being not every where alike distressed, it would break of it self; though here were little such inconvenience of ground, as had been at *Cynoscephalæ*.

Perseus, when he saw his battel begin to rout, turned his bridle presently, and ran amain towards *Pella*. All his Horse escaped, in a manner untouched, and a great number followed him; the little harm which they had taken, witnessing the little good service which they had done. As for the poor foot, they were left to the mercy of the Enemy: who slew above twenty thousand of them; though having little cause to be furious, as having lost in that battel, only some fourscore, or sixscore men at the most. Some of the foot, escaping from the execution, overtook the King and his company in a Wood, where they fell to railing at the Horsemen, calling them cowards, traitors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blows. The King was in doubt lest they had ill meaning to himself: and therefore turned out of the common way being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themselves: every one as his own occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their King, the number began within a while to lessen. For he fell to devising upon whom he might lay the blame of that daies misfortune, which was most due to himself: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrink away from him, how they could. At his coming to *Pella*, he found his Pages and household-servants, ready to attend him, as they had been wont. But of his great men that had escaped from the battel, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholy time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldness to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their unseasonable admonitions, he stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in fear, lest they that refused to come at his call, would shortly dare some greater mischief, he stole out of *Pella* by night. Of his friends he had with him only *Evander* (who had been employed to kill *Eumenes* at *Delphi*) and two other. There followed him likewise about 500. *Cretians*, more for love of his money than of him. To these he gave of his plate, as much as was worth about fifty talents, though shortly he cousened them of some part thereof; making shew as if he would have redeemed it, but never paying the money. The third day after the battel he came to *Amphipolis*, where he exhorted the Towns-men to fidelity, with tears: and his own speech being hindered by tears, he appointed *Evander* to speak what himself would have uttered. But the *Amphilopitans* made it their chief care to look well to themselves. Upon the first fame of the overthrow, they had emptied their Town of two thousand *Thracians* that lay there in Garrison: sending them forth under colour of a gainful employment, and shutting the gates after them. And now to be rid of the King, they plainly bad *Evander* to be gone. The King hearing this, had no mind to tarry: but embarking himself and the treasure which he had there, in certain vessels that he found in the River *Strymon*; passed over the Isle of *Samothrace*: where he hoped to live safe, by priviledges of the Religious Sanctuary therein.

These miserable shifts of the King make it the less doubtful, how all the Kingdom fell into the power of *Æmilius*, within so few daies after his victory. *Pydna*, which was neerest at hand, was the last that yielded. About six thousand of the souldiers, that were of sundry Nations, fled out of the battel into that Town; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and consent. *Hippias*, who had kept the passage over *Ossa* against *Martius*, with *Pantaucus*, who had been sent Embassador to *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, were the first that came in: yielding themselves, and the Town of *Berœa*, whither they had retired out of the battel. With

the like message came others from *Thessalonica*, from *Pella*, and from all the Towns of *Macedon*, within two daies: the loss of the head bereaving the whole body of all sense and strength. Neither did they of *Pydna*, stand out any longer, when they knew that the King had forsaken his Country: but opened their gates upon such terms, that the sack of it was granted to the *Roman* Army. *Æmylius* sent abroad into the Country, such as he thought meeetest, to take charge of other Cities: he himself marching towards *Pella*. He found in *Pella* no more than three hundred Talents: the same, whereof *Perseus* had lately defrauded the *Illyrian*. But within a very little while he shall have more.

It was soon understood, that *Perseus* had taken Sanctuary in the Temple at *Samothrace*: his own Letters to the Consul confirming the report. He sent these Letters by persons of such mean condition, that his case was pitied, for that he wanted the service of better men. The scope of this writing was, to desire favour: which, though he begged in terms ill beseeming a King, yet since the inscription of his Epistle was, *King Perseus to the Consul Paulus*; the Consul, who had taken from him his Kingdom, and would not allow him to retain the Title, refused to make any answer thereunto. So there came other Letters, as humble as could be expected: whereby he craved and obtained, that some might he sent to confer with him about matters of his present estate. Nevertheless, in this Conference, he was marvellously earnest, that he might be allowed still to retain the name of King. And to this end it was, perhaps, that he had so carefully preserved his Treasure, unto the very last: flattering himself with such vain hopes as these: That the *Romans* would neither violate a Sanctuary, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him have his desire to live at ease, and to be called King. Yea, it seems that he had indeed, even from the beginning, a desire to live in this Isle of *Samothrace*: both for that in one of his consultations about the War, he was dehorted by his friends, from seeking to exchange his Kingdom of *Macedon*, for *such a paltry Island; and for that he offered to lay up the money which *Eumenes* demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But he finds it otherwise. They urge him to give place unto necessity, and, without more adoe, to yield to the discretion and mercy of the people of *Rome*. This is so far against his mind, that the Conference breaks off without effect. Presently there arrives at *Samothrace* *Cn.* *Octavius* the *Roman* Admiral with his Fleet: who assayes, as well by terrible threats, as by fair language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole; wherein, for fear of imprisonment, he had now already imprisoned himself. When all would not serve, a question was moved to the *Samothracians*; How they durst pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like holy priviledge of Sanctuary, by attempting the murder of King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quick. The *Samothracians*, being now in the power of the *Romans*, take this matter to heart; and send word to the King, that *Evander*, who lives with him in the Temple, is accused of an impious fact, committed at *Delphi*, whereof unless he can clear himself in judgement, he must not be suffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reverence born to his Majesty, now past, makes them forbear to say, that *Perseus* himself is charged with the same crime. But what will this avail, when the Minister of the fact being brought into judgement, shall (as is to be feared) appeach the Author? *Perseus* therefore willeth *Evander* to have consideration of the little favour that can be expected at the *Romans* hand; who are like to be presidents and overseers of this judgment: so as it were better to dye valiantly, since none other hope remains, than hope to make good an ill cause; where, though he had a good plea, yet it could not help him. Of this motion *Evander* seems to like well: and either kills himself, or hoping to escape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get poyson wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandment. The death of this man, who had stuck to *Perseus* in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forsake him: so as none are left with him, save his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leave him upon this occasion, will tell perillous tales, and say, That the King hath lost the priviledge of this holy Sanctuary, by murdering *Evander* therein. Or if the *Romans* will affirm so much, who shall dare to gainsay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formality, and even that also liable to dispute, which preserves him from captivity; he purposeth to make an escape, and fly, with his Treasures, unto *Coyts* his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroandes*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one ship; who easily was perswaded to wast the

Liv. l. 42.

King

King thence. With all secrecy the Kings mony, as much as could be so conveyed, was carryed aboord by night; and the King himself; with his wife and * children (if rather it were not true, that he had with him only * *Philip* his elder Son, who was only by adoption his Son, being his * brother by nature) with much ado got out at a window by a Rope, and over a mud-wall. At his coming to the Sea-side, he found no *Oroandes* there: the *Cretian* had played a *Cretian* trick, and was gone with the money to his own home. So it began to wax clear day, whilest *Perseus* was searching all along the shore: who had stayed so long about this, that he might fear to be intercepted ere he could recover the Temple. He ran therefore amain towards his lodging: and thinking it not safe to enter it the common way, lest he should be taken, he hid himself in an obscure corner. His Pages missing him, ran up and down making inquiry; till *Octavius* made Proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatsoever, abiding with their Master in *Samothrace*, should have their lives and liberty, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally, That they should presently yield themselves to the *Romans*. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise *Ion*, a *Thessalonian*, to whom the King had given the custody of his children, delivered them up to *Octavius*. Lastly, *Perseus* himself, with his Son *Philip*, accusing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him, rendred himself, and made the *Roman* Victory compleat. If he had not trusted in those gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of living, than of reigning therein; he might well have brought this War to an happier end. Now, by dividing his cogitations, and pursuing at once, those contrary hopes of saving his Kingdom by Arms, and himself by flight, he is become a spectacle of misery, and one among the number of those Princes, that have been wretched by their own default. He was presently sent away to *Æmylius*; before whom he fell to the ground so basely, that he seemed thereby to dishonour the Victory over himself, as gotten upon one of abject quality, and therefore the less to be esteemed. *Æmylius* used to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for having, with so hostile a mind, made war upon the *Romans*. Hereto good answer might have been returned by one of better spirit. As for *Perseus*, he answered all with a fearful silence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Consul termed it) almost assurance; for that such was the mercy of the people at *Rome*. After these good words, being invited to the Consuls Table, and respectively entreated, he was committed prisoner to *Q. Ælius*.

Plutarc. in vit. Æmil.

Liv. l. 45.

Liv. l. 42.

Such end had this *Macedonian* War, after four years continuance: and such end therewithall had the Kingdom of *Macedon*; the glory whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the world then known, was now translated unto *Rome*.

§. IX.

Gentius *King of the* Illyrians *taken by the* Romans.

ABout the same time, and with like celerity, *Anicius* the *Romans* Prætor, who succeeded unto *App. Claudius*, had the like success against King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. *Gentius* had an Army of fifteen thousand; with which he was at *Lissus*, ready to assist King *Perseus* as soon as the money should come, whereof he had received only ten Talents. But *Anicius* arrested him on the way, fought with him, overcame him, and drave him into * *Scorda*. This Town was very defensible by nature, besides the help of fortification; and strongly manned with all the force of *Illyria*; which, assisted with the Kings presence, made it seem unpossible to be won, in any not a very long time. Yet *Anicius* was confident in his late Victory; and therefore presented his Army before the walls, making countenance to give an assault. The *Illyrians*, that might easie have defended themselves within the Town, would needs issue forth and fight. They were, it seems, rather passionate, than couragious: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazed to treat about yielding. The King sent Embassadours; by whom, at first, he desired truce for three daies, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had laid violent hands on the *Roman* Embassadours, to have recourse to such mediation. But he thought his own fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harm done by him, than the casting of those Embassadours into prison, where they were all alive. Having obtained three daies respite, he passed up a River, within half a mile of the *Roman* Camp, into the Lake of *Scorda*, as it were to consult the more privately; though indeed

* Called now Scutari.

deed, to hearken whether the report were true, the his brother *Caravantius* was coming to his rescue. Finding that no such help was toward, it is wonder, that he was so fooliſh as to return into *Scorda*. He ſent meſſengers craving acceſs unto the Prætor; before whom, having lamented his folly paſt (which, excepting the diſhoneſty, was not ſo great as his folly preſent) he fell down humbly, and yeilded himſelf to diſcretion. All the Towns of his Kingdom, together with his wife, children, brother, friends, were preſently given up. So this War ended in thirty daies: the people of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun, until *Perpenna*, one of the Embaſſadours that had been impriſoned, brought word from *Anicius* how all had paſſed.

§. X.

How the Romans *behaved themſelves in* Greece *and* Macedon *after their Victory over* Perſeus.

NOW began the *Romans* to ſwell with the pride of their fortune; and to look Tyrannically upon thoſe that had been unmannerly toward them before, whileſt the War with *Perſeus* ſeemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* Embaſſadours were ſtill at *Rome*, when the tydings of theſe Victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them do their errand again. This they performed with a bad grace; ſaying, That they were ſent from *Rhodes* to make an overture of peace; foraſmuch as it was thought, that this war was no leſs grievous to the *Romans* themſelves, than to the *Macedonians* and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalf of the *Romans* did congratulate with the Senate and people of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had been expected. Hereto the Senate made anſwer, That the *Rhodians* had ſent this Embaſſage to *Rome*, not for love of *Rome*, but in favour of the *Macedonian*; whoſe partizans they were, and ſhould ſo be taken. By theſe threats, and the deſire of ſome (covetous of the charge) to have War proclaimed againſt *Rhodes*; the Embaſſadours were ſo affrighted, that in mourning Apparel, as humble Suppliants, they went about the City, beſeeching all men, eſpecially the great Ones, to pardon their indiſcretion, and not to proſecute them with vengeance, for ſome fooliſh words. This danger of War from *Rome* being known at *Rhodes*, all that had been any whit averſe from the *Romans* in the late War of *Macedon*, were either taken and condemned, or ſent priſoners to *Rome*; excepting ſome that ſlew themſelves for fear, whoſe goods alſo were confiſcated. Yet this procured little grace; and leſs would have done, if old *M. Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not uttered a milde ſentence, and advertiſed the Senate, That in decreeing War againſt *Rhodes*, they ſhould much diſhonour themſelves, and make it thought, that * rather the wealth of that City, which they were greedy to ranſack, than any juſt cauſe, had moved them thereto. This conſideration, together with their good deſerts in the Wars of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodians*: among whom, none of any mark remained alive, ſave thoſe that had been of the *Roman* faction. All which notwithſtanding, many years paſſed, ere by importunate ſuit, they could be admitted into the ſociety of the *Romans*: a favour which till now they had not eſteemed; but thought themſelves better without it, as equal friends.

Cæſar. in orat. apud Saluſt. de Conjurat. Catilinæ.

With the like, or greater ſeverity, did the *Romans* make themſelves terrible in all parts of *Greece*. *Æmylius* himſelf made progreſs thorow the Country; viſiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleaſure: yet not forgetting to make them underſtand what power he had over them. More than five hundred of the chief Citizens in *Demetrias* were ſlain at one time by thoſe of the *Roman* faction, and with help of the *Roman* Souldiers. Others fled, or were baniſhed, and their goods confiſcated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Conſul, the redreſs was ſuch, as requited not the pains of ſupplication. His friends, that is to ſay, thoſe which betrayed unto the *Romans* the liberty of their Country, he feaſted liked a King, with exceſſive chear; yet ſo, that he had all things very cheap in his Camp: an eaſie matter, ſince no man durſt be backward in ſending proviſions, nor ſet on them the due price. Embaſſadours likewiſe were ſent from *Rome*; ſome, to give order for ſettling the eſtate of *Macedon*, towards which they had more particular inſtruction from the Senate, than was uſual in ſuch caſe; and ſome, to viſit the affairs of *Greece*. The Kingdom of *Macedon* was ſet at liberty by *Æmylius*, and the Embaſſadours, his aſſiſtants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this liberty was ſuch as the *Romans* uſed to beſtow. The beſt part of it was, That the Tribute which had been payed unto the Kings, was leſſened by

by half. As for the rest, the Country was divided into four parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the othere. All the Nobility were sent captive into *Italy* with their wives and children, as many as were above fifteen years old. The ancient Laws of the Country were abrogated: and new given by *Æmilius*. Such mischief the Senate thought it better to do at the first alteration of things in this Province, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leave any inconvenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the *Greeks*, that were not subject to *Rome*, the things done to them could deserve no beetter name than meer tyranny: yea, and shameless perjury; were it not so, that the familiar custom, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oaths of confœderation seem of no validity. The Embassadours that were sent to visit the *Greeks*, called before them all such men of note, from every quarter, as had any way discovered an unserviceable disposition towards the *Romans*. These they sent to *Rome*; where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent Letters to *Perseus*, which fell at length into the *Romans* hands: and in that respect, though they were no subjects; yet wanted there not colour, for using them as traitors, or at least as enemies. But since only two men were beheaded, for having been openly on the *Macedonian* side; and since it is confessed, that the good *Patriots* were no less afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable tyranny. With the *Achæans* these Embassadours were to deal more formally: not so much because that Common-wealth was strong; (though this were to be regarded by them, having no Commission to make or denounce War) and like to prove untractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of sign, by Letters, or otherwise, whereby any one of the *Achæans* could be suspiciously charged to have held correspondence with the *Macedonian*. It was also so, that neither *Callicrates*, nor any of his adherents, had been employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their service to the *Romans*; but only such as were the best *Patriots*. Yet would not therefore the Embassadours neglect to use the benefit of the time: wherein, since all men trembled for fear of *Rome*, the season served ntly to rank the *Achæans* with the rest. And hereto *Callicrates* was very urgent: fearing, and procuring them to fear in behalf of him and his friends, that if some sharp order were not now taken, he and his fellows should be made to pay for their mischievous devices, ere long time passed. So the Embassadours came among the *Achæans*: where one of them, in open assembly of the Nation, spake, as *Callicrates* had before instructed him. He said, That some of the chief among them, had with mony and other means betriended *Perseus*. This being so, he desired that all such men might be condemned; whom, after sentence given, he would name unto them. After sentence given (cryed out the whole assembly) what justice were this? Name them first, and let them answer; which if they cannot well do, we will soon condemn them: Then said the *Roman* boldly, That all their Prætors, as many as had led their Armies, were guilty of this crime. If this were true, said *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, than should I likewise have been friend to *Perseus*: whereof, if any man can accuse me, I shall throughly answer him, either here presently, or before the Senate at *Rome*. Upon these words of *Xenon* the Embassadour laid hold, and said, That even so it were the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselves before the Senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not until he had cited above a thousand; willing them to appear and answer before the Senate. This might even be termed the captivity of *Greece*; wherein so many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause, than their love unto their Country; to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure, that virtue, and regard of the publick liberty, should dwell together in any of the *Greeks*. At their coming to *Rome*, they were all cast into prison, as men already condemned by the *Achæans*. Many Embassages were sent from *Achaia* (where it is to be wondred, that any such honest care of these innocent men could be remaining: since honesty had been thus punished as a vice, in so many of the worthiest among them) to inform the Senate, that these men were neither condemned by the *Achæans*, nor yet held to be offenders. But in stead of better answer, it was pronounced; That the *Senate thought it not expedient for the Country, that these men should return into Achaia*. Neither could any solicitation

ſolicitation of the *Achæans*, who never ceaſed to importune the Senate for their liberty, prevail at all; until after ſeventeen years, fewer than thirty of them were inlarged, of whom that wiſe and virtuous man *Polybius* the great Hiſtorian, was one. All the reſt were either dead in priſon, or, having made offer to eſcape, whether upon the way before they came to *Rome*, or whether out of Jayle, after that they were commtted thereto, ſuffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done upon the *Epirots*. For the Senate being deſirous to preſerve the *Macedonian* Treaſure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiers, gave order, that the whole Country of *Epirus* ſhould be put to ſack. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as alſo it was performed by *Æmylius* with miſchievous ſubtilty. Having taken leave of the *Greeks*, and of the *Macedonians*, with bidding them well to uſe the liberty beſtowed upon them by the people of *Rome*; he ſent unto the *Epirots* for ten of the principal men out of every City. Theſe he commanded to deliver up all the Gold and Silver which they had; and ſent along with them, into every of their Towns, what companies of men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the mony. But he gave ſecret inſtructions to the Captains, that upon a certain day by him appointed, they ſhould fall to ſack, every one the Town whereinto he was ſent. Thus in one day were threeſcore and ten Cities, all confederate with the *Romans*, ſpoiled by the *Roman* Souldiers; and beſides other acts of hoſtility in a time of peace, a hundred and fifty thouſand of that Nation made ſlaves. It may be granted, that ſome of the *Epirots* deſerved puniſhment, as having favoured *Perſeus*. But ſince they among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence; yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had been already ſent into *Italy*, there to receive their due; and ſince this Nation, in general, was not only at the preſent in good obedience, but had even in this War done good ſervice to the *Romans*: I hold this act ſo wicked, that I ſhould not believe it, had any one Writer delivered the contrary. But the truth being manifeſt by conſent of all, it is the leſs marvellous that God was pleaſed to make *Æmylius* childleſs, even in the glory of his triumph, how great ſoever otherwiſe his virtues were.

In ſuch manner dealt the *Romans*, after their victory, with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*. How terrible they were to other Kingdoms abroad, it will appear by the efficacy of an Embaſſage ſent from them to *Antiochus*; whereof, before we ſpeak, we muſt ſay ſomewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himſelf, and of his affairs about which theſe Embaſſadours came.

§. XI.

The War of Antiochus *upon* Egypt *brought to end by the* Roman *Embaſſadours.*

ANtiochus the Great, after his peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the ſhort time following of his reign and life. He died the ſix and thirtieth year after he had worn a Crown, and in the ſeventeenth or eighteenth of *Ptolomy Epiphanes*; while he attempted to rob the Temple of *Bel*, or (according to *Juſtine*) of *Jupiter*. He left behind him three Sons, *Seleucus*, *Philopator*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius Soter*; and one Daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom he had given in marriage to *Ptolomy Epiphanes* King of *Egypt*. *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, and the eldeſt of *Antiochus* his Sons; reigned in *Syria* twelve years, according to *Euſebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpitius*: though *Joſephus* give him but ſeven years. A Prince, who, as he was ſlothful by nature, ſo the great loſs which his Father *Antiochus* had received, took from him the means of managing any great affair. Of him, about three hundred years before his birth, *Daniel* gave this judgment, *Et ſtabit in loco ejus viliſſimus & indignus decore regio.* *And in his place* (ſpeaking of *Antiochus*, the Father of this man) *ſhall ſtart up a vile perſon, unworthy the honour of a King.* Under this *Seleucus*, thoſe things were done which are ſpoken of *Onias* the high Prieſt, in theſe words, and other to the ſame effect: *What time as the holy City was inhabited with all peace, becauſe of the godlineſs of* Onias *the Prieſt, it came to paſs, that even the King did honour the place, and garniſhed the Temple with great gifts.* And all that is written in the third Chapter of the ſecond of *Maccabees*, of *Simon* of *Benjamin*, who by *Appollonius* betrayed the Treaſure of the Temple: and of *Heliodorus* ſent by the King to ſeize them; of his miraculous ſtriking by God, and his recovery at the prayers of *Onias*; of the Kings death, and of his ſucceſſour *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is therefore from the reign of this King, that the Books of the *Maccabees* take beginning.

Strab. l. 16. Juſt. l. 35.

Euſeb. in Chro. App. de bell. Syr. Ant. 22, 6. 5.

Dan. 11 21. 2 Mac. 3.

ning. Which Books seem not to be delivered by one and the same hand. For the first Book, although it touch upon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his story; nor of the acts of his successors, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the brother and successor of this *Seleucus*, from whom downward to the death of *Simon Maccabæus* (who died in the hundred threescore and seventeen year of the *Greeks* in *Syria*) that first Book treateth. The Author of the second Book, although he take the story somewhat further off, by way of a Proœme, yet he endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth year of the *Grecian* reign, and with the death of *Nicanor*, slain by *Judas*: remembring in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Jason* the brother of *Onias*; who, after the death of
1 Mac. 12. *Seleucus*, prevailed with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, his successor, for the Priesthood. It is
Super Eccl. c. 5. also held by *Jansenius*, and other grave Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arius* King of the *Spartans* sent Embassadours to the *Jews*, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence between them and the *Greeks*, *Jonathan* the brother and successor of *Judas*, remembreth in the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himself directed to the people of *Sparta* by *Numenius* and *Antipater* his Embassadours, whom he employed at the same time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Arius* had sent to *Onias* the high Priest, whereto *Josephus* adds, that the name of the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadour was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a square Volume, and were sealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her claws.

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, succeeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and seven and thirtieth year of the *Greeks* in *Syria*. He was the second Son of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his Kingdom by procuring the death of the King his brother; which also he usurped from his brothers Son.

Ptolomy Philometor, his Nepheww by his Sister *Cleopatra*, being then very young, had been about seven years King of *Egypt*.

Ptolomy Epiphanes, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had reigned in *Egypt* four and twenty year, in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip* of *Macedon*, and the Great *Antiochus*, had agreed to divide his Kingdom between them, whilest he was a child. But they found such other business ere long with the *Romans*, as made them give over their unjust purpose; especially *Antiochus*, who gave with his Daughter in marriage, unto this *Ptolomy*, the Provinces of *Cœlosyria*, *Phœnice*, and *Judæa*, which he had won by his victory over *Scopas*, that was General of the *Egyptian* Forces in those parts. Nevertheless, *Ptolomy* adhered to the *Romans*: whereby he lived in the greater security. He left behind him two Sons, this *Ptolomy Philometor*, and *Ptolomy Physcon*; with a Daughter *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wise to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom she was cast off, and her Daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these *Egyptian* Kings.

Ptolomy Philometor, so called (that is, the Lover of his Mother) by a bitter nickname, because he slew her, fell into hatred with his subjects, and was like to be chased out of his Kingdom, his younger brother being set up against him. *Physcon* having a strong party, got possession of *Alexandria*; and *Philometor* held himself in *Memphis*, craving succour of King *Antiochus* his Uncle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who under colour to take upon him the protection of the young Prince, sought by all means possible to possess himself of that Kingdom. He sent *Apollonius* the Son of *Mnestheus* Embassadour into *Egypt*, and under colour to assist the Kings Coronation, he gave him instructions to perswade the Governours of the young King *Philometor*, to deliver the King his Nephew, with the principal places of that Kingdom, into his hands; petending an extraordinary care and desire of his Nephews safety and well doing. And the better to answer all arguments to the contrary, he prepared a forcible Army to attend him. Thus came he alongst the coast of *Syria* to *Joppe*, and from thence on the sudden he turned him-
2 Mac. 4. self towards *Jerusalem*; where, by *Jason* the Priest, (a Chaplain fit for such a Patron) he was with all pomp and solemnity received into the City. For though lately, in the time of *Seleucus*, the brother and
2 Mac. 3. predecessor of *Epiphanes*, that impious Traitor *Simon* of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when he would have delivered the Treasures thereof to *Apollonius* Governour of *Cœlisyria* and *Phœnicia*, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from Heaven; the said *Apollonius* being strucken by the Angel of God, and recovering again at the Prayer of *Onias*: yet sufficed not this example to terrifie

terrifie others from the like ungodly practices. Presently upon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Jason*, the brother of *Onias*, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtain the Priesthood for himself, offered unto the King three hundred and threescore Talents of silver, with other rents and summs of money. So he got his desire, though he not long enjoyed it. 2 Mac. 4.

This naughty dealing of *Jason*, and his being over-reached by another in the same kind, calls to mind a by-word taken up among the *Achæans*, when as that mischievous *Callicrates*, who had been too hard for all worthy and virtuous men, was beaten at his own weapon, by one of his own condition. It was thus:

One fire than other burns more forcibly,
One Wolf than other Wolves does bite more sore,
One Hawk than other Hawks more swift does fly:
So one most mischievous of men before,
Callicrates, *false knave as knave might be,*
Met with Menalcidas *more false than he.*

And even thus fell it out with *Jason*: who within three years after was betrayed, and over-bidden by *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred Talents more obtained the Priesthood for himself: *Jason* thereupon being forced to fly from *Jerusalem*, and to hide himself among the *Ammonites*.

From *Jerusalem*, *Antiochus* marched into *Phœnicia*, to augment the numbers of his men of war, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into *Egypt*; with which, and with a mighty Army of Land-forces, *He went about to reign over* Egypt, *that he might have the dominion of two Realms, and entred* Egypt *with a mighty company; with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Navy., and moved War against* Ptolemæus *King of* Egypt; *but* Ptolemæus *was afraid of him, and fled, and many were wounded to death. He wan many strong Cities, and took away the spoils of the Land of* Egypt. Thus was fulfilled the Prophecy of *Daniel*: *He shall enter into the quiet and plentiful Provinces, and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his Fathers Father.* Never indeed had any of the Kings of *Syria* so great a victory over the *Egyptians*, nor took from them so great riches. For he gave a notable overthrow to the Captains of *Ptolomy*, between *Pelusium*, and the Hill *Cassius*, after which he entred and sackt the greatest and richest of all the Cities of *Egypt*, *Alexandria* excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that *Antiochus* had smitten *Egypt*, *he turned again, and went up towards* Israel *and* Jerusalem *with a mighty people, and entred proudly into the Sanctuary, and took away the Golden Altar, and the Candlestick for the light, and all the instruments thereof, and the table of the Shewbread, and the pouring Vessels, and the Bolls, and the Golden Basons, and the Vail, and the Crowns, and the Golden Apparrel. He took also the Silver, and the Gold, and the precious Jewels, and the secret Treasures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his own Land, after he had murdered many men.* 1 Mac. 1. 17. V. 18, 19, 20, &c. Dan. 11. 24. Mal. l. 1. c. 1.

It was about the beginning of the *Macedonian* War, that *Antiochus* took in hand this *Egyptian* business. At what time he first laid claim to *Cœlosyria*, justifying his title by * the same allegations which his Father had made; and stiffly averring, that this Province had not been consigned over to the *Egyptian*, or given in dowry with *Cleopatra*. Easie it was to approve his right unto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a fair way to get all *Egypt*. The *Achæans*, *Rhodians*, *Athenians*, and other of the *Greeks*, pressed him, by several Embassages, to some good conclusion. But his answer was, that if the *Alexandrians* could be contented to receive their King his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder brother of the *Ptolomies*, then should the War be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when he saw that it was an hard piece of work to take *Alexandria* by force: he thought it better to let the two brothers consume themselves with intestine War, than by the terrour of his arms, threatning destruction unto both of them, to put into them any desire of coming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his Forces for the present; leaving the *Ptolomies* in very weak estate, the younger almost ruinated by his invasion; the elder hated and forsaken by his people. Lib. 6. * Cap. 5. sect. 2. Polyb. Leg. 81, 82, &c.

But how weak soever these *Egyptians* were, their hatred was thought to be so strong, that *Antiochus* might leave them to the prosecution thereof; and follow, at good leisure, his other business at *Jerusalem*, or elsewhere. So after the sack of *Jerusalem*, he rested him a while at *Antioch*, and then made a journey into *Cilicia*, to suppress the Rebellion of the *Thracians* and others in those parts, who had been given, as it were, by way of dowry to a Concubine of the Kings, called *Antiochis*. For Governour of *Syria* in his absence, he left

Hier. in Dan.

one

one *Andronichus*, a man of great authority about him. In the mean while, *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, the same who had thrust *Jason* out of the Priesthood, and promised the King three hundred talents for an In-come; committing the charge of the Priesthood to his brother *Lysimachus*, stole certain Vessels of Gold out of the Temple: whereof he presented a part to *Andronichus* the Kings Lieutenant, and sold the rest at *Tyre*, and other Cities adjoyning. This he did, as it seemeth to advance the payment of the three hundred talents promised; the same being now by *Sostratus* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Priest (formerly dispossessed by *Jason*) had certain knowledge, being moved with zeal, and detesting the sacriledge of *Menelaus*, he reproved him for it; and fearing his revenge, he withdrew himself into a Sanctuary at *Daphne*.

Daphne was a place of delight adjoyning as a suburb to *Antioch*. In compass it had about ten miles: wherein were the Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Grove, sweet Springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abused to lust, and other such voluptuousness. Whether it were well done of *Onias* to committ himself to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claim priviledge from the Holiness of a ground consecrated to any of the Heathen Gods, I will not stand to discourse. Only I say for mine own opinion, that the inconvenience is far less, to hold this Book as Apocryphal, than to judge this fearful shift which *Onias* (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable or allowable, as the Book seems to do. As for this refuge, it could not save the life of the poor old man: *for* Menelaus *taking* Andronicus *apart, prayed him to slay* Onias. *So when he came to* Onias, *he counselled him craftily, giving him his right hand with an oath, and perswaded him to come out of the Sanctuary; so he slew him incontinently without any regard of righteousness.* Hereof when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his return out of *Cilicia*, *He took away* Andronicus *his garment of purple, and rent his clothes, and commanded him to be led throughout the City; and in the same place where he had committed the wickedness against* Onias, *he was slain as a murderer.* In taking revenge of this innocent mans death, I should have thought that this wicked King had once in his life time done Justice. But presently after this, at the suit of one *Ptolomy*, a Traitor to *Ptolomy Philometor*, he condemned innocent men to death, who justly complained against *Menelaus*, and his brother *Lysimachus*, for a second robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the Vessels of Gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his own outragious will, and not by any regard of justice: since he revenged the death of *Onias*, he slew those that were in the same cause with *Onias*; *Who, had they told their cause, yea, before the* Scythians, *they should have been heard as innocent.* By reason of such his unsteadiness, this King was commonly termed *Epimanes*, that is, Mad, instead of *Epiphanes*, which signifieth Noble, or Illustrious. *Verse 47.*

After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a second voyage into *Egypt*, *and then were there seen throughout all the City of* Jerusalem, *forty daies long, horsemen running in the air with robes of gold, and as bands of Spear-men, and as troops of Horsemen set in array, encountring and coursing one against another.* Of these prodigious signs, or rather forewarnings of God, all Histories have delivered us, some more, some less. Before the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Vespasian*, a Star in the form of a sword appeared in the Heavens directly over the City, after which there followed a slaughter like unto this of *Epiphanes*, though far greater. In the *Cymbrian* wars, *Pliny* tells us, that the Armies were seen fighting in the Air from the morning till the evening. *2 Mac. 5. 1.* *Plin. lib. 2. cap 57.*

In the time of Pope *John* the eleventh, a fountain poured out blood in stead of water, in or near the City of *Genoa*; soon after which the City was taken by the *Saracens*, with great slaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signs, *Vipera* hath collected many, and very remarkable. But this one seemeth to me most memorable, because the most notorious. All men know, that in the Emperour *Nero*, the off-spring of the *Cæsars*, as well natural as adopted, took end; whereof this notable sign gave warning. *Meretm. Vipere de Prodig. l. 8. Vipira de prisco & sacro instituto.*

When *Livia* was first married to *Augustus*, an Eagle let fall into her arms a white Hen, holding a Lawrel branch in her mouth. *Livie* caused this Hen to be carefully nourished, and the Lawrel branch to be planted: of the Hen came a fair increase of white Poultry; and from the little branch there sprang up in time a Grove of Lawrel; so that afterwards, in *Suet. Galba.*

Mat. 2. 4.

2 Mac. 4. 38.

all triumphs, the Conquerors did use to carry in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Grove; and after the triumphs ended, to set it again in the same ground: which branches were observed, when they happened to wither, to foreshew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last year of *Nero*, all the broods of the white Hens died, and the whole Grove of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the *Cæsars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Augustus* his hand, were stricken down with lightning. That the Jews did not think such strange signs to be unworthy of regard; it appears by their calling upon *God*, and praying, that these tokens might turn to good.

Now, as the first voyage of *Antiochus* into *Egypt*, was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein reigning; so was this second Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolomy* being left in *Memphis*, not strong enough to force his brother, who had defended *Alexandria* against all the power of their Uncle; thought it the best way to seek entrance into that royal City, rather by perswasion, than by arms. *Physcon* had not yet forgotten the terrour of the former siege: the *Alexandrines*, though they loved not *Philometor*, yet loved they worse to live in scarcity of victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extream) since nothing was brought in from the Country; and the friends of the younger brother saw no likelihood of good issue to be hoped for without reconciliation. These good helps, and above all these, the loving disposition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Philometor*, in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the fear wherein he stood of his Uncle. For though *Antiochus* was gone out of *Egypt* with his Army; yet had he left behind him a strong Garrison in *Pelusium*: retaining that City, which was the Key of *Egypt* to his own use. This consideration wrought also with *Physcon*, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* their sister the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the news of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, he was greatly enraged: for notwithstanding that he had pretended no other thing than the establishment of the King *Philometor* his Nephew, and a meaning to subject his younger brother unto him, which he gave in answer to all Embassadours; yet he now prepared to make a sharp war upon them both. And to this end he presently furnished and sent out his Navy towards *Cyprus*, and drew his land Army into *Cœlosyria*, ready to enter *Egypt* the Spring following. When he was on his way as far as *Rhinocorura*, he met with Embassadors sent from *Ptolomy*. Their errand was partly to yield thanks to *Antiochus* for the establishing of *Philometor* in his Kingdom, partly to beseech him, That he would rather be pleased to signifie what he required to have done in *Egypt*, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemy with so puissant an Army. But *Antiochus* returned this short answer, That he would neither call back his Fleet, nor withdraw his Army, upon any other condition; than that *Ptolomy* should surrender into his hands, together with the City of *Pelusium*, the whole Territory thereto belonging: and that he should also abandon and leave unto him the Isle of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had unto either of them, for ever. For answer unto these demands, he set down a day certain, and a short one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the *Syrian* Fleet entred *Nilus*, and recovered as well those places which appertained to *Ptolomy* in *Arabia*, as in *Egypt* it self; for *Memphis*, and all about it, received *Antiochus*, being unable to resist him. The King having now no stop in his way to *Alexandria*, passed on thitherwards by easie journeys.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein *Egypt* stood, the *Romans* had notice long ago. But they found, or were contented to find, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a Civil war: and wherein *Antiochus* seemed to take part with the juster cause. Yet they gave signification, that it would be much displeasing unto them, to have the Kingdom of *Egypt* taken from the rightful owners. More they could not, or would not do; being troubled with *Perseus*; and therefore loth to provoke *Antiochus* too far. Nevertheless, the *Egyptian* Kings being reconciled, and standing joyntly in need of help against their Uncle, who prepared and made open war against them both: it was to be expected, that not only the *Romans*, but many of the *Greeks*, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, should arm in defence

fence of their Kingdom. *Rome* had been ſuſtained with food from *Egypt*, in the War of *Hannibal*; when *Italy*, lying waſte, had neither corn nor mony wherewith to buy ſufficient ſtore. By help of the *Egyptians* had *Aratus* laid the foundation of that greatneſs, whereto the *Achæans* attained. And by the like help had *Rhodes* been defended againſt *Demetrius Poliorcets*. Neither were theſe friendly turns, which that bountiful houſe of the *Ptolomyes* had done for ſundry people abroad; ill followed, or ſeconded, by others as bad in requital: but with continuance of ſuitable beneficence, from time to time encreaſed. Wherefore the two brothers ſent abroad confidently for aid; eſpecially to the *Rhodians* and *Achæans*, who ſeemed moſt able to give it effectually. To the *Romans*, *Phyſcon* and *Cleopatra* had ſent, a year ſince: but their Embaſſadours lay ſtill in *Rome*. Of the *Achæans* they deſired in particular, that *Lycortas* the brave Warriour might be ſent unto them, as General of all the *Auxiliaries*, and his Son *Polybius*, General of the Horſe. Hereunto the *Achæans* readily condeſcended: and would immediately have made performance, if *Callicrates* had not interpoſed his miſchievous Art. He, whether ſeeking occaſion to vaunt his obſequiouſneſs to the *Romans*, or much rather envying thoſe Noble Captains whoſe ſervice the Kings deſired; withſtood the common voice: which was, That their Nation ſhould, not with ſuch ſmall numbers as were requeſted, but with all their power, be aiding unto the *Ptolomies*. For it was not now (he ſaid) convenient time to entangle themſelves in any ſuch buſineſs, as might make them the leſs able to yield unto the *Romans* what help ſoever ſhould be required in the *Macedonian* War. And in this ſentence, he, with thoſe of his faction, obſtinately perſiſted; terrifying others with big words, as it were in behalf of the *Romans*. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Martius* the late Conſul had ſignified unto him, that the *Romans* were paſt all need of help: adding further, that a thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, might well be ſpared to the aid of their Benefactors, the *Egyptian* Kings, without diſabling their Nation to perform any ſervice to the *Romans*; foraſmuch as the *Achæans* could without trouble, raiſe thirty or forty thouſand Souldiers. All this notwithſtanding, the reſolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken by the violence of *Callicrates*. For when it was thought that the Decree ſhould have paſſed; he brought into the Theater where the Aſſembly was held, a Meſſenger with Letters from *Martius*: whereby the *Achæans* were deſired to conform themſelves to the *Roman* Senate; and to labour, as the Senate had done, by ſending Embaſſadours to ſet *Egypt* in peace. This was an advice againſt all reaſon. For the Senate had indeed ſent Embaſſadours to make peace; but as in a time of greater buſineſs elſewhere, with ſuch milde words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely that the *Achæans* ſhould do any good in the ſame kind. Yet *Polybius* and his friends durſt not gain-ſay the *Roman* Counſel; which had the force of an Injunction. So the Kings were left in much diſtreſs; diſappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perſeus* overcome; and then might the Embaſſadours, ſent from the *Roman* Senate, perform as much as any Army could have done.

Audience had been lately given by the Senate, unto thoſe Embaſſadours of *Phyſcon* and *Cleopatra*: which having ſtayed more than a whole year in the City, brought nothing of their buſineſs to effect untill now. The Embaſſadours delivered their meſſage in the name of thoſe that had ſent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philometor*, no leſs than his Brother and Siſter.

In this ambaſſage of *Ptolomy*, now requeſting help from *Rome*, appeared a notable change of his fortune, from ſuch as it had been before three or four years laſt paſt. For in the beginning of theſe his troubles, which began with the *Macedonian* War; either he, or *Eulæus*, or *Lenæus* (upon whom the blame was afterwards laid) which had the government of him, thought his affairs in ſuch good eſtate, that not only he determined to ſet upon *Antiochus* for *Cœloſyria*, but would have interpoſed himſelf between the *Romans* and *Perſeus*, as a competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that his Embaſſadour was by a friend perſwaded to forget that point of his errand. From theſe high thoughts he fell on the ſudden, by the rebellion of his brother and ſubjects, to live under protection of the ſame *Antiochus*. And now at ſuch time as by attonement with his brother and ſubjects, he might have ſeemed to ſtand in no need of ſuch protection, *Polyb. leg.* 72.

protection, he hath remaining none other help whereby to save both his Kingdom and life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and sister shewed it self, even in the habit of those Embassadours. They were poorly clad; the hair of their heads and beards overgrown, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands branches of Olive. Thus they entred into the Senate, and there fell, groveling and prostrate, upon the floor. Their garments were not so mean and mournful, nor their looks and countenances so sad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other far more lamentable. For, having told in what danger their King and Country stood; they made a pitiful and grievous complaint unto the Senate, beseeching them to have compassion of their Estate, and of their Princes, who had alwayes remained friendly and faithful to the *Romans*. They said that the people of *Rome* had so much heretofore favoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of such account and authority, with all other Kings and Nations; as, if they pleased but to send their Embassadours, and let *Antiochus* know that the Senate was offended with his undertaking upon the King their Confederate; then would he presently raise his siege from before *Alexandria*, and withdraw his Army out of *Egypt* into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or used any delay; then should *Ptolomy* and *Cleopatra* be shortly driven out of their Realms, and make repair to *Rome*, with shameful dishonour to the Senate and people thereof, in that, in the extream dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieve them.

The Lords of the Senate moved with compassion, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Laenus*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Hostilius*, as Embassadours to determine and end the War between those Kings. In commission they had first to find King *Ptolomy*, and then *Antiochus*, and to let them both understand, that, unless they surceased, and gave over Arms, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate and people of *Rome*, whom they found obstinate, or using delay. So these *Romans*, together with the *Alexandrine* Embassadours, took their leave, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whilest *Popilius* and his fellows were on their way toward *Egypt*, *Antiochus* had transported his Army over *Lusine*, some forty miles from *Alexandria*. So near was he to the end of his Journey, when the *Roman* Embassadours met him. After greetings and salutations at their first encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*: but *Popilius* filled it with a Roll of Paper; willing him to read those Mandates of the Senate before he did any thing else. *Antiochus* did so; and having a little while considered of the business, he told *Popilius*, That he would advise with his friends, and then give the Embassadours their answer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinary blunt manner of speech, which he had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rod which he held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as he might report to the Senate, before he moved out of that Circle. The King astonished at this so rude and violent a Commandment, after he had stayed and pawsed a while, I will be content (quoth he) to do whatsoever the Senate shall ordain. Then *Popilius* gave unto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Egypt*, without any good issue of his costly Expedition; even in such manner as * *Daniel* had propheſied long before: yea, fulfilling every particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mischief to *Jerusalem* after his return; like as if these things had rather been historified than foretold by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embassadours, they stayed a while, and settled the Kingdom of *Egypt*, leaving it unto the elder brother, and appointed the younger to reign over *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they left, as it had been, in the power of the *Egyptian*, having first sent away *Antiochus* Fleet, which had already given an overthrow to the *Egyptian* ships.

* *Dan.* 11. 29, 30, &c.

§. XII.

§. XII.

How the Romans *were dreadful to all Kings. Their demeanour towards* Eumenes, Prusias, Masanissa, *and* Coyts. *The end of* Perseus *and his Children. The instability of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of* Paulus, Anicius, *and* Octavius. *With the Conclusion of the Work.*

BY this peremptory demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Message, and by the ready obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; we may perceive how terrible the *Romans* were grown, through their conquest of *Macedon*. The same *Popilius* had been well contented, a year before this, to lay aside the roughness of his natural condition, and to give good language to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*, when he went Embassador to those people of *Greece*, that were of far less power than King *Antiochus*. Likewise, *Antiochus* had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other Embassadors which came from *Rome*, in such sort, as they complained not, much less used any menacing terms, though he performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

Eumenes sent to *Rome* his brother *Attalus*, to gratulate the victory over *Perseus*, and to crave help or countenance of the Senate against the *Gallo Greeks*, which molested him. Very welcome was *Attalus*, and lovingly entertained by most of the Senators: who bad him be confident, and request of the Senate his Brothers Kingdom for himself; for it should surely be given him. These hopeful promises tickled *Attalus* with such ambition, that he either approved, or seemed to approve the motion. But his honest nature was soon reclaimed by the faithful councel of *Stratius* a Physitian; whom *Eumenes* had sent to *Rome* of purpose to keep his Brother upright. So, when he came into the Senate, he delivered the errand about which he had been sent, recounting his own services done to the *Romans* in the late War, *Liv. l. 45. * where withall, he forgat not to make of his Brother as good mention as he could: and finally, requested, That the Towns of *Ænus* and *Maronea* might be bestowed upon himself. *Polyb. Leg. 95. *By his omitting to sue for his Brothers Kingdom, the Senate conceived opinion, that he meant to crave another day of audience for that business alone. Wherefore to make him understand how gracious he was, they not only granted all his desire; but in the presents which they gave unto him (as was their custome to Embassadors that came with an acceptable message) they used singular magnificence. Nevertheless *Attalus* took no notice of their meaning, but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did so highly displease the Senate, that whilst he was yet in *Italy*, they gave order for the liberty of *Ænus* and *Maronea*: thereby making uneffectual their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, revoke. And as for the *Gallo-Greeks*, which were about to invade the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; they sent Embassadors to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindred them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate being so manifest; *Eumenes* thought it worthy of his labour to make another voyage to *Rome*. He might well blame the folly of his second voyage thither, for this necessity of the third: since, by his malice to *Perseus*, he had laid open unto these abitious Potentates the way to his own doors. No sooner was he come into *Italy*, than the Senate was ready to send him going. It was not thought expedient to use him as an enemy, that came to visit them in love: neither could they, in so doing, have avoided the note of singular inconstancy: and to entertain him as a friend, was more then their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King should be suffered to come to *Rome*; and by vertue thereof sent him home, without expence of much farther complement. *Polyb. ibid.*

Prusias King of *Bithynia* had been at *Rome* somewhat before; where he was welcomed after a better fashion. He had learned to behave himself as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or desire. For, entring into the Senate, he lay down and kissed the threshold, calling the *Fathers* his gods and saviours; as also he used to wear a Cap, after the manner of slaves newly manumissed, professing himself an enfranchised bondman of the people of *Rome*. He was indeed naturally a slave, and one that by such abject flattery kept himself safe, though doing otherwise greater mischief than any wherewith *Perseus* had been charged. His errand was, besides matter of complement, to commend unto the Senate the care of his Son *Nicomedes*, whom he brought with him to *Rome*, there to receive education. Further petition he made, to

have some Towns added to his Kingdom: whereto, because the grant would have been unjust, he received a cold answer. But concerning the Wardship of his Son, it was undertaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to *Egypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to consider, what effectual protection the *Romans* gave unto the children of Kings, that were to their Patronage commended.

But above all other Kings, *Masanissa* held his credit with the *Romans*, good. His quarrels were endless with the *Carthaginians:* which made the friendship of the *Romans* to him the more assured. In all Controversies they gave judgement on his side: and whereas he had invaded the Country of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but unable to win the Towns; the *Romans* (though at first they could find no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let go all their hold, and to pay five hundred Talents to the *Numidian*, for having hindred him of his due so long. Now indeed had *Rome* good leisure to devise upon the ruine of *Carthage:* after which, the race of *Masanissa* himself was shortly by them rooted up. But hereof the old King never dreamed. He sent to *Rome* one of his Sons, to congratulate the Victory over *Perseus*; and offered to come thither himself, there to sacrifice for joy unto *Jupiter* in the *Capitol*. His good will was lovingly accepted; his Son rewarded, and he entreated to stay at home.

Coyts the *Thracian* sent Embassadours to excuse himself touching the aid by him given to *Perseus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by hostages; and to intreat, That his Son, which was taken with the children of *Perseus*, might be set at liberty, for convenient ransome. His excuse was not taken; since he had voluntarily obliged himself to *Perseus*, by giving hostages without necessity: Yet was his Son given back to him ransome-free; with admonition, to carry himself better toward the *Romans* in time following. His Kingdome lay between *Macedon*, and some barbarous Nations; in which respect, it was good to hold him in fair terms.

As for those unhappy Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius*, they were led thorow *Rome*, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of *Æmylius* and *Anicius*. *Perseus* had often made suit to *Æmylius*, that he might not be put to such disgrace: but he still received one scornful answer, That it lay in his own power to prevent it; whereby was meant, that he might kill himself. And surely, had he not hoped for greater mercy than he found, he would rather have sought his death in *Macedon*, than to have been beholding to the courtesie of his insolent enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the *Roman* clemency, whereof *Æmylius* had given him hope, was no better than this: After that he, and his fellow-King, had been led in chains thorow the streets, before the Chariots of their Triumphing Victors, they were committed to prison, wherein they remained without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot up towards the *Capitol*, there to do sacrifice, he should command the Captives to be had away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honour of the Vanquisher, and misery of those that were overcome, might be both together at the utmost. This last sentence of death was remitted unto *Perseus:* yet so, that he had little joy of his life; but either famished himself, or (for it is diversly reported) was kept watching perforce by those that had him in custody; and so dyed for want of sleep. Of his Sons, two dyed; it is uncertain how. The youngest called *Alexander* (only in name like unto the Great, though destined sometimes perhaps by his Father, unto the fortunes of the Great) became a Joyner, or Turner; or, at his best preferment, a Scribe under the *Roman* Officers. In such poverty ended the Royal house of *Macedon:* and it ended on the sudden; though some eightscore years after the death of that Monarch, unto whose ambition this whole Earth seemed too narrow.

If *Perseus* had known it before, that his own Son should one day be compelled to earn his living by handy-work, in a painful Occupation; it is like, that he would not as in a wantonness of Soveraignty have commanded those poor men to be slain, which had recovered his treasures out of the Sea, by their skill in the feat of diving. He would rather have been very gentle, and would have considered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most under-trodden wretches, are all subject unto the One high Power, governing all alike with absolute command. But such is our unhappyness; in stead of that blessed Counsel, *Do*

as

as you would be done unto, a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicity; we entertain that arrogant thought, *I will be like to the most High*: that is, I will do what shall please my self. One hath said truly.

Juven sat. 10.

——*vv*——*Et qui nolunt occidere quenquam*
Posse volunt.——

Even they that have no murdrous will,
Would have it in their power to kill.

All, or the most, have a vain desire of ability to do evil without controll: which is a dangerous temptation unto the performance. God, who best can judge what is expedient, hath granted such power to very few: among whom also, very few there are, that use is not to their own hurt. For who sees not that a Prince, by racking his Soveraign Authority to the utmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his own person) some one of his own Sons or Nephews to root up all his progeny? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other nearness in blood, be driven to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that governs one, the most unworthy of his whole house, yet reigning over all? The untimely death of many Princes which could not humble themselves to such flattery; and the common practice of the *Turkish* Emperours to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are two good proofs hereof. Hereunto may be added, that the heir of the same *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered most traiterously, and barbarously King *Edward* the second; was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*: which, had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the race of his mortal enemy, to exercise the same upon the Line of that unhappy King. Such examples of the instability whereto all mortal affairs are subject; as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitory gods of Kingdoms, not to authorize by wicked precedents, the evil that may fall on their own posterity: so do they necessarily make us understand, how happy that Country is, which hath obtained a King able to conceive and teach, That **God is the soreest and sharpest Schoolmaster that can be devised, for such Kings, as think this world ordained for them, without controlement to turn it upside-down at their pleasure.* * The true Law of free Monarchies.

Now concerning the Triumph of *L. Æmylius Paulus*, it was in all points like unto that of *T. Quintius Flamilius*; Chap. 3. sect. 4. though far more glorious, in regard of the Kings own person, that was led along therein, as part of his own spoils; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest, and of the Booty. So great was the quantity of Gold and Silver carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treasury, that from thenceforth, untill the Civil Wars which followed upon the death of *Julius Cæsar*, the Estate had no need to burthen it self with any Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to have been hindred by the Souldiers; who grudged at their General, for not having dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate over-ruled the people and Souldiers herein, and brought them to reason by severe exhortation. Thus *Paulus* enjoyed as much honour of this Victory as men could give. Nevertheless, it pleased God to take away from him his two remaining Sons, that were not given in Adoption: of which, the one dyed five dayes before the Triumph, the other three dayes after it. This loss he bore wisely: and told the people, That he hoped to see the Common-wealth flourish in a continuance of prosperity; since the joy of his Victory was requited with his own private calamity, in stead of the publick.

About the same time, *Octavius* the Admiral, who had brought *Perseus* out of *Samothrace*: and *Anicius* the Prætor, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken King *Gentius* prisoner; made their several Triumphs. The glory of which magnificent spectacles, together with the confluence of Embassages from all parts, and Kings, either visiting the Imperial City, or offering to visit her, and do their duties in person; were enow to say unto *Rome*, *Sume Superbiam*, *Take upon thee the Majesty that thy deserts have purchased.*

BY this which we have already ſet down, is ſeen the beginning and end of the three firſt Monarchies of the World; whereof the Founders and Erectors thought, that they could never have ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was alſo at this time almoſt at the higheſt. We have left it flouriſhing in the middle of the field; having rooted up, or cut down, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the World. But after ſome continuance, it ſhall begin to loſe the beauty it had; the ſtorms of ambition ſhall beat her great boughs and branches one againſt another; her leaves ſhall fall off, her limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her down.

Now theſe great Kings, and conquering Nations, have been the ſubject of thoſe ancient Hiſtories, which have been preſerved, and yet remain among us; and withall of ſo many tragical Poets, as in the perſons of powerful Princes, and other mighty men have complained againſt Infidelity, Time, Deſtiny, and moſt of all againſt the Variable ſucceſs of worldly things, and Inſtability of Fortune. To theſe undertakings, theſe great Lords of the World have been ſtirred up, rather by the deſire of Fame, which ploweth up the Air, and ſoweth in the wind; than by the affection of bearing rule which draweth after it ſo much vexation, and ſo many cares. And that this is true, the good advice of *Cineas* to *Pyrrhus* proves. And certainly, as Fame hath often been dangerous to the living, ſo it is to the dead of no uſe at all; becauſe ſeparate from knowledge. Which, were it otherwiſe, and the extreame ill bargain of buying this laſting diſcourſe, underſtood by them which are diſſolved; they themſelves would then rather have wiſhed, to have ſtoln out of the world without noiſe, than to be put in mind, that they have purchaſed the report of their actions in the World, by rapine, oppreſſion, and cruelty: by giving in ſpoil the innocent and labouring ſoul to the idle and inſolent, and by having emptied the Cities of the World of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them again with ſo many and ſo variable ſorts of ſorrows.

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire (omitting that of the *Germanes*, which had neither greatneſs nor continuance) there hath been no State fearful in the Eaſt, but that of the *Turk*: nor in the Weſt any Prince that hath ſpread his wings far over his Neſt, but the *Spaniard*; who ſince the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the *Moors* out of *Granado*, have made many attempts to make themſelves Maſters of all *Europe*. And it is true, that by the treaſures of both Indies, and by the many Kingdoms which they poſſeſs in *Europe*, they are at this day the moſt powerfull. But as the *Turk* is now counterpoiſed by the *Perſian*, ſo inſtead of ſo many Millions as have been ſpent by the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Netherlands* in a defenſive War, and in diverſions againſt them, it is eaſie to demonſtrate, that with the charge of two hundred thouſand pound continued but for two years, or three at the moſt, they may not only be perſwaded to live in peace, but all their ſwelling and overflowing ſtreams may be brought back into their natural channels and old banks. Theſe two Nations, I ſay, are at this day the moſt eminent, and to be regarded; the one ſeeking to root out the Chriſtian Religion altogether, the other the Truth and ſincere Profeſſion thereof; the one to joyn all *Europe* to *Aſia*, the other the reſt of all *Europe* to *Spain*.

For the reſt, if we ſeek a reaſon of the ſucceſſion and continuance of this boundleſs ambition in mortal men, we may add to that which hath been already ſaid; That the Kings and Princes of the World have alwaies laid before them the actions, but not the ends of thoſe great Ones which preceded them. They are alwaies tranſported with the glory of the one, but they never mind the miſery of the other, till they find the experience in themſelves. They neglect the advice of God, while they enjoy life, or hope of it; but they follow the councel of death, upon his firſt approach. It is he that puts into man all the wiſdom of the World, without ſpeaking a word; which God, with all the words of his Law, promiſes, or threats, doth infuſe. Death, which hateth and deſtroyeth man, is believed; God, which hath made him, and loves him, is alwaies deferred. *I have conſidered* (ſaith *Salomon*) *all the works that are under the Sun, and behold, all is vanity and vexation of ſpirit*: but who believes it till Death tells it us? It was Death, which opening the conſcience of *Charls* the fifth, made him enjoyn his Son *Philip* to reſtore *Navarre*; and King *Francis* the firſt of *France*, to command

mand that juſtice ſhould be done upon the Murderers of the *Proteſtants* in *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore death alone that can ſuddenly make man to know himſelf. He tells the proud and inſolent, That they are but abjects, and humbles them at the inſtant; makes them cry, complain, and repent; yea, even to hate their forepaſſed happineſs. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him a beggar; a naked beggar, which hath intereſt in nothing, but in the gravel that fills his mouth. He holds a Glaſs before the eyes of the moſt beautiful, and makes them ſee therein their deformity and rottenneſs; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, juſt, and mighty Death! whom none could adviſe, thou haſte perſwaded; what none have dared, thou haſt done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only haſt caſt out of the world and deſpiſed: thou haſt drawn together all the far ſtretched greatneſs, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with theſe two narrow words, *Hic jacet.*

Laſtly, whereas this Book, by the title it hath, calls it ſelf, *The firſt part of the General Hiſtory of the World*, implying a *ſecond* and *third* Volume; which I alſo intended, and have hewn out; beſides many other diſcouragements, perſwading my ſilence; it hath pleaſed God to take that glorious *Prince* out of the world, to whom they were directed, whoſe unſpeakable and never enough lamented loſs hath taught me to ſay with *Job*, *Verſa eſt in luctum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in vocem flentium.*

FINIS.

To The Reader.

THE use of Chronological Tables is needful to all Histories, that reach to any length of time; and most of all, to those that are most general: since they cannot, like Annalls, yearly set down all occurrences not cohærent. This here followeth, may serve as an Index to the present part of this work, pointing unto the several matters, that having fallen out at one time, are far disjoyned in the relation. Certainly it is not perfect, neither do I think that any can be. For howsoever the years of the first Patriarchs may seem to have been well-neer compleat, yet in the reigns of the Kings of Juda and Israel, we find many fractions, and the last year, or years of one King reckoned also as the foremost of another. The same is most likely to have fallen out in many other, though not so precisely recorded. Hereto may be added the divers and imperfect forms of the year, which were in use among sundry Nations, causing the* Summer months, in process of some ages, to fall into the winter, and so breeding extream confusion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a small part of trouble, to choose out of so many, and so utterly disagreeing computations, as have already gotten Authority, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deal more, is to be alledged, in excuse of such errours, as a more intentive and perfect Calculator shall happen to find herein. It may serve to free the Book, and likewise the Reader (if but of mean judgement,) from any notorious Anachronicism; which ought to suffice. The book indeed will need it, even in that regard; not only from some errours of the Press, in the numbring of years, but for some hastie mis-reckonings of mine own, which I desire to have hereby reformed, in hope that the Printing of this Table shall not want careful diligence. The Reader, of he be not offended with the rest, shall find reason to be pleased with this, as tending wholly to his own ease.

* See lib. 2. cap. 3. sect. 6.

The titles over the Columns, have reference to that which follows under them, as will readily be Conceived. Where two titles, or more, are over the head, as [Rome / Nabonasser] there do the numbers underneath proportionably answer, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example, The walls of Jerusalem were finished in the 319. Year from the building of Rome, and in the 314. from Nabonasser. In like manner it is to be understood, That Jehosaphat began his reign in the 3774. of the Julian Æra, in the 3092. of the World, and in the 99. year of the Temple. This needs not more illustration, nor indeed so much, to those that are acquainted with works of this kind. To avoid prolixity, I have forborn to insert those years, which I find not signed with some regardable accident, as with the birth or death of some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings reign; some change of Government; some battel fought, or the like. So of the 13. years wherein Sylvius Capetus reigned over the Latines, I note only the first; that is, omitting all between the 4. of Jehosaphat, wherein Capetus began, unto the 17. wherein Sylvius Aventinus succeeded, and wherein Jehoram first reigned with Jehosaphat his father. For I thought it vain to have filled up a Page with 12. lines of idle ciphers, numbring forth, 2. 3. 4. 5. and so still onwards, till I had come to the first of Aventinus, and the 17. of Jehosaphat. In setting down the Kings, there is noted over the head of every one, what place he held in order of succession: as whether he were the first, second, fifth, seventh, or so forth in rank of those that reigned in his Countrey, without notable interruption: Before the name, is the first year of his reign; at the end or foot of the name (as the space gives leave) is the whole number of years in which he reigned; in the spaces following underneath, are those years of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of some other King, or with the year of any remarkable accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name; there it is to be understood, that the same year belonged not only to the King then beginning, but unto some one or more of his foregoers: as the first year of Jehoram King of Israel, was the same with the second of his brother Ahaziah, and the 22. of his father Ahab. So where two or three names are found in one space, as in the 3077. year of the World, Zimri, Tibni, and Omri; it is meant, that every one of them reigned in some part of the same year, which is reckoned the second of Ela, and the first of Omri. Particularly, under the reigns of the Egyptian Kings, are set down the years of those Dynasties, which it was thought meet to insert; as likewise otherwhiles, the day, the moneth, upon which Nabonassar's year began

which

which, how it varied from other years, may be found in the place last above cited.

Concerning the Æra, *or account of years, from* Iphitus, *who began the* Olympiads, *from* Rome *built, from* Nabonassar, *and the like; as much as was thought convenient hath been said, where due place was, in the book it self: so as it remaineth only to note, that under the title of* Olympiads, *is set down, first the number of the* Olympiad, *and beneath it, the year of that* Olympiad: *as that* Cyrus *began his reign in* Persia, *in the* 55. Olympiad, *and the first year thereof.*

Now, for that the years of the world, of the Olympiads, *of* Rome, *of* Nabonassar, *and other, had not beginning in one moneth, but some of them in* March, *some in* April, *some about* Midsummer, *and some at other times: the better to express their several beginnings, some painful Chronologers have divided them proportionably in their several Columns, opposing part of the one year to part of the other: not (as I have here done) cutting all overthwart with one straight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour have I spared as more troublesome than useful, since the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and since the learned might well be without it. It will only be needful to observe, that howsoever the* Æra *of the* Olympiads *be* 24. *years elder than that of* Rome, *and* 29. *than that of* Nabonassar, *yet the reign of some King may have begun at such a time of the year as did not suite with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will easily find my meaning: the vulgar will not find the difficulty. One familiar example will explain all.* Queen Elizabeth *began her reign the* 17, *of* November, *in the year of our Lord* 1558. *She was crowned, held a Parliament, brake it up, threw down Images, and reformed many things in religion, all in her first year, yet not all in that year* 1558. *but the greater part in the year following, whether we begin with the first of* January, *or with the* 25. *of* March. *The like may be otherwhiles found in this Table, but so, as the difference is never of a whole year.*

The Julian *Period, which I have placed as the greater number, over the years of the World, was delivered by that honourable, and excellently learned* Joseph Scaliger: *being accommodated to the* Julian *years, now in use among us. It consisteth of* 7980. *years which result from the multiplication of* 19. 28. *and* 15. *that is, of the Cycle of the Moon, the Cycle of the Sun, and the years of an Indiction. Being divided by any of these, it leaves the number of the present year, or if no fraction remain, it shews the last year of that Cycle to be current. For example, in the* 4498. *of this Period, when was fought the great battel of* Cannæ, *the Prime or golden number was* 14. *the Cycle of the Sun.* 18. *and consequently the Dominical letter* F. *as may be found by dividing the same number of the* Julian *Period* 4498. *by* 19. *for the Prime, by* 28. *for the Cycle of the Sun. This* Julian *Period, after the present accompt, alwaies exceeds the year of the world by* 682. *Besides the former uses, and other thence redounding, it is a better Character of a year, than any other* Æra (*as,* From the beginning of the World, From the Flood, From *Troy* taken, *or the like*) *which are of more uncertain position. More I shall not need to write, as touching the use or explication of these Tables. Neither was thus much requisite to such as are conversant in works of this kind: it sufficeth if hereby all be made plain enough to the vulgar.*

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Years of the Julian Period, World, Patriarchs, &c.

	Julian. The World and Adam.									
	683 1. *Ada* 930									
	813 131	1. *Seth* 912								
	918 236	106	1. *Enos* 905							
	1008 326	196	91	1. *Cainan.* 910	*All the years of the Patriarcks, wherein they begat children, died, or performed any thing, are reckoned compleat: which is inferred out of the addition of the years before they begat children, unto those that followed; making alwaies a compleat sum,* Gen. 5.					
	1078 396	266	161	71	1. *Mahalalel* 895					
	1143 461	331	226	136	66	1. *Jared* 962				
	1305 623	493	388	298	228	163	1. *Enoch.* 265			
	1370 688	558	453	363	293	228	66	1. *Methusela* 969		
	1557 875	745	640	550	480	415	253	188	1. *Lamech.* 777	
Adam died about the end. of the year.	1612 930	800	695	605	535	470	308	243	56	
Henoch translated.	1669 987	857	752	662	592	527	365	300	113	
Seth died about the end of this year.	1724 1042	912	807	717	647	582		355	168	
	1739 1057		822	732	662	597		370	183	1. *Noah.* 950

	Julian. The World	Enos.	Cainan	Maha. laleel.	Jared.	Me-thuse-lah.	La-mech.	Noah.	Sem.				
Enos dyed.	1822 1140	905	815	745	680	453	266	84					
Cainan dyed.	1917 1235		910	842	775	548	361	179					
Mahalaleel dyed this year.	1972 1290			895	830	603	416	234					
Jared dyed.	2104 1422					735	584	366					
Flood threatned, Gen. 6. 3.	2219 1537					850	663	481					
	2241 1559					872	685	503	1. *Sem.* 600				
Lamech dyed.	2333 1651					964	777	595	93				
Methuselah died this year a little before the Flood. Noah entreth into the Ark C. 7. § 8. & 9. The Flood.	2338 1656					969		600	98				
The Flood ceaseth. Noah issued out of the Ark.	2339 1657							601	99				
	Julian. World. Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	1. *Arphaxad* 438									
	2341 1659	603	101										
	2376 1694 37	638	136	36	1. *Salah.* 433						11	54	
	2406 1724 67	668	166	66	31	1. *Heber.* 464						164	
	2440 1758 101	702	200	100	65	35	1. *Peleg.*		*Kings of Assyria.*				
	2470 1788 131	732	230	130	95	65	31	1. *Reu.* 239	1. *Nimrod.* 114				
	2502 1820 163	764	262	162	127	97	63	33	33	1. *Sarug.* 230	*Kings of Egypt.*		
Vide lib. 2. c. 2. § 2.	2530 1848 191	692	290	190	155	125	91	63	61	29	1 1 *Cham* 161		
	2532 1850 193	694	292	192	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	1. *Nabor.* 148	
	2561 1879 222	823	321	221	186	156	122	92	92	69	32	30	1. *Terah.* 205
	2584 1902 245	846	344	244	209	179	145	115	2 1. *Belus*, 65	83	55	53	24

	Julian. World. Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Peleg.	Reu.	Assyria.	Sarug	Egypt.	Nahor	Terah.	Kings of Sicyon	
	2618 1936 279	880	278	378	243	213	179	149	35	117	89	87	58	1 1. Ægyleus, 3	
	2649 1967 316	911	409	309	274	244	210	180	3 1. Ninus, 52	148	120	118	89	32	
	2670 1988 331	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	22	169	11	139	110	2 1. Europs 45	
The last year of Peleg his life.	2678 1996 339	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	30	177	149	147	118	9	
The death of Nabor.	2679 1997 340	941	439	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10	
Noah died this year.	2688 2006 349	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19	
The 16. Dynastie in Egypt, Vid. L.2. c.3. §3,4,5,&c.	2691 2009 352		451	351	316	286		222	43	190	2 1. Mizraim or Osiris		131	22	1. Abram. 275
	2701 2019 362		461	361	326	296		232	4 1. Semiramis 42	200	11		141	32	11
The last year of Reu.	2708 2026 369		463	368	333	303		239	8	207	18		148	39	18
	2715 2033 376		475	375	340	310			15	214	25		155	3 1. Telkin or Selchin, 20	25
The last of Sarug.	2731 2049 392		491	391	356	326			31	230	41		171	17	41

	Julian. World. Flood.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Terah.	Sicyon.	Abram.
	2739 2053 396	495	395	360	330	35	45	175	4 1. Apis, 25	45
	2743 2061 404	503	403	368	338	5 2. Ninias, 28	53	183	9	53
	2700 2078 421	520	420	385	355	18	70	200	5 1. Thelxion or Thelasien, 52	70
Abram receives the promise. Terah dies in Haran. L.2. c.1. §1.2,3	2705 2083 426	525	425	390	360	23	75	205	6	75

	Julian. World. Promise.	Sem.	Arphaxad	Salah.	Heber	Abram.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.
Abram enters into Canaan, and descends into Egypt. The first of the 430. years of servitude.	2706 2084 1	526	426	391	361	76	24	76	7
Abram returns into Canaan.	2707 2085 2	527	427	392	362	77	25	77	8
Abram his victory over Chedorlaomer, and other Kings. L.2. c.1. §8 9 &c	2775 2093 10	535	435	400	370	85	33	85	16
Ismael born.	2777 2095 12	537	437	402	372	87	35	87	18
Arphaxad dyes.	2778 2096 13	538	438	403	373	88	36	88	19

1. Terah. 205

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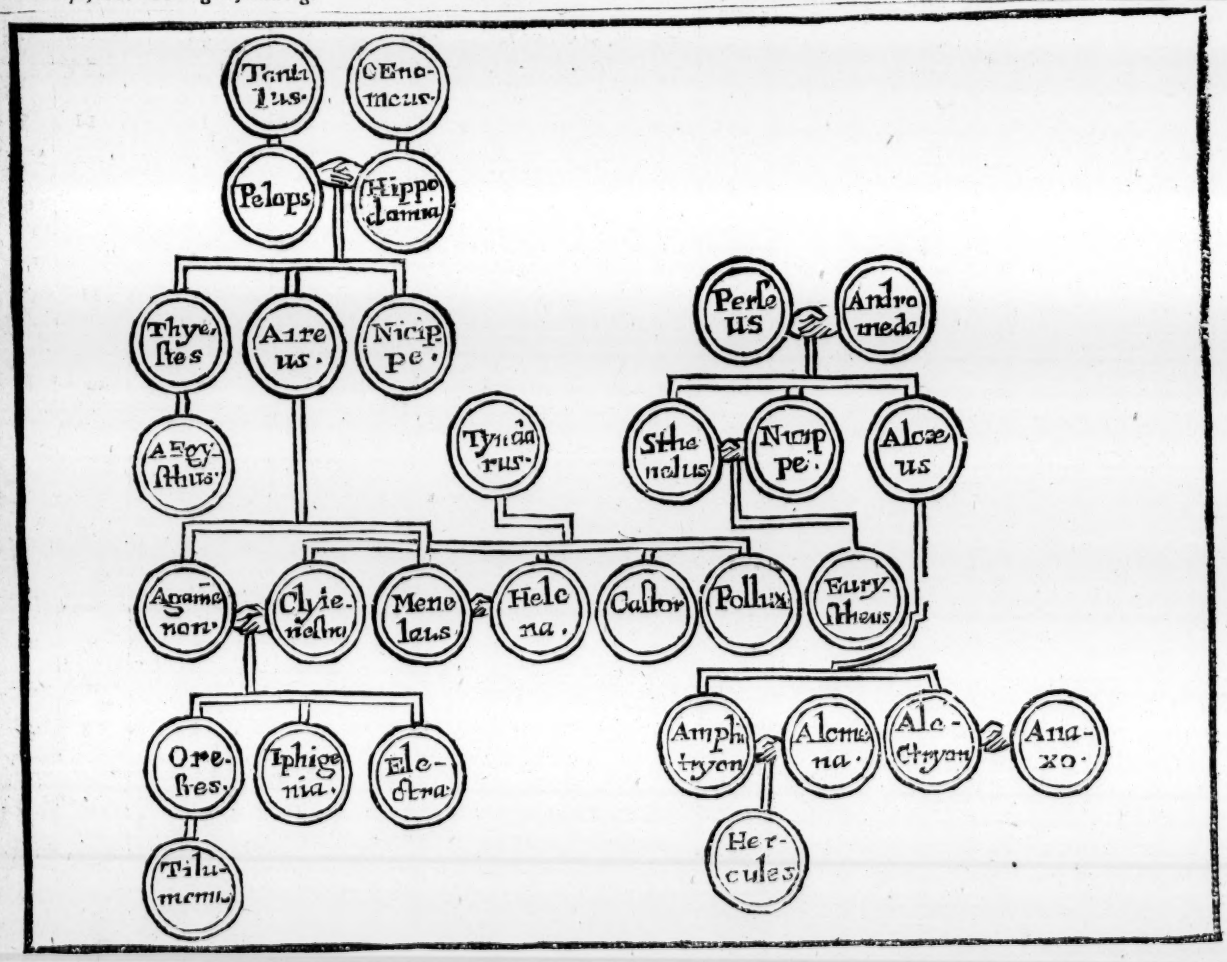
	Julian World promise	Sem.	Salah.	Heber.	Abraham.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.		
	2781 2099 16	541	406	376	91	6 1. Arius, 30	91	22		
Isaac born when Abraham was 100. years old compleat, 101. current.	2791 2109 25	551	416	386	101	11	101	32	1 *Isaac* 180	
The last year of Salah.	2808 2126 43	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18	
	2811 2129 46	571		406	121	7 1. Aralius, 40	121	52	21	
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	2	122	6 1. Æ-gir' 54	22	
Sarai the wife of Abraham died this year.	2827 2145 62	587		422	137	17	137	16	37	
Isaac took Rebecca to wife, when he was 40. years old compleat.	2831 2149 66	591		426	141	21	141	20	41	
The last year of Sem.	2840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	150	29	50	
	Julian World promise.	*Heber.*	*Abraham.*	*Isaac.*	*Jacob.*	*Assyria.*	*Egypt.*	*Sicyon*	*Argives.*	
	2846 2164 81	441	156	56		36	156	7 1. Thurimachus 45		
	2851 2169 86	446	161	61	1. Jacob 147	8 1 Baleus. 30	161	6	1 1. Inachus, 50	
Abraham died this year.	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15	
Heber died this year.	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19	
The 17. Dynastie, called of the Shepheards, beginning this year, lasted 103. years.	2891 2199 116			91	31	9 1. Armamithres, 38	191 1	36	31	
	2760 1209 126			101	41	11	201 11	1 1 Leucippus. 53	41	
	2901 2219 136			111	51	21	211 21	11	2 1. Phorceus, 60	
The Flood of Ogyges, a thousand and twenty years before the Olympiads. See lib. 1. c. 7. §. 2.	2919 2237 154			129	69	19 1. Belocus Priscus, 35	229 39	29	19	
	2942 2260 177			152	92	24	252 62	52	42	1. Joseph. 110
	2944 2262 179			154	94	26	254 64	9 Mossapius, 47	44	3
See L. 2. c. 2. §. 6.	2952 2270 187			162	102	34	3. & 4. 1. Typhon, & after him Hercul. 7. 72	9	52	11
	2954 2272 189			164	104	11 1. Baleus, 52	3 74	11	54	13

	Julian. World. Promise			Isaac.	Jacob.	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.	
Joseph sold into Egypt.	2959 2277 194			169	109	6	5 1. Orus, 79. 115	16	59	18
	2961 2279 196			171	111	8	3 81	18	3 1. Apis. 35	20
The last year of Isaac.	2970 2288 205			180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29
Israel into Egypt.	2980 2298 215				130	27	22 100	37	20	39
The eighteenth Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 348. years.	2984 2302 219				134	31	26 1	41	24	43
	2991 2309 226				141	38	33 8	10 1. Peratus, 46	31	50
	2996 2314 231				146	43	38 13	6	4 1. Argus.	55
Jacob dies in Egypt.	2997 2315 232				147	44	39 14	7	2	
	Julian. World. promise	Joseph.	Assyria.		Egypt.		Sicyon.	Argives.		
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1. Altades. 32		48 23		16	11		
	3037 2355 272	96	32		79 54		11 1. Plemnæus, 48	42		
	3038 2356 273	97	13 1 Mamitus, 30		80 55		2	43		
The last year of Joseph.	3051 2369 286	110	14		93 68		15	56		
	3066 2384 301		29		108 83		30	5 1. Pirasus, or Criasus, 54		
	3068 2386 303		14 1, Mancaleus. 30		110 85		32	3		
	3074 2392 309		7		6 1. Sesostris the Great. 33 91		38	9		
	3085 2403 320		18		12 102		12 1. Orthopolis. 63	20		
	3098 2416 333		15 1. Spherus, or Iphereus, 20		25 115		14	33		
	3107 2425 342		10		7 1. Sesostris the second, 14 124		23	42		
	3116 2434 351	1. Moses, 120	19		10 133		32.	51		

	Julian. World. Promise	Moses	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.	
	3118 2436 353	3	16 1. *Mamilas, or Mamelins*, 30	12 135	34	53	
	3120 2438 355	5	3	14 137	36	6 1. *Phorbas*, 35	
	3121 2439 356	6	4	8 1 *Orus*, 2. *or Busiris*, 38. 138.	37	2	*Athenians.*
	3148 2466 383	33	17 1. *Sparetus*, 40	28 165	13 1 *Marathius*, 30	29	
	3151 2469 386	36	4	31 168	4	32	1 1. *Cecrops*. 50
Moses visits his brethren the Israelites, kils an Egyptian, and flies into Midian.	3155 2473 390	40	8	35 172	8	7 1. *Tripas*, 46	5
	3159 2477 394	44	12	9 1. *Thermutis, or Acencheres*, Qu. 12, 176.	12	5	9
	3171 2489 406	56	24	10 1. *Rathoris, or Achoris* 9 188.	24	17	21
	3178 2469 413	63	31	8 195	14 1 *Marathus*, 20	24	28
	3180 2498 415	65	33	11 1 *Chencres*, 16 197	3	26	30
	3188 2506 423	37	18 1. *Ascatades*. 40	9 205	11	34	38
Moses his wandring into Egypt.	3195 2513 430	80	8	16 212	18	41	45
	Julian. World. Exod.	*Moses*	*Assyria.*	*Egypt.*	*Sicyon.*	*Argos.*	*Athens*
The Passeover. Israel delivered out of Egypt. Pharaoh drowned. The Law given. The first of the 480. years from Exodus to the building of the Temple.	3196 2514 1	81	9	12 1. *Acherres*, 8 213.	19	42	46
The Flood of Deucalion, and conflagration of Phaeton about this time.	3198 2516 3	83	11	3 215	15 1 *Echirens* 55	44	48
	3201 2519 6	86	14	6 218	4	8 1. *Crotopus*, 21	2 1 *Cranaus* 10
	3204 2522 6	89	17	13 1. *Cherres*, 15 221	7	4	4
	3211 2529 16	96	24	8 228	14	11	3 1 *Amphitrion*. 12
	3219 2537 24	104	32	14 1. *Armeus. or Danaus*, 5. 236	22	19	9
	3222 2540 27	107	35	4 239	25	9 1. *Sthenelus*. 11	12

	Julian World. Exod.	Moses.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens	
	3223 2541 28	108	36	5 240	26	2	4 Erictho nius, 50	
	3224 2542 29	109	37	15 1 *Rameſſes* 68 241	27	3	2	*Troy.*
	3228 2546 33	113	19 1. *Amyntas*, 4	5 245	31	7	6	
	3229 2547 34	114	2	6 246	32	8	7	1 1. Dardanus, 6
	3233 2551 38	118	6	10 250	36	10 1. *Danaus*, 50	11	5
The laſt year of Moſes.	3235 2553 40	120	8	12 252	38	3	13	7
	Julian World Exod.	Iſrael.	Aſſyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens	Troy
The Iſraelites enter the Land of Promiſe.	3236 2554 41	1 1 *Joſua* 18	9	13 253	39	4	14	8
	3253 2571 58	18	26	30 270	16 1. *Corax* 30	21	31	25
	3254 2572 59	2 1 *Othoniel*, 40	27	31 271	2	22	32	26
	3273 2591 78	20	20 1. *Belochus the ſecond.* 25	50 290	21	41	5 1 *Pandion* 40	45
	3283 2601 88	30	11	60 300	17 1. *Epopeus* 35	11 1. *Lynceus.* 41	11	55
	3292 2610 97	39	20	16 1. *Menophis* 40 309	10	10	20	64
	3293 2611 98	40	21	2 310	11	11	21	2 1. Erictho nius, 46
	3294 2612 99	3 1 *Ehud* 80	22	3 311	12	12	22	2
	3298 2616 103	5	21 1. *Belopares* 30	7	16	16	26	6
	3313 2631 118	20	16	22 330	31	31	6 1. Erictheus, 50	21
	3318 2636 123	25	21	27 335	18 1 *Lamedon.* 40	36	6	26
	3324 2642 129	31	27	33 341	7	12 1. *Abbas*, 2.	12	32
	3328 2646 133	35	22 1. *Lamprides.* 32	37 345	11	5	16	36

The 19. Dynastie: *of the* Larthes, 194. *years*, See lib. 2. c. 26. §. 4.	3332 2650 137	39	5	17 1. Zethus, or Sethosis, 55 1	15	9	20	40
	3339 2657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	5 1. *Tros* 60
Tantalus *in Phrygia.*	3347 2665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1. *Prætus*, 17	35	9
	3358 2676 163	65	21	27 27	19 1. *Sicyon*, 45	12	46	20
	3360 2678 165	67	23 1. *Sosares*, 20	29 29	3	14	48	22
	3363 2681 168	70	4	32 32	6	17	7 1. Cecrops, the second 40	25
Pelops *in Pisa, who gave name to Peloponnesus.*	3364 2682 169	71	5	33 33	7	14 1 *Acrisius*, 31	2	26
Ion *and* Xuthus *the sons of* Hellen. See lib. 2. c. 17. §. 6.	3374 2692 179	4 1 Debora & Ba. 40	15	43 43	17	11	12	36
	3380 2698 185	7	24 1. *Lampares*. 30	49 49	23	17	18	42
	3387 2705 192	14	15	18 1. *Ramses*, 66 56	30	24	25	49
After the death of Acrisius, the Kingdom of the Argives was divided into many small parts, and overgrown by that of Mycene, whereof some Kings descended from Perseus, others from Pelops, as in the Pedegree following.	3394 2712 199	21	15	8 63	37	31	32	56



	Julian. World. Exod.	Israel	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ	Athens	Troy.
	3399 2717 204	26	20	13 68	42		37	4 1. *Ilus*, 55
	3402 2720 207	29	23	16 71	45	1. *Eurystheus.* 42	40	4
	3403 2721 208	30	24	17 72	20 1. *Polybus*, 40	2	8 1. *Pandion* 225	5
	3410 2728 215	37	25 1. *Pannias*, 45	24 79	8	9	8	12
	3414 2732 219	5 1. *Gideon.* 40	5	28 83	12	13	12	16
Pandion *chased out of his Kingdom, which is recovered by his son* Ægeus, *in few years after. The omission of this interregnum. and reckoning the years in the forty eight of* Ægeus, *or the numbring them apart by themselves, breeds answerable difference in the times of the Athenians following, as* Mnesthe us, Carops, *and the rest.*	3427 2745 232	14	28	41 96	25	26	25	29
	3432 2750 237	19	23	46 101	30	31	9 1. *Ægeus*, 40	34
Oëdipus in Thebes.	3443 2761 248	30	34	57 112	21 1. *Inachus*, 41	42	12	45
	3447 2765 252	34	38	61 116	5	1. *Atreus and Thyestes* 65	16	49
	3453 2771 258	40	44	19 1. *Amenophis*, 40 122	11	7	22	55
	3454 2772 259	6 1. *Abimelech*	45	2 123	12	8	23	5 1. *Laomedon.* 36
	3455 2773 260	2	26 1. *Sosarmus*, 19	3 124	13	9	24	2
	3457 2775 262	7 1. *Tholas*, 23	3	5 126	15	11	26	4
	3474 2762 379	18	27 1. *Mitreus*, 27	22 143	32	28	43	21
	3480 2792 285	8 1. *Jair.* 22	7	28 149	38	34	10 1. *Theseus*, 30	27
	3485 2803 290	6	12	33 154	22 1. *Phestus*, 8	39	6	32
	3490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44	11	1. *Priamus.* 40
	3493 2811 298	14	20	20 1. *Annemenes* 162 26	23 1. *Adrastus*, 4	47	14	4
	3497 2815 302	18	24	5 166	24 1. *Polyphides* 31	51	18	8
	3501 2819 306	22	28 1. *Teutanes*, 32	9 170	5	55	22	12

	Julian. World. Exod.	Israel	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Myce-næ.	Athens	Troy.
	3502 2820 307	9 1. Jeph-ta. 6	2	10 171	6	56	23	13
	3508 2826 313	10 1. Ib-zan. 7	8	16 177	12	62	29	19
	3510 2828 315	3	10	18 179	14	64	11 1. Mne-sthe⁹ 44	
	3512 2830 317	5	12	20 181	16	1 Aga-memnon 18	3	23
	3515 2833 320	11 1 Elon 10	15	23 184	19	4	6	26
The war of Troy began this year.	3519 2837 324	5	19	21 2. Thuoris, 7, 188	23	8	10	30
	3525 2843 330	12 1. Ab-don. 8	25	7 194	29	14	16	36
The 20. Dynastie, called of the Diapolitani, began this year in Egypt, and lasted 178. years. See lib. 2. cap. 26. §. 4.	3526 2844 331	2	26	20 1. Dynastie, 178	30	15	17	37
	3528 2846 333	4	28	3	25 1. Pelas-gus, 20	17	19	39
Troy taken 408. years, before the beginning of the Olympiades. See lib. 2. c. 14. §. 1.	3529 1847 334	5	29	4	2	18	20	40. *Troy ta-ken.*

	Julian. World. Exod.	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Myce-næ.	Athens	The Kingdom of the Latines.
	3530 2848 335	1	6	30	5	3	1. Ægy-stus, 6	21	
	3533 2851 338	4	13 1. Samson. 20	29 1. Teu-teus 40	8	6	4	24	1 1. Æneas, 3
	3534 2852 339	5	2	2	9	7	5	12 1 Demo-phon, 33	2
	3536 2854 341	7	4	4	11	9	1. Ore-stes, 70	3	2 1. Ascanius. 38
	3548 2866 353	19	16	16	23	26 1 Zeucip-pus. 31	13	15	13
	3553 2871 358	2	14 1. Eli, 40	21	28	6	18	20	18
	3567 2885 372	38	15	35	42	20	32	13 1. Oxin-tes, 12	32
	3573 2891 378	44	21	30 1. Thy-neus 30	48	26	38	7	38
	3574 2892 379	45	22	2	49	27	39	8	3 1. Syl. Post-humus. 29

	Julian. World. Exod.	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyon	Mycenæ.	Athens	The kingdom of the Latines.
The Sicyonian Kings ended in Zeucippus.	3579 2897 384	50	27	7	54	32	44	14 1 Aphlas 1.	6
	3580 2898 385	51	28	8	55		45	15 1. Tymætes, 8.	7
	3588 2906 393	59	36	16	63		53	16 1 Melanthus, 37.	15
	3593 2911 398	64	15 1 Samuel, & after him Saul, 40	21	68		58	6	20
	3603 2921 408	74	11	31. 1 Dercilus, 40	78		68	16	4 1. Sylvius Æneas, 31.
	3606 2924 411	77	14	4	81		1 Tisamenus. 2	19	4
The descent of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, gave end to the Kingdom of Mycenæ, and beginning to the Kingdom of Sparta, Corinth, and Messene, the Kings whereof I forbear to inseri into this Table.	3609 2927 414	80	17	7	84			22	7
	3625 2943 430	96	33	23	100			17 1. Codrus 21	23
	Julian. World. Exod.		From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens	Latins.	
	3633 2951 438		104	1. David. 40.	31	108	9	31	
	3634 2951 439		105	2	32	109	10	5. 1. Syl. Latinus, 50.	
	3643 2961 448		114	11	32 Eupales 38.	118	19	10	
The Medontidæ succeed unto the Athenian Kings, after the death of Codrus. See lib. 2. c. 17. §. 10.	3646 2964 451		117	14	4	121	1 1. Medon. 20	13	
	3666 2984 471		137	34	24	141	2 1. Agasius, 36	33	
Vaphres reigneth in Egypt, See L. 2. c. 26. §. 5.	3673 2991 478	Temple 1	144	1. Salomon, 40	31	148	8	40	
Salomon began to build the Temple 408. years compleat after the deliverance out of Egypt.	3676 2994 481	3	147	4	34	151	11	43	
	3681 2999	6	152	9	33 1 Leostbenes 45	156	16	48	
	3684 3002	9	155	12	4	159	19	6 1. Syl. Alba.	
	3692 3010	17	163	20	12	1. Sesac 26 167	27	9	
	3702 3020	27	173	30	22	11 177	3. 1 Archippus, 19	19	

	Julian. World.	Temple	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens	Latines	
The 21. Dynasty in Ægypt, which lasted 130. years.	3704 3022	29	175	32	24	13 1	3	21	
The Ionick migration after the taking of Troy, 180 years. See L. 2. c. 17. sect. 6.	3709 3027	34	180	37	29	18 6	8	26	

	Julian. World.	Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens	Latins.
	3713 3031 38		148	1 1. Rehoboam. 17	1 1. Jeroboam. 22	33	22 10	12	30
	3718 3036 43		189	6	6	38	1 Chemmis, 5 15	17	35
	3721 3039 46		192	9	9	41	4 18	4 1 Tecstphus, 41	38
	3723 3041 48		194	11	11	43	6 20	3	7 1 Syl. Assyr. 26
	3726 3044 51		197	14	14	34 1. Pyrithiades. 30	9 23	6	4
	3730 3048 55		201	2 1. Abijam, 3	18	5	13 27	10	8
	3733 3051 58		204	3 1. Asa. 41	21	8	16 30	13	11
	3734 3052 59		205	2	22 2 1. Nadab. 2.	9	17 31	14	12
	3735 3053 60		206	3	2 3 1. Baasha, 24	10	18 32	15	13
	3749 3067 74		220	17	15	24	32 46	29	8 1. Syl. Cap. 28
	3756 3074 81		227	24	22	35 1. Ophratæus. 20	39 53	36	8
	3758 3076 83		229	26	24 4 1. Ela, 2.	3	41 55	38	10
Of those Israelitish Kings, See lib. 2. c. 19. §. 5.	3759 3077 84		230	27	2 5 1 { Zimri. 6. Tibni. 7. Omri 11	4	42 56	39	11
	3762 3080 87		233	30	4	7	45 59	3 1 Phorbas, 31	14
	3768 3086 93		239	36	10	13	1. Cheops, 56 65	7	20
	3770 3088 95		241	38	12 8 1. Ahab, 22.	15	3 67	9	22
	3774 3092 99		245	4 1. Jehosaphat. 25	5	19	7 71	13	26

	Julian World Temple.	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latine.
	3776 3094 101	247	3	7	16 1. Ophratanes. 50	9 73	15	28
	3777 3095 102	248	4	8	2	10 74	16	9 1. Syl. Capetus 13
Of Jehoram *his sundry beginnings to reign.* See l. 2. c. 20. §. 1. & 2.	3790 3108 115	261	17 5 1. Jehoram.	21 9 1. Ahazia, 2	15	23 87	29	10 1. Syl. Tyberinus, 8
	3791 3109 116	262	18 2	22 2 10 1. Jehoram.	16	24 88	30	2
	3793 3111 118	264	20 0	3	18	26 90	6 Medades, 30	4
	3793 3113 120	266	22 1. Jehoram again. 8.	5	20	28 92	3	6
Jehosaphat *dies, and* Jehoram *reigns alone.*	3798 3116 123	269	25 4	8	23	31 95	6	11 1. Syl. Assyrpa
	3802 3120 127	273	8 6 1. Ahazia. 1.	12	27	35 99	10	5
	3803 3121 128	274	7 1. Athalia. 7	11 1. Jehu 28	28	36 100	11	6
	3809 3125 134	280	7 8 1. Joas, 40.	7	34	42 106	17	12
Carthage built. L. 2. c. 22. §. 6.	3819 3137 144	290	11	17	44	52 116	27	22
	3825 3143 148	294	15	21	48	65 120	7 1. Diogenes, 18	26
	3824 3142 149	295	16	22	49	1 Cecrops. 50 121	2	27
	3826 3144 151	397	18	24	37 Ocrazapes or 1. Anacyndaraxes, 42	3 123	4	29
	3831 3149 156	302	23	12 1. Johoahaz, 17	6	8 128	9	34
The end of the 21. Dynastie. The Dynasties following I omit.	3833 3151 158	304	25	3	8	10 130	11	36
	3839 3157 164	310	31	9	14	16	17	52 1 Syl. Alladius, 19
Joas *reigned with his Father.* L. 2. c. 22. §. 7.	3845 3163 170	316	37	15 13 1. Joas.	20	22	23	7
Joas *reigns alone.*	3847 3165 172	118	39	1. Joas, 16	22	24	25	9
	3848 3166 173	319	40 9 1. Amazia, 20	2	23	25	26	10

	Julian World Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latins	
	3851 3169 176	322	4	5	26	28	8 1 Pheredus. 19	13	
	3858 3166 183	329	11	12	33	35	8	13 1. Syl Aventinus, 37	
	3868 3180 187	333	15	16 14 1 Jeroboam, 41	37	39	12	5	
	3862 3186 193	339	21	7	38 1. Sardanapalus 20	45	18	11	
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47	9 1. Ariphron 20	12	
	3874 3192 199	345	27	13	7	1. Micerinus 6	5	16	
	Julian World Temp.	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Latins	Media
L.2. c.22. §.11.	3877 3195 202	348	1. Interregnum 11. years.	16	10	4	8	19	
	3880 3198 205	351	4	19	13	2. Bocchorus. 44	11	22	
L. 2. c.22. §.12.	3887 3205 212	358	11	26	20. Sardanapalus slain	8	18	29	
L.2. c.33. §.1. & 4.	3888 3206 213	359	10 1. Uzzia, 0 Azaria, 52	27		9	19	30	1 1. Arbaces.28
	3890 3208 215	361	3	29		11	10 1 Thespo rus, 27	32	3
L.2. c.23. §. 4.	3892 3210 217	363	5	31	1. 1. Belosus or Phul. 48	13	3	34	5
	3895 3213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6	14 1. Syl. Procas 23	8
L.2. c.23. §. 1.	3903 3221 228	374	16	1. Interregnum 23. years.	12	24	14	9	16
	3916 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22	2 1. Sosormus, 30
	3917 3235 242	388	30	15	26	38	11 1 Agamneſtar. 20	23	2
	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	39	2	15 1 Syl. Amulius. 44	3
	2924 3242 249	395	37	22	33	1. Asychis and after him Amyſis 6	8	7	9
Zacharia *began at the very end of the year.* L.2. c.23. §. 1.	3925 3143 250	396	38	23 15 Zachariah six Moneths.	34	2	9	8	10

	Julian World	Troy.			Juda.	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Latins	Media
	3926 3244 251	397			39	16 Shallum one month 17 Menahem 10	35	3	10	9	11
This year nearly concurs with the first of Menahem.	3927 3245 252	398			40	1	36	4	11	10	12
	3930 3248 255	401			43	4	39	1 Sabacus the Ethiopian, 50	14	13	15
	3937 3255 262	408	Iphit.	Olympiads.	50	18 1 Pekahia. 2	46	4	12 1 Aeschylus, 23	20	22
The beginning of the Olympiads. L. 2. c. 23. §. 5.	3938 3256 263	409	1	1 1	51	2	47	9	2	21	23
	3939 3257 264	410	2	1 2	52	19 1. Pekah Romeliæ 2	48	10	3	22	24
L. 2. c. 23. §. 6.	3940 3258 265	411	3	1 3	11 1. Jotham, 16	2	2 1. Tiglath Phul. Assar. 2	11	4	23	25
	Julian World Temple	Iphit.	Olym.	Juda.	Israel	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latins	Media	
	3946 3264 271	9	3 1	7	8	7	17	10	29	3 1. Medidus, 40	
	3955 3273 280	18	5 2	16 12 1. Ahaz 16	17	16	26	19	38	10	
	3959 3277 284	22	6 2	5	1. Interregnum 7. years.	20	30	23	42	14	
	3960 3278 285	23	6 3	6	2	21	31	13 1. Alcmenon 2	43	15	
	Julian World Temple.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olym.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Romans	Media
Rome built, L. 2. c. 24. §. 5. Carops the first, governing in Athens for ten years: after whom succeeded six, chosen each after other for the like time; thence the Office became Annual.	3962 3280 287	1	25	7 1	8	4	23	33	1 1. Carops, 10	1 1 Romulus, 37	17
	3966 3284 291	5	29	8 1	12	20 1 Hosea 9	27	37	5	5	21
The Æra of Nabonassar. L. 2. c. 25. §. 1.	3967 3285 292	6 1	30	8 2	13	2	3 1 Salmanassar, or Nabonassar. 10	38	6	6	22
Ezekiah began in the very end of this year. L. 2. c. 25. §. 1.	3968 3286 293	7 2	31	8 3	14 13 Ezekiah 29	3	2	39	7	7	23
This year concurs with the first of Ezekiah. Ibid.	3969 3287 294	8 4	32	8 4	15 1	4	3	40	8	8	24
The beginning of the first Messenian War. Whereof see L. 2. c. 27. §. 4. It lasted 20. years.	3971 3289 296	10 5	34	9 2	3	6	5	42	10	10	26
Samaria is besieged by Salmanassar.	3972 3290 297	11 6	35	9 3	4	7	6	43		11	27

The Captivity of the ten Tribes.	3974 3292 299	13 8	37	10 1	6	9	8	45		13	29
	3976 3294 301	15 10	39	10 3	8		10 4 1. Senacherib. 7	47		15	31
L. 2. c. 26. §, 7.	3980 3298 305	19 14	43	11 3	12	Kings of the Chaldæans.	5	1. Sechon. 33		19	35
Senacheribs *Army destroyed, and he slain.* L. 2. c. 25. §. 2.	3982 3300 307	21 16	45	12 1	14		7	3		21	37
	3983 3301 308	22 17	46	12 2	15	1. Merodach, or Mardocempadus	5 Asarhe'd.n. 10	4		22	38
	3986 3304 311	25 20	49	13 1	18	4	4	7		25	4 1 Cardiceas. 13
Merodach *gets the whole Empire. This year or in the end of the year foregoing. An eclipse of the Moon.*	3993 3311 318	32 27	56	14 4	25	1 1. Merodach, 40	11	14		32	8
	Julian World. Temple.	*Rome. Nabon*	*Iphit.*	*Olym.*	*Juda.*	*Caldea*	*Egypt.*	*Rome.*	*Media*	*Lydia.*	
Two eclipses of the Moon, in the second year of Mardocempadus.	3994 3312 319	33 28	57	15 1	26	2	15	33	9		
	3997 3319 322	36 31	60	15 4	29	5	18	36	12	1 1. Gyges, 38	
	3998 3316 323	37 32	61	16 1	14 1 Manasses 55	6	19	37	13	2	
	3999 3317 324	38 33	62	16 2	2	7	20	Inter regnum one year	5 1. Deioces. 53	3	
	4000 3318 325	39 34	63	16 3	3	8	21	2 1. Numa Pompilius, 43	2	4	
L. 2. c. 27. §. 2.	4013 3331 338	52 47	76	19 4	16	21	1 Interregnum, 2	14	15	17	
	4015 3333 340	54 49	78	20 2	18	23	1. 12 Princes, 15	16	17	19	
The beginning of the second Messenian War; which lasted about 18. *years.* L. 2. c. 27. §. 4.	4020 3347 354	68 63	92	23 4	32	37	15 1. Psammiticus 44	30	31	33	
L. 2. c. 28. §. 3.	4033 3351 358	72 67	96	24 4	36	2 1. Ben-Merodach, 21	5	34	35	37	
	4035 3353 360	74 69	98	25 2	38	3	7	36	37	2 1. Ardys, 49	
	4043 3361 368	82 77	106	27 2	46	11	15	3 1. Tullus Hostilius 32	45	9	
	4052 3370 377	91 86	115	29 3	55	20	24	10	6 1 Phraortes, 24	18	
	4053 3371 378	92 87	116	29 4	15 1. Amon, 2	21	25	11	2	19	

	Julian. World. Temple.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Juda.	Chaldea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.
The expedition of the Scythians. L.2. c.28. §.3. & 4.	4054	93		30		3				
	3372		117		2	1. Nabulasser, 35	26	13	3	20
	379	88		1						
	4055	94		30	16					
	3373		118		1. Josias, 31	2	27	13	4	21
	380	89		2						
L.2. c.28. §. 1.	4073	112		34						
	3391		136		19	20	1. Neco, 17	31	22	39
	398	107		4						
	4075	114		35				+		
	3393		138		21	22	3	1. Ancus Marcus 34	24	41
	400	109		2						
	4076	115		35					7	
	3394		139		22	23	4	2	1 Cyaxares, 40	42
	401	110		3						
	4084	123		37						3
	3402		147		30	31	12	10	9	1 Sadyattes, 12
	409	118		3						
L.2. c.28. §. 1. & 2.	4085	124		37	37 17					
	3402		148		Jehoahaz 3 months	32	13	11	10	2
	410	119		4						
Nabuchodonosor *had reigned one year with his Father, which is to be regarded in Astronomical observations concerning his time.* L.2. c.25. §. 1. & c.28. § 6.	4086	125		38	18					
	3404		149		1 Jehojakim, 11	33	14	12	11	3
	411	120		1						
	4089	128		38		4.				
	3407		152		4	1. Nabuchodonosor the great. 44	17	15	14	6
	414	123		4						
	4090	129		39						
	3408		153		5	2	1. Psammis, 12	16	15	7
	415	124		1						
	4096	135		40	11 19					4
	3414		159		1 Jechoni. 3 months.	8	7	22	21	1 Halyattes. 57
	421	130		3	20					
Zedekiah *his journey to Babylon.* L.2. c.28. §.6.	4099	138		41	Zedekiah 11 years.			5.		
	3417		162		4	11	10	1. L. Tarquin. Priscus. 58	24	4
	424	133		2						
	4102	141		42			1. Apries or Hophra,			
	3420		165		7	14		4	27	7
	427	136		1						
Jerusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor, *with whose* 18. *for the more part, and partly with whose* 19. *this year concurs.*	4106	145		43						
	3424		169		11	18	5	8	31	11
	431	140		1						

	Julian. World	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Captivity.	Chaldea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.
	4107	146		43						
Jerusalem destroyed.			170		1	19	6	9	32	12
	3425	141		2						
Egypt conquered by Nabuchodonosor. L.3. c.1. §. 8. & 9.	4111	150		44			1 Phar. Hophra slain, and the kingdom of Egypt governed 40. years by Viceroyes.			
			174		5	23		13	36	16
	3429	145		2						
	4116	155		45					8	
			179		10	28	6	18	1. Astyages, 35	21
	3434	150		3						
Nabuchodonosor *lives wild: and his Kingdom is governed by others for him, during seven years.* L3. c.1. §. 13.	4125	164		47		37				
			183		19	1. Evilmerodac	15	27	10	30
	3443	159		4						
	3127	166		48		9.				
			190		21	1. Niglisar. & Nitocris,	17	29	12	32
	3445	161		2		4.				

	Julian. World. Temple	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Juda.	Chaldea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	
Nebuchadnezzar recovers his sense and kingdom.	4131	170	194	49	25	43 Laborosardach 9. mon	21	33	16	36	
	3449	165		2							
L.3. c. 1. § .6. The 27. of Jeconia his captivity compleat, and he enlarged.	4133	172	196	49	27	5 Evilmerodach. 26	23	35	18	38	
	3451	167		4							
	4137	176	200	50	31	5	27	8 Servius Tullus 44	22	42	
	3455			4							
Forty years after the conquest of Egypt past, Amasis began his reign: this being inclusively the 41. & therefore the next year seems concurrent with Amasis his 1	4151	190	214	45	54	19	Amasis, 34	15	2 Cyaxares, or Darius the Mede, 26	56	
	3469	185		2						5	
	4153	192	216	54	47	21	2	17	3	1. Cressus, 14	
	3471			4							
	Julian World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia	Chaldea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	Jewes.
	4154	193	217	55	1 1. Cyrus in Persia 21	22	3	18	4	2	48
	3472	188		1							
	4159	198	222	56	6	6 1. Balthasar. 17	8	23	9	7	53
The seven Sages of Greece.	3477	193		2							
	4164	203	227	57	11	6	13	28	14	12	58
Pisistratus makes himself Tyrant in Athens.	3482	198		3							
	4166	205	229	58	13	8	15	30	16	14 Cræsus taken by Cyrus	60
	3484	200		1							
	4175	214	238	60	22	17 Balthasar slain.	24	39	25		69
The end of the Chaldean Empire.	3493	209		2							
	4176	215	239	60	23	1. Darius the Mede 2	23	40	26		70
	3494	210		3							
The beginning of Cyprus his Empire.	4177	216	240	60	1. Cyrus. 7		2	26	41	Years from 1. Cyrus	Zorobabel.
His Edict of liberty to the Jews.	3495	211		4							
	4181	220	244	61	5			30	7 L. Tarquinius Superbus, 25	5	Onely Zorobabel & Nehemias are remembred as governours of the Jews, unto the 32 of Artaxerxes Mnenon. But there were many before Nehemias, as himself witnesseth, Ch. 5. v. 15 so that the stories of them, their number and names are uncertain.
	3499	215		4							
	4184	223	247	62	2 1. Cambyses. 7			33	4	8	
	3502	218		3							
The 2. first years of Psammiticus, and part of the third may be added to the years of his father, if it be true that Cambyses wan Egypt presently on the death of Amasis, L.3. c. 4 §. 2.	4186	225	249	63	3			1. Psammiticus, 3	6	10	
	3504	220		1							
	4188	227	251	63	5			3	8	12	
The conquest of Egypt by Cambysis.	3506	222		3							
	Julian World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphitus	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt	Rome.	Greece	Jewes.	From Cyrus.	
Cambysis reigned seven years and five months, so as his last year was filled up by the Magi, and (as may seem) a good part of the next, L.3. c.4. §. 4.	4191	230	254	64	8 The Magi one year.		11			15	
	3509	225		2							
	4192	231	255	64	3 1. Darius Histaspis, 36		12			16	
	3510	226		3							

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia	Egypt	Rome.	Greece.	Jewes & from Cyrus.
	4197	236	260	65	6		17	Hippias the son of Pisistratus Tyrant in Athens.	21
	3515	231		4					
	4204	243	267	67	13 Babylon, which had rebelled, taken by Darius.		42		28
	3522	238		3					
The Tarquines expelled Rome. L.4.c.1.§.1.	4205	245	268	68	14		25		29
	3523	239		4					
The Carthaginians first League with Rome. L.5.c.1.§.2.	4206	245	269	68	15		Brutus and Publ. cola }	Consuls.	30
	3524	240		1					
L.2.c.5.§.4.	4211	250	274	69	20 Darius his expedition against the Scythians.				35
	3529	245		2					
	4212	251	275	69	21			The Athenians and Ionians take Sardis.	36
	3530	246		3					
	4222	261	285	72	31		Sp. Cassi [illegible] Postumus Cominius Consuls	The battail of Marathon.	46
	3540	356		1					
	4226	265	289	73	35	Ægypt rebelleth against Darius.			50
	3544	269		1					
	4228	267	291	73	4 1 Xerxes, 21				50
	3546	260		3					
The Law Agraria in Rome propounded, for division of Lands: which bred great commotion.	4229	268	292	73	2	Egypt recovered by Xerxes.	Proc Virginius. Sp. Cassius }	Cons.	52
	3547	263		4					
An Eclipse of the Sun. L.3.c.6.§2.	4233	272	296	74	6. The great muster of Xerxes his Army at Sardes.				57
	3551	267		4					
L.3.c.6.§.3.&6.	4234	273	297	75	7			The battails at Thermopylæ, Artemisium, and Salamis.	58
	3552	268		1					
L.3.c.6.§.9,10,&11.	4235	274	298	75	8 Xerxes his tragical love			The battail of Platæa and Mycale	59
	3553	269		2					
L.2.c.7.§.1&2.	4237	267	300	75	10			The Athenians rebuild the walls, and lay the foundation of their Dominion.	62
	3555	271		4					
	4244	283	307	77	17			The great victories of Simon, at Eurymedon and elsewhere.	68
	3562	278		3					
L.2.c.7.§3.	4248	287	311	78	21 The death of Xerxes by the treason of Artabanus.				72
	3566	282		3					
	4249	288	312	78	5 1. Artaxerxes Longimanus. 46			Themistocles being banished flies to Artaxerxes.	73
	3567	283		4					
	4251	290	314	94	3	Inarus set up as King by the Egyptians.			75
	3569	285		2					
L.3.c.7.§.5.&7.	4255	294	318	80	7. The marriage of Hester	Inarus vanquished by the Persians.			79. Esdras commeth to Jerusalem, Daniel his 70 weeks or 490. years beginneth.
	3573	289		2					
	4264	303	327	82	16		The Decemviri chosen to compound a body of the Roman Laws.	Hippocrates the great Physitian, and Democritus the Philosopher flourish.	10
	3582	298		3					

The Account from the solution of the Captivity, is the same with that from Cyrus.	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt	Rome.	Greece.	Jews, or from Cyrus and Daniel,
	4265	304	328	82	17		The decemviri chosen for a second year, tyranniz and usurp the place three years.	Simons voyage to Cyprus, in which he died.	89
	3583	299		4					11
Nehemias comes to Jerusalem.	4268	307	331	83	20			A league for 36. years, between Athens and Sparta	92
	3586			3					14
	4272	311	335	84	24		Tribuni Militum first chosen instead of Consuls. Dionys. Liv. placeth them in the 310 year of Rome.		96
	3590	306		3					18
	4273	312	336	84	25			The conquest of Samos by the Athenians under Pericles.	97
	3591	307		4					19
	4278	317	341	86	30			The Athenians & the Corcyræans against the Corinthians.	102
	3596	312		1					24
The walls of Jerusalem finished.	4280	319	343	86	32				104
Nehemias returns to King Artaxerxes.	3598	314		3					26
L. 3. c. 8. §. 1.	4283	322	346	87	25			The first year of the Peloponnesian War.	107
	3601	317		2					29
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1. L. 3. c. 8. §. 1.	4289	328	352	88	6 Xerxes 2 months 7 Sogdianus 8. months.			The victory of the Athenians at Pylus.	113
	3607	323		4					35
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1.	4290	329	353	89	8 1. Darius Nothus. 19.				114
	3608	324		1					36
L. 3. c. 8. §. 5. & 6.	4292	331	355	89	3			A vain and troublesom peace between Athens and Sparta.	116
	3610	326		3					38
L. 3. c. 9. § 1. & c. 8. §. 8.	4301	340	364	92	11 Egypt rebelleth against the Persians, and sets up Kings that reign successively, till Ochus reconquest.	1 1. Amyrtæus, 6		The Athenian forces in Sicil utterly destroyed.	125
	3619	335		4					48
Cap. 8. §. 9.	4302	341	365	92	13 Darius enters into confederacy with the Spartans.	2		The government of the 400. in Athens, which was suppressed the year following.	128
	3620	336		1					50
The Carthaginians invade Sicil with an Army of 300000. L. 5. c. 1. §. 4. †3.	4304	343	367	93	15	4		The Athenians begin to recover strength.	125
	3622	338		3					50
L. 3. c. 8. §. 10.	4306	345	369	93	17	6		Alcibiades after many victories returns from banishment to Athens, is made General, and banished again.	130
	3624	340		1					52
	4307	346	370	93	18	2 1. Nephres 6		The battail at Arginusæ.	131
	3625	341		2					53
	4308	347	371	93	19	2		Dionysius the elder usurps tyranny in Syracuse.	132
	3626	342		3					54
L. 3 c. 8. §. 12.	4309	348	372	93	9 1. Artaxerxes Mnemon, 43	3		The battail at Argos, Potamos, &c.	133
	3627	343		4					55
	4311	350	374	94	3	5	The siege of Veii, lasted 10. years.		135
	3629	345		2					57
L. 3. c. 10. §. 1.	4313	352	376	94	The expedition of Cyrus against Artaxerxes	3 1. Acoris, 12		Socrates put to death. The 30 tyrants put down in Athens.	137
	3631	347		4					59

	Julian. and World.	Rome. and Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews From Cyrus Daniel.
L.3.c.11.§.4.	4318	357	381	96	10	6		Agesilaus warreth in Asia.	142
	3636	352		1					64
L.3. c. 11. §.7.	4320	359	383	96	12	8		The victory of Conon at Gnidus, &c	144
	3638	354		3					64
	4321	360	384	96	13	9	Veii taken by Camillus.	Xenophon and Plato flouriſh.	145
	3639	355		4					67
	4325	364	388	97	17	3 1. Pſammiticus the ſon of Inarus, and after him Nephres; that had been expelled reigned in all about two years.	The honour, but victory of Camillus over the Falisci.		149
	3643	359		4					71
L.4.c.7.§.1. L.3.c.11. §.9.	4326	365	389	98	18	2	Rome taken and burnt by the Gauls.	The Peace of Antalcidas.	150
	3644	360		1					72
	4327	367	390	98	19	4 1 Nectanebus. 18			151
	3645	361		2					73
	4332	371	395	99	24	6	M. Manlius Capitolinus put to death	The Lacedæmonians take the citadel of Thebes by treason.	150
	3650	366		3					78
L.3.c.11.§.11.	4336	375	399	100	28	10		The Thebans recover their Citadel, and make ſtrong war upon the Lacedæmonians.	160
	3654	370		3					82
	4340	379	403	101	32	14	Tribunes of the people continued 5 years in office, prop. and popular Laws, among which that one of the Conſuls ſhould be ſtil a Plebeian.		164
	3658	374		3					86
L.3.c.12.§.1.	4343	382	406	102	35	17		The famous battaile of Leuctra.	167
	3661	377		2					89
L.3.c.12.§.4.	4345	384	408	102	37	4 1. Tachus 8. Euſibius gives only 2. years to Tachus. Reims. 6. but the ſtory of him proves more.	L. Sextius a Plebeian, and L. Æmilius, Conſuls.	The haſty growth of the Theban Eſtate.	169
	3363	379		4					91
	4351	390	414	104	43 Many Provinces rebel againſt Artaxerxes, and are ſoon reclaimed.	7		The great battail of Mantinæa. Epaminondas dies.	175
	3669	385		2					97. Jonathan.
L.3.c.12. §.8.	4352	391	415	104	10 1. Ochus. 23	8 Tachus betrayed by Ageſilaus. 1. Nectanebus 13		Peace in Greece. The Athenians weaken themſelves by converting their treaſure to vain uſes.	176 about this time High
	3670	386		3					98 Prieſt.
	4354	393	417	105	3	3		1. Philip King of Macedon 24 years and part of the 25	178
	3672	388		1					100
L.4.c.1.§.4.	4359	398	422	106	8	8		6. The Phocian War begins.	183
	3677	393		2					105
	4364	403	427	107	13. Ochus reconquers Egypt.	13. Nectanebus flies into Æthiopia.		11	188
	3682	398		3					110
L.4.c.1.§.6.	4368	407	431	108	17			15. The end of the Phocian War.	192
	3686	402		3					114
L.5.c.1.§.4.†.4.	4369	408	432	108	18			16. Timoleon his voyage into Sicil.	193
	3687	403		4					115
	4370	409	433	109	19	Nabonaſſar. Novemb the 17		17 Philip waſteth Illyria, and draws the Theſſalians to follow him.	194
	3688	404		1					116
After this the years from Cyrus and Daniel are too few by one.	4375	414	438	110	11 1. Arſes 3.			22	199 Jaddus High
	3693	409		2					121 Prieſt, 16

	Julian and World.	Rome. and Nabon	Iphitus	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt	Rome.	Greece.	Jewes From Cyrus Daniel.	
	4376	415	439	110	2			23 The battail of Chæronea. Philip chosen Captain General of the Greeks.	2	
	5694	410		3					199	
									121	
	4378	417	441	111	1. Darius 6 years and somewhat more.	Nabon. Novemb. 15		25 Philip slain by Pausanias 1. Alexander the great 12. years and 5. moneths.	4	
	3696	412		1					201	
									123	
	4379	418	442	111	2			2 Thebes razed by Alexander.	5	
	3697	413		2					202	
									124	
	4380	419	443	111	3			3 Alexander passeth into Asia.	6	
	3698	414		3					203	
									125	
L. 4. c. 7. §. 1.	4381	420	444	111	4 The battail of Issus.			4	7	
	3699	415		4					204	
									126	
L. 4. c. 2. §. 5. 6. & 7. & L. 5. c. 2. §. 8.	4382	421	445	112	5		The Gauls enter into league with the Romans.	5 Alexander wins Tyre and Ægypt.	8	Addes nothing. Alexander, ingrossed by him.
	3700	416		1					205	
									127	
	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olympiads.						
An Eclipse of the Moon.	4383	422	446	112	6 The battail of Arbela.				6 Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis won by Alexander.	9
	3701	417		2					206	
									128	
L. 4. c. 2. §. 13.	4384	423	447	112	7 Darius slain by Bessus.				7	10
	3702	418		3					207	
									129	
					Macedon.	Egypt.		Greece.	Romans	Jews. Daniel
	4385	424	448	112	8. Alexander changeth conditions: he puts to death Parmenio and Philotas.					11
	3703	419		4						130
	4380	425	449	113	9. Alexander passeth into India: kils Clytus and Calisthenes.					12
	3704	420		1						131
Alexander died 17 days before the Summer Solstice. From Nabonassar hitherto are collected 424 years: and hence to the reign of Augustus, 294. The sum is, 781. years, which agrees with this accompt. Ptolem. Almagest. l. 3. c. 8.	4390	429	453	114	13. Alexander dies at Babylon.	Nabon. Novemb. 12				16
	3708	424		1						135
	4391	430	454	114	1. Aridæus, 6 and 4. moneths.	1 1. Ptolemie Lagi. 39.	L. 3. c. 3. §. 1, 2. & 3.	The Lamian War.		1. Onias, 23
	3709	425		2						136
	4391	433	457	115	4	4. Perdiccas slain in Egypt. } Nab. Nov. 11.	L. 4. c. 3. § 8. & 9.	Victories of Eumenes.		4
	3712	428		1						139
	4395	433	458	115	5. Antigonus sent against Eumenes.	5				5
	3713	429		2						140
Aridæus slain by Olympias Antigonus beaten by Eumenes.	4397	436	460	115	7	7				7
	3715	431		4						142
Eumenes betrayed to Antigonus Olympias slain by Cassander. Antigonus grows dreadful.	4398	441	461	116	1. Cassander. 19	8		Thebes re-edified by Cassander.		8
	3716	432		1						143
Some place the beginning of Seleucus in this 12. from Alexander, by which accompt he reigned 32. years	4402	441	465	117	5	12 Nabonassar. Novemb 9.	Demetrius beaten at Gaza, by Ptolemy, and Seleucus,			12
	3720	436		1						147
Peace between Alexanders Captains: with division of Provinces.	4403	442	466	117	6	13				13
	3721	437		2						148

	Julian and World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphitus	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt	Syria and the Kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Jewes. Danie.
							1			14
The Æra of the Kingdom of the Greeks.	4404	443	467	117	7	14	1. Seleucus, 30	L. 4. c. 5. §. 7.		149
	3722	438		3			1			16
Alexanders Captains assume the name of Kings.	4406	445	469	118	9	16 Ptolomy overcome by Demetrius at Cyprus.	3	Athens set free by Demetrius the son of Antigonus.		151
	3724	440		1			3			23
L. 4. c. 6. §. 4.	4413	452	476	119	16	23	10 The battail at Ipsus wherein Antigonus was slain			158
	3731	447		4			10			1 Timon the ancient. 13
	4414	453	477	120	17	24	11. Seleucus makes alliance with Demetrius			159
	3732	448		1			11			4
	4417	456	480	120	1. Antipater and Alexander the son of Cassander.	27	14			162
	3735	451		4			14			8
L. 4. c. 6. §. 7.	4421	460	484	121	2. Demetrius, 6	31	18			166
	3739	455		4			18			

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olympiads.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria.	Greece.	Rome.	Jews. Daniel
										1 Eleazar high Priest, 19
	4427	466	490	123	1. Pyrrhus. 7. Moneths.	37	24			172
	4745	461		2						2
	4428	467	491	123	1. Lysimachus. 5	38	25			173
	3746	462		3						3
	4429	468	492	123	2	39 9 1 Ptolomy Philadelphus. 38	26			174
	3747	463		4			26			
The translation of the Bible by the Septuagint.	4432	471	495	124	5	4	29		The Tarentines raise war in the Eastern parts of Italy, and call in Pyrrhus against the Romans.	6
	3750	466		3			29			177
See L. 4. c. 6. §. 9. & c. 7. §. 2.	4433	472	496	124	6. Lysimachus slain. Seleucus 7 Mon	5	32 Seleucus slain in the end of the 124. Olymp. Polyb. and Justin 30		Pyrrhus his victory against the Romans.	7
	3751	467		4						178
	4434	473	497	124	1. Ptol. Ceraunus. Antipater. Meleager. Sosthenes.	6 Nabon Non. 1	2 1. Antiochus Soter. 19	The Gauls do great spoil in Macedon and Greece, under Brennus and Belgius.		8
L. 4. c. 7. §. 3. & 7.	3752	468		1			31			179
	4436	475	499	125	1 Antigonus Gonatas. 26	8	3		Pyrrhus goes into Sicil.	10
	3754	570		1			33			181
	4438	477	501	126	3	10. Nabanassars year begins, Oct. 1	5	About these times the Achæan begun their society	Pyrrhus called out of Sicill against the Ro.	12
L. 5. c. 2. §. 6.	3756	572		1			35			183
	4439	478	502	126	4	11	6		Pyrrhus overthrown by the Romans.	13
	3757	473		2			26			184
	4441	480	504	126	6	13	8	Pyrrhus slain at Argos.	The Tarentines crave ayd of the Carthaginians.	15
L. 4. c. 7. §. 5.	3759	475		4			38			186
	4445	484	508	127	10	17	12			19 Consuls.
The Translation by the Septuagint finished, this 17 of Philadelphus.	3753	497		4			42			190
	4446	485	509	128	11	18. Nabonassar Octob. 29	2			1 Manasses high Priest 27
	3764	480		1			90			191
The more ancient Roman Consuls have been often so uncertain, that Livy hath doubted whom to name.	4450	489	513	129	35	22. Nabonassar Otto 28.	17	L. 5. c. 1. §. 3.	The beginning of the first Punick war.	5 Ap. Claudius. M. Fulvius.
	3768	484		1			47			

	Julian and World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphitus	Olymp.	Macedon	Egypt	Syria and the Kingdom of the Greek.	Greece.	Romans.	Jewes. Danie.	Consuls.
	4453	492	516	129	18	25	3 1. Antiochus Thous. 16			8	L. Valerius.
	3771	487		4			15			198	T. Octacilius.
L. 5. c. 1. §. 6.	4454	493	517	130	19	26	2		Duilius his victory at Sea.	9	C. Duilius.
	3772	488		1			51			199	Cn. Cornelius.
	4457	496	520	130	22	29	5		Regulus passeth into Africk.	12	M. Attil. Reg.
	3772	491		4			54			2 2	Cn. Cornelius.
L. 5. c. 1. § 8.	4458	497	521	131	23	30	6	Marcus Carymensis Prætor of the Achæans		13	L. Manlius.
	3776	492		1			55		Regulus taken prisoner.	203	Q Cæditus.
	4463	502	526	132	28	35	11	Aratus recovers Sicyon, & joyns it to the Achæans		18	L. Cæcilius.
	3781	497		2			60			208	C. Furius.
The Roman Consuls beaten at Lilybæum. The beginning of the Tarshian Kingdom.	4464	504	427	132	29	36	12		Regulus his death.	19	C. Atilius.
	3782	498		2			61			209	L. Manlius.
	4465	504	528	132	30	27	13		Shipwrack & unhappy fight of the Romans at Sea.	20	P. Claudius. Pulcher, and
	3783	499		4			62			210	L. Junius.
	4467	506	530	133	32	1. Ptolemy Energetes 16	35			22	L. Cæcilius.
	3785	501		3			64			212	M. Fabius.
Amilcar the Carthaginian in Sicil. L. 5. c. 1. §. 11.	4467	508	532	133	34	3	4 1. Seleucus Callinicus, 20			24	M. Fabius.
	3787	503		4			66			214	C. Atilius.
	4472	511	535	134	2 Demetrius 10	6	4		Luctatius his great victory at Ægates.	27	C. Luct. Catul.
	3792	506		3			69			217	A. Posthumus.
										Onias 1	Q. Luctatius.
The war of the Mercenaries with the Carthaginians. L. 5. c. 2.	4473	512	536	134	2	7	5	Aratus wins Corinth.	Peace granted to Carthage.	218	A. Manlius.
	3791	507		4			70				
	4473	513	537	135	3	8 Nabon Oct. 22	6			1 Simon the just 28 219	C. Claudius. M. Sempronius.
	3792	508		1			71				
The war with the Mercenaries ended.	4476	515	539	135	5	10	8		The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians.	3	Graschus.
	3794	510		3			73			221	Falco.
	4482	521	545	137	3 1 Antigonus Doson, 10	16	14			9	Lepidus.
	3800	516		1			79			227	Malleolus.
	4483	522	546	137	2	17	15		A Roman Embassadour slain by Queen Teuta	10	M. Æmylius
	3801	517		2			80			230	M. Junius.
L. 5. c. 2. §. 7.	4485	524	548	137	4	19	17		Teuta, Queen of Illyria subdued by the Romans	10	L. Posthumus.
	3803	519		4			82			234	C. Fulvius.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 1.	4489	528	552	138	8	23	5 1. Seleucus Ceraunus. 3			16	L. Æmylius.
	3807	523		4			86			224	C. Atilius.
Flaminius was also Consul this year. See L. 5. c. 2. §. 8.	4492	531	555	139	11	26	5 1. Antiochus the Great, 36.		Marcellus his victory over the Gaules about Milan.	19	C. Cornelius.
	3810	526		3			89			237	M. Marcellus
L. 5. c. 5. §. 2.	4493	532	556	139	12	4 1. Ptolemy Philopater 17	2			20	P. Cornelius.
	3811	527		4			90			238	M. Minutius.
	4494	533	557	140	4 1. Philip. 42	2	3			20	L. Veturius.
	3812	528		1			91			239	C. Luctatius.

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt	Syria & kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece	Rome.	Jews and Daniel	Consuls.
Annibal taketh Saguntum.	4495	534	558	140	2	3	4	*Demetrius Pearius chaseth out of his Lordship.*		22	*L. Æmylius.*
	3813	529		2			92			240	*M. Livius.*
The beginning of the second Punick war.	4496	534	559	140	3	4	5	L.5.c. 3.§.4.	*The battails of Ticinus and Trebia.*	23	*P.Cor. Scipio.*
	3814	529		3			93			241	*T. Sempronius.*
The occurrences of this year are referred by Polyb. *l.* 5. *to the* 3 *of the* 140 *Olymp. This battel of Thrasymene was fought in the Spring: the Olympian year begun at the summer solstice.* Hannibal *and* Marcellus Hiero *King of Syracuse dyes.* Hieronymus *succeeds*	4497	536	560	140	4. *Sol Eclips. Liv. l.* 22. *Feb* 11. *reckoning by Julian year*	5. *War in Syria between Antiochus and Ptol.*	6	*Philip and the Athenians at peace with the Ætolians & Romans in Greece.*	*The battails of Thrasymene.*	24	*C. Flaminius.*
	3815	530		4			94			242	*Cn. Servilius.*
	4498	537	561	141	5	6 *Nabonassars year begins Octob.* 16.	7		*The great battel at Cannæ.*	25	*C. Terent. Varro.*
	3816	532		1			95			243	*L. Æm Paul.*
	4499	538	562	141	6	7	8		*Posthumius the R. Consul slain by the Gauls.*	26 244	*L. Posthumus. T. Semp. Grac. Q. Fabius.*
	3817	533		2			96				
The two Scipio's slain in Spain. Hannibal *wins Tarentum.*	4502	541	565	142	9	10	11		*Syracuse won by Marcel. Capua besieged*	247 1 Omas *by Priest* 39	*Ap. Claudius.*
	3829	536		1			99				*Q. Fulvius.*
Hannibal at the wals of Rome.	4503	542	566	142	10	11	12		*Young Scipio sent into Spain. Capua won by the Romans.*	2	*Cn. Fulvius.*
	3821	537		2			100			248	*P. Sulpitius.*
	4507	546	570	143	14	15	16		*The battail at Metaurus.*	6	*C. Clau. Nero.*
	3825	561		2			104			252	*M. Livius.*
	4508	547	571	143	15	16	17		*Scipio drives the Carthaginians quite out of Spain*	7	*Q Cecilius.*
	3826	542		3			105			253	*L. Veturius.*
	4510	549	573	144	17	1. *Ptolemy Epiphanes.*	19		*Scipio invades Africk.*	9	*Cethegus.*
	3828	544		1			107			255	*P. Sempronius.*
	4511	550	574	144	18	2	20		*King Syphax taken.*	10	*Servilius, and Servius.*
	3829	545		2			108			256	
	4512	551	575	144	19	3	21		*Hannibal vanquished by Scipio.*	11	*T. Claudius,*
	3830	546		3			109			257	*M. Servilius*
The end of the second Punick war, and beginning of the Macedonian war with Philip. *This year and the next were three Eclipses of the Moon.*	4513	552	576	144	20	4	22		*Scipio triumphs over Carthage.*	12	*Lentulus.*
	3831	547		4			110			258	*Pætus.*
	4516	555	1579	145	23. *Philip overcome at the River Abfus, by the Romans.*	7	25			15	*T. Q. Flamin*
	3834	550		3			113		L.5.c.5.§.1.3.	261	*Sex. Ælius.*
L. 5. c. 5. §. 14.	4517	556	580	145	*The battail at Cynoscephalæ.* 24	8	26	*Liberty of Greece proclaimed by the Romans.*		16	*Cethegus. Q. Minutius.*
	3835	551		4			114			262	
Hannibal expelled Carthage, L.5.c.5. §.4. & c.4. §.5.	4518	557	581	146	25. *Peace between Philip & the Romans.*	9	27			17	*L. Furius.*
	3836	552		1			115			263	*Marcellus.*
Cap. 5. §. 5.	4519	558	582	146	26	10	28	*War upon Nabis the tyrant.*		18	*M. Cato.*
	3837	552		2			116			264	*L. Valerius.*
C.5. §.7.	4522	561	585	147	29	13	31. *Antiochus at Chalcis.* 119			21	*L. Quintius.*
	3840	556		1						267	*Cn. Domitius.*
	4523	562	586	147	30	14	32 *Antiochus vanquished at Thermopylæ.* 120		*The great victory of L. Scipio over Antiochus in Asia which gave beginning to the Roman luxury.*	22	*Acil. Glabrio.*
	3841	557		2						268	*Nasica.*
	4524	563	587	147	31	15	33	c 5.§.8		23	*L. Scipio.*
	3842	558		3			121			269	*C. Lælius.*

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria & kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece	Rome.	Jews and Daniel	Consuls.
L.5.c.5.§.9.	4527	566	590	148	34	18	36		Scipio banisheth himself from Rome.	26	Lepidus.
	3845	561		2			124			272	Flaminius.
	4528	567	591	148	35	19	6 1. Seleucus Philopater, 12. 125			27	S. Posthumius.
	3846	562		3						273	Q. Martius.
L.5.c.6.§2.	4532	570	594	149	38	22	4		Scipio, Hannibal, and Philopoemen die. Tully placeth Seleucus death two years earlier.	30	Marcellus.
	3849	565		2			128			276	Q. Fabius.
L.5.c.6.§.3.	4532	571	595	149	39 The tyranny of Philip, his son Demetrius accused to him, and slain the next year.	23	5			31	Paulus.
	3850	566		3			129			277	Cn. Babius.
Cap. 6. §. 4.	4533	572	596	149	40	24	6	Callicrates betrayes the Achæans, and all the Greeks.		32	Cethegus.
	3851	567		4			130			278	M. Babius.
	4534	573	597	150	41	1. Ptolemeus Philometor, and his brother Physcon. 35	7			35	A. Posthumius.
	3852	568		1			131			279	Piso.
	4535	574	598	150	42 1. Perseus, 11. or 12 years.	2	8			34	Piso.
	3853	569		2			132			280	Manlius.
An Eclipse of the Moon the 7of Philometor, 5733 years and 206 daies from the beginning of Nabonassar, which agrees with this account. It was by Julian years the last of April, about one of the clock in the morning.	4540	579	603	151	6	7	7 1. Antiochus Epiphanes. 12. 137			39	Sp. Posthumius
	3858	574		3						285	Scævola.
	4541	580	604	151	7	8	2		See l.5 cap. 6 §. 11.	Jason buyeth the high Priesthood, and after him Menelaus.	L. Posthumius.
	3859	575		4			138				M. Popilius.
	4543	582	606	152	9 The beginning of the war of Perseus.	10	4		c.6.§6	288	P. Licinius.
	3861	577		2			140				C. Cassius.
	4545	584	608	152	11	12. Egypt invaded by Antiochus under pretence of helping one King against another.	6			290	Martius.
	3863	579		4			142				Servilius.
A total Eclipse of the Moon foregoing the overthrow of Perseus, in the ye. of Nabonassar here noted.	4546	585	609	153	12 Perseus vanquished and taken.	13. Antiochus commanded out of Egypt by the Romans, spoyles the Temple.	7	Cap 6 §.8,9. & 11.	Gentius King of Illyria taken.	192. Persecution in Jury for religion.	L. Æm. Paul.
	3864	580		1			143				C. Licinius.
	4547	586	610	153	Macedon made a Roman Province.	14	8	The captivity of all the best among the Greeks.	Triumphs in Rome.	C.6. § 10. & 12.	Paus.
	3865	581		2			144				Junius.
	4549	588	612	153		16	10			1. Judas Maccabæus, 6	Torquatus.
	3867	581		4			146				Octavius.

An

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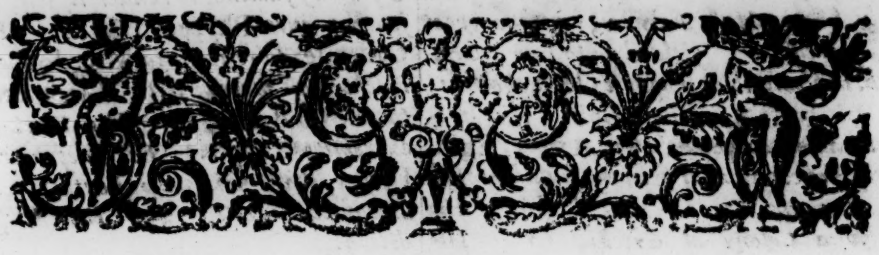

AN

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